

DISCUSSION PAPER

Through Trials and Triumph:

A New Spell of Democratic Transition in Pakistan

TRT WORLD
research centre

DISCUSSION PAPER

Through Trials and Triumph:
A New Spell of Democratic Transition in Pakistan

by Hajira Maryam

TRT WORLD research centre

© TRT WORLD RESEARCH CENTRE

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

WRITTEN BY

Hajira Maryam

PUBLISHER

TRT WORLD RESEARCH CENTRE

NOVEMBER 2018

TRT WORLD İSTANBUL

AHMET ADNAN SAYGUN STREET NO:83 34347

ULUS, BEŞİKTAŞ

İSTANBUL / TURKEY

TRT WORLD LONDON

PORTLAND HOUSE

4 GREAT PORTLAND STREET NO:4

LONDON / UNITED KINGDOM

TRT WORLD WASHINGTON D.C.

1620 I STREET NW, 10TH FLOOR,

SUITE 1000, 20006

WASHINGTON DC / UNITED STATES

The opinions expressed in this report represents the views of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the TRT World Research Centre.

Introduction

In his victory speech following the 2018 election win in Pakistan, Imran Khan praised the strengthening of democracy that had taken place in the country. During the speech, he also praised Prophet Muhammad's model of the city of Medina, thereby valuing this model as his inspiration. He promised to tackle corruption, poverty, strengthen institutions, deal with unemployment and vowed to make Pakistan an Islamic Welfare state. Likewise, he drew upon a number of challenges in the foreign policy agenda that beset Pakistan: the war in Afghanistan, the strained relationship with the US, fixing ties with neighbouring India, and the opportunity provided by the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) to drive investment into Pakistan (Al Jazeera News, 2018).

The 2018 Pakistani election was historic: it was the second successive democratic transition for the country, ushering in an era of change and an aura of hope. The main contenders against Imran Khan's Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) were the two oldest dominant parties, the Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) with Nawaz Sharif and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) with Bilawal Bhutto Zardari. The two contending parties against PTI were known to have cultivated nepotism, dynastic political practices, and a form of "personality cults" in the Pakistani political arena, centred on key personalities and lineage (Fair, Crane, & Morgan, 2010). PTI therefore set itself apart through its leader Khan who did not maintain affiliation with successional dynasties and the culture of the elite.

During the election period in Pakistan, constant leverage by the military in the backdrop to favour Imran Khan's win was a recurrent factor (Jaffrelot, 2018). As the country remained dented with three military coups and dictatorships with alternating cycles of civilian leadership, the army, therefore, stood as one of the oldest and strongest institutions since Pakistan's independence in 1947. This led them to be a key-player when it came to dictating policy initiatives for the country beyond defence, and to navigate the space for a selective form of civilian leadership: leaders who will be in congruence under the army's influence. For this reason, experts argue that the election of 2018 witnessed a similar form of selective civilian leadership engineered by the military.

However, irrespective of the military's superior position, certain distinct features which deserve to be highlighted remained in Khan's favour. Poor governance by corrupted elites where no law pervades has led politicians to offer dire economic prospects in Pakistan. Therefore, the lacuna of accountability and law impacted political stability and economic growth (Barri, 1991) and it was through the rhetoric of anti-corruption and the emergence of the idea of a "New Pakistan" that Khan gained momentum.

For that reason, Imran Khan's party envisions a Pakistan which will be free of corruption and would dismantle the culture of the elite by holding those in positions of power accountable.

Now with the win, the rhetoric of this corrupt-free "New Pakistan" will be put to the test. Hence the question remained as to whether the political landscape in Pakistan would undergo positive transformation after his win.

This paper aims to analyse the key features that have consequently led to Khan's rise. It will draw on the emerging civilian middle class that originated since the post-Musharraf era, thus providing an impetus to Khan's political popularity, as his anti-corruption slogan maintained an alignment with changing public opinion and grievances. Subsequently, it will reflect on how the variation in Khan's own "politicised" identity in favour of religion coalesced to tilt masses towards him. It will then discuss the environment and the facilitation of his win through these factors, and whether through his incumbency now he is Imran Khan able to implement his own long-standing policies and challenge the status-quo of the establishment[1]. The paper aims to draw on these merging junctions and proposes key challenges and reforms that governing apparatus will be faced with, while acting on political realities.

[1] The Charter of Democracy was a 36 point document signed by Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto in 2006. It aimed at restoring the 1973 constitution, independence of the judiciary, ISI to be accountable to the Prime Minister etc. In that regard, it looked to restore democratic governance in the country away from military's influence. Full text available at: https://www.dawn.com/news/192460

Imran Khan's rise: the Country, His Identity and Leadership



Pakistani opposition party has cancelled controversial plans to lock down the capital Islamabad on Tuesday, after the country's highest court met their demand to investigate corruption allegations against Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. (Metin Aktas- Anadolu Agency)

The cricket world cup win of 1992 was one of the most pivotal moments for Pakistan. The leading star behind it was Imran Khan. A cricket team captain back then, Khan was already a global-celebrity and was reputed as a handsome bachelor. Now, 30 years down the line, Khan has become a global political phenomenon due to his success in the 2018 elections, which comes with a stark contrast to his public identity from his cricketing days.

After his sports career, Khan first pursued a philanthropic course. He shredded his celebrity-like image and opened Shaukat Khanum Cancer Hospital in Pakistan which provides free treatment to cancer patients. Afterwards, in the year 1996, Khan entered politics by starting his own party: Pakistan's Movement for Justice (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf). Through his political party, Khan perpetuated a strong political message of a corrupt free Pakistan and placed himself as an alternative to Pakistan's two political dynasties: the Sharif's and the Bhutto's.

Pakistan throughout its course has seen a wave of popular leaders from the two mentioned political dynasties that have emerged through cycles of dynastic cronyism, thus impeding the political process with their own interests and corrupt practices. To understand Khan's trend towards political popularity, the democratic transitionary phase that started in the post-Musharraf era from 2008 onwards, coupled with an anti-American sentiment amongst the public, cannot be undermined.

Following eight years of military dictatorship, an appointment of elected government in 2008 brought with it optimism in scope of a newly emerging political understanding amongst the civilians and political classes. The narrowing divide between urban and rural Pakistan (World Bank, 2018) has led to an emergence of new social forces like the middle class, media and civil society. This development in the globalised era also came with a differing public dynamism: social forces that demand democracy and question credibility of traditional power elites (Rais R. B., 2014).

Historically, the country's ruling elite have remained confrontational with each other, and their continuous sense of dynastic entitlement have played a major role in their politics. Similarly, major political players remain confrontational grounds against each other, thus derailing institutional building and smooth governance. As a result, their lack of effective governance has made them lose credibility over time. The United Front - established in 2006 (in the Musharraf era) through the Charter of Democracy by combining fronts of PPP and PML-N - was seen as a step forward



to guarantee civilian democratic stability; however, what lacked then until now was the aspiration amongst these elites to appoint leaders from grass-roots levels and away from patronage politics, who will be in alignment with the grievances of emerging social forces.

Consequently, the masses in the country hold an indifferent attitude towards the unchanged elite who have governed for so long. The country has a dynastic political culture, where the elite and electable dictate the political sphere. This has led to a lack of unity amongst civil authorities, as politicians do not reflect a unifying component and popularity. Therefore, politicians remain fragile and incompetent, and the people in the current context remain unsupportive of them (Jaffrelot, 2015).

This disillusionment of Pakistan's citizenry is pointed out by Jeffrelot within the lines of party nomadism and dynastic patrimonialism. Accordingly, politics in Pakistan has become a business enterprise under key political players: "Pakistani leaders amass large fortunes which encourages lineage practices because beyond the name, a party leader has a legacy to hand down: symbolic capital and financial capital are bound up into one" (Jaffrelot, 2015).

Such factors have allowed the space for corruption to remain entrenched in Pakistan's political scenario. As the population remained discontented even after Musharraf's defeat in 2008 following PPP's political tenure, the 2013 elections came with a fresh rhetoric of a "New Pakistan". This was due to the rise of PTI from 2011 onwards as Pakistan's economy continued to falter and elite politicians remained incapable of meeting the demands of the social classes. Arif Rafiq in an article in foreign policy opined that PTI's sudden rise had come with "fortuitous timing". He further argued that the worsening of geopolitical ties with the US, along with poor social conditions in the country, made Imran Khan's political message against the "corrupt, venal political class and an invasive, bullying America" to be on same wavelength as the public. Khan therefore, elucidated himself as a different leader and looked onto "non-Western economic success stories, such as Mahathir Mohammed's Malaysia, Lee Kuan Yew's Singapore, and Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Turkey" (Rafiq, 2012).

With PTI gaining an electoral foreground, it deserves to be noted that the party started attaining prominence due to its distinguishing slogan of "justice, humanity and self-resilience." The timing which followed the rise of Khan in the past years aligns with a discontented electorate, a declining economy and lawlessness that pervaded the country. Similarly, the ineffectiveness of opposition parties in Pakistan had led to a hindering of democratic governance.

Khan's meteoric rise in the political scene as an alternative and anti-corrupt political force led global media outlets to reverberate his stark celebrity image of the past in contrast to his present political identity. To understand this form of "politicised identity", one may also briefly touch on Khan's per-

sonal and political analysis of Pakistan. In his book he writes:

"I am the head of a party that is battling to take on a political elite that has for more than six decades stymied this great country. Depriving it of its God Given potential. Ruled alternately by military dictators like President Musharraf or as a fiefdom by families like the Bhuttos and Sharifs. Pakistan has drifted far from the ideals of its founders. Far from being the Islamic welfare state that was envisaged" (Khan, 2011).

Khan here provides a preliminary on the ideology of "Pakistan being an Islamic Welfare State", something that the leadership in the past and the majority of Pakistan's citizenry abide with, including the military. This has made the aspect of Pakistani leadership an interesting factor of study, as they, for most part seem to unite the citizenry under the tenets of religion. The concepts of religion and identity remain in concurrence since Pakistan set its due course after the post-partition era. For that reason, the key players from the civil and the military domain work on this ideological tenet to gain further support, thus making Islam a mode of political refuge. One example from civilian governance that can be looked onto is Nawaz Sharif, who in 1998 proposed the fifteenth amendment bill (Jalal, 1999).

This is not to say the idea of religion as a mode of governance has negative implications. My argument here bases its foundation on the "politicised" usage of religion by past and recurrent leaderships - within the context of the post-independence period - as means to maintain power. As mentioned earlier, the genuine element of leadership in Pakistan remains unclear and difficult to understand. Equally so, with regards to Islam as a means of governance in Pakistan, this is another factor of study that is beyond the scope of this paper. The topic itself comes with a lot of complexities and in-depth studies that constitute itself with historical analyses of regional identity.

With that being said, the idea of Pakistan under the auspice of Muslim unity since its independence in 1947, created an agreement that broke away from its history of blood and soil. In a more global arena, this has led to a Pakistani state deeply suspicious to "provincialism", as Faisal Devji points out "the culture and characteristics of those who actually constituted the majority of its citizens, preferring instead to unite them under Islam as a universal idea having little to do with anything given to a people either by history or geography" (Devji, 2013).

It is therefore this same dialogue of "unity under Islam" within a post-colonial framework that Khan too provokes in his addresses to the nation. As mentioned earlier, this trait is a common factor amongst the majority of past and present leaders in Pakistan, and similarly Imran Khan seems to have ascended with this form of an identity anchor in order to garner support in the political landscape.

Accordingly, in his pursuit of Islamic identity, Khan has set himself the mission of establishing a dialogue between Pakistan's Westernised elites and the militants, whose intolerance is not in accordance with the teachings of Islam (Shah Z. H., 2018). Similarly, he approves with the Taliban's judicial system and defends their fight against the US, as well as showing support to the countries draconian blasphemy laws. Such a conservative stride of Khan is highly controversial amongst various critics and is seen as one of the reasons that impeded PTI to gain a stronger ground in the 2013 election cycle.

However, notwithstanding the contradiction, their slogan of "New Pakistan" (naya Pakistan) started gaining its ascendancy from the same election cycle of 2013. It aimed at protecting Pakistan's sovereignty against outside forces (especially the US) and free the country of corruption (which had reached new heights under President Asif Ali Zardari (widower of Benazir Bhutto from the PPP). Khan became popular as his rhetoric was attuned with the expectations of the country's young urban middle class. PTI was then the second strongest party in terms of votes and won the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province (Jaffrelot, 2015).

The country's first democratic transition in 2013 was due to a realisation by major players in the post-Musharraf era - that less confrontational politics amongst the political class is necessary for democracy and outweighs military intervention. The failure of this transition remains rooted in the tarnished image of old political elites bagged under corruption and confrontational politics. Likewise, the rise in different social forces towards the end of the Musharraf era - especially the middle class - came with a greater demand for democratic governance. This class remains driven towards economic development and demands change. Therefore, these factors have allowed the emergence of Imran Khan, a new political figure, to build his party from the grass-root level. He became popular with his rhetoric of a "New Pakistan" which resonated with the people. Despite his conservative stride, Khan's popularity that year made him a strong contender and a key-player in Pakistani politics. The rise of PTI in 2013 is reflective of these social forces that come with wanting new political trends, and away from the dominion of same old ruling elites (Rais R. B., 2014). It took 5 more years for PTI to secure an absolute win. After two decades of struggle in the political theatre, his victory is considered a milestone in the democratic history of Pakistan.



Supporters of Imran Khan, leader of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI), keep their anti-government protests since August 14 demanding the resignation of the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif at Islamabad's Red Zone. (Mian Khursheed - Anadolu Agency)

The Military Dominion

Pakistan's postcolonial history within the backdrop of Cold War politics is imbued with unexplained deaths of its key leaders or their dismissal, allowing the country to turn into a military-dominated barrack (Jalal, 2014). In its 72 year history there have been three successful military dictatorships, along with assassinations and disqualifications of its civilian leaders, which means that not a single Prime Minister in the country's history has been allowed to serve his or her entire five-year term. This has led to an imbalance in the development of state institutions and a form of discontinuity in the strengthening of the democratic process. As noted by Katharine Adeney: "non-democratic organisations and individuals - notably army chiefs Ayub Khan (1958-1969), Zia-ul-Huq (1977-1988) and Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008) - have dominated Pakistan's political process. Though the democratically elected politicians are still relevant, the army has been vitally important in determining the direction of Pakistan's society, politics and economy" (Adeney, 2007).

India's differing factor stems from its healthy civilian-military relation. According to Aqil Shah, both countries had originated with similar political and institutional commonalities, however, he refutes the argument that Pakistan was destined to have military authoritarianism in its state structure. He argues that the geopolitical insecurity since its independence, as well as the challenges and issues it faces in nation-building, have profoundly shaped the country's political development and the role the military plays (Shah A. , 2014).

By being sovereign in its decisions, the army has followed a three-fold approach: protecting the borders, guarding their hegemony, and defending the ideals of Pakistan (Cohen, 1983). The final approach comprises of a narrative which states that Pakistan is the Islamic state and faces a perennial threat from India. This narrative sits well even amongst the vast majority of Pakistani citizens, most of whom remain highly supportive of the army-governed institutions (Shah A. , 2014).

Beyond its role of defence, the support for the army (Pew Research Centre, 2014) also stems from the incompetent and "corrupt" nature of the political class in Pakistan, which has been the main argument of the emerging social society. One example is the welcoming of Musharraf's coup d'état in 1999, when Nawaz Sharif was overthrown by being charged with corruption and tax evasion. The New York Times then reported that "there was virtually no public protest against the coup, and some demonstrators celebrated Mr. Sharif's demise, including one group near Parliament House in Islamabad, the capital" (Dugger, 1999). Sharif had failed to serve the cause of democracy and became unpopular amongst civilians.

But there is a certain paradox that plays here, the military reflects concern over the incompetent nature of civilian leadership - which has undoubtedly resonated amongst the people as well - but at the same time does not permit the fostering of structural forces and institutions that will help balance the civil-military paradigm. The military therefore, throughout history, has established its own course, as Cohen argues "to set things right", and thereby intervenes in the political space whenever politicians threaten to weaken the military's position (Cohen, 1983) or if they remain unreliable to govern. Constant interventions have therefore allowed military dictators to flourish, thereby deteriorating the political scene. According to Rasul Baksh, they have allowed fragmentation of political parties, and led to societal divisions based on ethnicity and religion. As a result, certain forms of Islamic radicalism, with religious hate and bigotry, still impedes development of democratic structures in the country.

However, the contradiction of the military wanting to set the course straight for the country is also further encouraged and assisted by different civilian and political institutions; it could be the judiciary working in nexus with the army or different political parties maintaining the military veto-power

> *The visible sphere of the military's influence does not exist like it did in the past. This is due to the transition of the political landscape which followed after General Pervez Musharraf's defeat.*



Supporters of Imran Khan, leader of Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf Party (PTI) take part in a demonstration in Islamabad, Pakistan on November 02, 2016. Pakistani opposition party has cancelled controversial plans to lock down the capital Islamabad on Tuesday, after the country's highest court met their demand to investigate corruption allegations against Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. (Metin Aktas - Anadolu Agency)

as they become incumbent through the army's support (International Crsis Group, 2005). As a result, the genuine element of leadership remains unclear as the incentives to maintain power remain difficult to understand amongst both sides of the civil-military equation.

Likewise, the Pakistani military in the past ruled on a more visible authority with its strategic structure to reform Pakistani politics, but the visibility factor does not align with the current political realm where the military seems to have taken a back-seat. The visible sphere of the military's influence does not exist like it did in the past. This is due to the transition of the political landscape which followed after General Pervez Musharraf's defeat. The military regime under Musharraf had been discredited (Nelson, 2009) and the 2008 elections can be seen as the starting phase of Pakistan's pursuit to move towards a more democratic phase in coming years, with the elected governments completing their term. However, Jeffrelot in his article argues that the direct assumption of power and the visibility factor does not reflect the diminished military influence - within the context of the 2018 elections - as coups come with international critique and costs. He also says:

"The simplest solution would have been the direct assumption of power, but the military had ruled that out for a decade. Coups often have a high cost in terms of international sanctions and Pakistan depends on foreign donors, especially the International Monetary Fund. The military also had very mixed reactions to General Musharraf's time in power (1999–2008): Governing means running an economy (his results were poor) and managing a society with multiple tensions (Jaffrelot, 2018)."

All these factors merge together in the formation of a country riddled with democratic instability and transitions which are not fully civilian-led. There are instances when civilian leaders have been backed by the military, despite being incompetent to govern due to their corrupt nature and confrontational politics. This results in them being overthrown and discredited with overall incentives remaining unclear and making the country complex to govern. This makes the topic of democracy in Pakistan an interesting debate, where now a militarized form of democratic transition exists. Experts argue that the 2018 election was a good reflection of this phenomenon.

The 2018 Election: Khan's Road to Victory, Towards a New Pakistan



The opposition party of Pakistan, Tehreek-e-Insaf (Movement for Justice) leader and a former cricketer Imran Khan (3rd R) shows victory sign during the anti-government rally over Panama papers link issue, in Lahore, Pakistan on September 03, 2016. (Rana Irfan Ali - Anadolu Agency)

The election year of 2018 marks a quintessential moment in the political history of Pakistan. It was the third consecutive election, the second democratic transition, and in more formal terms, a continuation of democracy. Khan's win however did not come as sound as one may foster. In the run up to the elections, controversies regarding pre-poll rigging, legal challenges faced by the former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, and barring of media networks dominated the atmosphere.

Experts argue that as the previous Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's position weakened in the pre-election arena, over corruption charges, with a hyperactive judiciary working in connection with the army, this inevitably strengthened Imran Khan's position (Fair C. , 2018). The leaks that came with the Panama Papers declaring the incumbent Sharif's family assets outside Pakistan led to a series of investigations, which resulted in his disqualification as a candidate for Prime Minister in 2017. Subsequently, he received a permanent disqualification from politics with a 10 year prison sentence prior to the elections.

Although Sharif had acquired his political status via the army through the military's General Zia Ul Haq in the early 90's, his downfall was the result of a constant tussle between him and the army as he tried to alienate himself from them over the years. He disqualified an army chief in 1998 and tried to oust Pervez Musharraf in 1999. He was eliminated from his Prime Ministerial position by Musharraf in 1999 through a coup, after which he went into exile and made a comeback in 2008. He gained a majority in the 2013 elections and following his win, there was a constant struggle between him, the army, and the judiciary over corruption charges. This continued until the 2018 elections (Fair C. , 2018).

It is also within this scope that the targeting of media was done in a covert manner. According to Reporters Without Borders, Pakistan ranks 139th in the 2018 World Press Freedom Index (Reporters Without Borders, 2018). This comes as a prominent factor as it was observed that the autonomy of media was also marred in the run up to the elections. The largest private news channel GEO was taken off air in certain parts of the country. Similarly, there had been

interruptions in the distribution of Pakistan's oldest English newspaper, DAWN. The paper had published an interview with Nawaz Sharif regarding Pakistan's involvement in the 2008 Mumbai attacks, dissatisfying the sentiments of the military (Reporters Without Borders, 2018).

Hence, controversial issues relating to security and intelligence always evoke a pattern of "censorship" model which doesn't remain uncommon to Pakistan's political landscape. As Christian Fair elaborates: "The wild card in mobilising Pakistanis is the press. At first glance Pakistan's private media appear vibrant and diverse; however, on issues of national security and contentious domestic affairs they are strongly influenced by establishment commentators with strong ties to military and intelligence agencies" (Fair C. , 2011).

Therefore, such was the atmosphere before the country witnessed the elections on the 25th of July 2018. The incumbent party was faced with corruption charges, a hyper-active judiciary, and controversies regarding military intervention - along with a curtailing of the media, leading up to an imbalanced pre-electoral process.

Imran Khan's anti-corruption crusade therefore gained popularity. These significant elections have now cemented a way for a "New Pakistan" that had initially emerged in 2013 due to Khan's efforts to gain concrete ground. But, as Pakistan's history remains tilted on politicians who co-opt with military rulers to pave their way into governance, experts argue that Imran Khan seems to have seized the leadership within a similar framework. Apart from this, Khan has also been successful by tapping into civilian grievances that have been highlighted throughout this paper: an emerging civilian class holding discontent with corrupted elites. Khan's success will depend on how much he can steer Pakistan's civilian autonomy towards democracy and away from military influence; taking Pakistan beyond personalistic regimes. This is a vital subject of discussion amongst experts, as well as Khan's opponents. However, for his supporters, it draws on a beam of hope as Khan remains clean and disassociated with dynastic politics (Kugelman, 2018).

The pre-poll atmosphere has done favours for Khan, but what besets him now are policy initiatives that will keep the praetorian content as well. A briefing by the European Parliament Research Service highlighted the post-election challenge for the Pakistani government as the "chronic dualism between political and military power" (European Parliament, 2018). Nawaz Sharif was also a protégé of the army, and his constant tussle with the establishment over the years led to his downfall. Therefore, Khan may follow a similar fate to his predecessors if he wishes to pursue his own policy framework and challenges military authority.



Supporters of Imran Khan, leader of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI), and Tahir-ul-Qadri, leader of Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT), keep their anti-government protests since August 14 demanding the resignation of the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif at Islamabad's Red Zone where state buildings and parliament building are located. (Metin Aktas - Anadolu Agency)

Conclusion

PTI's deliverance is a key facet that is being watched closely. The country is facing multiple complex challenges and is stained by instability, corruption, poor working bureaucracy and deprived rule of law. To make Pakistan a working economic machine, Khan needs to adapt policy initiatives that will fix the above-mentioned problems. Studies have shown that there is an inverse relationship between corruption and growth (Mauro, 1995), and Imran Khan comes with the distinction of his promises of confronting the problem by staying intact with his vision of economic change.

The country's biggest challenge also comes with its regional policies: particularly Afghanistan and India. A negotiating ground with Afghanistan needs to be established, which will require talks with the U.S, in an environment free from distrust and conflicting interests. Likewise, with India, the issue of Kashmir and regional trade ties need to be looked at and discussed (Rais R. B., 2018).

Within the local domain, some scholars suggest that a policy process that will facilitate stronger civilian development in Pakistan will be comprised of two phases: transition and consolidation. The first phase is to allow the working of the democratic process without military intervention in the political space. The second phase is strengthening of the administrative capacity of the Ministry of Defence, while ensuring parliamentary oversight and the redefinition of military missions and professionalism, to render them compatible with democratic governance (Shah A. , 2014).

If he succeeds in distancing his policies from the army, and emboldens democracy in Pakistan with success, he can then be regarded as a revolutionary persona, leading the country into a civilian-led state. Similarly, implementation of policies that will balance the asymmetric equation of civil-military relationships needs consensual action amongst major political parties. No reform in the democratic sphere for stability and growth should be the sole responsibility of one leader or political entity. Cross party agreements on the reform process will lead to a smoother transition of power through an open, largely free and fair electoral process. In the face of numerous national and international challenges, as well as high expectations, all eyes are now on PTI and its leader to deliver on its promises.



Supporters of Imran Khan, leader of Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf Party (PTI) take part in a demonstration in Islamabad, Pakistan on November 02, 2016. Pakistani opposition party has cancelled controversial plans to lock down the capital Islamabad on Tuesday, after the country's highest court met their demand to investigate corruption allegations against Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. (Metin Aktas- Anadolu Agency)

References

Adeney, K. (2007). What Comes after Musharraf? Brown Journal of World Affairs, 41-52.

Al Jazeera News. (2018, July 26). Imran Khan's speech in full. Retrieved from Al Jazeera: https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/07/imran-khan-speech-full-180726124850706.html

Barri, R. J. (1991). Economic Growth in a Cross Section of Countries. The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 106(2), 407-443.

Cohen, S. P. (1983). Pakistan: Army, Society and Security. Asian Affairs, 10(2), 1-26.

Cohen, S. P. (2004). The Idea of Pakistan. Brookings Institution Press.

Devji, F. (2013). Muslim Zion: Pakistan as a Political Idea. In F. Devji, Muslim Zion: Pakistan as a Political Idea (p. 10). Hurst Publishers.

Dugger, C. W. (1999, October 13). Coup in Pakistan: The Overview; Pakistan Army Seizes Power Hours after Prime Minister Dismisses His Military Chief. Retrieved from The New York Times: https://www.nytimes.com/1999/10/13/world/coup-pakistan-overview-pakistan-army-seizes-power-hours-after-prime-minister.html

European Parliament. (2018). Pakistan ahead of the 2018 election. European Parliament Research Service.

Fair, C. (2011). Why the Pakistan army is here to stay: prospects for civilian governance. International Affairs(Royal institute of International Affairs), 571-588.

Fair, C. (2018, July 28). Pakistans Sham Election. Retrieved from Foreign Affairs: https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/pakistan/2018-07-27/pakistans-sham-election

Fair, C. C., Crane, K., & Morgan, F. E. (2010). Pakistan's Problematic Political Landscape. In C. C. Fair, K. Crane, & F. E. Morgan, Pakistan: Can the United States Secure an Insecure State? (p. 41). Rand Corporation.

International Crsis Group. (2005). Authoritarianism and Political Party Reform In Pakistan. Asia Report. International Crisis Group.

Jaffrelot, C. (2015). In C. Jaffrelot, The Pakistan Paradox: Instability and Resilience (p. 269). Random House India.

Jaffrelot, C. (2015). The Pakistan Paradox Instability and Reslience. Ramdom House.

Jaffrelot, C. (2018, September 4). Imran Khan, the Army's Choice. Retrieved from Le Monde diplomatique: https://mondediplo.com/2018/09/04pakistan

Jalal, A. (2014). The Struggle For Pakistan. In A. Jalal, The Struggle For Pakistan (p. 3). Harvard University Press.

Jalal, A. (1999). Pakistan's Tangle: The Politics of Conflicting Security and Economic Interests. Government and Opposition, 34, 78-93. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/44482795

Khan, I. (2011). Pakistan: A Personal History. In I. Khan, Pakistan: A personal History (p. 15).

Kugelman, M. (2018, July 31). Imran Khan's Shine Won't Last as Pakistan's Prime Minister. Retrieved from Foreign Policy: https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/07/31/imran-khans-shine-wont-last-as-pakistans-prime-minister/

Mauro, P. (1995). Corruption and Growth. The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 110(3), 681-712.

Nelson, M. J. (2009). Pakistan in 2008: Moving beyond Musharraf. Asian Survey, 49(1), 16-27.

Pew Research Centre. (2014, August 27). A Less Gloomy Mood in Pakistan. Retrieved from Pew Global: http://www.pewglobal.org/2014/08/27/a-less-gloomy-mood-in-pakistan/

Rafiq, A. (2012, January 12). The Imran Khan Phenomenon. Retrieved October 26, 2018, from Foreign Policy: https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/01/12/the-imran-khan-phenomenon/

Rais, R. B. (2014). Politics in Pakistan Today: The Challenge of Securing Democracy. Thirty Years of SAARC: Society Culture and Development, 41(3/4), 104-116.

Rais, R. B. (2018). Pakistani Election: The Khan factor versus Reform Challenges. Al Jazeera Centre for Studies.

Reporters Without Borders. (2018). Retrieved from Reporters Without Borders: https://rsf.org/en/pakistan

Reporters Without Borders. (2018, May 18). Pakistan authorities block distribution of oldest newspaper. Retrieved from Reporters Without Borders: https://rsf.org/en/news/pakistan-authorities-block-distribution-oldest-newspaper

Shah, A. (2014). The Army and Democracy. Harvard University Press.

Shah, Z. H. (2018, July 26). Imran Khan's Journey into Religion. Retrieved from The Muslim Times: https://themuslimtimes.info/2018/07/26/imran-khans-journey-into-religion-2/

Siddiqa, A. (2007). Military Inc.:Inside Pakistan's Military Economy. In A. Siddiqa, Military Inc.:Inside Pakistan's Military Economy (p. 91). London and Ann Arbor: Pluto Press.

[1] The term establishment in Pakistan refers to high ranking military officers and the intelligence community. In this paper, the term army and establishment are used interchangeably. Both terms here tend to denote the established military and its extension with the intelligence network.

TRT WORLD
RESEARCH CENTRE



TRTWORLD
research centre