



**Topic: Fall of Nationalist Parties: A decade of Populist Politics in KP (2012-2022)**

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## Abstract

*Politics has been polarized and bad governance have risen due to growing rise in populist politics in Pakistan. With the rise of populism and lack of leadership, there has been bad effects on democracy as well as political parties' evolution. Previous research has tangible data over the crises of democracy and political parties rise and fall. But it lacks the correlation of impacts of left wing and right wing political parties' politics on each other and key role its leadership. Sources used for collecting data include newspapers, opinion based on columns, magazines, reports, contents based on electronic as well as print media in order to make analysis of the data and make key findings during the decade 2012 2022. Contrary to political differences between political parties, populism and its different shapes coupled with personality cult and leadership crises have added to governance crises. The findings of this study indicates that governance issue and crises of democracy can not be only explained through conflict between the parties and their role, but the rise of populism and leadership crises also have a major contribution to the problem.*

**Key Terms: Populism, leadership, Democracy, Governance, Political Parties.**

## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my individual research and that it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for the purpose of any other degree.

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**DEDICATED**

**To my father,mother and siblings**

## Glossary

AIML:	All India Muslim League
AINC:	All India National Congress
ANP:	Awami National Party
APALM:	Awami Muslim League of Al-Pakistan
CM:	Chief Minister
ECP:	Election Commission of Pakistan
FAFEN:	Free and Fair Election Network
GDA:	Grand Democratic Alliance
IDPs:	Internally Displaced Persons
IJI Islami:	Jamhoori Ittehad
IJM:	Islami Jamhoori Mahaz
JAML:	Jinnah Awami Muslim League
Ji:	Jmaat-i-Islami

JML:	Jinnah Muslim League
JUI:	Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam
JUI (F):	Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman Group)
JUP:	Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Pakistan
LFO:	Legal Framework order
MMA:	Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal
MFU:	Mullah Fazul Ullah
MRD:	Movement for Restoration of Democracy
MTM:	Mehsood Takhafuz Movement
NAP:	National Awami Party
NAR:	Nizam-e-Adal Regulation
NWFP:	NorthWest Frontier Province
PATA:	Provincial Administered Tribal Area
PDM:	Pashtun Tahafuz Movement
PILDAT:	Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency
PM:	Prime Minister

PML (N):	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PML (J):	Pakistan Muslim League (Junejo faction)
PML (Q):	Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-i-Azam)
PPP:	Pakistan People Party
PML:	Pak Muslim League
SML:	Sindh Muslim League
TNFJ:	Tehriq-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqah Jafriah
TNSM:	Tehriq-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammad
TNS:	Takhreeq Nizam-e-Shariat
TTP:	Takhreeq Taliban Pakistan
USSR:	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

## **Fall of Nationalist Parties: A decade of Populist politics in KP (2012-2022).**

### **1. Statement of the problem**

The political landscape of Pakistan is changing with the rapid Socio-political changes during the decade of 2012-2022. The abrupt rise of populism and the rhetoric used by populist leadership with is making the flow of democratic evolution slow in the country. Political forces are less adhered to the cause of common masses and are in struggle to take front seat of the power sharing while ignoring the core issues of national interest. The prolong history of Personality dominated politics in the country shows that the resulting is leading towards a cult. Therefore, democracy is tarnishing and as a result a vacuum left for non-political forces. The current study fills the gap by analyzing the role of political parties, leadership and masses in fostering democratic culture of the country.

### **1.2. Introduction**

The constitutional and political history of Pakistan shows that democracy did not flourish due to presence of weak holes in political system of Pakistan. The constitutional and political development witnesses the vicious cycle of fragile democracy, bad governance, and populist regimes. Politics in the country like Pakistan has become a daily business of political demagogues, diverging masses attention from core issue ranging from democracy to development at grass root by engaging common masses in unnecessary political debates. Social strata have been divided on basis of their Ideological differences; neither based on ideological lines nor their party's affiliations. A large bulk of society is engaged in the debating politics without understanding the true nature of the politics and its scope.

After the sad demise of founders of Pakistan like Quaid e Azam, political Leadership never been serious about political development of the country and political awareness to the masses. After the fatal demise of Quad-e-Azam in 1948 and Liaqat Ali khan sad assassination in 1951, no civilian leadership either right wing or left wing been adhered to the cause of true democratization of the country. The country experienced 3 suspended constitutions, and four major military takeovers despite presence of strong foothold of nationalist political parties one known as the creator of Pakistan - The Muslim League. PPP whose foundation was held on socialist road map and Nation Awami party or Awami League before dismemberment of united



Pakistan later known as ANP, failed to deliver either due to compulsions from the state apparatus or their's delivery after elections.

Due to several Military interventions and extreme political polarization within political parties, No political party at national or regional level remained able to keep harmonious growth of the institutions and political parties, which are the basic pillars for democracy in a country. The checkered political history of Pakistan shows that Political parties are more concerned about power seeking rather than delivering the promises they had made during the elections. The study inquiries about the failure of political parties on pretext of their performance and affiliation with masses especially Nationalist party Awami National party in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa while contrasting its failure with the rise of PTI.

Different political analysts assume different hypotheses. According to Ayesha Siddiqa, Military establishment has been the root evil of fragile democracy in Pakistan (*Ayesha Siddiqa*). Others believe the obvious reason for the failures of political development is the strong footing of military establishment along with political party's less adherence to democracy at national level and democracy within the parties (*Nilofar, Anusha & Salman*). Bad governance and increasing polarization between society and institutions,, political leadership and masses is causing the decline of inclusive political system. However, the important thing to be considered is the study of political parties, its evolution, and most particular the rise and fall of nationalist parties in contrast to the rise of right-wing PTI into mainstream politics.

### 1.3. Debate and Research Questions

Political parties in Pakistan are the drivers of democracy in the country under parliamentary system of government. The mainstream political parties Awami league , Muslim League and PPP played main stream role during the first two decades of the seventy years of Pakistan's history. The following years after election of 1970 and unfortunate separation of east Pakistan (BANGLADESH), political atmosphere dominated by one party I.e PPP. However ,after reversal of banned political activities of political parties in 1988 , two main stream political parties came to stage viz PPP and PML(n). Since then Political landscape of Pakistan dominated by two party system. Two parties PML-N and PPP had dominated politics with coalition of regional parties. For example, in the 2008 election PPP emerged as the largest party in the country. PPP had made

coalition government with PML-N, and ANP (Haider, 2008). Shehbaz Share was elected as CM Punjab after Dost Muhammad Khan on June 8, 2008 (pakinformations.com, 2010-2023). While Ameer Haider Khan Hoti was elected as CM KP on March 31, 2008 (Pakhtunkhwa, 2023).

National party like ANP secured to run the province of KP in coalition with PPP who was strong at the centre. But nationalist ANP or other nationalist party in KP did not able to secure good position at provincial level in case of KP. The reason for its failure varies accordingly. Some political analysts like MALEEHA Lodhi believes that downfall of nationalist and other mainstream and regional parties are corruption, inflation, bad governance, more inclination towards a specific ethnic group while ignoring other ethnicity of the province to a certain extent. Moreover, terrorist insurgency and brutal attacks on political leadership hindered the progress and evolution of such parties. But the current political trend shows some social and political changes that overtook Pakistani politics. In order to know why and how two party system is replaced by multi-party system, there is need to know the reason of it. A political party whose evolution reached apex in short span of time, PTI is considered to be most successful in achieving a large bulk of youth and massive support in previous two general elections at provincial level.

The main objective of this study is to see the downfall of nationalist party ANP in contrast to PTI's rise: its reason, and impact it unleashed . The decade witnesses a sociocultural and political impact over the society of Pushtun whose political behavior is considered to be unpredictable as the history witnesses the changing political dynamics. The rule of PTI for almost one decade in the province shows a rapid social change. These questions are coupled with minor inquires like, tactics used by PTI, impact of PTI politics on people of KP, role of personality cult, personality dominated politics and use of muscular nationalism in politics and lastly to understand the use of digitization during election campaigns.

#### 1.4. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to explain the political situation during the decade and to make a remedial inquiry for the purpose of adding into existing literature and to address the problem.

Since 2008, there has been attempts to strengthen democracy in Pakistan. The most successful attempt was the revocation of article 58(2)(b) which curtailed the powers of the president to dissolve the national assembly through Eighteenth constitutional amendment. It has been sixteen years that democracy in Pakistan is not intervened by military directly. However, after 2013 political polarization has widened within political parties and the society. Most of the political analysts believe that the rise of Imran and the politics he brought into political landscape of Pakistan is causing more polarized and agitation politics. Some analysts like *Nadeem F. Paracha* consider Imran khan as political demagogues and a populist leader. Thus, it is of central concern to see social and political changes with the rise of PTI.

Moreover, another purpose of the study is bringing the political evolution during the decade which was mostly dominated by politics of agitation, repression, Abuse, retaliation and polarization. These gaps are inversely making room for military interventions. Additionally, populism that has risen around the world is also making a shift in politics and is strongly observed during the decade. With the rise of Imran Khan, politics has been dominated by populist narratives, thus a wave of populism is felt. In order to make exploration of the study, the purpose of the study is to study the socio-political changes during the decade and in order to make remedial and purposive study. Thus, for understanding this, the understanding of populism and its different contours at Pakistan's and KP level is necessary. In order to get effective results, the study is based beyond our own Ideological and political preferences.

### 1.5. Reasons for Choosing the Topic

The leadership crises and bad governance have left a gap for political demagogues. Rise of right-wing populism increased role of authoritarian leadership by using populist narratives. Such leadership is haunting democracy as well as democratic culture. In Pakistan, politics have become personality dominated while leadership have been becoming cult. The reason for choosing the topic full fills my personal interest of understanding such phenomenon and the contribution to research for academics.

### 1.6. Different Definitions of Populism

It is important to define the phenomenon before viewing its ascent. The existing literature has been examined, and it has been determined that defining the term is difficult—not because less

research has been done, but rather because the phenomena come in different vintages and constantly changes. Fascinatingly, it is frequently considered during public debates that it is obvious who is populist. However, Populist's assertion that they are not one makes it more difficult to classify them. In his description of this viewpoint, Eichengreen (2018) paraphrases Justice Stewart's statement that "I know it when I see it" describes pornography. However, it is important to apply an operational definition in the eyes of some political experts in order to quantify and assess the recent growth of populism, as there is always a propensity to label as "populist" anyone we don't like.

### **1.6.1. Definitions**

Political experts have given many meanings. Each analyst has their own unique definition of these terms. In a larger sense, though, it still refers to the same thing, i.e., a well-established group or person who adheres to the cause of the common people. Here are a few examples:

1: According to Mudde (2004, 2007) and Rovira Kaltwaseer (2017), populism is a "thin-centered ideology that believes society is ultimately divided into two homogenous and antagonistic groups:" The pure people" and "the corrupt elite."

2. Muller (2016) describes populism as anti-pluralist and anti-elite. In addition, he adds identity politics because populists need to specify who the "real" people are. He concurs with Mudde's formulation. Identity can take many different aspects, including race, ethnicity, religion, and occasionally, citizen nation.

3. Eichengreen's Green shares Muller's anti-elite and nativist (I. E. identity) viewpoints. Eichengreen, however, adds "authoritarianism" because populism is associated with the deterioration of the checks and balances on the executive branch, attacks on minorities, and violence.

In conclusion, populism has additional facets, such as economic populism, religious populism, and nativist populism. Politicians now have a radically different agenda, one that is nationalistic and focuses on identity and morality rather than economy, thanks to recent developments in global political trends and the rise of populism. This spectrum primarily derives from political

development on the far-right. Because it encompasses both traditional and contemporary eras, Mudde's "anti-elite and anti-pluralism" concept is more appropriate and general for our study.

On what populism is, there is little agreement in the literature. Other contemporary formulations that include nativism, authoritarianism, and oversimplified solutions to complex issues (like Imran Khan's case of change in 90 days) are closely connected. These are ultimately unique Mudde's situations.

### 1.7. Populism: why for our study it is relevant

Politics in Pakistan has been a very difficult job for political forces as politics in Pakistan is more than a democratic electoral process, rather it has been a center-stage of power for dominant elites (establishment) as well as for elected politicians. Throughout the constitutional and political history of Pakistan, democracy did not flourish despite the plural characteristics of the society (Khan, 2017). The reason for fragile democracy ranges from military soft coups to politician negligence of Promoting electoral process primarily by ensuring democracy within parties (ibid) Sometimes violent suppression has been done, while sometimes political force failed to resolve the issues along constitutional lines (Khan, 2017). For instance, Sindh's 1983 violent crackdown on the MRD movement left the province with lasting political wounds. In a similar vein, military intervention in Baluchistan (1973–1977) only served to enrage a sizable portion of the Baloch populace and its political leaders. Attempts undertaken in the 1990s to use administrative and military tactics to solve the political issues in Karachi and other major Sindh centers did not either succeed. Instead, they brought about instability and economic damage to the nation. (Khan, 2017).

2008 elections proved a blessing for constitutional and political development. It stopped direct military intervention and the attempt to suspend or abeyance of the constitution. However 2013 onward, political polarization widened with the emergence of PTI at provincial level in KPK (Dharna culture recaptured attention and Imran's dharna of 126 days was the turning point for PTI rise, as most analyst believe). Since political forces engaged in countering and blaming game: they seem unwilling to address the real issues of masses, thus parliamentary traditions have shaken as before. The reason for this failure is intense polarization among politicians and Rise of populist politics as the case may be. Populism as defined by Mudde and Eichenengreen, the

anti-pluralist, authoritarian, and nativism implies the significance of the study. Dominancy of one party (PTI) for consecutively 1 decade shows the rise of Populist politics at provincial level in case of Kp. However, the trend is following and has taken stage at the center as well.

### 1.8. Significance of the Study

Politics have been polarized and democracy has been tarnished since 2013. Polarization and agitation politics have taken deep roots after the rise of PTI as an opposition party in 2013 and largest political party in 2018. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa which has been ruled by different right and left-wing political parties ruled by PTI for almost a decade during 2013-2023. This shows that people of KP gave PTI two-terms election mandate to the same party which never did before. The politics during the decade shows much different and absurd situation in the political history of Pakistan. There are changes that have been dominant in Pakistani politics, however there are plenty of abusive changes that observed during the decade which never been experienced before. The existing literature regard multiple factors for the Rise of PTI and fall of nationalist parties in KP. However, this study covers the issue from the Lense of cause-and-effect phenomenon. The research contributes to existing literature in order to fill the gap and solve the problem that has arisen and not yet been studied on an extensive level.

The potential impact of the study shall be the assessment of potential threat of rise of PTI and fall of other parties by addressing the issues like leadership crises, populist narratives, rise of agitation and polarized politics. This study offers a new and better strategy for considering the problem by suggesting practical, viable and time-bound solutions to the problem. The potential impact of the study is to give a new policy framework to the political forces in order to improve the democratic process in the country as well as in the province. The beneficiaries of the study range from researchers, students, and political parties to policy makers and different communities. These findings could be reached through archives, libraries and online. The future implication of the study is to present inquiries, solutions and open questions for consideration in future research.

### 1.9. Methodology

The methodology that is used for data collection is different sources. Since the research topic is quantitative and based on content analysis. The data collected from different research journals,

archives, newspaper contents, editorials, columns, magazines and audio-video clips and social media themes.

### Research Design:

This research will adopt a mixed-methods approach, combining both qualitative and quantitative research methods to provide a well-rounded understanding of the fall of nationalist parties and the concurrent surge of populist politics in Pakistan.

### 3. Data Collection:

**Documentary Analysis:** An extensive review of academic literature, news articles, party manifestos, and policy documents are conducted to gather historical context, party ideologies, policy shifts, and narratives over the past decade.

**Case Studies:** Selecting prominent nationalist parties and populist movements, in-depth case studies are conducted to trace the trajectory of each party and movement. These case studies involve interviews with party leaders, activists, experts, and affected communities to gain insights into their strategies, challenges, and interactions with the populace.

### Data Analysis:

**Thematic Analysis:** Qualitative data from document analysis and interviews will be subjected to thematic analysis to identify recurring patterns, narrative shifts, and factors contributing to the decline of nationalist parties and the rise of populist politics.

**Content Analysis:** Party manifestos, policy documents, and speeches will be analyzed using content analysis techniques to identify changes in party rhetoric, policy focus, and ideological shifts.

### Ethical Considerations:

**Informed Consent:** Informed consent is obtained from participants in interviews and surveys, ensuring their understanding of the research purpose, confidentiality, and their right to withdraw.

Anonymity and Confidentiality: Participants' identities and responses will be kept confidential to ensure their privacy and prevent any potential repercussions.

#### Limitations and Delimitations:

- The research will focus on a specific decade, which might not capture longer-term trends or cyclical shifts in politics.
- The scope might be limited to certain regions or communities.

#### Implications and Applications:

The findings of this research will provide a nuanced understanding of the interplay between nationalist parties and populist politics in Pakistan, offering insights for policymakers, political analysts, and scholars alike. The lessons learned from this study could potentially inform strategies for political parties to adapt to changing voter dynamics and shape future trajectories in a rapidly evolving political landscape.

### 1.10. Research Objectives

The objective of the research is:

1. To get insight into Socio-political changes during the decade.
2. To assess the gap left by political leadership crises and bad governance.
3. To determine factors that caused the fall of nationalist parties and Rise of PTI and its potential impacts during the decade.
4. To find out tactics used by political parties particularly by PTI during the decade.
5. To endorse and facilitate researchers for more research on such issues.

The overarching objective of this research is to comprehensively analyze the decline of nationalist parties in Pakistan over the past decade in the context of the rise of populist politics. The research aims to understand the key factors, mechanisms, and implications of this transformation on the country's political landscape.



## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### 1. Introduction

Pakistan has seen 75 years of democracy, yet it has not developed since the country gained its independence. The political system in Pakistan has survived four military takeovers, oscillated between presidential and parliamentary forms of government. Ten general elections have been held, but neither political nor democratic growth has taken strong roots. The ongoing meddling of military governments in "soft coup" behavior is the cause that has been so far examined. Additionally, the history-long stagnation of political parties is another factor in the slow development of democracy. Despite there being 120 political parties in Pakistan, only a small number of these parties have a significant influence on the country's political landscape. Beginning in 1988, a two-party system governed the nation. Since 1988 multiple challenges faced by political parties and the government made by either PMLN and PPP can not survive due to persistent military intervention using ultra vires of the constitution of 1973. Since 2008 when elected coalition government of PPP and other regional parties, the role of military curtailed due to passing of 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment in April 2010. The successful tenure of coalition government ended in 2013 and 2013 general elections saw the first successful transfer of power from one elected civilian government to another since Pakistan came into being. This was the first time a civilian government had served a full five-year term in power in the sixty-six years since the nation gained its independence. Same was observed when PMLN government secured majority for next five years until 2018 but with small disruption of the office of ex PM Nawaz Sharif. Since then many people think that the nation is firmly on a course toward democratic transition and consolidation after the 2018 elections, which marked yet another successful transfer of power. The cause for celebration of democracy was obvious that two parliaments have already served out their full terms, no government made it possible. Despite all of these obstacles, Susan Stokes (1999, 245) stated that "Political Parties are endemic to democracy," which highlights the growing importance of political parties in Pakistan.

Furthermore, it is crucial to comprehend and assess Pakistan's political party system in order to assess the country's chances for eventual democracy. First and foremost, understanding Pakistan's political system is important in order to comprehend the country's political evolution.

## 1.1. Political System of Pakistan

Four provinces make up the federal nation of Pakistan (Shah, Politics and History of NWFP, 2015). The senate is indirectly elected by the provincial assembly via proportional representation, and it represents the provinces. While the National Assembly is chosen directly for a five-year term. Every senator is chosen to serve a six-year term, and one-third of them leave office every three years (Pakistan, n.d.). The senate is a permanent body.

All of the federating units and the federal government derive their authority from the constitution, which, following the passage of the 18th constitutional amendment, provides two lists: a federal list and a provincial list, abolishing the concurrent list and thereby guaranteeing greater provincial autonomy. In the current parliamentary system, the Governor serves as the head of state and the Prime Minister is the head of state. Each province's provincial parliament is chosen by its citizens, the majority of whom elect the government, based on population. Pakistan's party system is founded on democracy and has internal elections. It is important to quickly comprehend the Party system for the political system.

## 1.2. Party System in Pakistan

After Independence, Pakistan has multi-party system. This multi-party system developed under cultural diversity, pluralism, and common Ideology. Pakistan has four provinces, each of which has a distinct language and culture (Shah, Politics and History of NWFP, 2015). Every province has a greater variety of languages and cultures, such as Baloch and Brahvi, which are widely spoken together with Pakhtun and Punjabi settlers in Balochistan. Pakhtuns make up over half of the population in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), and Hidko speakers make up the other half. Along with Potohari-speaking districts from Jhelum to Attock, southern Punjab has a sirakiki-speaking community near the borders of Baluchistan and Sindh. The majority of people in Central Punjab speaks Punjabi. In rural Sindh, there are native speakers of Sindhi. However, in the years after India's independence, immigration from its central provinces changed the demographic makeup of Sindh's urban centers, and Mahajir became the country's fifth nationality, alongside Punjabi, Sindhi, Baloch, and Pakhtun. There are more than 120 political parties registered with Pakistan. Multi-party system is the part of party system in which two or more than two are represented and elected to public office. This system apart from Pakistan is

exercised in countries like India, Argentina, Ireland, Australia and Canada. There are main parties and small parties that are added in the form of coalition government. In comparison to one- or two-party systems, the multi-party system is more stable and democratic by nature because no one party is likely to obtain control and they must cooperate. As a result, it is more democratic and pluralistic in character.

### 1.3. Advantages of Multi-party system

1. This system offers the public as many choices as possible, as the masses can make a choice among the parties more convinced of his/her thoughts, Ideology and preferences based on culture, religion, and race. Therefore, the believers of this system term it democratic.
2. Through a multi-party system, the existence of other parties in diversity is made sure, thus encouraging change of government in a peaceful manner.
3. Since Multi-party system include many parties at national and state level, it makes space for minority groups to be represented.
4. multi-party system has a sitting government and the opposition bench, thus allowing opposition to constructively criticize the government in case disagreement over an issue.
5. Since in Multi-party system there are various representation at both national and state level, it encourages voters to participate, thus voting participation is increased as a result.

Besides advantages there are some disadvantages of the multi-party system too, which are as follows.

### 1.4. Disadvantages

1. Sometimes no party is able to gain power alone, the formation of government becomes a herculean task for the political parties and formation of government becomes a difficult job. The opposition made from such scenario becomes weak and unstable.

2. This type of system in some cases becomes expensive to operate because all the parties are vying for political power. This results in expensive rallies, advertising, and in Pakistan's case, the use of state resource as a tool to grab a large vote bank.

3. Since political parties' stage political rallies and campaign during election time and make material choices to the electorate at the cost of their Ideology. This game of difficult political choices makes the electorate confused.

4. The most dangerous of all disadvantages is that it led a nation to a great division on the basis of tribal, ethnic and cultural lines.

5. In Multi-party system, in case of disagreements on making of government, it leads to political instability and intense political polarization. This eventually ends in economic collapse.

Democracy in Pakistan Under Multi-party system has worked in short interludes between the longer periods of military rule, therefore natural growth of political parties has suffered. This chapter is manifested at the slow growth of nationalist political parties during the decade of 2012-2022. An investigation based on literature review, opinion based on newspaper, interviews both from masses (literate and illiterate along with their response) and party leadership is included, which will be discussed subsequently after description to political parties. Before making sense of functioning, Structure, and evolution of political parties, it is pertinent to know what political parties mean to political scientists.

## 1.5. Definition of a Political Party

Encyclopedia Encarta (2009) noted that, "Political Parties are the organizations that mobilize voters on behalf of a common interests, concerns and goals: link citizens and government, providing a means by which people can have a voice in their government". Thus, "Political Parties play crucial role in consolidating democratic principles in transitional societies (Aslam, n.d.)" These special groups are the only source of conveying people's voices to the assemblies. In other words, they represent the public. The political parties of any country perform several

functions necessary for the proper working of democratic system. Political parties constitute the cornerstone of any democratic society (Newspaper, n.d.)

## 1.6. Types of political parties

The role of political parties, according to Robert H. Dix (1992), is that "among other things, parties are typically major vehicles for the recruitment of political leadership, the structuring of electoral choice and peaceable political competition, and framing of policy alternatives" (p. 488). Ann-Kristin Jonasson described some of the requirements and provided an example of what a political party is. These requirements call for a party to be organized, take part in elections, have a clear name, offer competition in the government, propose candidates, and disseminate views. If all of the aforementioned requirements are met, political parties are recognized as parties under this standard (Ann-Kristin Jonasson 2004, pp. 13–14).

Four categories of political parties were covered by Jonasson:

1. Mass Integration Party: Through long-term and ongoing activity, this type of party integrates masses. This kind of party has formal membership.
2. Total Integration Parties: These parties integrate with little effort and have stringent membership standards.
- 3: All-purpose party: There is no set procedure for membership recruitment, and these parties make no effort to attract new members. The organization of large demonstrations by the central leadership at the time of elections and their call to everybody for maximum support attracts the masses and general public.
4. The patron-client connection is the foundation of the clientelist party. The primary goal of this kind of party is to win over voters through various vote-buying schemes. These parties engage in various clientelist agreements to increase the number of votes. Therefore, their electoral motto is unrelated to any ideological concerns.

When we examine the political structure of Pakistan, we observe the individualized nature of politics, which is dominated by feudal elites who also share their power with significant urban

groupings. Maliha Lodhi is correct. Put another way, "clientelism has been Pakistani politics' primary distinguishing feature. (Lodhi, 2011)"

We will see Pakistan's Multi-party system through different kinds of political parties especially clientist and Catch-All party. Moreover, this study includes parties both on regional and national level. The main focus would be on provincial bases in the case of KPK during the decade 2012-2022. Apart from function, Structure and evolution, this study extends to the downfall of nationalist parties and Rise of Pakistan Tehreek Insaf which large part of the literature consider populist party under the Charisma of Imran Khan whose self-claimed position of "22 years struggle" made it catch-all party. This will be studied under the lense of military intervention in political affairs. Coupled with its performance during rule for almost a decade, this chapter includes part of PTI rise on regional political landscape especially KP.

### 1.7. Political Parties: Form, Structure, Evolution and Decay

To start with the core information of different parties and their evolutionary process, it would be pertinent to mention that Political parties in Pakistan have a long history of transition. Party system of Pakistan on some occasion experienced single part rule, on the other, it experienced two-party system and sometimes it went through multi-party system. Currently, the country is under a multi-party system having mainstream parties and parties at local level. Mainstream parties include those parties that ruled the country having majority seats in government. Regional Parties include political parties either based on ethnic lines, tribal affairs, or territorial integrity. Some regional parties also include Islamist parties, like JUI-F or other such parties. They include religion in mainstream politics. Popular parties include PTI, PPP, and PML-N. Although all three parties share a weak organizational structure and a tendency to rely too heavily on local notables or elites rather than party members (See Wasim and Mufti 2012). In contrast to the left-leaning PPP, PTI and PML-N are thought to be right of the center.

PPP and PML-N are both political parties that first began as student union protests. The PPP's evolution is described by Jones, who attributes its success to the Roti, Kapra, Aur Makan populist motto. According to Jones, the Bhutto family's personalistic leadership undermined its

organizational capacity as a result of the challenges posed by the military establishment, which contributed to the PPP downfall.

### 1.7.1. PTI rise and Fall.

PTI founded in 1996 by cricket-turned politician Imran Khan didn't register its presence until 2011 in Pakistan's electoral politics. In 2013, PTI formed the government in KP for the first time in its political history. PTI led by urban population and youth staged its agitational politics when it came in power in 2013. Imran Khan has been the most controversial figure sometimes referred to Taliban Khan (Taliban Sympathizer) and a Jewish agent by political opponent mostly by religious party JUI-F. Some academic analyst and a large bulk of society whose affiliations is with other parties termed him as pro-establishment and Pro-American. However, things changed when his most favorable government at center came to an end with vote of no confidence in April 2022. Khan populist politics revolved around Matra of New Pakistan, eradication of corruption and rigged election. The controversial election of 2018 proved a blessing in disguise for PTI Cheif when He became 22nd PM of Pakistan. Allegations of rigged elections and involvement of military regimes in elections ended with his coming to power corridor. However, a new era began when he was ousted from office. This chapter includes the rise and fall of so called Massihah (for believers) and its impact on regional as well as national politics.

### 1.7.2. PML-N

PML-N Which is currently led by dynastic of Sharif family I. E Nawaz Sharif and his brother Shehbaz Sharif inherited its legacy from the All-India Muslim League, whose struggle led to the establishment of separate homeland for Muslims in 1947. PML during struggle to institutionalize herself a democratic party system, it became vulnerable to factionalism and co-optation by military (*Saeed Shafqat*). Different factions I. E conventional Muslim League and Council Muslim League, it further divided into factions like PML-N and PML-Q in 1980s and 2000s respectively. PML-N remained one of the mainstream parties. PML-N is made up of politicians who began their carriers during general Zia-ul-Haq's tenure. However, since General Musharaf's 1999 military coup, and notably in 2018, the party has found herself on the receiving end of military interventions. Currently PML-N decline at center and its dominant Punjab territory came due to Rise of PTI in 2018 general elections.

### 1.7.3. Ethnic /Regional Parties

According to Horowitz (1985, 291), an ethnic party or local party is one that "derives its support overwhelmingly from an identifiable ethnic group and serves the interests of that group."

Alternative phrase: "A party that overtly represents itself as a champion of the cause of one specific ethnic group... And makes such a representation central to its strategy of mobilizing voters" (Chandra 2004, 3).

A party may have once been categorized as an ethnic party, but it may not always be one. A party of a certain ethnicity, however, may make an ethnic appeal in one location but not in another. According to these definitions, the ANP and MQM are ethnic parties whose political influence is restricted to a single territory's ethnic group. For instance, ANP has a voting appeal to a collection of ethnic groups mostly centered in KP, but MQM has a voting appeal to the vast majority of Muhajirs residing in Karachi and Sindh. Despite never taking center stage at the national level, both parties continued to work in cooperation with major parties at the federal and state levels.

Other regional parties in KP include Islamist parties like JUI-F and JI, who remained coalition partners under the MMA banner in 2002 under Musharaf's rule, as well as four other parties from different branches of Sunni Islam. After the 2013 election, JI remained a PTI coalition member, giving the religious party authority over three provincial ministries, the most significant of which was the finance ministry entrusted to Siraj Ul Haq (present Ameer e Jamat-e-Islami). Existing literature reveals that these religious and sectarian-based parties occasionally change their political slogans, which (N. Siddiqui, 2017) interprets as an increase in violent incidents, hostility, and intolerance toward minorities. Islamist groups in Pakistan are moving toward Nationalist ideologies, as seen by Senator Mushtaq's recent and persistent calls for Pakhtun nationalism in the Senate while delivering vehement speeches. In contrast, PTI appeals to voters' religious sensibilities at rallies by sharing stories about the Holy Prophet and His Companions. This exposes Pakistani politics' implausible and confusing nature, which will be examined in this paper.



## 1.8. Evolution of Mainstream Parties: The debate of mainstream parties as following:

### 1.8.1. PML-N: Formation, Development, and Decay

Unlike other political parties that originated out of social and nationalist movements, Muslim League History backs to pre-partition Era when some prominent Muslims leaders met Lord Minto in 1906 in order to secure Muslim interests dashed by both British Raj and Hindus. Muslim League remained a dominant political force until it met the achievement of creating separate homeland for Muslims, Pakistan, therefore it is termed as the creator of Pakistan. However, after unfortunate death of Jinnah left the party vulnerable to dominant elites that factionalized the party. After creation of Pakistan till 2000s, factionalism crept into the Pakistan Muslim League which till the date hampers its evolution and political development as a political party (Afzal, 1986). Party politics in Pakistan become fragile when the country military began to show preemptive and predatory tendencies in early 1950s. The lack of Political Leadership's ability to generate a consensus among them paved way for poor governance, therefore the gap filled by military and powerful elites. After creation of Pakistan, in-fighting within the ruling Muslim League started after demise of Jinnah in 1948, the party began to fracture.

### 1.8.2. Awami Muslim League of All Pakistan (APAML)

The first ML faction was APAML. Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, a prominent ML figure from Bengal (East Pakistan, now Bangladesh), founded it in 1949. Suhrawardy had pressed the party to maintain the populist ethos of AIML with the ML leadership. He charged "elitism" and "losing contact with the people" on the part of the leadership. In 1949, he broke away to found APAML.

### 1.8.3 Iftikhar Mamdot founded the Jinnah Muslim League (JML)

In 1949, just a short time after Quaid's passing. The first chief minister of Punjab in Pakistan and leader of the ML was Iftikhar Mamdot. Mamdot, a close confidant of Mr. Jinnah, was well-known for being a strict and outspoken enforcer of discipline. Mamdot was removed as Punjab's chief minister after Jinnah passed away for "disobeying party directives and PM's instructions." In 1949, Mamdot left the ML and started his own group, the Jinnah Muslim League.

#### 1.8.4 The JAML (Jinnah Awami Muslim League)

The 1950 formation of the Jinnah Awami Muslim League resulted from the union of Suhrawardy's APAML and Mamdot's JML.

#### 1.8.5. Ayub Khuro of the Sindh Muslim League (SML)

Ayub Khuro served as Sindh's first chief minister of Pakistan. He oversaw ML in that province as well. The central ML leadership requested Khuro's resignation in 1952 as a result of bitter internal strife between him and several other ML leaders in Sindh. After leaving, Khuro founded the Sindh Muslim League. 1954 saw the end of SML.

#### 1.8.5a. Second Coming of Sindh Muslim League

During the early years of independence, several factions emerged. However, all ML factions were in shambles when the Ayub regime removed the ban on political organizations in 1962. Ayub intended to resurrect the Muslim League because he wanted to be connected with a political party once he became president.

#### Convention of the Pakistan Muslim League (PML-Convention)

In 1959, Ayub was elected Pakistan's president. He sought to create a new constitution and start his own party in 1962. He demanded that the Republican Party and several influential Muslim League members hold a convention. A new Muslim League was announced to be formed at the conference. The party was renamed Pakistan Muslim League (PML) after the addition of the word Pakistan. When several other ML leaders chose not to join it and established their own faction, it eventually changed its name to the PML-Convention.

The manifesto of the PML-Convention echoed the political and economic tenor of the Ayub regime: rapid industrialization, free-market industry, and 'Muslim Modernism' with a focus on science and technology. In a parliament chosen under Ayub's convoluted "basic democracy" mechanism, the PML-Convention was elected as the governing party. Young Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was chosen as the party's first Secretary General, while Ayub was picked as the organization's leader.

### 1.8.6. The PML-Council (Pakistan Muslim League Council)

Two seasoned ML leaders, Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan and Mumtaz Daultana, created their own faction right after Ayub's PML was established. In parliament, this evolved into PML-Council, and its members sat on the opposition benches. Elections with adult franchise and parliamentary democracy were proposed in the party's platform.

### 1.8.7. Qayyum Muslim League Sardar Qayum

The PML counselor leader, brought to the formation of the Qayyum League as a result of conflict between the PML (conventional) and PML (council).

### 1.8.8 The Muslim League and the 1970s Election

Elections in the 1970s demonstrated a lull in agitational politics, political unrest, and conflict between party sections. The majority of the various factions, including the right-leaning Jamat-i-Islami, the left-leaning Nizam-i-Islam Party, and the left-leaning Awami National Party joined forces with PML-Council to form the Combined Opposition Alliance. It chose Ms. Jinnah as its candidate. Ayub Khan did, however, win the 1965 election by garnering 64% of the total vote. However, opposition parties, trade unions, student unions, and labor unions all protested against the Ayub Khan government, which led to its overthrow. When Zulfikar Ali Butto left the PML-Convention, PPP was born. The PPP, which had triumphed in the 1970 elections in West Pakistan, was now in power. The PPP and the Qayyum League combined.

Pir Pagara, a prominent PML-Council member and influential Sindhi landowner, merged PML-Council and PML-Convention in 1973 to become PML-Functional. The party opposed the nationalization initiatives of the PPP regime and had the support of businesspeople and industrialists. It participated in all of the by-elections between 1972 and 1976, but lost every one of them. In 1976, it joined the PNA, a coalition of nine anti-PPP groups that also included the JUI, JUP, and JI, the nation's three main religious parties. PNA started a protest campaign after contesting the election results in 1977. The movement became aggressive. A reactionary coup led by General Ziaul Haq ousted the Bhutto government. Even though the PML-Functional party had supported the takeover, he outlawed all political parties.

Malik Qasim, a former general secretary of PML-Functional and a member of the PML-Convention, left the party after it endorsed the Ziaul Haq coup in 1977. As for PML-Functional's

gradual shift from the center to the right, Qasim disagreed with that as well. He founded PML-Qasim, his own faction, in 1978. Throughout the 1980s, the party stood with the PPP in opposition to the unyielding Zia administration.

Zia held a general election in 1985 after taking office and removing Martial Law. Opposition parties abstained from voting. Muhammad Khan Junejo, a PML-Functional leader, transformed the organization into a brand-new Pakistan Muslim League that is "united." The PML won the majority in the legislature and Junejo was chosen as the next leader. The new PML's platform, which called for liberalizing the economy, enforcing "Islamic laws," and backing the anti-Soviet "Afghan jihad," was similar to those of the Zia dictatorship.

### 1.8.9 The PML-N (Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz)

In 1985, Mian Nawaz Sharif joined the PML. During the 1988 first post-Zia election, that PML joined the IJI, a right-wing coalition. The PPP won the election. Due to claimed instances of corruption, President Ishaq toppled the PPP regime. The 1990 election was won by the IJI. In 1993, this lobby split from PML. The remaining group changed their name to PML-Nawaz. "Continuing Zia's mission" (of Islamization and economic restoration) was what the PML-Nawaz stood for. It was removed due to allegations of corruption. In 1997, it returned to power and become even more conservative. General Pervez Musharraf conducted a military coup that resulted in the overthrow of its government in 1999. In the middle of the 2000s, PML-N lost steam. But the PML-N made a significant comeback once the Musharraf administration ended in 2008. In 2013, it won handily, re-electing Nawaz as prime minister. The largest faction of the PML is still PML-N. Its ideological compass has been circling back toward the center over time, though. It continues to embrace liberal democracy as well as economic progress and liberalization. It now maintains a wholly moderate religious stance. Additionally, it supports the use of force against religious radicals.

## 1.9. Brief History and Evolution of the Pakistan Peoples Party

When Zulfikar Ali Bhutto left Ayub Khan's cabinet in 1967, he established his own party with the catchphrase "Roti (meal), Kapra (clothes), and Makan (Shelter)" to oppose the military dictatorship. He was recognized for his flamboyant personality and unstable leadership.

In its 2002 manifesto, the party outlined its four core principles as being democracy, religious tolerance, equal economic opportunity, and "people power (PPP 2002)" For a Just, Equitable and Egalitarian Pakistan", 30 September 2002; The party was initially committed to socialist democracy.

The PPP performed quite well in West Pakistan during the 1970 general election, while it flopped miserably in East Pakistan. Bangladesh was split apart as a result of Pakistan's defeat in the conflict in East Pakistan. Following the division, the PPP established the government in the remaining portions of Pakistan. Its biggest accomplishment was the unanimous 1973 adoption of the Constitution.

### 1.9.1. PPP During Bhutto

A generation of Pakistani youth saw Bhutto as a hero after the Indo-Pakistan conflict of 1965. Bhutto's statements at the UN during the Security Council's discussion of the war electrified the youth. Young people in Bhutto's era believed that he was the real champion of Pakistan, much as young people today believe Imran Khan to be their only chance. In contrast, the 1965 war and Tashkent statement heightened nationalist sentiment throughout the nation. By founding the Pakistan Peoples Party on December 1, 1967, Bhutto took advantage of the political fallout from the 1965 war to launch his own independent political career (BENNETT-JONES, 2020)

Bhutto was essentially a nationalist who considered himself as Muhammad Ali Jinnah's (the founder of Pakistan) ideal successor. When his party supporters and student supporters began referring to the Quaid-e-Azam (The Great Leader) as such, it was quite sound to Bhutto.

The mass movement that brought down Ayub, which started on November 7 and continued for 138 days until March 25, 1969, demonstrated the power of such movements by allowing the average person to enter politics for the first time and ushering in a new era of participatory politics in Pakistan (BENNETT-JONES, 2020).

General Yahya Khan, the new martial law's chief overseer, agrees to Bhutto's demand for unrestricted adult suffrage in both the national and provincial elections. Elections from the 1970s, which were less influenced by military governments and were held on 7 December 1970, are regarded as the most impartial and free ever. The anti-Ayub movement, which drew notable

people and organized groups like engineers, teachers, government staff unions, and labor unions, served as the fundamental foundation for PPP's electoral campaigning in the 1970s. The PPP, which won 62 of 82 seats in the national assembly from Punjab and 18 of 27 from Sindh in west Pakistan, experienced an unexpected but astonishing victory in the election. The Awami League of Sheikh Mujeeb, however, overwhelmingly represented east Pakistan in the 1970 elections. Later, this unequal representation contributed to the division of a united Pakistan, and the East Wing was successful in bringing about East Bengal. However, while in power, Bhutto gave no attention to the issue of party structure. The decline of PPP can be traced to this Power Assumption and Ignorance of Party Structure.

### 1.9.2. The PPP, Benazir Bhutto's tenure

Z. A. Bhutto was assassinated on April 4, 1979, and his daughter Benazir Bhutto took over as PPP leader. The party and its leadership endured political adversity for nearly ten years following Z. A. Bhutto's execution. Because of Zia ul Haq's callous and violent treatment of women, Benazir was pressured by her friends to flee to Britain. Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, a large-scale movement backed by eight political parties and the PPP, was organized during this time by the Bhutto women's wing. Benazir severed her links with the paper organization before the election in 1988 upon her return in April 1986. Although Zia-ul-Haq's death in an aircraft crash in August 1988 paved the path for the Supreme Court to proclaim elections on the party basis, elections had been scheduled to be held on a non-party basis since 1988. Despite resistance from Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and other senior old guards of the Party, PPP Under Benazir won the election by capturing 93 of 206 seats. The first woman to lead a Muslim state, Benazir Bhutto won a majority and took office. Benazir's first term in office was unsuccessful because she faced constant opposition from patriarchal men in the military-bureaucratic oligarchy who hated the concept of a female prime minister.

Prime Minister Benazir's relationship with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was tense when he took office since she was a participant in Operation Midnight Jackal, a scheme to topple her administration through a vote of no confidence. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan removed her government on August 6, 1990, under the guise of the 8th Amendment, due to corruption and

poor leadership. It is thought that by doing this, the intelligence agency rigged the election to install Nawaz Sharif's IJI.

Benazir Bhutto's PPP was one of the major parties up till 2007. Asif Ali Zardari took over as co-chairman of the party after her murder on December 27, 2007. PPP gained 91 seats in the 2008 election, allowing the party to form a coalition government. The 2013 election threw PPP's political career into disarray. The PPP suffered its greatest setback in the 2013 election, losing 31 N. A seat, although continuing to be the largest political party in the 2008 election with 97 N. A seats (ECP, 2008). Threats from non-state actors are thought to have stifled its political campaign in 2013, which is why it failed to win the election. The lack of electricity, which the nation experienced when there was a severe shortage of 6000mgw, is said to be another factor. In addition, the electorate decided not to support the PPP in the 2013 elections due to the party's inability to confront the country's rising violence on the PPP's future in Pakistan after the elections (IPCS, 2013). The 2018 election was a radically different experience for political parties because the two-party system was replaced by a multi-party system, with PTI emerging as Pakistan's largest party. Political rivals were stunned by PTI's unexpected rise after winning 115 NA seats. The PPP is in third place with 43 seats, behind the PML-N, which won 64 seats. PPP in Punjab secured a portion of six seats at the provincial level. The PPP established the government in Sindh after capturing 76 of the 126 seats in the provincial parliament. It was fully eradicated in Punjab and KP.

### 1.10. PTI Rise and Fall: A Brief Discussion

The idea of Pakistan Tehreek Insaf (A movement for Justice) was discussed by current chairman of the party Imran Khan on the morning of April 25, 1996, at the home of head of Shaukat Khanum Memorial Hospital, Dr Nausherman Burki along with Pervez Hasan, Naeem ul Haq and Abdul Hafeez. Imran Khan founded the SKMH in 1994 with the goal of providing cancer care that is both accessible and cheap to people from all socioeconomic situations. It has growth plans and is now Pakistan's largest cancer hospital. Khan gave it that name in honor of his mother, who passed away from cancer (Khan I. , 1994).

The party contested the 1996 election and won only one seat. The 2008 election was boycotted and in 2013 it made first provincial government with coalition of other parties like IJI in KP. 2018

elections proved a blessing for PTI as it made it possible to rule the country at national level, as well as at provincial levels. KP was again under PTI tutelage with strong majority this time. This victory during a short span of time sprouts my interest of doing research in order to bring the causes of rise of PTI, and to see how it further flourishes, or will it be vanished. These are the questions which will be brought into consideration at large. In order to go in depth into the rise of PTI, it is pertinent to see its historical evolution.

### 1.10.1. PTI first Phase 1996- 2002

When it was established in 1996, the PTI had a significant support base, constituency offices, or a nationwide network. It continued to grow slowly but gradually until 2011. Around 100,000 people gathered after a successful protest was held in Lahore in October 2011. However, these conveyed to the general public the idea that it might be a powerful party. Following this demonstration, PTI began to assemble a diverse collection of new recruits, including urban professionals, students, political activists, and leaders from other parties. This gave PTI more traction, and they eventually won 59 seats in the KP government for the first time. PTI became the official opposition party at the federal level after securing the third-highest number of seats. However, as the party gained support and became a serious candidate for third place, it shifted into a "top down" party governed by leaders rather than by ordinary citizens as Imran Khan occasionally stated.

Hamid Khan, a constitutional lawyer, was approached by Khan's buddy "Qamar Bobby" when it was decided to throw a party and requested him to attend. Hamid Khan asked Khan, "Are you sure you want to have a political party?" during their initial discussion of the party (Khan H. , Pakistan Takhreek-i-Insaaf, 1996). Khan said that he was certain since he had been given no alternative choices by the administration. Khan gave instructions to leaders when PTI was established that the fundraising efforts of SKMH should not be combined with PTI because "charity should not be mixed with politics " (Khan H. , Pakistan Takhreek-i-Insaaf, 1996).

But as soon as the hospital opened, it made Khan's move from benefactor to politician easier (Khan H. , Pakistan Takhreek-i-Insaaf, 1996). During the first fifteen years of the PTI, its activists were drawn to its philanthropic agenda. Upper-class or upper-middle class women were



present since this was the party where there was dedicated space for women, which drew women.

The party wasn't very active during this time, and there weren't many activists to support democratic contestation. Khan once remarked, "I am the voice of youth, and it will be some time before youth are able to vote." Imran Khan in a 1997 said. Members who stuck with Khan, however, after the old guard quit the party, thought Khan had the charisma necessary to attract a throng. However, despite Khan's charisma, the PTI performed poorly in the 1996 and 2002 elections, only winning the home-station seat of Mianwali in each.

### 1.10.2. On the road to Naya Pakistan: 2002-2011

The two elections' poor results prompted the party leadership to work to promote political mobility. The PTI, which first began as a movement for justice, has since changed its focus to a political struggle to establish Pakistan in the manner of the nation's founder, Quaid-e-Azam. As a result, the party's political motto of "Naya Pakistan" has emerged. Instead of focusing on Biraderi (kingship) or creating landholder peasant networks as utilized by previous parties, the main focus during this era was on creating grass-roots organizations that could mobilize its followers in the educated-middle class, particularly in rich urban localities. The party was poised to do well in the 2008 elections, but it chose to abstain due to General Musharaf's refusal to vacate his office. However, for a number of reasons, the party's growth from 2002 to 2011 differed significantly from that from 1996 to 2002. First, Khan attracted notice on the political talk show in 2002, when General Musharaf liberalized electronic media and it was more appropriate because Khan's political rivals Benazir and Nawaz Sharif were in exile. Second, the PTI received a steady influx of workers and leaders looking for a new political home due to the coincidence of multiple incidents during the 2007–2009 lawyer's movement and pro–democracy movement, Benazir's death, PPP workers' dissatisfaction with Zardari's leadership, and Musharaf's Pakistan Muslim League–Quaid's demise. Third, PTI's capacity to serve as a Catch-All party was reinforced by the steady stream of new members who joined the party at the same time as experienced politicians from both left- and right-wing parties.

The majority of the entries were recorded between 2007 and 2011. Between 2008 and 2011, political activists, leaders, and workers flocked from two mainstream parties, i.e., PPP and PML-

N. Around 2007 some notable Jammāt-e-Islami leaders joined PTI. Former PML-Q members were scrambling to establish a new political platform after the party disintegrated. In a similar vein, individuals who disapproved of Zardari's leadership looked for a new political party. Workers and leaders from both parties poured into PTI, including prominent politicians Aleem Khan and Jahangir Tareen who held positions in the Musharaf dictatorship. Shah Mehmood Qureshi and Javed Hashmi then joined in 2012 after this. The PTI, in short, became a party that was widely mobilized till 2013 for the reasons listed below. First, through philanthropic endeavors, welfare trusts and organizations in the SKMH type were allowed to function. The majority of these initiatives were funded by money raised by the Pakistani diaspora in the US and UK through the PTI's websites. These social welfare initiatives include the Sasta Tandoor (affordable bread ovens), which provided food to the less fortunate members of society. Second, there were city offices where people could join the party by filling out a membership form or registering their ID. This implied that Biraderi and other networks, which were significant in conventional constituency politics, were invisible to the process. Third, PTI embraced modern communication techniques, which helped it gain popularity, especially among younger people. Fourth, PTI recruited members and kept in touch with them using the SMSALL.PK network. Around 10 million people globally joined PTI as a result (Peter-Osborne, 2013)

### 1.10.3. 2012-2018 onward

By 2012, PTI has amassed more than 10 million members. PPP, JI, and PML-Q leaders and members gathered together enthusiastically. However, the process accelerated once Nawaz Sharif was declared ineligible in 2016. The PTI's national support increased as a result of the state-level victory in KP in the 2013 elections. The PTI Motto of winning elections was strengthened by the victory in KP and a stronger showing in the 2013 elections, when PTI won 28 NA seats (see election commission website). In addition to employing digital tools, Khan persuaded voters this time that traditional parties should abandon their efforts to institutionalize their parties through the recruitment of wealthy voters, reliance on large donors, and centralized top-down decision-making and election management (Tribune, 2013).

The PTI gained 157 seats in the National Assembly during the elections in July 2018, a fivefold increase. Khan was accorded the title "Selected" despite this election supposedly being more heavily manipulated by the military. According to opposition parties and the majority of commentators (Fair, 2008) (Jafferelot, 2018)

### 1.11. Nationalist parties and their decline during the period 2012 - 2022: A case study of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, formerly known as Northwest Frontier province, is inhabited by majority Pashtoons. Pashtoons are highly religious race that have a kind of passion for Islam (Shah, 2015).

The NWFP is located between 69.16 and 74.4 east longitude and 31.4 and 36.57 north latitude. Its connection to Balochistan in the south demonstrates its geographic significance. Kashmir is located in the east, and Afghanistan borders it on the west. The Bannu, Kohat, and Peshawar inhabited districts make up the first of the province's three primary divisions. The tribal belt refers to the mountainous area between these districts that borders Afghanistan and the cis-Indus District of the Hazara people (Shah, 2015).

Nationalist parties have their origins in the time before separation. Language, ethnicity, and most importantly regionalism are the three main forms of nationalist parties. Therefore, the term "nationalism" comes from the word "nation," which is defined as "a named and self-defined human community whose members cultivate shared myths, symbols, values, and memories, reside in and are attached to a historic territory (homeland (Michel Young, 2007)

In conclusion, the term "nationalism" is used in a wide range of contexts: it can refer to the superiority of one's own culture and civilization, sometimes to state allegiance (for which the term "patriotism" is also used). (Searle-Joshua, 2001), nationalism in its broadest meaning is simply a sense of connection with a group of people who share a shared history, language, territory, culture, or some combination of these elements. The term "nationalism" will be employed in this study in its broadest sense.

Speaking of nationalist parties of Pakistan, one might think of 'being nationalist' as being inclined to ethnic, language and cultural causes of specific group within a specific territory.

However, as we have mentioned above, nationalism will be taken in its broader aspect. Therefore, under the ambit of broader Nationalism, here nationalist parties will be taken both on the bases of ethnic, language and cultural basis, however, those parties whose roots back to pre-partition and post parties whose ideological bases reflect Pakistan nationalism. There are more than 120 registered parties in Pakistan (Mariam Mufti, 2020), but those parties will take into account which have dominated for decades and have upper hand either at national level or provincial level. These include PPP, PMLN, ANP, MQM and to an extent religious parties like JUI-F and JI. A brief glance at these political parties and their role during the decade is discussed. More details about the party's formation, structure and function will be brought in the next chapter of thesis.

Parties have been described as "endemic to democracy, an unavoidable part of democracy (Gunter, 2008)." After gaining independence, Pakistan's political system was never truly free; instead, it frequently experienced military dictatorships and internal divisions. As a result, over the past 75 years, the development of democracy and the constitution has been loose and static. The cause has been their diminished role throughout the past 75 years of political history, despite the fact that their political involvement is essential for democracy.

After the passing of Quaid-e-Azam, the sole party acknowledged as Pakistan's creator was never able to transition from a nationalist movement to a national party (Kukreja, 2020). Within three years of gaining independence, due to a lack of leadership, the party broke into two factions: the traditional Muslim League and the Council Muslim League. The Pakistan Muslim League Quaid (PMLQ), led by Shujaat Husain, and the Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN), led by Nawaz Sharif and his brother Shehbaz Sharif, further divided the party by the 2000s. To put it briefly, the PMLN dominated Pakistani politics in the 1990s, 2000s, and the 2013 general election. However, 2018 was the year that saw the rise of PTI and the demise of PML (N).

## 1.12. Theoretical Framework

This study's theoretical framework includes a variety of theories and concepts. Populism is a vague idea that is being taken into consideration. The concept's ambiguity and slipperiness make it difficult to define populism (Canovan, 1999). The term "populism" has negative rather than positive connotations in many political cultures and languages (Canovan, 1999), despite the

word's etymological origins from the Latin noun "populus," which means "the people," giving it an emancipatory or empowering meaning (Schattschneider, 1999). Different meanings, nevertheless, have been applied to the notion in order to give it meaning in the political context of Pakistan. Mudde's and Muller are the two that are most pertinent.

Additionally, the Max Webber hypothesis and other leadership theories have been used to understand the role of leadership. For instance, Max Webber's idea of charismatic leadership was employed to explain Khan's charisma. Situational leadership theory is the other leadership theory used in this instance to evaluate leadership style.

## Chapter 3: Overview of ANP Performance

### 1. Nationalist Party ANP: History, Politics, strengths, weakness, and Hurdles

#### 1.1. Awami National Party

The Awami National Party went through three significant periods. The Khudai Khidmatgar movement, often known as the red shirt movement, was the first stage. Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan, better known as Bacha Khan, was the movement's leader. He was given the nickname "Frontier's Gandhi" because of his beliefs and association with the Indian National Congress (Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948) was the well-known head of the All India Congress during the colonial era). Gandhi's nonviolent philosophy was followed by Ghafar Khan, a follower.

The second phase of the party began when left-of-center Punjabi leaders and nationalists from the Baloch, Sindhi, and Bengali communities joined forces to form the NAP, a new party with a secular platform that supports social reforms. It demanded the disintegration of one unit and greater provincial autonomy while maintaining a firm grip on provincial politics. But when it split apart, Wali Khan oversaw the Pukhtun faction. In the provinces of Baluchistan and NWFP, this faction formed a coalition government with the JUI (Madni Group) in 1972. On February 15, 1973, they resigned in protest of the removal of the NAP-led provincial government in Baluchistan.

The third phase began when the Supreme Court of Pakistan upheld the decision to ban NAP due to the party's anti-state activities (Asian Recorder, 23-29 April 1975, p.12556; 8-14 January 1976, p.12966). The Supreme Court conducted the case's proceedings in public and the press was free to report on them from March to September. The ANP, which succeeded the NAP and is still a significant political force in KPK, particularly in Pakhtun Areas.

The party took part in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy from 1986 to 1988. Following the 1988 election, the party joined forces with the People's Party to form a coalition government in Islamabad and NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). This alliance broke up in April 1989 as a result of disagreements between the two-party leaders.

Early in June 1989, the ANP and PML formed an alliance, which resulted in a formal party split, with many activists joining the PPP. The ANP and the PML once more established a coalition following Sharif's victory in the 1990 elections. This coalition held up longer, lasting until 1998 before dissolving over disagreements regarding the Kalabagh Dam and the province's renaming to Pakhtunkhwa.

After that, the party joined the Grand Democratic Alliance and began to oppose the Sharif government's increasingly autocratic policies. The party remained an active participant in the coalition for Restoration of Democracy after Pervez Musharaf overthrew Sharif until the September 11 attacks in the United States in 2001, when it left the coalition over support for the United States' "ousting of the Taliban." Following the arrest of Azam Khan Hoti, a key party leader and former federal minister, the party's reputation suffered during this time.

The party formed an alliance with the PPP for the 2002 elections, however due to anti-American feeling in Pakistan, the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) religious-political combination defeated both parties in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

In the 2008 elections, the party ran on its own and won seats in Karachi and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa for the first time, as well as a majority of votes in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Following that, it established a government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and provided assistance for the PPP administrations in Sindh and Baluchistan.

ANP has been completely destroyed very recently. In the 2013 elections, Imran Khan's Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf (PTI) overwhelmingly defeated ANP, which received hardly any seats. The PTI once again beat the ANP in elections in 2018, preventing the ANP from mounting a comeback. The taking of a harsh stance towards militancy is seen as the primary cause of ANP's demise. One thousand party members were slain between 2009 and 2013 as a result of terrorist assaults on the ANP leadership (Boone, 2013) (Ali, 2018). An undernourished ANP contributed to the PTI's victory over KP in 2013.

## 1.2. Awami National Party and Changing Security Dynamics (2002-2018)

### 1.2.1 Security Situation during 2002-2008

Following the fall of Afghan Taliban in 2001, the effects of terrorism started appearing in Pakistan's Tribal region of KP. The presence of ISKP and AlQaida in Afghanistan unleashed terrorist activities in Ex-Fata. Taliban retreated to tribal areas of Pakistan especially North and South Waziristan. Pakistani state started counter insurgency military operation against taliban in tribal areas, resulted in trickle down effects of terrorism that reached KP during 2002 and 2006. In 2006, the growing militancy culminated, and Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) came into existence as a militant insurgent organization. MMA government in 2002 brought Islamization to the socio-political system. During MMA government, Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat Muhammadi (TNSM) too re-surfaced in Swat in 2006. In July 2007, the security environment sharply deteriorated after the Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) operation in Islamabad. Simultaneously, Mullah Fazal Ullah (MFU) emerged as TTP Swat commander (Zaidi, 2009).

MMA government ended while bringing agreements with TTP on multiple fronts including banning music, Hisba law on the themes of Islamic jurisprudence and accountability. Hisba Bill was passed twice by the KP Assembly, and each time was referred to the Supreme Court, where it was struck down on grounds of being –vague, overbroad, unreasonable, based on excessive delegation of jurisdiction, denying the right of access to justice to the citizens and attempting to set up a parallel judicial system (White, 2008).”

### 1.2.2. 2008-13: Rise of ANP and Peace Keeping Mission In KP

The ground for election 2008 was surfaced when the incident of mistreatment of Chief Justice occurred that resulted in mass protest. Another backdrop was the alienation of religious parties under the umbrella of MMA, when Musharaf ordered military operation of Red Mosque in Capital (Islamabad). This antagonised religious political parties and eventually they withdrew their support. However, making many changes including keeping constitution in abeyance, the dark Era of Musharaf Regime came to end, and Election were postponed until 18 February, 2008 while it was to take place on January 8, 2008. The election preparation was all set, and the leadership of PPP and PML-N, Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif were returned before



November of 2007 to the country. MMA which previously ruled now was in no position to contest election with popular electorate support due to its support for military regime. PPP, PML-N with coalition of regional parties like ANP, MQM and PML-Q. ANP won 10 general seat all from NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), along with 3 reserved seats for women. Islamic parties failed to repeat the performance of the 2002 election. The JUI-F got more seats in the National Assembly than any other Islamic Party. The Jamaat-i-Islami and Imran Khan's Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf had boycotted the election.

During the term in office, ANP under the manifesto of the party constitution to eradicate violence and Terrorism of all sorts and make secular practices made some constitutional changes and vied to eradicate all sorts of terrorism from the province. On assuming power, it started negotiations with TTP in order to avoid more destruction in already terrorism ridden province after 9/11 attacks and emergence of Taliban in erstwhile FATA. ANP very carefully opted for negotiation and avoided use of force on the grounds of philosophy of Bacha Khan.

During the First phase, Talks with Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) and Tehreek Taliban Pakistan (TTP) started in May 2008 and lasted till January 2009. In the second phase, the ANP government came up with Nizam-e- Adal Regulation (NAR) as a counter terrorism instrument and to accommodate the TTP demand for enforcement of Shariah in Malakand region. NAR was signed by the President of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari in April 2009. The third phase started when peace did not return to Swat or Malakand region even after the NAR promulgation and TTP expanded itself to neighboring areas and gaining more social space. The fourth phase commenced when the ANP regime finally asked for army support to clear the area. Meanwhile, on the political front. in the fifth phase, ANP patronized local peace committees (LPCs) to encourage the local population to fight the insurgents at the grassroots level. In this phase, the ANP leadership and workers were targeted and as claimed by ANP, 700 of its workers were killed (Hussain, 2013). In this phase, the government also worked on rehabilitation of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and rebuilding of the damage done to the government installations in wake of terrorism.

In the last phase, though the KP government's counter insurgency strategy (COIN) was put in place in 2012 but the general elections were not far away and the ANP was in exit mode. The strategy was hardly implemented during their tenure.

### 1.3. ANP government 2008 - 2013 in KP: An overview

After the Afghan Taliban were overthrown in 2001, terrorism's impacts began to show in Pakistan's KP tribal region. Terrorist activity in Ex-Fata was sparked by the presence of ISKP and Al-Qaida in Afghanistan. Taliban withdrew to Pakistan's tribal regions, particularly North and South Waziristan. The Pakistani government launched a military counterinsurgency campaign against the Taliban in the tribal regions, which had a trickle-down impact on terrorism that reached KP between 2002 and 2006. The escalating militancy reached its zenith in 2006, when Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) was founded as a militant insurgent group. In 2002, the MMA government began to Islamize the socio-political structure. Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat Muhammadi (TNSM) also reappeared in Swat during the MMA administration in 2006. Following the Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) operation in Islamabad in July 2007, the security situation rapidly deteriorated. Mullah Fazal Ullah (MFU) became the TTP Swat commander at the same time (Zaidi, 2009).

The MMA government came to an end while also reaching agreements with TTP on a number of issues, such as music restrictions and Hisba law, which focuses on Islamic legal theory and responsibility. The Supreme Court invalidated the Hisba Bill twice after it had been passed by the KP Assembly because it was "vague, overbroad, unreasonable, based on excessive delegation of jurisdiction, denying the right of access to justice to the citizens, and attempting to set up a parallel judicial system (White, 2008)

#### 1.3.1. 2008-13: ANP's ascent and the Peacekeeping Mission In KP

When the episode with the maltreatment of Chief Justice took place and led to widespread outcry, the ground for the 2008 election was exposed. When Musharaf authorized the military operation of the Red Mosque in the Capital (Islamabad city), it also served as a backdrop to the alienation

of religious parties under the MMA. Religious political parties became enraged by this, and eventually they withdrew their support. The dark era of the Musharaf Regime came to an end, albeit several modifications were made, including the suspension of the constitution, and elections were delayed until 18 February 2008 instead of the originally scheduled 8 January 2008. Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, the leaders of the PPP and PML-N, returned to Pakistan before November 2007 as the election preparations were finalized. Due to its backing of the military administration, MMA, which once held power, was unable to run for office with the support of the voters. A coalition of regional parties led by the PPP, PML-N, and ANP, MQM, and PML-Q. ANP won 10 general seats, including 3 seats designated for women, all from NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). The performance of the Islamic parties in the 2002 election was not repeated. Compared to other Islamic Parties, the JUI-F received the most seats in the National Assembly. Both Imran Khan's Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf and the Jamaat-i-Islami boycotted the poll.

While in administration, the ANP worked to modify the province's constitution in accordance with the party's platform, which calls for the eradication of all forms of terrorism and violence as well as the adoption of secular customs. Following the 9/11 attacks and the rise of the Taliban in the former FATA, it immediately began talks with the TTP after seizing control in an effort to prevent further carnage in the already terrorized region. ANP cautiously chose discussion over using force in accordance with Bacha Khan's beliefs.

Talks between Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) and Tehreek Taliban Pakistan (TTP) during the first phase began in May 2008 and continued until January 2009. The ANP government developed the Nizam-e-Adal Regulation (NAR) in the second phase as a counterterrorism tool and to satisfy the TTP demand for the application of Shariah in the Malakand region. Asif Ali Zardari, the president of Pakistan, signed the NAR in April 2009. The third phase began when the NAR's promulgation did not bring peace to the Swat or Malakand region, and the TTP grew to include surrounding communities and gain more social clout. When the ANP administration finally requested army assistance to cleanse the area, the fourth phase got underway. On the political front, meantime. In the fifth phase, the ANP supported local peace committees (LPCs) to motivate the populace to combat the militants locally. According to

ANP claims, 700 of its employees were slain during this phase of the campaign against extremists, which targeted the ANP leadership and personnel (Hussain, 2013)

The government also attempted to reconstruct the damage caused to government facilities as a result of terrorism during this phase and to rehabilitate internally displaced people (IDPs).

Even though the KP government's counter insurgency plan (COIN) was implemented in 2012, the general elections were quickly approaching and the ANP was preparing to leave power. During their tenure, the strategy was hardly ever put into practice.

#### 1.4. Awami National Party Ascent to Power 2008-2013 in KP

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, a Pashtoon-based region with a rich culture and language, is found in northern Pakistan. Jamiat Ulama E Islam, Jamat E Islami, Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan Muslim League - Nawaz Sharif, etc. are now well-known political groups. The current Awami National Party is one among them and has a Pakhtun nationalist bent. From 1986 to 2008, ANP ran in numerous elections but was unsuccessful in winning any seats. ANP did, however, finally win the 2008 elections and became the provincial administration of KP. There were four main components to the ANP's election-year manifesto. The Preamble, which included a manifesto for adopting Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's ideology, was the first section (Shah S. W., 1999).

The second section dealt with internal matters. It concentrated on internal matters, such as social difficulties, organizational concerns, and counterterrorism measures. In addition, it demanded that the former N.W.F.P. be renamed Pakhtunkhwa. The third dealt with international concerns, primarily with foreign policy and improving ties with surrounding nations.

The ANP emphasized the urgent need to combine FATA into KP in the final section of the manifesto due to the people of those areas' economic, social, and political issues. In order to provide them with equal representation in politics and other spheres of life, it was suggested that FATA and KP be annexed (ANP, 2008). ANP won 48 seats in the 124-seat KP provincial house during the 2008 election. It was unable to create governance, though. Consequently, a coalition administration with PPP as its Chief Minister (National and Provincial Assembly Elections, February 18, 2008) was formed. However, the ANP government had several challenges along the way, particularly the terrorist attacks.

## 1.5. ANPs Performance during 2008-2013: Promises Delivered or Broken?

ANP succeeded in overcoming many obstacles to deliver on many fronts, although it was hampered by terrorist activity in the province and attacks on the Party's leadership personally. ANP performed best in the areas of education, provincial autonomy, and social sector development. In the province, seven universities were founded, including Abdul Wali Khan University in Swab. The 18th constitutional amendment, which included the renaming of KP and the devolution of power to the provinces, secured the greatest possible level of provincial autonomy. It also passed a number of laws and regulations that were primarily designed to raise money for the government's essential expenses. For instance, the government raised the fines and taxes it levied on cars every year. In order to raise money, the government also raised the general sales tax. Despite the fact that it offered employment options, those weren't very satisfying. The administration reinstated suspended government employees as well as making contract-based workers permanent. ANP also made significant contributions to child protection laws and pedophilia and child abuser sentencing. It created various child welfare institutions in each district. The government also established committees for child protection. Humanistic standards were being improved alongside juvenile detention facilities. Young offenders were given a basic education. Additionally taken into consideration were their social recruitment and mental health. In light of the fact that terrorism peaked in KP during the ANP's rule, the government constructed rescue institutes. These rescue organizations were established to offer prompt first help in dire situations. Additionally, the ANP government established unique institutes for the training of judges. Every judicial employee received training in those institutions to ensure swift justice. Ombudsmen were chosen to promote the supremacy of the law and justice, the eradication of corruption, and the suppression of criminal activity.

ANP, however, failed to deliver on a number of fronts, including the following.

### 1.5.1. Tackling Terrorism

People in KP have a constant desire to eradicate terrorism, which is why they gave ANP their support during this time. ANP, on the other hand, had a secular ideology and harshly attacked the threat of terrorism on all platforms, which left them open to terrorist acts. Operation Rah-i-Rast,

which was launched in Swat during the ANP's rule against militants led by Mulla Fazl Ullah and Maulana Sufi Muhammad, did not, however, put an end to terrorism.

### 1.5.2. Fighting Unemployment

One of the greatest concerns facing the globe today is unemployment. Pakistan, a developing nation, struggled greatly with unemployment, particularly in KP's rural areas. The unemployment graph rose daily when ANP was in power in KP. ANP came to power while KP's socio-economic system was being seriously damaged by terrorism. Although it made an effort to keep its promise by building technical and other institutes, it fell short in this regard.

### 1.5.3. Dynastic Political Culture

Because political parties are essential to democracy, it follows that political party democracy is wise for both good governance and culture. Colonial legacies have persisted in social and political culture ever since independence. The majority of political parties have dynasty- and elite-culture tendencies. ANP turns out to become a dragon house of such practices, just like other parties. Undemocratic ideals have been created by a small number of families in Pakistan's political parties due to their monopoly on power, and the ANP is experiencing a similar problem (Shah S. A., 2015).

### 1.5.4. Intra-province conflicts

Conflicts over resource allocation have frequently occurred at the federal and state levels. KP, one of the most resourceful provinces, has experienced strife between Pakhtoon and non-Pakhtoon ethnic groups, particularly those from the Hazara and DI Khan regions, on its soil. Renaming KP is still the main point of contention. The Hazara people began protesting against it and calling for Suba Hazara (the Hazara province), which ANP vehemently opposed. This had a negative impact on ANP's vote margin. On the other hand, the ANP opposed the demand of "Subay-i-Hazara" while backing the development of "Saraikistan," a plan to divide the Saraiki-speaking regions of southern Punjab in Pakistan. It revealed its incoherent approach and cast doubt on its support for the rights and advancement of Pakistan's minority ethnolinguistic and cultural communities. At the same time, it was unable to create harmony and consistency among the Pakhtun and non-Pakhtun populations in the province of KP. As a result, it was unable to

become a successful political party in KP's non-Pakhtun-dominant regions and was only able to gain one provincial seat in the Hazara Division.

## 1.6. Decline of ANP 2012-2022

By the end of the 1990s, when the majority of Pakistan's left-wing political parties were dispersed and exceedingly apprehensive of the state and elections in general, ANP was regarded as the country's only center-left party. Because of this, left-leaning parties saw relatively little progress during the general election. One of them, the ANP, only managed to survive through coalition governments in Karachi, the largest Pakhtun ethnic territory, and largely in KP. Due to large offensives launched in Baluchistan, the party failed to establish solid roots there (A. KHAN 2009; HRCP 2013).

A thorough analysis of the current literature has been done in order to investigate the reasons for the fall of ANP. Additionally, interviews with members of various social groups, both literate and uneducated, have been conducted. The ANP political establishment was also interviewed. The first findings from the body of literature are discussed, followed by a discussion of semi-structured interviews that were taken from a large sample.

There were 48 MPAs from ANP and 30 MPAs from PPP in the 2008–2013 elections. In comparison, PTI won 61 MPAs and ANP only secured five at the 2013-2018 election. In K-P, the ANP's vote total decreased from 578,405 in 2008 to 556,525 in 2013. (Tribune E. , (<https://tribune.com.pk/> April 27, 2016). , 2016) The threat of terrorism and the advent of the populist wave in KP with the ascent of PTI in 2013 were the initial causes of the ANP fall. In addition, three primary elements are blamed for ANP's failure. First, the ANP'S were unprepared for PTI's rise as a relatively new rival. PTI's success is attributed to Imran Khan's charisma, his lack of an incumbent burden, and a well-planned youth campaign that used both traditional and online media (Tribune E. , (<https://tribune.com.pk/> April 27, 2016). , 2016)

Second, the corruption charges against the ANP's leadership, such as the case of Sayed Masoom Shah (the former special assistant to the CM), who allegedly took part in a Rs 258,7 million plea bargain and was detained by the NAB. The ANP leadership supported him rather than expelling

him from the party. Public distrust in the party leadership was a result of the tolerance for corruption (<https://tribune.com.pk/> April 27, 2016).

Third, internal accountability in ANP is almost nonexistent, like it is in many other parties. It needed the support of the party membership to establish accountability in order to look into the alleged corruption instances. But the two strongholds that have a firm grip on the party are Wali Bagh in Charada and Hoti House in Mardan. As a result, the Party loses support from the public. Similar to this, there aren't many internal elections for crucial party positions, which gives two powerful families this authority. Many of the candidates quit the party and joined other parties as a result. This is also a factor in the ongoing decrease of ANP.

Fourth, ANP has a strong counter narrative of terrorism and militancy. A plethora of fatal attacks were attempted on party leadership as well as its workers that left more than two thousand members killing during 2013-2016. Due to resistance to terrorism and attacks on them, believed people that the Party is incredible to govern. Therefore, a large bulk of youth and members of the affected society lost their confidence in the party.

Since ANP is considered as provincial ethnic based political party, its political interest remained to the province only. Nationalist tendencies of a large section of society is beyond pakhtoon belt. Therefor they discredit ANP for being a nationalist party of few power houses that deliver the interests of specific class. Moreover, the popular slogans of PTI and charisma of Imran khan added and still adding to decline of the party.

### 1.7. 2018 Election in KP And ANP decline

The trend of political scoring continued until the 2018 election was reached. PTI governed the province for the last five years staged its rallies with zeal and zest. Having some reforms in KP local bodies election, Health, infrastructure, and peace keeping in the province. PTI more than action spoke words and raised popular slogans like "tabdeli a nai rahi, tabdeli a gai he", "Taab Pakistan Banayaa thaaa, Aabb Pakistan Bachayega" etc. Unlike 2013, PTI swept the province of KP by getting 65 seats in 2018 election as compared to 35 in 2013 election. Keeping the mandate of people of KP, PTI routed ANP, PML-N and PPP from the office. PML-N won two seats in 2018 compared to four in 2013 (Yusuf, 2018)



## 1.8. Causes of Decline of ANP during the Decade

PTI stormed across the regions dominated by other Parties. For instance, the PTI won three of the seven seats in the Hazara belt, where the PMLN was thought to be strong, while the PMLN could only take one. The Awami National Party (ANP), the PPP, the PMLN, and the MMA were anticipated to present a serious challenge to the PTI in the Malakand region (Swat and its surrounding districts). However, the PTI won eight of the ten seats, while the MMA and PMLN each took one. The PTI won 13 out of the 14 seats in the Peshawar valley, while the ANP managed to win one seat in Mardan by the thinnest of margins (35 votes). The Peshawar valley was a complete whitewash. Other parties, like MMA, expected the Peshawar valley to herald a comeback of the ANP and performed significantly worse than expected. The ANP and the Quami Watan Party (QWP) of Aftab Sherpao, both of whom were waving the flag of traditional Pashtun nationalism, failed to make an impact at the hustings. The MMA was completely destroyed in the political hub of KP, where it had planned to gain a few seats by adding the votes obtained by its two main constituent parties, Jamaat Islami (JI) and Jamaat Ulema Islam-Fazlur Rehman group (JUIF) in the 2013 elections. The MMA and in particular the leader of the JUIF, Maulana Fazlur Rehman, received a rude awakening in the southern districts of KP when he was defeated in both of the seats he ran for. The PTI won six of the eight seats in South KP, while the MMA only retained two.

Despite the fact that FATA is not a separate province, this paper analyzes it in terms of a region. The biggest shock came from the region for the MMA, an alliance of religious parties that had anticipated to challenge the PTI with its combined voting base. 6 of the 12 seats were won by the PTI. The triumph of two of the Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement (PTM) leaders who ran as independent candidates was also notable. The PTM leaders' triumph in North and South Waziristan is evidence of the movement's growing support in the Pashtun population. Two of the PTM's key leaders were elected despite the PTM's declaration that it would remain a non-political movement and would not support or nominate any candidates in the elections. It is an early indication of a neo-Pashtun nationalist movement's resurgence, which is generating great concern among the "establishment." Even though FATA was expected to be one of the MMA's strongholds, it only managed to secure three seats. One factor might be Maulana Fazlur

Rehman's campaign against the union of FATA and KP (Foudation, n.d.). Following factors are regarded as causes of decline of ANP.

### 1.8.1. Internal Challenges

#### 1.8.1.A. Devision within party

ANP is founded on democracy and internal elections, exactly as other parties. It stuck to its attitude of non-violence and responsibility throughout Bacha Khan's movement and into the political party. Although the mindset of Bacha Khan was more philanthropic than political, the ANP of today has greater clout than Bacha Khan's ideology. There is competition between the old and new guards. The ANP leadership, however, rejects the notion that the party's prospects may be gloomy. "Those leaving us are not ideological workers and will have no negative impact on the party," stated provincial general secretary Arbab Tahir in a statement to the Tribune (Rauf, 2013).

The majority of the top leadership are leaving the party, dealing the party a significant internal blow. For instance, MPA Abdul Shakoor Khan, who ran for office in 2008 on an ANP ticket and lives in Charsada, joined the JUI-F. Another setback occurred in Kohat, when on February 26, parliamentarian Pir Dilawar Shah and his brother Pir Adil Shah joined the Pakistan People's Party. Pir Dilawar Shah was elected from Kohat on an ANP ticket in 2008. The party's prison minister, Mian Nisar Gul, resigned in the meanwhile, accusing the leadership of engaging in corruption. Additionally, he asserted that the party exclusively worked on and authorized finances for the Charsadda, Nowshera, and Peshawar districts, disregarding the remainder of the province. He also accused the party leadership of abusing party resources. Journalist Mehmood Jan Babar claims that the party's lax leadership, particularly under Aimal Wali Khan, is to blame for the internal unrest.

#### 1.8.1.b. One Man Show

High profile leadership like Afrasyab Khattak, Abdul Latif Afridi (Late), and Bushra Gohar left the party in 2018 for the reason of one man show in the party or probably disagreement over the leadership role. Bushra Gohar and Afrasyab Khattak later joined the National Democratic Movement founded by MNA Mohsin Dawar. According to Bushra Gohar report to BBC Urdu,

that "I didn't leave party, they expelled me from party by issuing showcase notice on one day and expelled the later day". Moreover, she said that I don't know exactly about the party decision making council, however, I know to the extent that the party is no longer based on Ideology. Over the political scenario, she added that in country as well as in KP there are politics of delectables, electable and acceptable. There is no room for Ideological politicians. However, Arbab Tahir rejects all allegations and said, "difference of opinion is the beauty of democracy". We will keep our party members in contact at any cost.

#### 1.8.1.c. Public Trust deficit

ANP came to power in 2008 in KP with coalition government. Since it remained in power, there were challenges on multiple fronts I. E corruption, terrorism, maintenance of rule of law and making party leadership accountable. These challenges curbed public trust in the party. As for example, during interviews from literate section of the society, many believed that during ANP's government job have been sold and nepotism was at its peak which ultimately advantaged few families and section of the society. Moreover, some interviewers were of the view that during ANP government, terrorism reached its peak while quoting 7 deadly attacks in just one week in 2012 when ANP was leaving office.

#### 1.8.1.d. Intra-party elections

Elections within the party are required to uphold democracy and law and order in society. Unfair intra-party elections, like in other political parties, continue to be a major factor in party failure. Hashim Babar, a former ANP finance secretary, gave this as his justification for quitting the party in 2012, claiming that "unfair intra-party elections were responsible for the party's failure in the general elections 2013." The party will be reorganized, according to ANP President Asfandyar Wali Khan, who conceded that the setback was also the result of "internal weakness" after the party performed "poorly in the general elections 2013 (Qalandar, 2013)".

#### 1.8.1.e. Poor Provincial Leadership

In both the present and future of party politics, leadership is crucial. ANP shares a flaw with many other parties: dynastic political leadership. According to the Fact-Finding Report from the

2013 elections, 80% of districts blame Afrasyab Khattak for the underwhelming performance of the ANP. Afrasyab Khan said in response to the fact-finding report that the committee did not "target any individual; it was based on collective responsibility." (Qalandar, 2013)

#### 1.8.1.f. The Myth and Reality of Being Anti-establishment to Pro-Establishment

ANP which came under Wali Khan leadership in late 1980s, it was of one the center-left political party having secular and liberal Ideology. The very Ideology of ANP is mainly based on the Philosophy of Bacha Khan. Bacha Khan philosophy mainly revolves around an independent state having Ideology of Non-violence, ANP motivated from his non-violence and secular thoughts. However, after uncertainty found among top leadership of the party it is highly unpredictable to claim ANP as a political party on the foothold of Bacha Khan movement of Kudai Khidmatgar and secular political party, as there are more acquisitions about its political role by joining hands with religious and allegedly extremist JUI-F and JI. Moreover, some leadership of the party left ANP over the allegations that party is no longer Anti-establishment and anti-Elite. In other words, the party is playing the role of Lap Dog instead of watch Dog. However, during my interview from provincial General Secretary Sardar Hussain Babak rejected all the allegations which will be analyzed after putting allegations leveled by party leadership.

There are allegations that since 9 /11 attacks, much has changed within party political manifesto. For example, Military operations conducted in tribal areas and Malankand division were supported by ANP. Those who detracted from the party proclaimed that party had parted ways from its nationalist stance and secular outlook and jumped into military bandwagon (Ali, Tracing ANP's trajectory: From nationalist to pro-establishment?, 2013) This Perception became so persuasive that poet and writer of khudai khidmatgar fame Saad Ul Jan Burq accused the leadership of the party of going against its original stance, the secular and nationalist stance. Burq's was so determined to his criticism that he author some work in the form of book titled From Khudai khidmatgari to military. (Ali, Tracing ANP's trajectory: From nationalist to pro-establishment?, 2013)

Another former leader of ANP, Farid Tofan, who was later expelled from the party alleged that ANP changing policy traced back to appointment of Asfandiyar Wali Khan as the party president. Further, He accused of the allegations and said, " Previously the party's policy was secular and

hinged on separation of religion and politics", adding that after Asfandiyar Wali took over of party, it is no more nationalist and secular faction. This was the reason when Aftab Sherpao formed his own nationalist party to fill the vacuum. Over the politics and Religion separation, Tofan said, 'Asfandiyar Wali arranged a conference at Bacha Khan Markaz, which was attended by JUI-F and JI leaders'.

During an interview from current party's general secretary, Sardar Hussain Babak rejected all these allegations (Anwar, 2023). Commenting on allegation of being Pro-establishment, He said ' Establishment and Military institutions are necessary for the country survival, which we endorse. Otherwise, ANP stance has always been anti-establishment when it comes to politics. He stressed that passing the 18th constitutional amendment was the win of not only constitution but the only nationalist party ANP as well. Countering the argument and allegations about military operation endorsement, He said, ANP was the only party that stood firm against military operation not for political scoring but for the real cause of Pashtoons. Those who blame ANP of sidelining military are politically immature, I can say, and He silenced.

Sardar Hussain Babak, who was education minister during 2008-2013 cabinet, commenting on allegations made by Farid Tofan, He said 'Sitting with political party leader is mandatory for democracy, however, what Farid has alleged is beyond my understanding, that he even doesn't know political Unity in diversity', and he left.

## 1.8.2 External challenges

### 1.8.2A Foreign policy choices

Foreign policy of a country is the hard core of diplomacy. It is a tool to make good choices of relationship with other countries especially neighboring. ANP during its all-election manifesto, the external affairs are placed under secular Ideology and good faiths with neighboring countries, Afghanistan is most important of all due to communalities between Pakhtun of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Afghanistan. The most important challenge for ANP has remained a specific type of government in Afghanistan. However, the dream never come true as Afghanistan has been dominated by clergy for a long period of time. Thus, it has been a hard nut to crack for ANP whose foreign policy choice is based on secular state for both people of the Durand line.

Clergy domination has been a great impediment. This causes the loss of a large section of society a great anxiety and ill-will to vote for ANP.

### 1.8.2b Terrorism and terrorist attacks

ANP's manifesto of eradication of terrorism from the province of KP, which largely been affected by waves of terrorism after 9/11 attacks. During the tenure in government, ANP made every possible effort to fight terrorism and eradicate it. But deep-rooted terrorist offspring took safe haven in Afghanistan, ultimately brought uncertainty to the province. This nuance of terrorism coupled with anti-ANP manifesto brought havoc to the leaders of the party as well as its members. –ANP was the worst sufferer of terrorist attacks. Bashir Ahmed Bilour, a key ANP leader, was killed in a bomb blast ahead of ANP's election campaign in Peshawar (Tribune T. E., 2013). Moreover, ANP leadership received death threats and were wary with every move. Between 2009 and 2013 nearly one thousand ANP members were killed by Taliban (Boone, Pakistan's Campaign Trail Politicians Use Stealth to Outwit Taliban Threats, 2013). Perpetual threats and attacks became the main hurdle in implementation of its manifesto and Election campaign, this largely caused ANP decline until the day.

### 1.8.2c. Creation of Hazara Province

ANP in coalition with PPP passed historical 18th constitutional amendment on 8 April 2010 (Amendment 1. , n.d.). The ANP has been a strong supporter of provincial autonomy, including autonomy for non-Pashtun ethnic groups, as stated in its manifesto. On the basis of linguistic, ethnic, and cultural grounds, non-Pashtun ethnic groups, mainly Hazaras, identify as a distinct community of KP known as the Hazarwal. Hazaras started to reject the renaming of KP. For fear of Pashtun dominance, Hazaras initiated a drive to keep the name of NWFP in official papers. When a protester turned aggressive, the police opened fire, killing one person while injuring several others, including some protesters seriously. This spawned the "Subay-i-Hazara" movement, another attempt to establish a separate province (Ahmar, 2016). Hazara, according to the movement's organizers, is rich in minerals and other natural resources. To increase revenue, the tourism department can be developed. Additionally, the construction of Khanpur Dam could bring in revenue and create jobs for the province (Zulfiqar, 2012).

In the Hazara division of KP, protests against the national and provincial governments made it difficult for the ruling party (ANP) to properly implement its objectives, which is why it would perform poorly in the upcoming elections.

#### 1.8.2d. Charisma of Imran Khan

German sociologist Marx Webber introduced the idea of charisma. Charisma, in his words, is "the authority of the extraordinary and personal gift of grace." (EMERITUS, 2023) Therefore, this sort of leadership is an individual leadership style, in his opinion, that is distinguished by charisma, persuasiveness, heroism, and self-assurance in the leader. Additionally, he described charismatic leadership as a type of authority distinct from traditional and legal authority in which leaders command followers' obedience not because of a social or legal occurrence but rather because of their relationship. Khan, Imran Personalized charisma is at the heart of charisma. Imran Khan is utilizing his charisma in the wrong way, says General Secretary Sardar Hussain Babak, and young people in particular are falling prey to it. According to Babak, this kind of leadership merely widens the gap between political parties and leads to extreme political polarization. Using populist rhetoric, Imran Khan started its political campaign on slogans like, Naya Pakistan, Tabdeeli-ka-sarkar and Tabdeeli in Ninety days and established himself as a man with untarnished reputation in the eyes of the public, particularly when it comes to financial corruption (Rehman, 2018).

Imran Khan came to TV talk shows and publicly denounced US drone strikes in tribal belt of KP and led a march to South Waziristan in 2012 to protest the attacks. Moreover, he has also continuously opposed military operations in ex-FATA and has instead called for dialogue with militants (Rehman, 2018). Further, He has always spoken of getting rid of external debts and reforming country's tax system. The people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa sympathized with him and gave the first electoral mandate in KP assembly. All these led Imran Khan to rise in KP and already fractionalized ANP to decline.

#### 1.8.2e. Digitalization and its use by PTI

Politics that always interfered with by military regime, has now been digitized. Technological revolution has taken place all over the world, particularly abruptly after 2011 in Pakistan. PTI setting itself for election 2013, used digital gadgets and information sites to make party-

candidate linkage at first stage. The role of Media in politics started almost by Imran Khan who used to make contents on social media run by social media influencer. Over the next seven years, both the media and military establishment did all they could to facilitate Imran's rise to governmental power at the center. This caused ANP and other parties to decline at state level and PML-N and PPP at national level (Akhtar, 2022).

Digitalization of politics and Media mostly target the 65% youth which is almost under thirty years age. PTI used this factor as brand-building in a highly organized and effective way. For example, social media teams were established in order to make video clips of Imran Khan overturned by systematic voices in a systematic and systematic manner. Twitter trends that to-date follows, make trends on Twitter to influence middle, upper middle class.

#### 1.8.2f. PTM movement and its impact on ANP electoral performance

The newest Pashtun nationalist movement, Pakistan Tahafuz Movement, was founded in response to British troops' ruthless suppression of Pashtuns. Its doctrine is mostly based on nationalist elements of Bacha Khan's Khudai Khidmatgar movement and Red Shirt Movement. The PTM was created in response to the brutal persecution of Pashtuns by terrorist groups and Pakistani security forces; according to its head, this persecution is a result of colonial legacy. Before PTM, a group of university students who were internally displaced, notably Manzoor Pashteen, founded the Mehsud Tahafuz organization in 2013. MTM urged that Mehsud Territory be demined and that villagers' degrading checkpoint customs, extortion, and target killings (either by the Taliban or by security personnel) halt (Jafri, 2021). Although the MTM was not represented in the media, it was becoming more and more well-liked by the populace.

Security personnel in Karachi assassinated Naqeeb Ullah Mehsud, a Pashtun ethnicity resident there, at the beginning of January 2018 on the grounds that he may have had ties to the Taliban. Naqeeb Mehsud was friendly with the MTM members. Naqeeb Mehsud was very friendly with Manzoor Ahmad Pashteen from North Waziristan. Manzoor Pashteen, the leader of MTM, began media coverage to alert the authorities to violations of Pashtun rights. A 300-mile-long march from DI Khan to Islamabad was initiated in order to bring Naqeeb Mehsud's case to justice. In order to provide protection for all Pashtoons, movement activists named their organization Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM) on the third day of the March.



—As Naqeebullah was a Mehsud and the MTM was created to protect the rights of Mehsud in the whole country, Naqeebullah's killing was one of the main triggers for raising support for the MTM. The MTM now got media attention that had been limited because there was no media access in SW from 2001 to 2015.”—*Interviewee, PTM Coordinator in Islamabad.*

Upon extending protection to other Pashtun tribes, PTM gained momentum and extended to other parts of the province (either affected by repression or not). PTM started rallies and marches in order to ensure protection of their rights. People from far-away areas come to listen to Manzoor speeches with iconic cap of Manzoor Ahmad Pashteen. This made PTM a large Pashtun's voice.

ANP having nationalist manifesto ruled the province for five years, but people of Pashtun areas were not satisfied with their performance, as a large section of the society accused them of being incompetent and corrupt. The leaders and members of ANP seek to join PTM as an alternative nationalist platform. Most of the members defected from the party and joined non-political organizations (PTM). PTM was initially a completely apolitical movement, however two frontline leaders, Mohsin Dawar and Ali wazir contested the election. Both won the election independently with majority mandate and elected to National Assembly. However, they choose to remain independent and raised voice of Pashtun on parliament floor. Later on, prominent leaders of ANP including Afrasyab Khattak, Mehr Bano and others left ANP and joined PTM. Most of the youth of the north and south region are active in PTM activities, therefore, graph of ANP vote band come down (BBC, 2023).

PTM whose voice reached every Pashtun based on keeping the movement aloof from politics, is becoming more popular among youth either they belong to PTI, ANP or other party. However, it directly affects the vote bank of nationalist ANP party for the following reason. First, ANP leadership after the party Presidentship come under Aimal Wali Khan, one of descendent of Wali Khan family, most the party leadership have reservation over his nomination. Additionally, Aimal Wali Khan on several Occasions accused PTM and its leadership for its anti-state activities. On the contrary, PTM members and political observers accused Aimal Wali Khan of pro-establishment and anti-Bacha Khan philosophy. This made a huge gap between the members of PTM and ANP, whose direct effect lied on ANP's electorate.

Mohsin Dawar, who was a Frontline activist of PTM when won his constituency remained independent during first three years of the government. However, when some defectors of ANP like Afrasyab Khattak met him, he was convinced to become separate movement under constitution ambit named National Democratic Movement. This movement is welcomed by ex-members of ANP. Mohsin Dawar on question of whether he will leave PTM and its cause, He replied to BBC reporter that PTM is Our Soul, and Soul can't be separated from body (BBC, PTM hamari rooh hy, 2018)

However, leaders of nationalist thoughts come under different factions, it weakens ethnic Integration which has been an obstacle in the way of nationalist movements and parties. Therefore, it was a huge loss for the party in the past, present and future as well, that will unleash huge gap for the voices of Pashtun particularly ANP during upcoming elections. (BBC, PTM hamari rooh hy, 2018)

## 1.9. Rising terrorism and its impact on ANP electoral politics during the Decade: Socio-Economic Implications of Terrorism

ANP came into power at provincial level through coalition government with Pakistan People's Party in 2008. The Era is marked as the first successful government that completed its constitutional tenure. Moreover, this democratic Era is remembered as the most important Era of nourishing fragile Democracy affected by military perpetual interventions. The Era that achieved historical constitutional achievements including passing of 18th constitutional amendment yet marked by historical rise of terrorist waves in the country particularly in KP. The wave of terrorism after 2001 has badly affected the economic progress, social structure, and large-scale damage to political evolution of the province. ANP is one the most recent examples of this impact. Social structure ranging from social sector, education, and making millions of people homeless. During these five years, militants in different areas of the KP destroyed 759 schools, including 641 schools in the Malakand division, and more than hundred schools in other parts of

the province. ANP's government is considered one of the most failure governments in KP for the above reasons. Following socio-economic cost, the province had paid, it is coupled with Human losses. During the five-year term of the Awami National Party (2008-13) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the endless wave of terrorism claimed the lives of more than 12,450 people and 14,875 people were injured (NADER, 2017)

## 1.9.1. Social Implications

### 1.9.1.a. Human Losses

The worst wave of terrorism to hit Khyber Pakhtunkhwa since 2001. The terrorist's usual activity evolved into violence and commotion. In 2008, when the ANP came to power, militants carried out 1,009 attacks, including 32 suicide attacks, and remote-controlled bombs killed 2,201 individuals (including former ATA members) and injured 1,735 others. Terrorist attacks have substantially grown in number since 2007. 2009 saw an increase in terror caused by terrorist acts including bomb explosions and suicide strikes. Terrorists completely overran the Malakand division during this year, including Swat, Buner, and Shangla. A total of 1,137 terrorist incidents occurred, including 51 suicide bombings. There were 5,497 fatalities overall, including 1,229 civilians, 471 security personnel, and 3,797 terrorists. Additionally, there were almost 5,000 injuries. (SATP, 2007)

Despite a drop in loss from 2009 to 2010, terrorist activity persisted throughout the province in 2010. 33 suicide strikes were among the 459 militant assaults that took place. 836 people—722 civilians and 114 members of the security forces—were frequently killed.

Despite military action in the Malakand division at the end of 2009, terrorist activity was reduced but not entirely eradicated in 2011. 521 terrorist acts this year claimed the lives of 820 individuals. 1,684 individuals, including civilians and law enforcement officers, were hurt in 27 suicide assaults.

456 assaults took place in 2012. There were 495 terrorist acts in 2013, a modest increase from the previous year. In Pakistan, 1,717 of these assaults were carried out by radical terrorists, terrorists, and nationalist rebels, and 2,450 innocent bystanders were killed. In KP, 706 of the

499 attacks resulted in fatalities. 470 or more attacks were carried out by TTP. The Awami National Party, PML (N), and PPP were Pakistan's three biggest secular parties that were targeted by terrorist groups like TTP during the general election campaign. Terrorist attacks increased by 9% in the province in 2013 compared to 2012 (Din1, 2022). The number of terrorist incidents decreased by 35% in 2014 compared to 2013. But 12, 107 terrorist acts happened in the nation over the course of the ANP-PPP coalition government's five years in power. 4, 072 of the 12,107 took just KP, resulting in 11,693 injuries and 5183 fatalities.

#### 1.9.1.b. Educational Losses

Education is the main social indicator that indicates human development. ANP in its election manifesto desired to deliver free education. However, the five years of ANP government tenure, education was badly affected due to terrorist activities. Terrorist mainly target educational activities for the purpose to spread fear by targeting boys' and girls' educational institutions. According to CRSS (2012), 119 schools were assaulted by terrorists in 2008, 111 of which were girls' schools, primarily in Swat. In the beginning, Taliban militants forbade parents from sending their daughters to school, but later they forbade girls from acquiring an education. (studies P. i., 2009)

129 attacks on schools were reported in 2010. In 2011, there were 56 attacks in the former FATA and 79 incidents in KP. 69 attacks on educational facilities were reported in KP in 2013. 409 schools were damaged by terrorists in different Malakand division districts between 2007 and 2009 during the swat insurgency (pakhtunkhwa, 2010). The Taliban assassinated Malala Yousafzai, a young crusader for education, in Swat in 2012. Women's education in the Swat Valley and erstwhile FATA was most negatively impacted by the violence in the area (Khattak, The War on Terror is a War on Women: The Impact of Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism on Women's Education in Swat, Khyber Pukhtunkhwah (Pakistan), 2018)

Due to Military operation against terrorists and their safe heavens that settled in KP erstwhile FATA and Malakand division. KP suffered one of the worst internally displaced person crises. According to Pakistan institute of Peace Studies 2010 (PIPS, 2010). Between 2.7 and 3.5 million individuals were displaced, including those in the former FATA. For the duration of Operation Rahe E Raast Around 2.5 million people from the Malakand division, comprising

Swat, Buner, and Shangla, were internally displaced and moved by the end of May 2009. South Waziristan has seen an additional 450,000 emigrants. 69,650 of the internally displaced people in Swat were pregnant women who also resided in IDP camps (UNFPA, 2016)

This Displacement unleashed huge burden on government and left government with more fascinating challenges particularly the government of KP during last days of government tenure in early 2013. This resulted in a trust deficit among the electorate. Moreover, it also left a socio-psychological impact on migrated population.

#### 1.9.1.c. Socio-Psychological Impacts

Due to terrorism and security forces' responses to terrorism, the psycho-socio structural foundation of the society has been severely harmed. Military operations and responses to terrorist actions have a greater impact on children, women, and adults. Elders in the battle zone had doubts about the government's incapacity in particular and the state security force as a whole. The majority of the people blamed the administration of being unable to govern effectively and of handling the crisis improperly. The majority of people in conflict zones, 60% of whom are women, 40% of whom are males, and a third of whom are children, according to Dr. Khalid, the previous chairman of PPS, suffer from depression, fear, anxiety, mental disease, sleep difficulties, and depressive symptoms. These sociopsychological effects on the population induced fear, which decreased public confidence in government. This presented a significant challenge to the ANP-PPP coalition government.

#### 1.9.1.d. Environmental damages and Tourism curtailment

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is one of the most beautiful and fertile provinces that have green mountains, peaks and tourists' spots particularly in Swat, Shangla, Malakand and North-south Waziristan. Terrorist activities took place in these areas on large scale. Due to Military operation against terrorists, it resulted in environmental damages including biodiversity, infrastructure and environment. Tourism, which according to analysts have massive revenue generating potential curtailed, even local inhabitants were not allowed to come out. Environmental damage occurred both as a result of militant activities and military operations. Terrorist used mountains and zebra-wood forest to hide military operations. This resulted in damaging precious plants and tress such as Morinda spruce (*Piceasmithiana*), pine fir and zebra-wood (Shams, 2023).

## 1.9.2. Economic Implications:

### 1.9.2.a. Economic Impacts

When an ANP-PPP coalition administration ruled the province from 2008 to 2013, KP was severely impacted by terrorism and its financial cost. A number of economic sectors, including agriculture, tourism, foreign direct investment, and GDP growth, suffered significant losses. The key entry point to Afghanistan and the center of commerce and industry, Peshawar, was severely attacked by terrorist organizations. In 2013, militants carried out seven suicide assaults in only one week, resulting in hundreds of fatalities and thousands of injuries. Because of these attacks, businesses were forced to shut down for several months, which ultimately led to severe unemployment. Muhammad Ishaq, a former vice president of SCCI (Sahad Chamber of Commerce and Industry), claimed that out of KP's 2,254 industrial sectors, 1,653 were shut down between July 2007 and January 2010. He claims that 540 units are operating at the moment, out of which 73 have closed down because of the violence and 40% of the province's workforce has lost their jobs. According to SCCI, KP's infrastructure has suffered losses of up to US\$35 billion. Agriculture and tourism have generally been more impacted.

Pakistan has lost US\$126 billion in the past 17 years as a result of terrorism, including US\$9.18 billion in 2008–09, US\$13.56 billion in 2009–10, US\$23.77 billion in 2010–11, 11.98 billion USD in 2011–12, and 9.97 billion USD in 2012–13 (Pakistan, 2017-2018). Additionally, particularly in areas of strife, terrorism prevented the government from collecting US\$346.176 million in taxes. The government also paid terrorist influencers US\$129.8 million in addition to spending US\$3.8339 million on infrastructure. According to information provided by the Ministry of Finance, extremism and militancy cost Pakistan \$10 billion annually (Finance, 2011).

### 1.9.2.b. Impacts on Agriculture Sector

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa derives the majority of its population from agriculture. Agriculture is the mainstay of the war zone's population's economy. This industry has suffered greatly from terrorism. According to Pakistan Economic Survey Report (Pakistan, 2009), agriculture's contribution to the growth of the nation's GDP has decreased from 25.9% in 1999–2000 to 21.3% in 2007 and 21.8% in 2009. The National Agricultural Research Center reported that KP produces 48% of Pakistan's fruit, with Swat making up the majority of this production (Ali A. ,

2010). However, during the 2007–2008 militant outbreak in Swat Valley, agricultural output significantly decreased. According to a Swat official and agricultural specialist, between 55% and 70% of the fruit was lost during the local war. Conflict between the Taliban and the security forces was to blame for this. This is primarily due to roadblocks, explosions (bomb blasts), curfews, and shelling that cost farmers and merchants billions of rupees in losses (Khan M. F., 2021)

### **1.9.2.c. Impact on Tourism industry**

With their tall peaks and mountains, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's northern regions offer a very lovely and magnificent view. Among these are the regions of Naran, Kaghan, Swat Valley, Bahrain, Madain, Kalam, Kalil, Shangla Top, Sar Malang, YakhTangay, Galiyat, and Hazara. Attacks on these sites occurred during the Taliban insurgency, particularly after 2008, in an effort to terrorize both locals and visitors so that the militants could utilize the area as a base for militancy. The number of tourists significantly fell as a result of this militancy.

Former tourism minister Syed Aqil Shah claims that violence and extremism cost KP 50 million dollars annually in lost revenue. What he refers to as the "final nail in the coffin for the tourist industry in NWFP (KP)" is Swat's purchase (Shah W. A., 2009) Swat Valley is one of the most significant tourist destinations in KP. It is significant for a variety of tourism types, including ecotourism, spiritual, adventurous, commercial, and heritage tourism. When Mullah Fazlullah publicly questioned the authority of the government in 2007, however, the hostility that followed ruined its appeal to tourists. Because they undermine our culture, women were prohibited from attending school and foreigners were prohibited from visiting. The Swat district alone experienced a loss of RS. 60 billion between 2007 and 2009. As a result, from over 228 million US dollars in 2007 to 204 million US dollars in 2008, these tourism businesses' foreign exchange earning decreased. (Majeed, 2016). This left a huge economic burden for the KP government. Fighting such clergy domination in KP has been a solid impediment in the way of government of ANP from 2008 to 2013.

#### 1.9.2.d. Rocket rise in Poverty and Unemployment

Massive damage is done to infrastructure, local businesses, and people's jobs owing to industry closures as a result of terrorism and security activities. From 33.8% in the fiscal year 2008 to 36.1% in 2009, the poverty rate increased by 2.3%, placing 62 million Pakistanis below the poverty line. Many locals in KP's rural communities closed their businesses as a result of terrorism and security activities. From 0.45 million in 2009–2010 to 0.41 million in 2010–2011, there were more unemployed people. Insurgent million has also interrupted small-scale and cottage industries, which are the main source of income for individuals living in the conflict zone. Additionally, because to clashes between terrorists and security personnel, communities in the conflict zones were evacuated, and residents there lost their livestock, including cattle, sheep, buffalo, and goats in Swat and Buner.

Finally, it is important to note that foreign direct investment significantly decreased as a result of rising militancy and terrorism. In other words, foreign direct investment has declined because multinational firms were reluctant to invest in Pakistan due to instability and terrorism fears. This is a result of unrest and instability (Din, 2022).



## **Chapter 4: Analysis: 2012-2022: An Era of high uncertainty; causes, restraints, and consequence**

### **1.Introduction**

The Era of 2012 and 2022 onward shows a high degree of political uncertainty in Pakistan. 2013 was the year that witnessed high demand of political participation with recorded turnout of 54% a much higher percentage than elections since the 1980s (ECP, Election Commission of Pakistan, 2013). The study of this era is important for two reasons. First replacement of two-party system with multi-party system in the country. Second, the rise of Khan and its populist rhetoric have caused extreme political polarization and instability that eventually led the country to the brink of economic collapse. According to a BBC report, the country whose economy is on the brink, society is political polarized, and soaring inflation, politicians and institutions have been pulled into a power struggle over who should run Pakistan (BBC, Asia, 2011). A political analyst, Mahmil Sarfraz noted that "Political uncertainty is making things even more difficult for the entire system,". He further reiterated that "The system is collapsing in Pakistan. If that happens, it won't benefit anyone - neither the political parties or the people of Pakistan.". Such polarization and uncertainty are mainly due to rise in agitational politics and power struggle. The main stakeholders of this struggle are the establishment, politicians and institutions. However, since Pakistan having parliamentary system have three tier functionary system viz Executive, Legislature and Judiciary. After 2012 onward with the rise of PTI, a tug of power between the three is hampering democratic evolution of the country. However, analysts believe that things were not as bad as they are today, especially with the observance of rising populism in the country. This chapter include the novel changes that took place during the decade, impacts of the populist rhetoric on masses and society, implications of populism and personality cult on democracy, political polarization: An opportunity for re-emerging military establishment, challenges for right-left wing parties, lesson learned and recommendations.

### **1.2. Novel Changes during the Decade**

The transformation during the decade not only enhanced scholars' interest in the field but it amply provided opportunity for researchers for scholarly discourse. The change from two party system and emergence of PTI on the political scene and iconic populist movement of PTI greatly contributed to the study. First, PTI successfully achieved the systemic transformation in political structure of Pakistan. Secondly, the Party Motto of challenging status quo political forces through organizational mobilization, ideology, counter narrative, and redeeming civil military balance brought significant changes to the electorate. These changes greatly unleashed high degree polarization, slow motion economic growth and a divided nation. These impacts will be studied subsequently.

### **1.2.1. Transformation from Two-Party to Multi-Party system**

Since Pakistan got independence, it didn't track itself on the path of democracy. Four military regimes in the country with highs and lows of democracy and political development. The 2008 general election laid the basic pattern of party politics in Pakistan's democratic order (*Since Pakistan's founding in 1947, it has experienced four military regimes. In chronological order: Mohammad Ayub Khan (1958–1969), Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan (1969–1971), Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (1977–1988), and Pervez Musharraf (1999–2008)*) (Society, 2017). From 1988 to 2013, the two parties namely PPP and PML-N dominated the political scene of the country and are remembered for performing well on issues such as political stability, economic growth, diplomatic cooperation, and combating terrorism. The two-party structure established itself in the context of their previous performance.

In 2013 PML-N won the largest NA seats and independent candidates joined PML-N which allowed it to form government (Desk, 2013) However, PTI that was steadily growing itself managed to get NA seats equal to PPP. At provincial level PTI abled to lead the province of KP and emerged as third largest political party of the country. 2013 onwards PTI's main focus lied on organizing itself and mass mobilization. The Era 2013 and 2018 was full of agitational politics and populist rhetoric which mobilized masses at grassroot level. The 2018 election was conducted after high contestation between the two parties namely PML-N and PTI. PPP also remained a mainstream political party however, it was a less threat for PTI than Punjab dominated PML-N. After the election PTI managed to establish itself as the first largest party of the country by securing majority seat in NA, Punjab provincial Assembly and Khyber

Pakhtunkhwa. Thus, the hegemonic position of the two parties was challenged by Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf and political landscape changes from Two-Party to Multi-Party system. Speaking the advantages of multi-party system, the people of Pakistan had a vast choice of selecting candidates, however, in long run, emergence of PTI brought some negative impacts on democracy as well as on society at large.

### 1.2.2. Dynastic Tradition twisted.

Dynastic rules are not unusual in the world (Noorani, 2022). Dynasty or hereditary politics is not a new phenomenon. Like today's dynastic rule, the history of the subcontinent also witnessed dynastic rule. For instance, the Khilji dynasty ruled for decades and transferred it to another dynasty. The same happens in modern history. For example, in south Asia, India was ruled before and after partition until Modi came to power by Nehru's Family (Noorani, 2022).

In political system of Philippines, there are also political dynasties, among them the more famous are the Aquino and Marcos families. Similarly, Sri Lanka has a more classic example, where Mahinda Rajapaksa ruled as president between 2005 and 2015, and then as PM. In Pakistan, the two leading families of Nawaz Sharif and Bhutto have dynastic rule that rule the country. With the rise of Imran Khan who have no other political family member and PTI to power changes the dynastic rule of the country. However, it is another question that did it leave good impacts or negative impacts. However, up to the study of dynasticism, it has both positive and negative impacts. The negative includes less opportunity for young and diverse leadership to come to lead. Moreover, it affects the democratic culture of the country.

### 1.2.3. Provincial hegemony: A Changing Scenario

Provinces of Pakistan has been dominated by the parties having strong roots in various parts of the provinces. It is a customary practice in Pakistani politics that each province has several political parties but only one or two regional or mainstream parties have dominated the province either on ethnic base or cultural affiliations. For instance, Punjab has been dominated by Shari's dynastic politics for 3 decades. Similarly, the province of Sindh has political appeal to Sindhis and Baluchistan to Balochis and KP to Pashtoon. The case of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is different. It is sometime dominated by religious parties and some time by nationalist parties like ANP.

With the arrival of PTI in 2013 and 2018, this political culture changed. For example, PTI ruled KP province for two consecutive terms and Punjab during 2018 election lied in PTI's part. The PTI mainly received support from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It is worth mentioning that in 2013, the People's Party won only six seats in Punjab, and the PTI bagged 24 seats in the stronghold of PML-N. According to *Malik (2013: 180)*, the 2013 elections result shows the continuous trend of regionalization in Pakistani politics with different parties controlling different provinces (Anas, 2013) (Mankaj, 2012). Analyzing 2018 provincial election result, in Punjab, the PTI has won 181 seats, while the PML-N electoral strength has been reduced to 166 seats, losing its absolute majority in the Punjab Provincial Assembly. In Sindh, the PTI won 30 seats, and made great progress compared to 2013, while the PML-N did not win a seat in Sindh.

#### 1.2.4. Enhancing Political Response

The famous theory of cognitive dissonance postulates that psychological tension is created when the behavior of an individual is inconsistent to his thoughts and beliefs. With this individual needs to change their behavior accordingly. The area and Era of the research topic is selected on the basis of response of the people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

The tale of Pakistani politics is a curious story power, privilege, and personalities. The electoral history of the KP shows personalities have dominated politics more than parties' dynamics. History of KP shows, personalities like *khudai khidmatgar* Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan), Sanobar Hussain Kaka (A revolutionary thinker), Hakim Afzal Khan and then Wali Khan family. Moreover, the province of KP also witnessed a trend of religious iconic figure like JUI-F head Maulana Fazlur Rehman and *Ji Ammer Ji* who was coalition partner of MMA under Musharaf regime. Until 2008, the province politics dominated by different political parties i.e., Religious, Nationalist and moderate like ANP, JUI, PPP and PML-N. 2013 election proved a shoot from the moon for PTI that rule the province for almost a decade which no other parties did ever in checkered history. Political response and voting behavior changed during the decade. For example, the province which once given mandate to religious parties during Musharaf regime has given electoral mandate to secular, left and Liberal ANP. Similarly, a subsequent mandate had been given to PPP and PML-N that are considered as Sindh and Punjab hegemonic

parties. This shows that the political behavior of the people of KP changed and remained the trend of keeping personality over the party.

The US drone strike in Afghanistan and in tribal belt of KP antagonized it people who choose to religious iconic personalities like Fazal Rehman and JI Ammer Siraj Ul Haq. During 2008, the people of KP choose to give mandate to ANP whose philosophy based on teaching of Bacha Khan. In 2013 and 2018 the people of KP laboratories another personal, who has still strong hold in some districts of KP. saw highest casualties. This can be gauged from the fact that in the 2013 election, the highest ever recorded turnout was recorded at 55.05 % (ECP, Election Commission of Pakistan, 2013). Political response during the decade enhanced in two ways. One, General masses are more interested in debating politics especially with the rise of personalized Charisma of Khan. Second, the growing mistrust of masses due to economic growth deterioration and high inflation increased the interest of the masses in debating politics and leadership. With Political response, political participation increased.

I personally traveled to many cities for interviews in KP. Whenever I used public transport I talked to taxi drivers, fellow passengers and sometime just as an observer, I found masses debating politics and leadership which most of them never did. One the taxi drivers, I asked, have you voted during 2013 and 2018 election and before. He replied, “It has been 40 years since I did not vote for any party”. The reason he told was his less interest in politics and no trust in politicians. But with the coming of Khan, he emphasized, “I took to the polling station just to vote for Khan, because according to him, Khan can save us from evils like corruption, inflation and most important of all from foreign debts” (Interview).

Another interviewer who hailed from Mardan, which is known to be home of ANP, told me, “I was less interested in politics as most of them come and use public offices for their personal gains”. When I asked him, whom you voted. He replied with emphasize that “whom Can I vote when there is Khan”. Apart from interviews, whenever I went through streets and shops, I just heard about political discussions going on there. Most of the discussions are about Khan and his opponent. This great change shows that political consciousness has captured the attention of the people at gross root level, they once hated such debates (Haseeb & Anwar, 2022)

### 1.2.5. Politics as a routine debate

As mentioned earlier, that masses' consciousness has increased. In the same manner, political debates have been increased. Being part of the crowd who was watching the football match at Bannu sports complex, two people behind were at logger heads with each other while debating the arrest of Khan and his removal from the office. One told the other, there was foreign involvement in Khan's overthrowing from office, the other did not agree with him while telling the reason that it was constitutional process not the foreign involvement. Another observation went on in Babar's shop in Bannu. The barber shop was hotly captured by the political debate. There were supporters of Khan and opponent. The debate revolved around Khan performance in KP. This is also self-assessed study conduct led under discussions with general masses on the topic of politics.

### 1.2.6. Surge of Populism and its effects

Populism has taken the world political stage causing great changes. Populism, according to *Grace Waldee*, is a philosophy directed to the needs of the common people and advocating a more equitable distribution of wealth and power (Waldee, 2011). Like other countries in Europe, South Asia and US that saw the rise of populism. The philosophy of populism can be proven both beneficial and detrimental. Beneficial in sense that political engagement increased as we saw it 2013 election with highest 54% voting turn out in Pakistan, political analysts assume that it was due to rise of people more interest in politics due to the role of leadership. However, when such leadership is based on authoritarian leadership style, it sabotages political progress. But history witnesses the detrimental trend of populism. For example, In US and India, with the rise of populist leadership, fascist tendencies have taken center stage, like strict immigrant policies of Donald Trump and his xenophobic sentiments curtailed minority rights. The same happens with India PM Narendra Modi.

Pakistan also become prey to this philosophy. In Pakistan's checkered history, two parties and its leadership are deemed as populist. One was PPP under Z. A Bhutto with socialist Ideology that soon ruptured. Second, PTI rose with the rise of Imran Khan's personalized Charisma. The 2013 election is regarded as the year of rebirth of Populism. Pakistan come under grip of populism and KP experienced its first wave. The Rise of Populism in Pakistan resulted governance issue, politics based on hatred motivated by populist rhetoric. As seen in the past 10 years, with the rise

of PTI, high level disengagement of political forces took place that eventually led to polarization of politics and give space to hybrid regimes. Thus, the rebirth and rerise of populism and nationalism is creating political space that may be filled by non-political forces, as the current situation seems.

### 1.3. Impacts of Rise of Populism with the Rise of PTI

The Rise of PTI have brought both positive and negative impacts on Pakistan political landscape. However, as far as the rise of populism is concerned, it unleashed cult personality and polarization in politics. Thus, the populist rhetoric of PTI under Khan personality cult deepened the situation which will be brought into consideration.

As populism is not clearly defined due to its obscure nature, no exact definition of populism exists. However, one thing that is common among all populist leaders is that 'They harness public sentiments within specific context at a specific time by spinning their own distinct version of populist narrative (Ali S. M., 2023). The Rise of Populism in Pakistan is not a new phenomenon. But it is rather a new version of an old phenomenon. The current version of Khan's populism is different from the earlier version used by Z.A Bhutto who grabbed power by blending right-left win rhetoric during the 1970s. The more divisive nature of Khan's version of populism distinguishes it from Bhutto's version. Khan version of populism blended elements of anti-elitism and anti-imperialism in a bid to articulate narratives to trigger emotional response of disgruntled major parties' supporters. The first promise that Khan brokered was his fight against elites by aligning himself with electable to win the election. Khan once ascended to power his main concern deflected from main issues. For instance, the narrative of anti-elitism and anti-imperialism coupled with ending the debt trap issue, Khan within months approached IMF after winning election. Religious card that always played key role in triggering emotions and sentiments of the masses, Khan left no stone unturned to use it. He championed himself in a unique way for speaking selective group of Muslims under Modi's government repression while ignoring the Muslims of Uighurs in China and even persistent persecution of minorities in Pakistan itself. The last nail in the coffin for Khan was the using of ace card of anti-American sentiments when on April 10, 2022, Khan through first ever vote of confidence motion in history.

This growing version of populism cost Pakistan on multiple fronts including socio-economic and political impacts.

### 1.3.1. Political Impacts

Political impacts are directly related to socio-economic and cultural impacts. The political history of Pakistan shows highs and lows of democratic evolution. 2008-2013 Era is bitterly known for democratic evolution and successful transition of one civilian's government to another. 2013-2018 Era also hardly tried to track itself on path of democratic evolution, however, prime minister Nawaz Sharif for the third time unsuccessful to complete its constitutional term. The Era 2018-2023 marked high uncertainty while keeping track on democratic norms. But most political analysts termed this era as hybrid and controlled. We shall see to the impacts that PTI's politics brought into the landscape coupled with Charisma of Khan.

#### 1.3.1.a. Khan's Charisma or Cult?

There is a lot of debate about the charisma of Khan and personality cult. However, the two terms are intertwined. To Max Webber, Charisma is more about appearances than action and driven more by sociology or politics (college, 2021). To weber, three key components make up a leader charismatic: The psychological dimension, the social aspect, and the relational dimension. Psychological dimensions encompass inner qualities. Social dimension is driven by external sources that shape the leader. While the relational dimension encompasses the relationship between the leader and the subordinate. Cult leader according to Dr Nadeem Jan is "a person of tremendous charisma who can make inroads into the hearts and minds of his followers" (Jan, 2022). In addition, the followers see the obedience of the leader as divine duty. Cult leaders share common traits like twisting facts for personal gains, authoritarian leadership style, pretending to be charmed and charisma, and most importantly the cult leadership survives on use of media and sycophancy.

Underlying the above traits, Khan personality groomed through such traits from time to time. For example, Khan before coming to electoral competition, he used tactics like anti-west, anti - US and most importantly the mantra of status quo. When Khan assumed power, everything changed and twisted every fact for personal gains. Such leadership style left deep political and sociological scars on the society which analysts and his opponent consider unrepairable. The



arrival of Khan in Pakistani politics shows both positive and negative political impacts. However, the trend shows the negative trend surpassed positive.

#### 1.3.1.b. Positive political trends

Positive political trend follows political inclusion of youth into mainstream politics, a lesson for political parties to reorganize, Two-Party system challenged, dynastic politics debated, masses mobilized with seeking political knowledge trend, and most importantly it provided scholarly debate for research scholars. Following the trend of youth inclusion into mainstream politics, the credit goes to PTI that mobilized youth during the time when no other parties paid heed to them. According to Khan's vision, the youth of Pakistan is an asset for the country. His main concern was to bring youth into mainstream politics. Yet his vision did not meet its goal, but the fact is that youth are more concerned about leadership and politics (the debate about impacts on youth is irrelevant here).

According to a national survey during the year 2010, the youth of Pakistan were showing a depressing paradox, which they wanted to improve. According to a national survey, the majority of the youth believed that better political leadership for country's better performance. Yet, major political leadership was not willing to play any serious political role to affect the positive role of especially of youth.

It is pertinent to mention that PTI under Khan's leadership during the decade, the party was able to establish and manage galvanization of youth with a sense of purpose (Network, 2010) (whether one agrees or not to the PTI's message is irrelevant to the discussion). The society that was characterized by despondency was replaced with hope and sense of purpose. Khan's appeal to youth forced traditional parties to play a Catch-All role for youth. Thus, it opened opportunities for youth to participate. The trend if continued would eventually cement a substantive role youth in political activism. This in return added to democracy and political participation.

Another positive that followed the decade is the masses' raising concern about dynastic politics. Pakistan political system developed under political parties based of dynasty politics. Mainstream parties like PPP and PML-N that dominated the political arena from 1988 to 2013, mainly work under dynastic and traditional politics. It is fact that Khan has no political family or dynasty to

which PTI would fall. Initially Khan remained stick to democracy within party, however, with arrival of electable the party saw democratic disorder, yet Khan himself remained main contender of the party. To many analysts the PTI rise is tied to Khan's survival in the political arena. However, The Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) on Friday October 21, 2022, disqualified PTI chief Imran Khan in the Tosha Khana reference under Article 63(1)(p) for making “false statements and incorrect declaration” (Dawn, 2022). The party chairmanship fell to Shah Mehmood Qureshi who belong to a Sufi-tribe and Gadda Nasheen. The thing that is relevant is that the debate about dynasticism and its discontents started. It will bring mainstream parties to rethink their differences within parties and would track itself on democracy. With the rise of PTI, dynastic political trend slows down as evident from 2013 election at provincial level where most of the candidates belonged to low political background families or they won on party basis. in 2018, the trend observed both at national and provincial levels.

Another trend that followed the decade is masses mobilization and their attitude for seeking political knowledge. It is a fact that politics has been a routine debate of the masses whether they gather for political purposes or other such gatherings. According to a national survey, political debates were common among academics, scholars and literate sections of society. It is a common practice to debate politics. Illiterate people are observed more curious about politics and political parties (*Authors own observation while collecting data*). General Masses like Taxi drivers, common masses in shops and markets, streets and business hubs are more concerned about personalized politics in which every supporter of the party make argument and counterargument for the party and leadership he/she is concerned.

Last but not the least positive trend is the development that followed the decade. It is important in the sense that it provides more literature for researchers and academicians. It is also important in manner, when such developments take place, research-based inquiries are needed to get into the dept of the problem and provide time-bound and viable solution to the problems. Thus, the trend that followed the decade is positively contributing to literary work of the Scholars.

### 1.3.2. Negative political Impacts

To some analysts, the rise of PTI and Populism in Pakistan is haunting Pakistani society and political landscape at large. Since rise of Imran khan in politics, his populist rhetoric has

captured political landscape. The authoritarian style populist style not only haunts political leaders of other parties but the political system as well. As general secretary Awami National Party, Sardar Hussain Babak noted down, Imran's politics of otherizing other and authoritarian styles of leadership is neither good for democracy nor for his political career. Similarly, PML-N Supreme leader Shahbaz Sharif, the then PM also directed towards Khan by saying, 'the politics of hatred and otherizing is poisonous for democracy and for political parties. However, Khan's authoritarian self-styled populism is not only breaking grounds for third force (military establishment), as we are observing under current hybrid regime, but also tarnishing the fragile democracy in Pakistan, leaving the society greatly divided.

### 1.3.2.a. Polarization of politics

Since 2013, Pakistan is going through intense political polarization. The intensity of polarization started when Khan had majority seats in provincial assembly of KP. Seeing the trend of using populist rhetoric upwards, and people's inclination towards Khan appeal of anti-elitism, anti-US, anti-status quo and champion of religious cause of Muslims. Khan politics turned to container politics and started Dharna culture by sitting for 126 days in D chowk, demanding electoral investigation and then resignation of sitting prime minister. It is relevant to remind, the dharna was full of play cards charted with abusive slogans against political opponents. This not only haunted one specific party but it was a win for third force which Khan used to say that "Umpire's finger is near to point at". However, leaving no stone unturned, Khan, according to many political economists, an installation of military establishment, got the front seat.

On 20 August 2018 Khan delivered his speech at the inaugural ceremony of PM. Khan during his maidan speech perpetually reaffirmed the nation about freedom from elites, status quo, and western imperialist powers (News, 2018). Yet the speech was more about fighting elites and status quo than explaining his agenda for upcoming five years. The years 2013 and 2018 saw the highest political polarization.

At national level, PTI succeeded in making government by aligning itself with electable, which Khan always condemn their political role. Once Khan came to power, it started victimization of political opponents by alleging them in corruption cases. Political opponents were convicted in corruption cases and jailed them, the party used to make Thanksgiving and celebrations. This led

Pakistan into highly polarized politics. The polarization reached its peak when opposition parties managed to overthrow Khan through a vote of no confidence (it is also the fact that horse trading has been dominant factor for this no confidence motion). Khan on receiving the news of vote of no confidence, Khan using the power of his authority sent assent to president to dissolve National Assembly, President gave his assent and National Assembly dissolved. However, opposition alliance of eleven parties namely Pakistan Democratic Movement managed to Veto Khan by no confidence motion of April 10, 2022. The succeeding day supreme court delivered historic ruling and resolved the constitutional crises. However, experts believe that a vote of no confidence dragged the country into another crisis, political instability caused economic instability.

### 1.3.2.b. Foreign Policy Front

Imran Khan's ouster from office was the first ever vote of no confidence in the history of Pakistan. The days after vote of no confidence embroiled Pakistan in unprecedented political crises (Naseer, 2022). This move created political frenzy which involved an alleged, "foreign threat to oust Imran Khan's regime,". The conspiracy theory used by Khan greatly polarized the Pakistani society into two extremes. One considered Imran as a dangerous demagogue and the other viewed him as Messiah (<https://southasianvoices.org/imran-khan-and-populist-rhetoric-demagogue-or-messiah/>). This voice and Imran's ouster inversely created an opportunity for Khan's PTI to narrate its populist rhetoric, especially the anti-US. Khan used the letter which later become controversial Cypher to his political support. Rallies and Protests following his ouster chanted slogan against US, the most favorable and time-needed slogan. The newly introduced term '*Absolutely Not*' took center stage.

The fact is that this populist rhetoric of Anti-US energized the public support of Khan. However, the foreign policy front remained mired in crises. The highs and lows in foreign policy with US met its lowest ebb, leaving the Pakistani society to a dangerous level polarization. The political tussle reached beyond parliament to the streets and hatred towards institutions increased at the cost of populist narratives. In ancient England, the notion of sovereign's immunity was a derivative concept from the maxim "Rex non potest peccare" which means "the king can do no wrong." This seems to capture popular support for Imran Khan perfectly, while his performance

for 3.5 years in government has been conveniently forgotten and forgiven. Most important of all, the country's image is damaged internationally.

### 1.3.2.c. Democracy Tarnished

The stagnant growth of democracy is always mired in crises. This crisis is sometimes caused by military interventions and sometimes due to internal political harmony within political parties. 2008 was the year that witnessed successful democratic evolution followed by two other consecutive successful transitions of civilian governments. However, history shows that democracy always remained between Military and dictatorship. Democracy during the decade was largely tarnished due to political polarization and distances within parliamentary forces. Analysts believe that personalized Charisma of Khan added to the crises, who always speak against political opponent without considering time-bound solution to the problems and sitting with opposition on table, which opposition parties during his government frequently offered.

Democracy that didn't flourish during seventy-six years of independence came under restraint during the decade. Imran khans rise to power on provincial level added to agitational political culture which eventually left huge crack within political system. On assumption of house of prime minister, Khan government was unacceptable in the same way as Nawaz Sharif government in 2013 was not acceptable to Khan. However, after assuming power, Khan's government failed on many fronts including relieving the economy and easing common masses by giving them subsidies. This gave the opposition opportunity to stage protest against Khan at the initial stage and later united to oust Khan from office. The opposition made it possible even though some of Khan's cabinet members lost confidence in Khan's government.

Army has had dominant role in country's affairs and a powerful actor in Pakistani politics (Humayun, 2022). Which army on its parts rejected many times, and most importantly alleged support for Khan during 2018 election. It is also commonly believed that the Army has also a dominant role on key role over key decision making which is evident from most recent appointment of country's intelligence services chief. There were speculations that the army is withdrawing its support for Khan. Thus, the intervention from internal and opposition playing field on military top brass cards has never been advisable for democratic evolution and would

never be in future Irrespective of who is in government. The shared goal must be strengthening democracy rather than tugging the power.

Growing populism and personality cult coupled with opposition's use of counter populist rhetoric has exacerbated the crises. For instance, Khan and his cabinet ministers were accusing the opposition of being part of a foreign conspiracy against his government. Opposition on the other hand accused Khan for costly and irreparable agreements with IMF and that Khan sell Pakistan's sovereignty to the west. Rather both the then opposition and the then government were at logger heads with each other to put the blame on one another.

Khan's use of anti-west populist rhetoric invoked religious nationalism within the country. Such populist rhetoric didn't positively add to democracy and shall not bear any fruitions result in the coming days as well. The result of blaming and counter-blaming bearded no fruit but the public confidence in leadership lost. The worst of all is that politics has become a game of blaming, using derogatory words and calling each other with mimic names has become feast for politicians which results in disrespecting the respected political class and discourage electorate from voting, thus affect voting turnout, for example, in 2018 more than 50% of adults who were eligible to cast vote didn't vote. It can be proved that most of them were not affiliated to any party. So, the proposition is that they were discouraged due to trust in politicians. Most of them would take the impression that all political classes are corrupt, traitor, and self-centered politicians (Lodhi M. , 2022). Thus, they were discouraged from voting. A large section of society becomes inactive and loses confidence. But democracy needs high level engagement and confidence. The main contributors that add to public trust deficit are incomplete pledges of leadership, gap between common masses and political elites, leadership style, economic performance and gap between the electorate and government. Uncontrolled and unchecked media and less public confidence is adding to the crisis. The crises can be reverted if political leadership stresses more on masses' issues than political interest. Moreover, the government and opposition must see each other as political opponents rather than political enemies as in politics there is no enemy. This trend started with the rise of populism as a populist lack tool of diplomacy and negotiation.

### 1.3.3. Economic impact

On economic Front, the party has failed to deliver the promises made for employment, small business-led growth, and support for export driven sectors during election campaign. For example, even before the pandemic, Pakistan's debt and liabilities surged by Rs11 trillion (more than \$70 billion) within one year (Finance M. O., 2019-2020) During the same period, the Pakistan Stock Exchange, the KSE-100 index, saw a sharp slump coupled with one of the worst devaluations of the Pakistan Rupee against the US Dollar. The inflation rate rose to 7 percent and unemployment to 9 – it was worse among youth – and the rising prices of petrol and utilities ((Ihsan & Shakil, 2021)). Thus, it was a hard nut to crack by PTI government in order to live up its promises by just simple populist solutions to the problems.

Economic stability that is directly related to political stability mired in crises when no confidence motion passed and pm ousted from office. The fact is both the then government and opposition flagged their slogans against inflation, opposition even launched *mehengai mukaow march* Without any proper plan. Despite knowing the brewing result of political instability especially after voNC, government and opposition mired in power struggle that who will run the seat of government. During the time ousting PM from office, the IMF program of \$6 billion suspended when the new government took place. This suspension not only caused high inflation rate at around 30% but lack of economic confidence including foreign direct investment, employment and economic growth which is currently 0.29 % as compared to growth rate of GDP for FY 2022 6.10% (Statistics, 2022). Moreover, the interest rate stands highest at 24% as compared to 17% when Khan's government was leaving government. The main drivers behind slow growth are the devaluation of rupees, which stands at 299 as compared to US dollars, highest interest rate and banning essential imports for manufacturing industries and most importantly closing of LCs. Consequences are seen in the shape of high inflation, rocketed energy prices, and depleting foreign exchange reserves that slapped from 10 billion dollars to 4.2 billion dollars, and the economy is at the brink of collapse. There are questions arising that would political forces were ready to take the responsibility and were they sure that they will bring country's economic sustainability. The answer according to the above analysis is obviously No. Because the government populist rhetoric was tackled with reverse populist rhetoric. Populism can appeal to

electoral by can't solve problems with viable solutions. Populists always seek to make appeal of the electorate and come to power at every cost of the electorate.



## Chapter 5: Consequences and Implications, Recommendations and Conclusion

### 1. Introduction

Political development during the decade experienced highs and lows. The major positive political development is the transition of democratic governments. But parallel to this, the decade saw high uncertainty, polarization, socio-economic and political implications. With the rise of charisma of Khan and his authoritarian leadership style tarnished the already fragile democratic evolution, however, the role of other parties also remained disappointed. Political parties and leadership on political as well as on economic front failed to deliver. The reason for it is their less adherence to the national cause and more focus on the power struggle. This unleashed large scale and negative impacts on the evolution of democracy, institutions, economy as well as on the society. The rise of populism and its different shapes coupled with personality cult is haunting democracy and political culture. Such consequences and Implications have affected the growth of the country on multiple fronts viz Political, Economic and Social.

### 1.2. Political consequences

Politics and political parties are endemic to democracy. Democracy flourishes when there is political consent among politicians and political parties beyond their personal interest. In case of Pakistan, the history shows that politics have been interested business of the political parties. *Maliha Lodhi* explains the real cause of Pakistan's stagnant evolution as politician's less adherence to the national cause and their preferences for good governance. Similarly, the hierarchal structure of the political system lacks proper and reliable structure. This adds to the less effectiveness of the system. Politics in Pakistan is mainly dominated by personalities, celebrities, feudal and clientelism. These aspects of politics negatively affected democracy as well as the economy of the country. Political instability and agitational politics widened the gap between political forces and their adherence to the core issues. Politicians are at logger heads with each other for the sake of power and influence. These consequences unleash unbearable implications for the present and future as well.

### 1.3. Political Implications

The most important of all political implications is the direct consequence of weak economic growth. Political instability causes economic instability which in most recent time the country saw after successful vote of no confidence in 2022. If economic data is compared, the economic growth for 2022 before vote of no confidence was 6%, in 2023 it is recorded as 0.3 %. This shows the high political uncertainty and polarization caused slow and weak economic growth.

Due to lack of civilized politics in the country, the trend of use of abusive language, derogatory words and direct targeting of political parties and their leadership have caused great divide within society.

The use of social media that was at peak during 2018 election and its aftermath, the truth to find has been a rare commodity for the electorate in order to distinguish between good and bad leadership style. Most of the abusive use was done by PTI workers for which they were always endorsed by party leadership (Lodhi M. , Muashi Badhali (Economic Instability) ovr Siyasi Ikhteklafat mulk ko kis taraf le jarahi hy, 2022)

The extreme political polarization and clashes between the institutions resulted in defaming each other. For example, whenever there came a decision against one specific political party or its leadership, the other came to defame the party by leaking undesired video clips while based and tailored media channels make it as breaking news. This not only haunted a political party or its leadership, but most of the prestigious and sensory institutions also became victims of it.

Other implications of such politics caused great divide within families at lower strata. It has been the first time in the history of the country that polarization reached family level and even among siblings there has been conflict over political differences. Some politically unaware people term it political maturity, however political analyst *Maliha Lodhi* consider it the failure of democracy as well as leadership.

The political implication of PTI's MNA's resignation from the parliament on the order of Khan is that the parliament worked for months without effective opposition. The bill passed in the parliament went without consent of the opposition and their curious role as opposition.

Extreme political polarization and hatred among masses resulted in abuse of institutions like judiciary, election commission, parliament, and establishment. And most important of all, the masses were mobilized against the military that might cause a breaking of civil war in the country.

While curtailing populist narratives of Imran Khan, PDM started the same mantra in a bid to sell their narratives to the masses. This added to the phenomenon that has already hurt political culture and democracy. PDM failed on the promises which they made during protest rallies. Thus, this only added to the deteriorating political and economic situation.

Constitution that always remained vulnerable to the culprits, demagogues, traitors and the powerful, subverted by dissolving National Assembly after voNC. PTI felt no hesitation to subvert the constitution and turn it for personal gains. Similarly, PDM during its short tenure passed bills without assent of president of Pakistan as in the case of Military amendment act 2023.

Agencies like Federal Investigation Authority (FIA), National Accountability Bureau (NAB) and others were used as tools against one another either PTI was in government during the decade or PDM was in power. This caused a great divide within institutions.

The internal political consequences have external implications too. For example, the use of populist narratives of anti-US and anti-west affected Pakistan's soft image. Like after ousting of PM Imran Khan, the populist narrative of “*Ghulami Na Manzoor*” was driven by PTI. This not only caused strained relations with US and West but also with financial institutions like IMF, World bank and Asian development bank that mainly work under the hegemony of US and West.

#### 1.4. Economic Implications

Political instability and economic instability are directly related to each other. *Shehnaz (2018)* stated that political unrest has greatly damaged the economic institutions of Pakistan. This political unrest influenced the leaders to focus on short-run policies to remain in power. Despite the enormous resources of the country, the country's economy badly damaged by political instability in the country. The economic growth during military regimes and civil government shows different growth. Among them, the most recent data shows a very different growth

through one and half decades. In the end of Musharaf's regime, the economic growth was recorded as 4% in 2007. However, when terrorist activities reached its peak, and assassination of twice women prime minister, the economic growth slowed down to 1.7%. Again, when civilian government in 2008 come to power and political instability lessened, the economic growth reached 4.3%.

In 2013 when the successful transition of one government to another was completed, the economic growth slightly increased to 4.4%. However, during 2013, Imran khan's popularity increased, the politics of agitation also increased. Due to political instability in 2013 mainly due to Khan's politics of agitation, the trade routes closed and business in the country greatly affected. In addition, some of the CPEC projects stopped due to internal threats. The GDP growth slowed down to 3.7% in the initial Years of PML-N 2013 tenure. However, after resuming businesses in the country, it reached 6% in late 2017.

When in 2018, PTI came to government the GDP growth was recorded as 5.9%. But after protest and political instability in the country it slowed down to 1% in just one year. It is obvious from the data that gross domestic income showed a steady flow during times of political instability. This ultimately led to low production which eventually ended up in increased unemployment, inflation, current account deficit and abnormal external debts.

The reason for low economic growth also includes the unwilling preparedness of politicians and stakeholders and their less adherence to the cause. Moreover, the unequal tax culture, bad governance, lack of institution's credibility and public finance management governance are the factors that speed up the process. Moreover, politics has been a business for power holders at the cost of deleting economy and rising inflation, unemployment and poverty.

## 1.5. Recommendations

Political crises have led Pakistan to the brink of collapse. Political and economic analysts like *Akbar Zaidi and Miftah Ismail believe* that one of the main reasons for bad economic performance is political forces less interest in delivering promises made during elections. Moreover, they argued that unequal distribution of wealth and unequal taxation lead Pakistan to the brink of economic collapse. *Asim Sajjad Akhtar*, who is political economist believe that the

reason for Pakistan lagging behind in political development and economic performance is due to unequal distribution of resources among prestigious elite and weak society. This gap needs to be fulfilled before the country reaches complete collapse and turn into a wild state. Some of the following recommendations are given below. These are as follows:

### 1.5.1. Role of leadership

Leadership metaphorically is as important as water for fish. Leadership can play role that might push a nation towards independence from foreign powers as the founder of Pakistan 'The Quaid E Azam' did. However, in Pakistan, after demise of Quaid, there has been leadership but not prepared to take responsibility as the founding fathers overtook. Pakistan need leadership beyond any differences with other leadership and beyond political gains. Current political leadership, according to *Maliha Lodhi* Just play a role of power grabber (Lodhi M. , Muashi Badhali (Ecnomic Instability) ovr Siyasi Ikhteklafat mulk ko kis taraf le jarahi hy, 2022). Authoritarian leadership style not only haunts democracy but the political culture as well. To address this issue, democracy should be strengthened by allowing student unions, young generation as well as women while rejecting gender gap in the electorate. The current leaderships need to take responsibility for the country as they have taken oath under umbrella of constitution.

### 1.5.2. Respect for Political differences

Currently Pakistan is under extreme polarization. Political parties, either right or left have extreme views for their political opponents. 2013 onward the phenomenon reached its peak and blaming counter-blaming started. Political differences between political parties are endemic for democracy in the sense that such political differences unearth issues. However, in Pakistan political differences mean political Abuse. Those in power malign their opponents while using derogatory and abusive words for each other. This inversely results in a lack of public trust in political leadership and political parties, that might affect political turnout.

### 1.5.3. Inclusive Political System

Political system is inclusive when it is based on equal rights, equality opportunity, universality, fair representation and equal approach to the resources (Tribune E. , Inclusive institutions — Pakistan's panacea, 2020). In Pakistan, the political system is exclusive, lack fair representation, fair use of resources and equal opportunity. Pakistan needs an inclusive political system where the difference between 'Haves and Haven't ' and unequal representation and elitism do not exist. Good governance can be achieved through an inclusive political system.

### 1.5.4. Respect for Electoral Mandate

Since independence of Pakistan, elections have been mired in controversy over ragging of elections. Those who win the election accept the results while the loser set to stage protest and rallies against election results, which eventually results in political instability and further economic instability. Political parties should accept the electoral mandate of the winning party and must give the party or coalition of parties to complete its constitutional term. Parallel to this, the role of election commission of Pakistan is also crucial to conduct elections in free and fair environment.

### 1.5.5. Run Democracy smoothly.

To avoid any military intervention, the running of democracy through mutual consent of the political parties is mandatory. Beyond any favor for any institutions or group, the politicians need to think beyond their personal interest and gains. Running democracy smoothly requires political consent, friendly opposition, and most importantly harmonious civil military relations.

### 1.5.6. Accountability Across the Board

For avoiding any political unrest, political polarization, and public mistrust, the process of accountability needs to be beyond any influence of personality, institution, and political party. In Pakistan's chequered history, accountability has been used as tool to counter political opponent and his influence. 2018 onwards, the accountability process has been instrumentalised.

### 1.5.7. Taking Society on board on All Fronts

Democracy, political parties, institutions, and political system all depend on society. In Pakistan, social strata have been classified from above to below. This includes the higher, middle and lower class. However, in democracy, the concept of division of society in class is cursive. Pakistan as a state need to take society on board either it is political decisions, state decisions, or a decision of an institution. Society must be taken on board.

### 1.5.8. National Interest above All

No democracy succeeds until the national interest of a state is kept above all other interests. National interests include foreign policy, economic growth, national integrity, and national cohesion. In Pakistan, political parties and politicians are observed as having their election interest and personal interest first, then national interest which is negligible. Political forces need to take national interest above all their personal interest.

### 1.5.9. Acceptance of Diversity

Diversity ranges from parliament where different political parties with different party manifesto sit together to the diversity in the society. In Pakistan, diversity is oftenly regarded as ill fortune. However, it is a blessing in disguise for Pakistan as in diversity there is more inclusiveness. Political parties, leadership as well as masses are needed to accept diversity that smells like a bunch of flowers.

### 1.5.10. Independent Foreign Policy

Foreign policy choice is the state's independent choice. No matter what political party comes to power, foreign policy should be based on the teaching and direction of founding fathers. Moreover, making foreign policy choice, masses aspiration should be considered. Unlike the recent regime change mantra, political parties need to make independent foreign policy without making it as an agenda of their election campaign.

### 1.5.11. Civil Military Relations

Strong and civil military relationships are needed to run democracy smoothly. In Pakistan, civil military relations saw highs and lows which curtailed democratic process in the country. Both civil and military need to make decisions without influencing each other while remaining on

same page. Otherwise, democracy and political development will be hurt, and a third force will take advantage of it.

#### 1.5.12. Personality dominated Politics.

No doubt personality matters, but if the personality is going to be cult it is dangerous for democracy as well as for political development. During recent years, politics have been dominated by personalities even it has become a cult. With the rise of cults, the political differences have been widened and become irreparable. Pakistan needs to make electorate politically aware of such traits. Political Parties must avoid such politics to keep democracy flourishing.

#### 1.5.13. Intra-party Election is Mendatory

It is the beauty of democracy to make consensus among masses, politicians, and political parties. Intra-party election is mendatory for democracy within the party and outside the party. With this process, every worker of the party has the right to come to a higher position. Unfortunately, in Pakistan, political parties lack this process which further tarnish its political growth. Thus, political parties are mainly feudal dominated, dynastic in nature and captured by the elite. Political parties need to consider the process at eleventh hour in order to flourish political parties in democratic norms.

#### 1.5.14. Preference for Education of the Masses

Illiteracy and democracy do not move together. Democracy needs higher knowledge in every field including political awareness. Political awareness comes when the masses are educated. In Pakistan, 1% of the total country budget is allocated for education which shows politicians less adherence to the cuase. In order to make democracy strengthen, education should be extended to the lower strata of society as enshrined in article 25A of the constitution.

#### 1.5.15. Role of Opposition

The role of opposition is as necessary as the role of the government. In democracy and parliamentary system, opposition plays a key role by keeping the role of government in check. The role of opposition in Pakistan has been ineffective especially after vote of no confidence and dissolution of national assembly. For the past six months, the government remained without



opposition. The recent bill passed in the parliament remained without consent of opposition. To make democracy flourish, the political parties and their leadership must know the crucial role of opposition and must have respect for their role.

## 1.6. Conclusion

Pakistan constitutional and political development went through the vicious cycle of fragile democracy, bad governance and populist Regimes. Politics in the country like Pakistan has become a daily business of political demagogues, diverging masses attention from core issue ranging from democracy to grassroot level by engaging them in political conflicts among the masses. Democracy and political development in Pakistan went through hard times of military dictatorship and martial law rules. Evolution of political parties also remained under stress from internal instability, factionalism and clientilism. Moreover, the rise of populist leadership and extreme right-wing politics has engulf political landscape of the country.

In Pakistan, there are more than 120 registered political parties. Yet, Pakistan's politics have been dominated by two party system. The diversity found in multi-party system has become a curse for Pakistan's political system. Yet the rule of two parties that has been mainly dynastic, traditional and clientalist have negatively impact the role of other parties. From 1988 till 2013, two parties namely PPP and PML-N dominated politics. However, with the rise of right-wing PTI, the political landscape changed at center mainly dominated by mainstream PPP and PML-N, and at provinces where ethnic and regional political parties ruled. The decade shows that right-wing parties especially PTI has captured central stage and ruled the province of KP for almost a decade which the province of KP never experienced before.

Until 2013, there were two main political parties at the center viz PPP and PMLN. PTI came into being in 1996 but was not active until 2011. The 2013 election campaign of PTI was largely based on the campaign on social media like Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, and agitational politics resulted in 126 days longest Darna of Pakistan's political history. *Ahmed and Skoric (2014, 2242)* found that PTI Twitter usage was the most distinctive as involved greater interaction with the public

Socio-political changes during the decade witness a change in Pakistan's political landscape. Populism that has arisen throughout the globe have affected democracies all over the world. In Pakistan, the leadership crises and bad governance have added to the rise of populism and populist leadership. During the decade of 2012-2022, democracy has been on perils of populism and authoritarian leadership style. Yet there is no serious debate about the nature of democracy and political parties crucial role for it. The politics of agitation, retaliation, blaming and counter-blaming, and political victimization have taken the centre stage. This not only caused a failure for democracy but also a Socio-political collapse.

The impact it has unleashed ranges from political polarization, political differences and a fertile ground to Military regimes to the abuse of language, social polarization and extreme intolerant attitude within political parties as well as in social strata. The rise of one party at the cost of other produced nothing but a political failure.

The literature studied through different means shows the nature of politics and leadership style changed and political changes have taken place to large extent. However, it lacks the reasons, causes and consequences of such changes. The findings of the study fill the gap by study in depth its reasons, causes and consequences. These findings contribute on the part of the reader to understand, what type of political leadership matter for democracy and its evolution. Moreover it will make the reader able to go in depth into the causes and consequences that the current crises unleashed.

The political landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) has seen a significant transition over the past ten years, one that is characterized by the slow demise of nationalist groups in the aftermath of populist politics' ascent. This transformative path has been made possible by the complex interplay between socio-political factors, economic desires, identity narratives, and governance issues. The demise of nationalist parties during this time reorganized KPK's political landscape and raised important issues regarding the future course of the province's political identity. Several significant revelations emerge as we draw to a close this in-depth examination of the factors that have shaped the political landscape in the KPK between 2012 and 2022.

The decade under consideration has seen the rise of populist movements and individuals that have expertly exploited the common frustrations, aspirations, and complaints of the KPK public. These populist leaders tapped into dissatisfaction with long-standing nationalist parties by positioning themselves as advocates of the people and promised quick fixes to complex problems. Due to their difficulty in keeping up with the shifting political landscape, nationalist parties finally lost their steadfast grip on the province's political awareness. Sure enough, the following example of a paragraph for a research paper on "Populist Politics and the Erosion of Nationalist Party Dominance" is provided:

The development of populist politics has significantly changed the terrain of political power and influence in recent decades. This movement has resulted in a significant reorganization of long-standing political conventions. It is characterized by charismatic leaders and their capacity to connect with disillusioned sections of society. The decline in the historical dominance of nationalist parties is one notable aspect of this transformation. These parties, which were formerly unsurpassed in their ability to shape national narratives and policy agendas, are now having trouble coping with populist movements' rising popularity. This study explores the complex interactions between populist beliefs and the progressive waning of nationalist party dominance. This study aims to understand the complex dynamics altering contemporary political landscapes around the world by looking at important case studies and studying the tactics used by populist and nationalist actors.

The shifting economic climate and the electorate's shifting priorities can be partly blamed for the growth of populist politics in KPK. Populist leaders skillfully pounced on economic uncertainty and unemployment, offering rapid fixes and charismatic leadership to provide relief right away. In contrast, nationalist parties had difficulty addressing the populace's urgent economic problems because they were frequently grounded in historical narratives and identity politics. Their shifting emphasis was a factor in their declining popularity over time.

The dynamics of electoral behavior have changed dramatically as a result of shifting voter priorities amid changing economic environments. In light of the complex interactions between

economic reality and election choices, traditional paradigms of voter decision-making, which are frequently based on party ideology or social identity, are currently being reexamined. This study explores the complex interplay between economic variables and the evolving voter preference landscape. This study intends to reveal the intricate ways in which economic considerations are increasingly influencing political trajectories by examining the impact of economic indicators on voter decision-making, such as income disparity, unemployment rates, and inflation. This study aims to shed light on the methods by which economic realities are reshaping the larger discourse around democratic representation through a comparative examination of significant political campaigns and thorough voter polls.

Their nuanced view of identity dynamics contributed to the demise of nationalist parties. The populist wave placed more emphasis on broader nationalistic sentiments than the regional autonomy and ethnic pride themes that previously fueled nationalist groups. Populist leaders merged the boundaries between local and national identity, appealing to a wider range of voters. They did this by lessening the exclusivity that had long characterized nationalist parties' appeal.

The complicated interplay between identity dynamics and the balancing act of people and communities is becoming more and more obvious in the intricate environment of contemporary society. The goal of this research is to examine the complex relationships between individual and social identities—shaped by traits like race, country, religion, and gender—and the challenging task of finding balance in a complex and linked world. This study tries to understand how people navigate their many identities while attempting to maintain peaceful cohabitation through a thorough investigation of case studies and socio-psychological theories. This research adds to a fuller understanding of the human experience in today's globally interconnected yet culturally different communities by putting light on the difficulties, adjustments, and potential conflicts that result from these complex identity dynamics.

The failure of nationalist parties to successfully solve issues with governance contributed to their demise. In contrast to the perceived inertia of established parties, populist leaders asserted themselves as issue solvers who take decisive action. Populist politicians were able to offer reform on the disenchantment brought on by ineffective government, which ultimately helped them win elections.

The idea of successful governance is being challenged by a widening leadership gap in a time of extraordinary global problems and swift social change. This study tries to analyze the complex governance issues that have emerged as a result of this leadership gap. This study aims to reveal the complicated connection between successful leadership and the capacity to handle challenging societal issues by looking at examples of political instability, policy gridlock, and popular disenchantment. This research illuminates the cascading impacts of a lack of visionary leadership on governmental institutions and the larger social fabric through a comparative analysis of case studies spanning various geographical regions and governance styles. In the end, our research contributes to a greater comprehension of the demands of leadership in traversing the complex terrain of modern governance difficulties.

For academics and decision-makers alike, the track of the nationalist party's demise in KPK offers important insights. It emphasizes how important it is for political organizations to change in response to shifting public opinion, economic realities, and governance requirements. The ten-year voyage also spurs a more thorough investigation of the precarious equilibrium between local identities and larger national narratives, raising the question of how the two may coexist peacefully within the same political environment.

Analysis of past trends and current events yields insightful knowledge that may be used to future course-of-action decisions. This research tries to derive significant lessons that can influence and direct potential future courses by critically analyzing the triumphs and failures of past undertakings and by attentively observing present trends. This study aims to identify key principles, strategies, and approaches that can help with informed decision-making and efficient planning as societies, organizations, and individuals navigate the opportunities and challenges of the future through a thorough review of case studies, data-driven analysis, and expert opinions. This research aims to give a mindful path for creating more informed and helpful future trajectories by condensing these lessons.

Last but not least, the demise of nationalist parties in KPK during a ten-year period is evidence of the trans-formative potential of populist politics. The emergence of charismatic leaders, the electorate's evolving priorities, and the shifting contours of identity narratives have all combined to change the political landscape in the province. As KPK navigates its future, it must contend

with the long-lasting effects of this transformation, balancing the nationalist fervor that has long dominated the country with the new forces that have altered its political identity. The last ten years have served as a reminder that in the ever-changing world of politics, flexibility and responsiveness are essential, and no party is immune to the currents of change, regardless of its historical importance.

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