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DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN PAKISTAN: UNDERSTAND IN GTHER OLE OF POLITICAL ELITES AFTER(2008)

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ABSTRACT

An analysis of political structure with an approach of elitism and democracy was highly embraced by the state with expected hope that it will deliver good dividends ensuring rule of law, equality and socio-economic progress. Various approaches including civil society, foreign influence study the democratic consolidation and role of political elites in multifaceted ways. In framework of this research article stress is employed on the role of political elite, their unison, inclination to conciliation the prevailing variances especially in a society having multifaceted ethnic and social division, fragmented political leadership. Unity among political elites and willingness to forgo the mutual differences which are pre-requisite for democratic consolidation are trailblazers in the political regimes of Pakistan. Such an analysis is most crucial and significant in the political, economic and social development of Pakistan. The eminent challenges to democracy and enhanced role of political elites are not permitting the state to raise its head and move towards progress, and prosperity. Whoever, on the other hands, it is strongly affecting the political and economic stability and democratic consolidation in Pakistan. The focus of this research with respect to the assertiveness

of political and prospective democratic elites is ruminated asking within which governments can accomplish alliance. This research, however, emphasizes that elites' fragmentation brands 'democratic consolidation' less likely to be achievable.

INTRODUCTION

It is truth persistently being accepted in the case of Pakistan that the elites in power infrequently have acknowledged to participate with those the opponents, rather, elected members of the parliament in opposition recurrently hunted to destabilize the government established through the process of election in pursuance of democracy. The flashes of sporadic collaboration have seen. As for example, compromise that led to acceptance of 18th Amendment in the Constitutional. Spontaneously, Pakistan's grumpy and testy politics had witnessed the vicious government-opposition variance. Also, communal efforts to upend each other. Endless political maneuvering and feuds had unfolded legroom for the military's manipulation of politics and ultimately recurrent reverting to the political stage.

It can be said that since 2008, the country has comprehended an era of incessant civilian rule, notwithstanding the so-called 'hybrid experiment' that gave the army an idiomatic but all-embracing responsibility and role in national affairs of the state. The marked period nonetheless has involved strengthening and consolidating the democracy. The role of political parties can be acknowledged in imitating to craft democratic culture in the country. However, this, didn't happen. The new emerging political parties embrace insinuated parliamentary members from existing political elite in the country also; local influential and habitual turncoats or prominent figures are seen as part and parcel of political parties. Pragmatism uncovered the settings from the probabilities to map new political development for the country. Predominance of personality over party organisation concocted the inchoate new political party's looks like older ones.

New phase for democratic dispensation inaugurated after the end of military rule of Pervaiz Musharaf in Pakistan with the announcement of general elections in 2008. Democracy was highly embraced by the state with expected hope that it will deliver good dividends ensuring rule of law, equality and socio-economic progress. However, there are various approaches and possible ways including civil society, foreign influence, and role of friendly states for attaining democratic consolidation in a state. In framework of this research article stress is employed on the role of political elite, their unison, inclination to conciliation the prevailing variances especially in a society having multifaceted ethnic and social division, fragmented political leadership. Unity among political elites and willingness to forgo the mutual differences which are pre-requisite for democratic consolidation are trailblazers in the political regimes of Pakistan. Owing to volatility overheated by lots of democratic and stability challenges in Pakistan: political instability, leadership crises, corruption, electoral abnormalities, politics of godfathers, incessant poverty reinforcement and spread is due to mass unemployment, overburdened dependent economy and chronological security questions. These challenges are not permitting the state to rise its head and move towards progress, and

prosperity. Whoever, on the other hand, it is strongly affecting the political and economic stability and democratic consolidation in Pakistan.

Political Elites and Democratic Stability

It is important to provide an explanation for the diversity in the consolidation of democracy in Pakistan after independence based on the research dialogue. It is to be ascertained through democratic and political history of Pakistan that how political elite's vow to democracy, coherence or political stability preserve democratic alliance which is essential for stability and prosperity in ethnically, socially, politically and economically divided societies in South Asia especially in Pakistan. On the other hand, it is essential to discuss at national forums that how political elites play their role for democratic consolidation or to stagnate democracy.

It is the people of the country to determine who govern them and who is chosen by periodic and transparent mechanism of elections. Because, democracy is regarded as all-inclusiveness, participation and accountability without discrimination. In order to achieve the prime objectives of democratization in Pakistan, role of political elites for democratic consolidation and stability is very necessary and important. Encouraging political elites through aid or other ways is considered as to establish democratic consolidation ensuring political stability and institutional development. In this way, the regime in emerging democracies like Pakistan may not fall into the authoritarianism time and again that governed the countries since independence. Despite triumphant evolutions, democratic consolidations have become a titanic hitch provoking political elites (VandeWalle & Butler, 1999). Many states in 90s struggled to transform their democracies and political setup on the principled conduit; barely a few thrived in establishing efficacious and rational democracies by instituting political stability. The role of radically chosen in efficiently functional and successful democracies or states may have demonstrated an assertiveness favorable to give credibility to the actuality of democratic attributes that fashioned democracy and its consolidation viable. Political elites, in this way, think themselves the lynchpin of political establishment through which regimes can attain consolidation. Elite's allegiance to democracy as well as their rationality is contemplated to be the swivel of hypothetical frame work amidst consolidation is conceivable and doable particularly in transpiring democracies of South Asia. Important is, to analyze the role of political elites and political parties in order to accomplish democratic consolidation. Evidently, it is considered as how the democratic states behave as an epitome which other states possibly will acquire to consolidate the democratic process.

Conceptual Clarification – “democratic consolidation”

Conceptual clarification of the terms and concepts provide an insight into the study to analyze, evaluate and adoption of pragmatic approach to resolve the prevailing issues of democracy and role of elites. Originally, the term “democratic consolidation” was meant to describe the challenge of making

new democracies secure, of extending their life expectancy beyond the short term, of making them immune against the threat of authoritarian regression, of building dams against eventual “reverse waves.”

“Democratic consolidation” may be an imprecise perception since its very inception, the theoretical and conceptual fog that veils the term has only become thicker and thicker the more it has spread through the academic as well as the political world. If it is true that “[n]o scientific field can advance far if the participants do not share a common understanding of key terms in the field,” then the study of democratic consolidation, at its current state of conceptual confusion, is condemned to stagnation. The aspiring subdiscipline of “consolidology” is anchored in an unclear, inconsistent, and unbounded concept, and thus is not anchored at all, but drifting in murky waters.

Democracy

Democracy, in ideological aspirations is appealing in order to include maximum participation and legitimacy of implemented policies in developing countries. Democracy provides an opportunity to the citizens practicing an ability to hold governments accountable as well as responsible for their proceedings. The citizens can sojourn the exploitation of authority by the politicians. Protection of human rights, economic development with sustainability, and protection from the retributive tendencies of authoritarian regimes as well as the effects of social and economic upheavals can all be deep-rooted in democracy. Democracy stimulates governments to be aware of citizens' needs in order to improve their health, education, and general well-being. This enriches people's lives by raising harmony both between and within the states. Moreover, it gives due importance to the citizens by appreciating their intrinsic values as human being and emboldens learning from one another through open discourse, which makes it easier to define needs, priorities, and obligations. The majority of advanced democracies practice this type of democracy. Third surge of comprehensive democratization has transformed the states from authoritarian rule to some kind of democratic regime (Schedler 1998). Overcoming authoritarianism or the rule of a single person is democracy's primary goal. Pakistan and other developing democracies suffered greatly as a result of ongoing involvement in politics by autocratic forces.

Simulated democracy abstractly

This idea is known by “illiberal democracy,” likewise known as a preferential or partial democracy, “low intensity democracy,” “empty democracy,” or a hybrid regime, where the prevailing system governing the state holds periodic elections but peoples have limited access to information about the actions of those who carry out real administrative and constitutional behaviors because there is no common civil liberty. In pseudo-democratic systems, administrative units or government employs tactics to stifle the opposition, and one dominating party serves primarily as a channel for winning over the public.

High levels of patronage exist in this system as a result of dominating parties' ability to use public funds to appease the elites, who then lend support by encouraging their constituents to vote for dominant party. Government also courted the general populace's support, so it will undertake significant projects that are likely to advance that populace's interests in exchange for that populace returning the favour by providing the government with the resources it needs to succeed.

Introduction of Elites

The word "elite" was reformed from the French word elite that again descends from the Latin "liger". It is a verb meaning to choose, pick out or select. The word elite refers to those people who are superior and top (Actor, 2014). The term "elite" in social sciences insinuates to a powerful but tiny group that commands respect in a culture. According to the notion, a minuscule minority made up of associates from many institutions and associations or organizations brandishes a lot of power. Its affiliates are capable of exerting a significant and effective impact over policies, procedures or decision-making processes of relevant democratic constitutional officialdoms and establishments. This group holds a great deal of influence, inspiration, sovereignty and affluence. In other words, Elite is "a group having superior and higher intellectual, economic or social status" (Word web) and higher endued group frolicking leading part in the general public. "C. Wright Mills defines "elite": "those economic, political and military circles, which as an intricate set of overlapping small but dominant groups share decisions having at least national consequences. In so far as national events are decided, the power elite are those who decide them" (Gilens and Benjamin). Democratic establishment is a well-established system in which education is important. In every state and society, upper-class children attend prestigious schools and premier universities like Oxford, Harvard, Princeton and Yale, among others. Institutional powers, that he exercises to carry out his duties typically forms the basis of the elite class. Virtually all elites are alumnus. Approximately 54% of the leading businessmen and 42% of government managerial elites are former students of world's twelve esteemed institutions of higher education (Christopher, 2013).

The word "elite", in Pakistan, typically conjures up idea of proprietors, who once made-up ruling elite following the independence in 1947. However, as the country's civil and military bureaucracy assimilated into elite and used national reserves or resources to establish additional elite and influential assemblages, this started to shift over time (Siddiq, 2012). It is a dynamic theory that is always changing. What distinguished the privileged yesterday may not still define them now or tomorrow. It has the ability to change an existing phenomenon to suit their needs. In a nation like Pakistan, wealthy elites have easy access to manipulate the state and society. The development of elites is closely tied to the group's strength, aptitude, resources, and properties. It implies that today's lower middle class or middle class can become tomorrow's elite. People from lower middle- or middle-class backgrounds, such as Tahar Ul Qadri, Malik Riaz, and Altaf Hussain, are now a part of the dominant elite. Today's strong elite also includes selected

religious figures alike Maulana Fazlur Rehman and jihadi spearheads like Fazal Allah, Hafiz Saeed and others. There is no such thing as an elite-free society, despite the fact that elites exist and play a substantial role in almost every country in the world. There are elite classes in every nation and civilization. However, in Pakistan elites have a profoundly negative influence on society as a whole. Due to elite pressure and influence, no governmental, semi-governmental or private entity can function. In a multiclass society like Pakistan, the privileged present themselves in a very poor manner.

Consequently, it can be seen insignificant respite from the past and the way politics functions. Narrow social base of party leaders, what status quo-oriented parties have to offer the public in whose name they play the power game. It is worthwhile to say that there isn't substantial transformation of liaison between the citizens of state and governments, notwithstanding transmuted socio-economic and political environments. Politics and political maneuvering is a rivalry and antagonism between and among political elites. Despondently, it is bereft of philosophies or imagination — other than clichés — about where conflicting organizations, institutes or parties want to take the country. Barely, any momentous policy or procedural differences can be seen between rival parties who, nonetheless, declare each other incompetent to govern. Political instability permanently exists due to such behavior and state suffer in multifaceted ways in terms of economy, peace and stability.

Pursuance of Policy

Acquirement of policy is not considered in the administrative package of elite's government after coming to power. Pseudo democracies do not pursue any permanent policy or planning. It became the major cause of low economic development giving rise to the crises of governance. Formulation of policies plays an important role in the nation and national development. State can progress with effective planning, implementation and permanency. The pace of progress since independence has not commensurate with the promise and desire of the people. Quality planning and pursuance of quality planning is essential to achieve developmental goals. Unfortunately, in Pakistan, the elites are less concerned with formulation of policies, their implementation and permanency. Democratic values are not steadiness to make the state politically stable. Therefore, the state faces formidable social, economic, security and governance crises. Many states in South Asia faced the similar fate and originated from similar environment and have successfully turned the crises into opportunities through sound planning, good governance and consistency of planning. Besides political parties and leadership, the elites could have played distinct role to make the state strong in terms of economy and politics. It is important that the decision-making process is influenced by the elites which can be productive or flawed.

Elitism vs Democracy

Different theories have been put forth on the topic of elites throughout history. In contrast to democratic theorists who raise normative questions such "are elites essential and for what intent?" the study of elites has focused on

questions like "who truly are elites," "how do they retain themselves," and "what is the character of elites" (Bill and Hardgrave 1973). In other words, democratic theory is very different from that of elitists, who view the elite-mass duality based on uneven power distribution as a normal occurrence. The elitists fail to explain why this unfair distinction is required (Medding 1982). In fact, all historical evidence demonstrates an upper echelon structure in which a select few competent (powerful or affluent) people or organizations control the decision-making processes. Yet, the natural occurrence has been supported by democratic philosophers on the grounds of prescription and normativity.

The elitists hold to the value of the notion that "the few exercises a relatively big weight of power and the many substantially little," which can be summed up as follows (Bill and Hardgrave 1973, 159; Parry 1970). Democrats consider the potential of more deliberate power redistribution between the masses and elites. Bachrach and Baratz (1962) provide an example of why the goal of transferring power from elites to the masses should be investigated: "the many exercises a large weight of power and the few comparatively little."

The topic of elites has been examined in democratic theory in line with this teleological goal. Democratic theorists argue the actual connection between dogmatic elites and democratic ideals while acknowledging presence of elites and necessity of their activities. The key issue at the centre of discussions on democratic models is how much democracy and how much leadership can coexist? What sort of leadership, in other words, is in line with democratic principles?

The difference in leadership style between interactive and aristocratic leadership is what causes conflict within democratic models. According to the democratic theory's discussion of participative decision making, leadership must be restricted to promoting popular participation and improving popular choice (Kann 1979). The elitist leadership, which has also been discussed in democratic models, tries to shape and influence public decisions like the tutelage of a select group of specialists (Dahl 1985a, b). There seems to be a spectrum of disagreements between these democratic models, from democratic (rule of full personal liberty) to having elitist overtones (rule of the few). The fact that the democratic and elitist viewpoints start with very different connotations helps to understand the disagreement between them. In general, the democratic stance suggests a widening of popular choice, while the elitist stance typically means a narrowing of popular choice.

As a result of the philosophical threads of utility and consent, democratic theory's various perspectives have evolved (Kann 1979). In general, the utilitarian philosophical school advises utilitarian leadership, in which everyone benefits from a select group of experts' skills. It encourages elitist rule. When political authority maximises the overall level of societal happiness, it is authoritative (Kann 1979). The philosophy of consent, on the other hand, holds that legitimate authority is primarily based on popular consent. While the utilitarian inclination relates societal usefulness (political

outcomes) to political authority, it links popular choice (the political process) to that authority (Bachrach 1967).

Country Profile

Ideological differences led to the partition of Sub-Continent. Parted from India in 1947 on the basis of ideology from combined states ruled by British government, Pakistan emerged an ideological state in the Sub-continent. The constitutional and political crises inherited. Besides initial problems the state inherited the economic political and leadership issues which remained unsettled and further weakening the democratic and political consolidation in Pakistan. In the country, for political profiles elites have been affiliated with distinctive and assorted ethnic, political and social groups for their own political interests. The prevailing state of affairs diminishes the state and political legitimacy, justice and equality. A nation state creation is not brusque process; the word 'nation' for the Muslims of Sub-continent was used for the first time by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan after the Urdu-Hindi controversy in 1967. The emergence of the 'Nation' concept zipped the dream of separate state for the Muslims conferred with independence in the Sub-continent. However, rather than European States, Pakistan had passed through complex sequence highlighted with complex issues and constraints towards independence in 1947.

Leadership efforts corroborated efficaciously and state independence procured to make it a democratic republic; established on the principles of peace, prosperity, free and fair justice to prevail and rule of law. After the death of the founding fathers, polarized politics and political elites having immense impact masqueraded earnest threats and hazards to the Republic founded for peace, prosperity and religious harmony of the people. Dominant elites uncritically accepted the notion of nation-state in structuring promoting national integration (Akhtar 2009). Challenges of nation building and democratization prevailed and have adverse impact on the political, social and economic development. Therefore, socio-economic development and democracy have not taken roots since independence.

The Political Ceremonials of Pakistan

Military role in the politics cannot be ignored being another elite group to rule the country time and again. Ahead of independence from the British in 1947; democratic forces fluffed; Pakistan democratic setup was short-lived owing to military concerns and engrossment in politics. Chronicles of military infringements date back to 1958. The first Constitution was sadistically terminated by martial law in the independent state that was in manners of coining a road map towards stability of politics sustainable democracy. First military overthrow of political government in 1958 resulted in the poor political and scrawny institutional outlook of the country. Thereafter, second martial law on 25th March 1969 was imposed by General Muhammad Yahya Khan assuming the office as President and (CMLA) Chief Martial Law Administrator until 1971 without grave space for political elites to function. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, foreign minister in Ayub Khan cabinet, took

over the reign of power as first Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) of Pakistan and then President after the general election and with the end of second martial law in Pakistan. On the other hands, religious sentiments were also confronted after the independence between secular and religious leaders of Pakistan. Deconstructing the history of Pakistan movement, the proponents of democracy claims that independence of Islamic Republic triumphed in the name of Islam. Religion, on the other hands, also became the driving force behind the “ideology of Pakistan”. It was thrown in to public debate for the first time in 1970 and ideology got endorsed during the era of Zia-ul-Haq. True sense of ideology of Pakistan is not clear to any sector of society.

Nation Building and Role of Elites

Role of political and military elites could have been prominent in nation building. Elites impact on the political setup exerted new roots and dimension of governmental setup. Nation building and promotion of democracy remained less area of focus by political elites and other actor driving the political setup of country since independence. A nation, instead of a state, is a cultural identity. Nationhood refers to the political consciousness, collective mobilization of people with an aspiration for independent government, state or nationhood. Subsequent after the end of Cold War, the concept of nation-building emerged. The problem of access to and stakes in the power structure play a key role in the difficulties of nation formation. Which, operate in a highly complex nexus of society, economy, and government. Nation building is the dire need of the state and is a historical progression that possibly can take a long time. Historically, it can be seen Pakistani regimes have failed to strengthen nationhood, democracy and ideology of Pakistan in its veracity. Endorsement to ethnic politics by military rule of Zia-ul-Haq under the shadow of Islamization in Pakistan; handling of Baluch nationalists by Military General Pervaiz Musharaf, impersonated serious security threats to nation-building in Pakistan. Religion and political elites with varying interests transpired as a formidable factor which rationally divided and united the world in 21st century. Whereas, Islamic ideology has produced conflicting interpretation of its relevance to the edifice. The founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah reinvigorated the claim for Pakistan on the notion of “Muslim Nation”. Quaid debated: Islam was not just a religion, but epitomized as separate social order, philosophy, culture and a civilization that gave Muslims an idiosyncratic oddity for nation building and development of political community thereof. Quaid’s conceptualization did not ignore the accommodation, protection and safeguard of minority rights. Rule of law is imperious in the development of Muslim nationalism in independent sovereign state.

Controlled Democracy

Democracy cannot be merely defined as the rule of majority or free and fair election to run the government and political setup in the country. Contemporary distinctness of democracy encompasses transparency, rule of law, accountability, equal opportunities and justice in the state without

discrimination. Unavailability of any one ingredient from the definition of democracy is referred to as malfunctioning of institutes and injustice in the society. Unprogressiveness, economic disparities, social injustice are apparent in controlled democracy which is not projecting the rule of law and accountability. Academically defined democracy has never been fully realized in Pakistan. On the other hand, injustice, power politics, personalities and rule by a few prevailed in Pakistan. Contritely, the nation has to sacrifice for supremacy of law and promotion of democracy. Dubious means and employment of dubious characters as consequence in politics are the patterns followed and used to sustain power.

Democracy has been under complete control of civil and military elites in Pakistan. State elites created an impression that people are not capable of democracy and political elites are assigned the task to implement their own vision to run the state institutions. (Ake 1973) Ethno-centrism prevailed, encouraging the cession sentiments leading towards destabilization and political instability since independence of Pakistan. Regrettably, the same ideology and common religion remained unable to neutralize the separatism sentiments among the Bengali nationalism. Relatively, widening the gap between East and West Pakistan of ethnics. Punjabi elites dominate the politics and their association with Governor General Ghulam Muhammad neglects the increased popular resentment among the sections of society. Power distribution formula proved undemocratic, effecting fragmentation rather than cohesion. Therefore, beholding various political and military regimes that remained in power perseverance of democratic consolidation process since 1947. Military regimes in country comprehend as sole responsible for providing the solution to Pakistan's socio-ethnic, political and economic problems by restoring socio-political stability, national safeguard and a reason to pursue regime in order to correct the mistakes of previous regimes.

Similar economic stance, despite political party's different manifestos, run the government in consistent compartments while claims to contrary. Instead of undertaking social, economic or political reform and raise indigenous means to concentrate country's widening budget and deficits, they, proceed towards disproportionate borrowings. External resources and the substantial amounts of money sent home by Pakistanis living abroad only made it possible for the ruling class to temporarily mask the economy's basic issues. Bailouts are sought from lenders to avert insolvency by every government coming to power after elections. This type of economic management dependent on someone else's money decriminalized the country's rulers — both civilian and military — shelve entailed structural transformations by tax reforms hypothesizing the economy on a viable self-sufficing corridor. Sequential governments solicited profoundly for financing socio-economic and infrastructural development in addition to frivolous spending. Consequently, the state amassed untenable and unmanageable liability usurping at home and overseas. Gratuitous borrowing exerts excessive burden that crippled the economy fueling inflation horizontally. Economic testaments demonstrate that elite capture of public and private resources is predominant corporeality. Intra-elite conflict obscured by pretentious pomposity is

wrapped in it. The most distressful facet is that it bargains no escapism from quagmire the country is trapped in — of dysfunctional politics, mounting governance challenges, visionless economic management and crumbling public faith in state institutions.

The Research Dilemma

To many authoritarian countries in the early 1990s, Samuel Huntington's scholarly effort (1991:16) for worldwide democratization (Third Wave) was appalling. These authoritarian leaders were dreaded because few of them had been tyrannized, some had gone through legal proceedings, and many had resigned from their positions to make way for competitive elections.

The topic of discussion among academics is promotion of democratization and consolidation. Emphasis has been on either foreign aid or civil society as facilitating elements (Resnick, 2012:4; Lewinsky & Way, 2005:22; Carothers, 1999). According to academics, institutionalizing parties and party-systems can aid in the consolidation of democracy (Mainwaring and Scully, 1995). According to Di Palma, 1990; Bunce, 2000, political elites must play significant roles if a nation is to consolidate its democracy. Although, political or potential democratic elites are quintessential elements that helped with transition and viable democratic consolidation. Scholars have not made enough progress in this field to remark on the literature on democratic consolidation in South Asia particularly in Pakistan. Undoubtedly, the appearances and disappearances of democracy as a result of various military coups have stained Pakistan's history. It is important to emphasize, nevertheless, that each state has taken a different route to consolidating democracy.

It is crucial to make the case that the political elites' choices can affect the outcomes of democracy. For instance, the political elites' ability to certify that the Electoral Commission is granted the indispensable sovereignty and autonomy so it fulfills duties without interference from anyone. The political elites' acquiescence with rules, regulations that are steering party financing; the creation of strong, unprejudiced federation to check political corruption are all examples of how they demonstrate their commitment to democracy. In order to ensure stability of politics and growth of political system Inter Parties Advisory Committee may be introduced by the Election Commission (IPAC). This body can resolve the mutual disputes for national harmony and stability of politics in Pakistan. IPAC can play its role to disseminate conflicts and apprehension arising from the governing parties to confirm that political parties in Pakistan institute communal compromise on the conventions of electoral game.

It's feasible that this will contribute to a stronger understanding between Pakistan's opposition and the government. It is logical to conclude that the Election Commission, through IPAC, fosters the political elites' tolerance of one another and devotion to democracy. This environment might be the result of the elites' general cohesion and dedication to promoting the stability of democracy in the nation. Elites from Pakistan's colonial or feudal epoch made some insightful political calculations based on proposed destinations guiding

them in their desired direction. Political freedom and accessibility of the state enhanced when there are regular free and fair elections, progressive institution allocation of constitutional frames and peaceful transition are signs of democratic consolidation. Prior to this time, however, Pakistani politics were characterized by recurrent military coups and struggle to occupy public offices remained among the political elites undermining elites' cohesion and unity. The ruling class has not yet accepted the regulations. Elections, which are considered by some academics and many Pakistanis to be one of the fundamental elements of democracy, no longer have any real meaning in Pakistan.

Because in some instances they are not granted the necessary freedom to operate, Pakistan's civil society organizations remained ineligible to fulfill their primary role of policing actions of the ruling elites. Gyimah-Boadi (2015) makes the following observations about elections: Political elites typically view elections as do-or-die affairs; campaigns are frequently hostile and fierce; and the use of a ballot box, which has been generally accepted as the only method through which a political power obtains its legitimacy, has been severely weakened by "violence and conflict that so often accompany the electoral process." Though Pakistan has proceeded appropriately in its economic beholding at enjoying strategic position in South Asia despite underprivileged economic standing. The country holdups posterior as compared to the states in the region because of 'institutional flimsiness and malfunctioning, impoverished foundation, uncontrolled and unaccountable corruption and rent-seeking'.

Democracy in Pakistan: Historical Overview

The political elites have engaged in acrimonious politics and show little regard for the fundamental precepts that govern elections. Elites who live in this kind of milieu are less sympathetic to the democratic process. Elites occasionally fail to uphold a consensus on the game's rules, accept the viewpoint of other elites, supporting transparent election procedure and process. According to Nzungala-Ntalaja (2006), as mostly the political activities failed to uphold agreed arrangements reached following discussions, prevailing political culture is a result of deviousness preferring precedence above democratic norms. However, political specialists contend that the state had grown extremely weak specifically when resistant leaders started to drop their places as transformation emerged. Because, there was more political room for voluntary organizations (Kasfir, 1998). The majority believed that the ruling elites' mismanagement of the economy and embezzlement were the causes of the nation's poor economic state and that the national leaders were responsible for the high national debts. Poverty-stricken population of the state is result of the lack of accountability of the political elites. This situation is exploited by the democratic leaders and elites in Pakistan after 1971.

The situation Pakistan was resulted from the nationalist leaders' incapacity to advance democracy and people's shattered hopes, which undermined the legitimacy of the state and political elites. Elitist leaders don't have a distinct ideology or set of objectives for the new government; instead, they are focused

on how to stay in power. As a result, a lot of interest groups started to think that Pakistan's military would provide a better replacement for democracy. Human rights violations, development, and poverty were all anticipated benefits of democracy. Early democracy dividends, however, were ineffective. Accountability and public morality are the main goals of political freedom, claims Lonsdale (1986). The Pakistani army began toppling nationalist regimes in order to address the political issues that nationalist leaders and wealthy elites had created. They did so on the promise that they would restore civil rule, bring about order, and minimize mismanagement. Socio-economic crisis, extreme scarceness and poverty, manipulation, regional and ethnic division and marginalization, repression of opposition, poor administration, meddling in domestic affairs by foreign powers, the protection of individual and corporate interests, and other issues were among the problems that the military came to handle (Guttering, 1975; Dashing, 1999; Legman and Omede, 2011).

Muscat (1939) "in all societies, from less developed to the most advanced, there is a class that rules and class that is ruled....the class that rules is few, where as the second, the more numerous classes, is directed at and controlled by the first, in manner that is now more or less legal, now more or less arbitrary and violent". Pareto (1916–1935) defined political elites as utmost gifted and commendable people using their unfettered suppleness as their primary method of politico-economic dominance to coerce, convince or benefit from unique vantages due to their inherited intimate family connections. They are distinguished from other people by their riches and familial ties, which gives them the ability to influence particular matters even when they may be against the interests of the general public. The argument made by Bunce (2000: 709), who is still concentrating on the political elites, is that "if political leaders, for various reasons, are regarded to be the creators of democracy, they recurrently maneuver, preliminary breakthrough as its upholders or underminers."

According to Bunce's theory, elites actually have significant impact on democratic conclusions because of activities' potential to help or hurt the procedures. Elites are the most important group in the process of democratization. Consolidation is made up of two elements: norms and behaviour. Bunce categorises these two components into three basic levels of consolidation, with elites acting as the top decision-makers, parties acting as organisations, and arrangements of final level, which is made up of general populace (Diamond, 1999).

Many academics have put forth theories of democratic alliances mentioning how Southern American nations had employed consociationalism to successfully forge resilient charge to democracy that leads to democratic permanence. Consociationalism refers to situation with numerous inside dissections caused by racial, linguistic, and religious dissimilarities where elites are not in form from their divisions can accomplish it to establish an enduring government by making concessions to one another.

Consolidation, emphasizing elite rationality and responsibility towards allegiance to democracy to comprehend how interaction among these elements

might support democratic sequels. The demise of autocratic government, evolution, consolidation and development of democratic political command are the four stages of democratization (Shin, 1994: 143). According to Huntington (1992), these two stages have received the most attention from democratization experts. As shown above by Huntington (1992), the factors that fuel this transformation in various stages result from predilections of elites, compressions from common people or civil society groups and influence of peripheral pressures. Political elites have a significant role to play in the consolidation of democracy (Higley & Gunther, 1992; Burton et al. 1992; Gunther et al. 1995). It is crucial to research additional elements because this does not imply that political elites alone are responsible for democratic consolidation. Foreign aid or civil society as enabling factors (Resnick, 2012:4; Carothers, 1999). However, institutionalisation can aid in the consolidation of democracy (Mainwaring & Scully, 1995; Sandbrook, 1996; Randall & Svassand, 1999). Free and active civil society, independent and respected political society, presence of the rule of law, a robust state bureaucracy, and an institutionalised political society are all prerequisites for the consolidation of democracy (Linz & Stepan, 1996:7).

Transitions can be accelerated, can resist reversals, can be pushed to completion, can be consolidated, and can be furthered by a strong civil society with the capacity to offer political alternatives and supervise government and state. Consequently, a vibrant, independent civil society is essential at all stages of the democracy process (Linz and Stepan, 1996:9).

According to Linz and Stepan's (1996) postulation on civil society, countries' civil societies may be fully independent or they may be influenced by a variety of variables that make them strong in some and weak in others. According to Diamond (1994:15), "Consolidation is the process through which democracy becomes so generally and deeply legitimate among its citizens that it is very unlikely to break down." It entails societal and institutional adjustments that normalise democratic politics and reduce its unpredictability.

Interest groups and elites political parties must embrace democracy as form of government in order for it to become more solidified. when the actors believe that the only way a government can be established that is not subject to state policies is through non-corrupt processes of election. Additionally, no government policy should be allowed to sway voters' choices in elections or any government institution, such as electoral board, skewing the results.

When political elites and the electorate believe the government will remain in place for the foreseeable future, the legislative and constitutional institutions or appointments must be impartially elected, properly created and unrestricted. Therefore, among Pakistan's political elites recently, election cheating has become the standard. Conclusion: "Democracy is reinforced when a government that was elected in fair and free election loses a subsequent election and accepts the outcome." The political elites believe that the public's faith in elections is enhanced by the electoral commission's independence. Election commission acts as a watch dog in vetting access of electoral commission and political elites who align themselves with political corruption,

the political elites view anti-corruption as a sign of a strong commitment to democracy. The ambition to establish a potent anti-corruption organisation to end corrupt practices, particularly within the offices of political leaders, demonstrates the political elites' dedication to democracy through anti-corruption measures. Socioeconomic conditions were given more weight when all of these aspects were taken into account for democratic consolidation since Lipset (1959) found that the wealthier a country is, the better its chances are of creating democracy in a system like that. The institutions established by political elite for the promotion of own personal interests rather than the interests of everybody consequently democratic consolidation has proven ineffective in Pakistan.

CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of political structure of Pakistan can be approached from number of perspectives. Elitism concept can provide greatest insight into this concept to understand the social, political, historical and economic factors relevant to the state socio-economic and political development. The pattern followed in Pakistan is that the elites operated centrally to control the supremacy by eliminating the non-elite groups of society from every power and political structure. In the pluralistic setup no single elite is able to rationalized the political power and to maintain supreme control. The viability of Pakistan as democratic state does not depends on geographical or strategic location but political unification is more important because the ideological, democratic, political, social and economic strength of Pakistan lies in unity.

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