

Pakistan's Democratic Governance Issues in the Twenty-First Century

Jawaria Ashraf¹, Muhammad Nazir Khan², Muhammad Naqi Zaidi³, Rukaiya Abbasi⁴,
Wahaj Affandi⁵

Department of Public Administration, University of Karachi, Karachi, Sindh, Pakistan

Department of Criminology, University of Karachi, Karachi, Sindh, Pakistan

Email address: jawariaali720@gmail.com

Abstract— In a democracy, the people are in charge of the government. Representatives who have been elected and are answerable to the people use this power. Human rights, the rule of law, and popular sovereignty are the cornerstones of democracy. Democracies all over the world are dealing with a number of difficulties in the twenty-first century. These difficulties include: Economic disparity: Inequality in many nations is increasing. People are becoming frustrated and disenfranchised as a result, which threatens to erode public support for democracy. The growth of populism and nationalism, the effects of migration and globalization, the decline in trust in institutions and institutions themselves, and the difficulties presented by digital technology. These are just a few of the difficulties democracies are encountering today. There is no simple answer to these problems because they are intricately interwoven and multifaceted. But if we want to make sure that democracy survives, we must deal with these issues. The difficulties of democratic government in the twenty-first century will be examined in this study piece. The article begins by giving a general review of the idea of democracy and the difficulties it faces. The specific issues of economic disparity, the development of populism and nationalism, the effects of globalization and migration, the decline in trust in institutions and the government, and the difficulties with digital technology have been covered in the paper. The paper's conclusion has covered the methods that can be employed to deal with these issues and make sure that democracy survives into the twenty-first century.

Keywords— Democracy, Decentralization, Governance, Poverty, Inequality.

I. INTRODUCTION

The significant political occurrences of the last 30 years have provoked reflections on democracy's significance and character, which makes it even more relevant and necessary. On the one hand, we've seen a number of countries switch from one-party to multi-party governments. regimes (like those in Eastern Europe and Russia), autocracies (like those in South America), and minority rule to a liberal democratic system that gives the voice of the people a voice (like in South Africa), one gets the impression that democracy has triumphed. On the other hand, it appears that the authority of democratically elected national governments is being undermined by the growing power of supranational states and organizations (like the EU and WTO) as well as multinational corporations. In established democracies, voter turnout has fallen as unhappiness with political parties and the democratic process has risen. A few non-democratic countries appear to fare better than many democracies in terms of population contentment or wellbeing, suggesting that the so-called "Arabic spring" was generally failed from a democratic perspective (Rothstein, 2023). Furthermore, democracy exhibits a sort of "presentist bias" because it only represents the choices of the people who are present today (those who cast ballots in elections). However, a lot of the decisions made today will affect future generations. For instance, future generations will be most impacted by the negative effects of climate change. These traits seem to indicate a challenge for democracy as the best type of government.

Democratic Decentralization

Policy analysts, international financial institutions, and donor nations all agree that decentralizing control and authority is essential to fostering more democracy at the grassroots level (Malik and Rana, 2019). Another important prerequisite for receiving development funds from international donors is decentralization. Democratic decentralization has gained more significance since "democratization has become a central concept introduced by the donor countries and international financial institutions in both reality and international donor thinking" (Malik and Rana, 2019).

Democratic decentralization is described as a technique that enhances the efficiency and standard of public services, increases the responsiveness of the central government to public requests, and gives subordinate units more capacity to participate (Manor, 1999). Most importantly, it makes a considerable contribution to local democratic culture (Manor, 1999). Privatization, administrative (delegation and de-concentration) decentralization, fiscal decentralization, and devolution (political/democratic decentralization) are the four categories under which decentralization is categorized (Manor 1999). Overall, though, administrative and budgetary decentralization must go hand in hand with evolution for it to be effective. Most developing countries adopted a devolutionary form of decentralization during the most recent round of decentralization. Decentralization has demonstrated to be successful in the Brazilian state of Porto Alegre as well as the Indian states of Kerala and Karnataka. According to Crook and Manor (1998) and Vaddiraju and Sangita (2011), Karnataka's success was a result of the state's preexisting excellent governance, which was built on a competitive party system, a free press, and a professional civil service.

Karnataka, however, had greater success with political decentralization than with administrative and budgetary decentralization, whereas Kerala made significantly more progress in this direction (Inbanathan 2009). Decentralization in Porto Alegre, Brazil, was successful because of a powerful and effective central government, a well-established civil society, and highly organized political parties (Wyngowski 2013). Decentralization trials were less effective in other nations like Cote D'Ivoire and Ghana because they lacked the prerequisites outlined in the cases cited above (Conyers 2007). The inadequate connections in Cote D'Ivoire between elected council members and the populace led to an increase in the commune's public profile at the price of local development (Conyers 2007). Decentralization was rendered ineffective by central government controls over local government revenue-raising (Conyers 2007). Decentralization failed to accomplish the anticipated goals in East Asian nations like Indonesia and the Philippines. Decentralization created organizations and groups that were not accountable and avoided the rule of law (Hadiz 2010), which in turn increased corruption and policy uncertainty at all levels of government (Hadiz 2004). Hadiz (2010) further stated that unexpected outcomes were a result of institutional change's design. The social and institutional changes brought about by decentralization finally sparked social strife in the centers of power (Hadiz 2010).

Democratic Decentralization in Pakistan

The main query, "What lessons can be drawn from Pakistan's decentralization and how does it contribute to the body of knowledge on decentralization in developing countries?" is addressed using the case study method. In accordance with Simons (2009), it is believed that the case study technique is a suitable approach for qualitative research, such as this one, which required an analysis of the history of all levels of state institutions in Pakistan. Using this approach, the researcher can gain a thorough grasp of certain actors, their stances, and their actions across time (Woodside, 2010). This article exhibits this understanding specifically.

History of Local Governance in Pakistan

Between India to the east, Afghanistan to the northwest, and China to the north, Pakistan is located in Southern Asia along the Arabian Sea. The population of the nation is estimated to be between 210 and 220 million people as of the 2017 census. Pakistan has a three-tiered governance structure and is a federal parliamentary state. It is made up of three levels of government: the national assembly and the Senate at the federal level; provincial governments; and municipal governments. The fundamental administrative unit at the local level is a village, which consists of roughly 404.68 hectares of land. A union council is made up of a number of settlements. A Tehsil (town) council is formed by a collection of union councils, while a district council is formed by a group of Tehsil councils. The origins of local government in the regions that would later become Pakistan date back to the Aryans' initial introduction of the system to the Indian subcontinent in the middle of the second to first millennium B.C. (Alderfer 1964). Local governments carried on operating largely as before during the Muslim era. The Arabs, Ghaznavids, Khiljis,

Tughlaqs, and Afghans made no significant changes to the local government system during their rule in the Indian Subcontinent. The villagers conducted their business in a tranquil and friendly environment (Kosambi, 1975). The ancient structures and practices of rural government were not much altered by the Mughals throughout their control in the sixteenth century. After imposing a very repressive, centralized state machinery over various regions and nationalities in the Indian subcontinent, it was the British who for the first time broke away from the past legacy and instituted a new system of local governments. The entire agricultural production system underwent alteration, as did the entire village-level power structure. The law of permanent settlement, passed by Lord Cornwallis in 1870, privatized the land, and this was how the British first established "feudalism from below" (Kosambi 1975) (Gardezi 1983). This law created a new category of feudal lords. By providing them a small amount of participation in rural local councils, which were mostly under the control of the bureaucracy, this new class of rural elite was patronized. However, the primary purpose of urban councils was to offer municipal services in urban areas (Siddiqui 1992). Due to a variety of historical factors, the military has controlled the state since the 1950s. As a result, the military ran Pakistan's largest decentralization projects in an effort to influence local elites. In order to implement decentralization, higher-tier elected governments are typically first abolished (Friedman 1960).

In this research major issues are focused which are created and which cannot be addressed easily by the time. Secondly, this article focused on major challenges issued by a democratic country in the 21st century.

II. OBJECTIVES

This study's goal is to learn more about the difficulties facing democratic government in the twenty-first century. The investigation will primarily focus on these issues:

- How is democratic governance in the twenty-first century being impacted by the problems of economic inequality, the development of populism and nationalism, the effects of globalization and migration, the decline in trust in institutions and the government, and the problems with digital technology?
- What approaches are being taken to deal with these difficulties?
- What opportunities and challenges exist for democratic government in the twenty-first century?

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

Democracy and Pakistan

Jinnah thought that about 14 centuries ago, Islam taught us about democratic principles like equality, justice, and tolerance. "Democracy is in the blood of Musalmans who look upon complete equality of manhood and believe in fraternity and liberty" (ibid., p. 12); "Brotherhood, equality, and fraternity of man, these are all the basic points of our religion, culture, and civilization" (ibid., p. 29). Islam instills in its adherents the values of tolerance, kindness, and passion. "Regardless of caste or faith, every Muslim is obligated by the

teachings of Islam to defend his neighbors and the underprivileged (Zarrin, 2013). Since gaining its independence, Pakistan has had several distinct types of administration, including democracy, martial law, and parliamentary and presidential systems. Pakistan had a parliamentary system under the 1956 constitution, but within two years the constitution was suspended and General Ayub Khan had established martial law in 1958. Ayub Khan established Pakistan's foundational democracies in 1962 by enacting the Constitution of 1962, which included the presidential system. But in Pakistan, this system was also unable to work because of corruption, election manipulation, and nepotism (Pardesi, 2012). In 1973, the new civilian government that had replaced the martial law regime unveiled the new constitution. Under the 1973s constitution Parliamentary form of government has been implemented again. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was also Pakistan's first elected premier to serve out his whole five-year term. However, Zia-ul-Haq again skewed this democratic process when he instituted martial law in Pakistan in July 1977. Thus, from 1977 to 1988, Pakistan remained governed by an authoritarian regime once more. Benazir Bhutto was elected as Pakistan's prime minister in 1988, following the death of Zia-ul-Haq. The Pakistan People Party (PPP) government was, however, terminated in 1990 because to allegations of corruption and bad leadership. PPP once more served as the party in power from 1993 to 1996, however it was unable to complete its term and was removed owing to corruption allegations. The Pakistan Muslim League (PMLN), on the other hand, held power from 1991 to 1993 and again from 1997 to 1999. Here again, the elected government of PMLN could not complete its tenure and in October 1999 General Musharraf had imposed Martial law in the country. In Pakistan, the democratic process has repeatedly run aground. However, President Musharraf had asserted that he would leave Pakistan with a stable democracy in place, preventing future military coups. In addition, he promised that his government would increase access to human resources, reduce poverty, and improve basic amenities, but he also broke none of these pledges. Additionally, practically all political leaders made the pledge to strive for the country's welfare when they won elections. All governments, nevertheless, were still unable to address the fundamental problems faced by ordinary individuals. As a result, the mass public still lacks access to essential amenities, Lack of food and water, a problem in energy, and subpar medical facilities. According to Mian Nawaz Shareef, a former prime minister of Pakistan, Pakistan would become a true welfare state as a result of our policies and laborious efforts. However, just like the previous administration, his was unable to keep its promises.

Challenges Faced By Democracy In Pakistan

Effects of Terrorism on the Economy of Pakistan

Pakistan is the only nation in the world that has experienced a significant impact from terrorism, according to reports. The "war on terror"'s most significant frontline nation is Pakistan, and as a result, the loss of Pakistan's economy is a clear consequence. Nearly every aspect of the Pakistani economy is impacted, including the foreign, industrial,

agricultural, commercial, and service sectors. Foreign investors have stopped making foreign direct investments as a result of the ongoing rise in terrorist activities (Gul et al, 2010). The effect of terrorism was felt too unpredictable degrees in all economic sectors. The most well-known areas are those related to tourism, hotels, manufacturing, and trade. These sectors are connected to one another. The Taliban's infiltration, the porous Pakistan-Afghanistan border, political unrest, outside conspiracies, population deficiencies, and Pakistan's geographic allure are only a few of the factors that have made the country more vulnerable to terrorism. All of these aspects of Pakistan's "war on terror" have gotten worse for the country's economy as a whole (Sharif et al, 2018). The economy of Pakistan has suffered as a result of terrorism. It has significantly slowed down the nation's economic progress. The per capita GDP growth falls to 0.39% when terrorist occurrences rise by 1%. Therefore, it is clear that the terrorists' actions have had a big impact on the nation's economy (Hyder & Akram, 2015).

1. Freedom of Expression Under Censorship in Democratic Pakistan

Pakistan has never received recognition for granting its citizens freedom and liberation (Ullah et al, 2022). The freedom of expression has long been restricted in Pakistan (Noor, 2016). The development of people's lives and the preservation of robust, healthy democratic communities depend on free expression (Howie, 2018). The importance of freedom of expression was guaranteed by Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and Article 19(2) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), two legally binding agreements signed by 165 nations. The UN General Assembly first proclaimed freedom of expression to be a fundamental human right in 1964, but regrettably many nations around the world have seen this principle used as a battleground in countless conflicts (Balkin, 2004). The right to free speech is equivalent to the media's spinal cord (Bhatti & Safdar, 2021). Opinion freedom is a fundamental component of a democratic society. Any democratic system must have independent and diverse media. Free media helps to reinforce democratic standards by modernizing society and enabling individuals to pursue social equality on their own (Alam, 2015). For over 2,550 years, various civilizations have intermittently considered democracy (Dahl, 2020). People are free to exercise their rights freely and participate in politics by choosing the candidate they believe would best represent their interests, as guaranteed by the UDHR. Democracy is one of the best political structures among the different form of governments, in other words a formation of society, where a government of the people, by the people, and for the people (Carr & Young, 2010).

2. Role of social media

Social media was extremely important in Pakistan's 2018 general elections since all of the major parties were particularly focused on using social media to run their campaigns alongside other media and conventional campaigns. The three major political parties running in these elections—the Muslim League of Pakistan, Tehreek-e-Insaf, and Pakistani People's Party—use social media platforms like

Facebook and Twitter to engage voters and win them over to their candidates. For changing the political views of the people, Facebook and twitter played important role in 2018 elections of Pakistan and these networks are considered very essential for political communications (Bilal et al, 2018). In developed democracies, such as the United States, Twitter quickly disseminates messages from politicians regarding their campaigns, but not in developing democracies like Pakistan. Twitter alters communication by doing away with the role of the public. Even political parties have given PTI the chance to form a government and carry on the nation's democratic process, despite the enormous volume of complaints of fraud and unfairness in the 2018 general election made by nearly all political parties at all levels. Political actors employ Twitter companies for their campaigns, however the firms depend on false advertising that harms any party that isn't in the other party's favor (Ittefaq et al, 2019).

3. *Populism*

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan has a long history of populist junctures that have roots in the nation's religion and civil-military relations and have shaped the political discourse there. The founder of an independent Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, also known as "Quaid-i-Azam," was instrumental in establishing the social contract that the "Two-Nation theory" identified as a difference between the Muslim and Hindu civilizations, which were at odds with one another and lacked shared values that could be shared under the auspices of a single nation. The two-nation theory placed the Islamic ideology at the core of Pakistan's existence, making the Sunnah and teachings of the Quran crucial for the legitimacy of the current regime (Mohammad & Majid, 2014).

Md. Ali Jinnah's advocacy of the two-nation theory resulted in the division of India into two separate countries, ultimately leading to the first instance of populism as an adversarial principle in an independent Pakistan, despite the fact that he was a non-sectarian practicing Muslim who firmly believed in justice for all sects of Islam and religions (QINGSHI et al, 2020).

It is crucial to research the causes of populism in Pakistan in the twenty-first century given the presence of several charismatic and populist leaders, such as the late Z.A. Bhutto, the former prime minister Nawaz Sharif, and the current prime minister Khan, as well as counter-populism forces like the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) in the 1970s and the Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM) in 2020. By examining populism's three pillars—religion, the military, and the media—which have been used by both populist and counter-populist forces to promote the existential crisis and foster a hostile relationship between the challenger and the challenged—this paper seeks to understand the influence of populism on Pakistan.

4. *Democratic Institutions Deteriorating and Authoritarianism Escalating*

The emergence of ethno-nationalistic populism in south Asia over the past ten years has altered the geopolitical environment of the area in two ways. First, nativist and populist agendas have been spread by mainstream political parties as well as larger social movements, not just by fringe

forces. Second, the region's civil society, which was once in the forefront of democratic ideals, has either been subdued by authoritarian regimes or actively assisted in the propagation of xenophobic and ultranationalist sentiments. Respondents to an interview linked the deterioration of democratic institutions and rising regional instability to the emergence of populist parties. According to Ali Riaz, the current upsurge in ethno-nationalistic populism in south Asia has spawned a "age of intolerance." (Ali, 2016)

With little to no opposition from the government, religious fanatics have worked to create a uniform Sunni Muslim identity in Pakistan. Terrorist assaults claimed the lives of 1,304 members of the Shi'a community between 2012 and 2015, and Christians, Sikhs, and Hindus experience both civil and political discrimination. (Jinnah, 2015). The ruling Tehreek-e-Insaf party hasn't done anything to alter discriminatory laws that discriminate against religious minorities, including the Blasphemy Act, since taking office in 2018. Farahnaz Ispahani has stated that non-Muslim representation in the cabinet is confined to merely symbolic appointments and that the Pakistani government's structures and policies have been profoundly sectarianized (Farahnaz, 2017). Think tanks, universities, and the media have all been subverted by majoritarian governments in India and Pakistan, to the point where many of these non-state actors "furnished the principal element of constructing the exclusionary nationalism" that sustains the ideational sources of conflicts in south Asia (Riaz, pg. 8).

5. *Globalization Challenges*

Pakistan is the best example of a nation-state because it was founded on the concept of the two countries. Therefore, in the Muslim World, the idea of a nation-state is not relevant (Mukhtar, 2017). In light of this, the Objectives Resolution required the parliament to refrain from passing any legislation that was opposed to the teachings of the revered Quran and Sunnah. Later, it was added to the 1973 Constitution's preamble. It later came into effect under Article 2 A in 1985 (Ministry of Finance, 2022), confirming the Islamic belief that Allah, not the State or a parliamentary majority, has supreme authority. Pakistan has faced numerous difficulties since gaining independence and emerging from the ruins of colonialism. These problems have not only plagued Pakistan for a long time, but they have gotten worse with time. A nation without any economic resources at the time of its founding, one that experienced the largest migration in human history, and one that was confronted with existential threats right away led to the securitization of the State on the one hand and its financial dependence on external financial institutions on the other. Pakistan's outreach to the West for economic sustenance as well as the strengthening of the state's security forces is explained by the fact that these institutions are under the political influence of the U.S. The difficulties Pakistan is facing have been exacerbated by political unrest and widespread corruption. Pakistan chose to join the Western alliance against Russia in the Cold War despite the fact that it was in a particularly advantageous geostrategic position and was trying to survive against all odds. Pakistan paid a heavy price for this decision. The British Raj left its mark on

Pakistan, which is why it chose to side with the West in the Cold War. Pakistan has always been scrutinized by the international community, frequently for the wrong reasons despite the fact that it is a member of that community in the highly globalized world. The root of the most of Pakistan's issues is the unresolved territorial dispute around the Kashmir issue, which has resulted in significant military spending that an impoverished nation can hardly afford. An unchecked population that results in an imbalanced youth bulge is a bigger challenge to Pakistan's ability to survive in the international world. Pakistan has always been eager to take the lead in conflicts like the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and the American offensive in Afghanistan, but Pakistan is stigmatized. The difficulties Pakistan has had over the years have gotten worse to the point where it occasionally feels like its existence is in danger. Pakistan's financial collapse was caused by poor economic management and a refusal to embrace the worldwide economy. Political division, a lack of regional economic integration and connectivity, protracted warfare, and the consequences of climate change have prevented the BRI project from bearing fruit in the form of CPEC. It is the target of multifaceted hybrid warfare, and its political landscape is disjointed.

IV. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study employ a qualitative approach with a case study design as its research methodology. The country where the case study will be done is one or more of those that the essay identifies as obstacles to democratic governance. The difficulties of democratic government in the twenty-first century also illustrated via the application of Pakistan's historical experiences. Democratic rule has a lengthy and rocky history in Pakistan. Military takeovers, civilian dictatorships, and periods of political instability have all occurred in the nation.

V. RATIONALE FOR 21ST CENTURY SKILLS

The new millennium of the 21st century has brought about new demands and challenges for individuals, groups, societies, and nations to contribute to, compete in, and innovate in the global economy. Since the previous twenty years, the world, according to Wager (2008), has undergone a significant transformation. Knowledge, information, and innovation have replaced the industrial revolution as the primary drivers of the global economy. Hilman (2013) acknowledged that technological progress in last twenty years has reshaped this world into a global village with a huge interconnectedness. The problems facing the globe today are no longer local or global; they are now global or borderless. People must learn new skills in order to collaborate and survive in this global period in order to comprehend the problems of our globalized environment. This connection has made the globalized globe increasingly reliant on one another. The concept of labour market in today's world has changed to global market which means that highly qualified people in rich countries compete for jobs with individuals having the same qualifications in lower wage countries, while twenty years ago, employments used to be localized and only individual in the home country

were competitors for getting those jobs (OECD, 2010). Over 80% of jobs worldwide have moved from manufacturing to services, according to Kay and Greenhill (2011), and these industries need workers with the necessary 21st-century skills. In light of the foregoing discussion, it is reasonable to draw the conclusion that it is urgently necessary to provide our graduates with specialized skills in order for them to compete and survive in the modern global environment. This can be accomplished by providing students, and graduates of higher education in particular, with the knowledge and skills necessary to meet the demands of the knowledge-based economy in the modern global society.

VI. RECOMMENDATION

Here are some suggestions for dealing with Pakistan's difficulties with democratic governance:

- Reduce economic inequality through implementing measures including raising the minimum wage, boosting access to healthcare and education, and boosting infrastructure spending.
- Promote knowledge and understanding while bolstering democratic institutions to combat the development of populism and nationalism.
- Promote collaboration and understanding amongst many cultures and nations to address the effects of globalization and migration.
- Rebuild trust in government and institutions: This can be done by making government more transparent and accountable, and by addressing the root causes of corruption.
- Use digital technology for good by encouraging civic participation and education, preventing the transmission of false information, and other such activities.

VII. CONCLUSION

The difficulties facing democratic government in the twenty-first century are intricate and interwoven. There is no simple answer, but if we want to make sure that democracy survives, we must address these issues.

The recommendations in this article are based on a review of the relevant literature and Pakistan's prior experiences. Although these suggestions are not all-inclusive, they offer a place to start when tackling the problems with democratic government in the twenty-first century.

Although the future of democracy is unclear, its fall is not inescapable. We can make sure that democracy stays the finest form of government for the 21st century and beyond by tackling the difficulties it faces.

In conclusion, while formidable, the difficulties facing democratic government in the twenty-first century are not insurmountable. Together, we can build a more fair and just society where democracy may flourish.

REFERENCES

1. For the latter, see Rothstein (2011, 2012, 2014).
2. Rothstein, S. A. (2023). Transnational governance of digital transformation: financing innovation in Europe's periphery. *New Political Economy*, 1-13.

3. Malik, N., & Rana, A. (2019). The history of local governance in Pakistan: What lessons to learn. *Journal of International Politics*, 1(3), 26-35.
4. Manor, James. 1999. *The Political Economy of Decentralization*. World Bank Publication.
5. Crook, R.C, and Manor, J., 1998. *Democracy and Decentralisation in South Asia and West Africa: Participation, accountability, and performance*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press
6. Inbanathan, Inbana than, A. 2009. Local governance, patronage, and accountability in Karnataka and Kerala. Working paper 224. The Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore, India. Available online: <http://isec.ac.in/WP%20224%20-%20Anand%20Inbana%20than.pdf> (accessed on 20 August 2018)
7. Wyngowski Seth. 2013. Local participation in Brazil: Porto Allegre's model for 21st-century local government. Available online: <http://www.gnovisjournal.org/2013/12/11/local-participation-in-brazil-porto-alegres-model-for-21st-century-local-government/>(accessed on 21 August 2017)
8. Conyers, Diana.2007. *Decentralisation and Service Delivery: Lessons from Sub-Saharan Africa*. IDS bulletin 38: 18-32.
9. Hadiz, Vedi R. 2004. *Decentralization and Democracy in Indonesia: A Critique of Neo- Institutionalise Perspectives*. Development and Change 35: 697-718.
10. Simons, Helen. 2009. *Case study research in practice*. USA: SAGE publications
11. Woodside, A. G. (2010). *Case study research: Theory, methods, and practice*. United Kingdom: Emerald Group Publishing.
12. Alderfer, Harold F., 1964. *Local government in developing countries*. New York: Mc Graw Hill.
13. Kosambi, Damodar Dharman and. 1975. *An introduction to the study of Indian history*. India: Popular Parashah
14. Gardezi, Hassan Nawaz, and Jamil Rashid. 1983. *Pakistan, the roots of dictatorship: The political economy of a praetorian state*. UK: Zed Press
15. Siddiqui, Kamal, (Eds.) 1992. *Local Government in South Asia: a comparative study*. Dhaka University Press
16. Friedman, Harry J., 1960. *Pakistan's experiment in basic Democracies*. Pacific Affairs 33: 107- 125.
17. Zarrin, A. (2013). Jinnah's Vision of Pakistan as a Modern Islamic State. *Ma 'arif Research Journal*, (6), 12-12.
18. Pardesi, Y. Y. (2012). An Analysis of the Constitutional Crisis in Pakistan (1958- 1969). *Dialogue (Pakistan)*, 7(4).
19. Gul, T. G., Hussain, A. H., Bangash, S. B., & Khattak, S. W. K. (2010). Impact of terrorism on financial markets of Pakistan (2006-2008).
20. Sharif, A., Afshan, S., & Khan, B. S. (2018). Does democracy embolden economic growth in Pakistan? Evidence from ARDL bound testing and rolling window analysis. *International Journal of Economics and Business Research*, 15(2), 180-203.
21. Hyder, S., & Akram, N. (2015). Ihtsham ul Haq Padda." *Impact of Terrorism on Economic Development in Pakistan.*" *Pakistan Business Review*, 16, 704-22.
22. Ullah, Z., Gilani, S. R. S., Noreen, N., Ahmad, I., Zaib, B., Shah, S. J., ... & Khan, K. A. (2022). Rule Of Law, Human Rights, And Democracy: An Analysis Of Key Principles, Issues, And Challenges. *Journal of Positive School Psychology*, 339-352.
23. Noor, F. (2016). Oposisi Dalam Kehidupan Demokrasi: Arti Penting Keberadaan Oposisi Sebagai Bagian Penguatan Demokrasi Di Indonesia. *Masyarakat Indonesia*, 42(1), 1-17.
24. Howie, E. (2018). Protecting the human right to freedom of expression in international law. *International journal of speech-language pathology*, 20(1), 12-15.
25. Balkin, J. M. (2004). Digital speech and democratic culture: A theory of freedom of expression for the information society. *NyuL rev.*, 79, 1.
26. Bhatti, M. A., Safdar, A., & Zaheen, B. (2021). Exploring the issues relating to Freedom of Press in Pakistan: From journalists' perspective. *Ilkogretim Online*, 20(5), 4864-4872.
27. Dahl, R. A. (2020). *On democracy*. Yale university press.
28. Dahl, R. A. (2020). *On democracy*. Yale university press.
29. Bilal, U., Knapp, E. A., & Cooper, R. S. (2018). Swing voting in the 2016 presidential election in counties where midlife mortality has been rising in white non-Hispanic Americans. *Social Science & Medicine*, 197, 33-38.
30. Ittefaq, M., Ahmed, Z. S., & Martínez Pantoja, Y. I. (2023). China's Belt and Road Initiative and soft power in Pakistan: an examination of the local English-language press. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 19(1), 1-14.
31. Mohamad, M., & Majid, I. A. (2014). Servant leadership in social enterprise (cooperative): They fit! A review of literature. *International Journal of Business, Economics and Law*, 4(1), 38-44.
32. QINGSHI, W., Awan, M. A., & Ashraf, J. (2020). The Impact of Political Risk and Institutions on Food Security. *Current Research in Nutrition & Food Science*, 8(3).
33. Wagers, K. (2008). Gertrude Stein's " Historical" Living. *Journal of Modern Literature*, 22-43.
34. Hilman, H., & Gorondutse, A. H. (2013). Proposed Relationship between Trust of Business Social Responsibility (BSR) and Firms Performance in Nigeria. *IOSR Journal of Business and Management*, 7(3), 1-4.
35. Kay, K., & Greenhill, V. (2011). Twenty first century students need 21st century skills. Wan, G & Gut, DM (Eds) *Bringing schools into the 21st century içinde* (s. 41-66).
36. Ali Riaz, 'The age of intolerance in south Asia: contextualizing extremism in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan', keynote speech, South Asia Conference of the Pacific Northwest (SACPAN), Portland, Oregon, 5 Feb. 2016.
37. Jinnah Institute, *Violence against the Shia community in Pakistan: 2012, 2015* (Islamabad, 2015).
38. Farahnaz Ispahani, *Purifying the land of the pure: a history of Pakistan's religious minorities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 4.
39. Riaz, 'The age of intolerance in south Asia', p. 8.