



Political Stability and Institutionalization in Pakistan: An Overview of Major Political Developments during 2008-2016

¹Imran Khan, ²Ali Shan Shah, ³Muhammad Azhar

¹Ph.D. Scholar, Department of Political Science and International Relations GC University, Faisalabad, Pakistan.
imranbzu2014@gmail.com

²Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations GC University, Faisalabad, Pakistan.

³Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations GC University, Faisalabad, Pakistan.

ARTICLE DETAILS	ABSTRACT
<p>History <i>Revised format: February 2019</i> <i>Available Online: March 2019</i></p> <hr/> <p>Keywords <i>Political Development, Political Stability, Institutionalization, Political Parties, Political Participation</i></p> <hr/> <p>JEL Classification: D72, P16, P26, P48</p>	<p>Political development refers to the significance of institutionalization and is a closely interrelated trend of modernization. Political development in a state depends on political participation while political participation depends on institutionalization. Political stability increases the prospects for civilian rule, and institutionalization strengthens the political system. Political history of Pakistan presents the infrequent institutionalization of political system for democratic stability and the political experiences of Pakistan are just a posed in order to understand the problems of political institutionalization. This paper explores the close relationship between institutionalization, political development and political stability, and also highlights the views provided by different social scientists in an explanation of these terms. The purpose of this study is to evaluate the democratic process and major political developments during 2008-2016 as a case study because this is the unique era for political stability and institutionalization in the political history of Pakistan.</p>
© 2019 The authors, under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0	

Corresponding author's email address: imranbzu2014@gmail.com

Recommended citation: Khan, I., Shah, A. S. and Azhar, M., (2019). Political Stability and Institutionalization in Pakistan: An Overview of Major Political Developments During 2008-2016, Review of Economics and Development Studies, 5 (1), 33-40.

DOI: 10.26710/reads.v5i1.565

1. Introduction

The current political history of the developing countries shows that those countries have been facing various kinds of political, social and economic problems which have slowed their progress and shaken their stability. Since the beginning of the 1950s, many social science theorists have been involved in studying these developmental problems and their possible solutions. Political development, social mobilization, political participation and political culture have closely relation with each other. In developing countries, the divergence between institutionalization and mobilization is the main idea of politics. In this perspective, an impartial crux of the politics is studied for the growth of political institutions (Huntington, 1968).

Except for Samuel P. Huntington and a few others, most contemporary writers on political change tend to associate modernization with political development. The research of both modernization and political development is vast and complicated. Most writers on comparative politics do not seem to distinguish between political development and modernization. In fact, the two terms have been used interchangeably. Referring to the process of change, Gabriel A. Almond argues,

“Whether we call this set of trends a movement toward a ‘world culture,’ a ‘development syndrome,’ ‘political modernization,’ ‘political development,’ or ‘political change,’ it seems quite evident that all of us have been writing about movement in a particular direction” (Almond, 1970).

Almond is one of the first political scientists to propose a general theory of political development. He studies modernization from the system functional approach. In 1960, he dealt with the functional categories of all political systems, dividing them into input (socialization, articulation, communication and aggregation) and output (rule-making, rule application and rule adjudication). In 1963, he also emphasized on integration, participation, distribution and international accommodative capabilities. In a developed political system, he argues that the structural differentiation is on high degree which is characterized as “the emergence of legislatures, political executives, bureaucracies, courts, electoral systems, parties, interest groups, media of communication” (Almond, 1960).

Political party is a primary institution of any democracy and believed to function democratically for political development. However, the elitist political history of Pakistan shows a totally different scenario. The mainstream political parties are less than a dozen such as; PML-N, the PML-Q, the PPP, the PTI, the JUI-F, the MQM-P and the ANP. There are also many nationalist and religious political parties. These parties have won the most number of seats in every general elections of Pakistan (Salim, 2005).

The inconsistency history of political development in Pakistan reflects the weak organizational strength of political parties, centralized political system and imbalance civil-military relations which restrict the growth of political institutionalization. The selection of Pakistan as a case study is guided by the consideration that this country has lack of institutionalization and uneven political developments. Political parties are perhaps the most significant social organizations and their strength decides the nature of democracy in any country. Huntington saw strong political parties as essential and sufficient conditions for democracy and institutionalization. Political parties have been extremely weak in Pakistan. Existing more as personality centred factions they could not clearly aggregate interests. Factionalism is still a feature of the Pakistani party system (Kanwal, 2017).

2. Political Institutionalization

The process of the evolution and stabilization of institutions is political institutionalization. Huntington defines institutions as “stable, valued, recurring patterns of behaviour” and describes institutionalization as “the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability” (Huntington, 1968). He further describes that political systems can be treated as developed or underdeveloped depending upon their ability to have their institutions keep pace with popular participation. Huntington argues that political institutionalization in a modern polity is not possible without political parties. A political party, according to him, is almost necessary to channelize the participation of the mobilized masses. Huntington also uses the terms political order and disorder instead of political stability and instability (Huntington, 1968).

Institutionalization is a prime requisite of political development. Political development could be accomplished only through strong institutions. The intensity of institutionalization of any society can be considered, according to Huntington, by the following four indices: (1) adaptability in opposition to rigidity; (2) complexity in opposition to simplicity; (3) autonomy in opposition to subordination; and (4) coherence in opposition to disunity (Huntington, 1965).

Political institutionalization is a significant aspect of political development. In trying to differentiate development from modernization, Bill and Hardgrave argued that development should be “understood in terms of a system’s response capacity in relationship to demands”, whereas modernization pertains to “those changes associated with man’s increasing control over his natural and social environments” (Bill & Hardgrave, 1973).

Modernization unleashes forces which lead to increasing demands on the political system. It leads to political participation among other things. Samuel Huntington was much more specific in his definition of development. According to him when institutions keep pace with mobilization and participation, political development occurs. When there is a gap between the development of institutions and participation, this is leading to political decay. In order for political institutionalization to take place, mobilization may have to be controlled and gradually expanded as institutions acquire the capacity to absorb it (Bill & Hardgrave, 1973). Huntington argues that political institutionalization in a modern polity is not possible without political parties. A political party, according to him, is almost necessary to channelize the participation of the mobilized masses (Huntington, 1968).

3. Political Stability

Political development has always depended on political and social stability. Political stability and smooth political transformations always generate constitutional and political developments. In the 1970s, political stability and political development was one of the main topics of comparative politics circle. Particularly, researchers believe that the political stability and political developments are necessary in a democratic government and political parties generate the process of political development (Lei, 2013).

Political stability has great importance in the evolution of a country. A stable political development helps in building a continuous and coherent path for sustainable development. Empirical research shows that the political stability in a country measures through different ways such as economic development, social and cultural development, and political participation and political development. Political stability is directly proportional to the governmental strength. An unstable political environment will bring political instability. Political stability means government stability, which means political stability. "Political stability is like a moving cycle which need to be keep on moving. But it requires maintenance, repairs and reforms on certain interval" (Subba, 2017). In general, political stability explains as:

- The members of the government can change without violence, either by democratic election or some other means of succession.
- Policies don't change radically between successive governments.
- Institutions like the legal system, the public service and the judiciary don't change when the government changes (Birch, 2017).

Claude Ake describes political stability as "the regularity of the flow of political exchange. The more regular the flow of political exchange, the more stable" (Ake, 1975). Leon Hurwitz defines this concept with five approaches which follows as: "(a) the absence of violence; (b) governmental longevity/duration; (c) the existence of a legitimate constitutional regime; (d) the absence of structural change; and (e) a multifaceted societal attribute" (Hurwitz, 1973). Shaohua Lei explains political stability in his thesis as: "a durable polity, whereby the central government in the polity has the capability to restrict or control endogenous subversions and to absorb exogenous challenges" (Lei, 2013).

4. Political Participation

Verba, Nie and Kim concentrates more on the objectives of political participation and defines the concept of political participation as "refer to those legal acts by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selections of governmental personnel and the actions that they take" (Verba, Nie & Kim, 1978). Political participation, as showed from its name, concerns only political actions. Finer says participation in one's family affairs, one's workplace, the collective or village fields and the like are not political participation except insofar as the policies adopted there are in some clear way related to policies propounded for or administered on behalf of the public as a whole (Finer, 1972).

Verba and Nie make the same distinction between political participation and participation in the other spheres. They have limited their argument to 'participation vis-a-vis the government' and excluded participation in the other spheres such as family, school, job, and voluntary associations. Their main concern is "to describe and explain patterns of participation outside of those that are more narrowly political— i.e., aimed at affecting the government" (Verba & Nie, 1972). Nevertheless, the impact of social participation on the political process cannot be neglected. This point, actually, has been stressed by several scholars. The argument is that individuals who are involved in community affairs are much more likely to participate in politics than those who are not active. Perhaps the most important empirical study that supports this argument is Almond and Verba's findings in *The Civic Culture* that persons participating in decisions in one organization are more likely to participate also in decisions of other organizations. Political participation takes some form of 'political action' to influence the government. Therefore, positive and negative feelings toward the government are not viewed as political participation (Verba & Nie, 1972).

5. Theoretical Framework

Political development is a multi-dimensional concept which is used by different political thinkers, economists and sociologists. Therefore, many perspectives and challenges appeared during analysis on this concept. Political development as an operational theory, has been complicated to the different political, economic and sociological perspectives. The concept of political development is an essential requirement for the achievement of democracy

and autonomy. Political history of twentieth century shows that most of the countries in the world focus on political development. Different thinkers presented different concepts of political development, e.g. Lerner (1958) used it as the multi-dimensional process of social change; Almond (1960) described political development as mobilization of power; LaPalombara (1963) defined it as one aspects of building of democracy (Karimi, 2014).

The study of Lucian W. Pye is particularly important that he defines the political development as “adjustment between old patterns of life and new demands” (Karimi, 2014). Pye also presented ten different aspects of his theory of political development: “as the political prerequisite of economic development, as the politics typical of industrial societies, as political modernization, as the operation of a nation state, as administrative and legal development, as mass mobilization and participation, as the building of democracy, as stability and orderly change, as mobilization and power, as one aspect of a multi-dimensional process of social change” (Pye, 1966). He also acknowledged three fields of any country i.e; population, organization of polity and government performance; where the political development could be observed (Pye, 1966).

Huntington (1968) defined the role of institutionalization in political development. He claimed that political decay is also another possibility of institutionalization. Huntington also considered political stability as an indicator of political development, but later Huntington and Nelson (1976) argued that the political participation is a necessary element of political development. Almond and Coleman (1960) utilized structural functionalism approach for studying political development. Moor (1993) employed class analysis to defines the political development and institutionalization. Binder (1961) considers development of a country depends on its capability of political system to resolve the participation, penetration and legitimacy crises of development. Some other scholars have propensity to distinguish between modernization and political development (Mushtaq, Baig & Mushtaq, 2018).

It is suggested that “the simplest definition of democracy, rule by the people, implies participation” (Keim, 1975). Pennock sees participation as being more inclusive and more indeterminate than democracy (Pennock, 1979). LaPalombara says, “it always includes some form of widespread participation in the political process” (LaPalombara, 1974). However, he argues, voting and other forms of political participation are not limited to democracies.

There is an immense significance of governmental strength for political development and institutionalization. However, the political organizations, political development and institutionalization are closely related to each other. Rostow (1960) defines that the political development is a classical view of industrial society. Eisenstadt (1964) observes the specialization, secularization and differentiation of political culture in political development. Effectiveness, efficiency and capacity are known as main aspects of political development (Kanwal, 2017).

Apter published a study of modernization in 1965. His main proposition is that a system must achieve a balance between coercion and information. He uses the term mobilization to refer to the political system in many developing countries where power is centralized within an executive. Binder argues that political development concerns the political consequences of crossing from tradition to modernity. Before modernity is completed, the nation must pass through five crises, which include Identity, legitimacy, participation, distribution, and penetration (Apter, 1965).

6. Major Political Developments in Pakistan During 2008 to 2016

Benazir Bhutto, the twice Prime Minister of Pakistan, assassinated in an attack in Rawalpindi on 27th December 2007. The Election Commission of Pakistan announces on 2nd January 2008 that general elections are postponed from 8th January due to the assassination of Benazir Bhutto and now will be held on 18th February (The Telegraph, 2007). On the announced date, elections were held with full of fears, violence and tight security situation in Pakistan. The total 34980069 votes were casted in the elections 2008 and the turnout was around 44%. In the National Assembly, PPP got majority with 91 general seats, PML-N got 69 general seats and PML-Q got 38 general seats. PPP decide to form the governments with the coalition of PML-N, JUI-F and ANP at the centre and in provinces (Urdu Point, 2008). On 17th March 2008, the 329 newly-elected members take oath for next five years in the National Assembly which consists of 342 seats. The new prime minister Yusuf Raza Gilani was elected on 24th March 2008 (Dawn, 2013).

On 25th August 2008, the PML-N quit the coalition government after five months. The main reason behind this the issues of restoration of the judiciary and the impeachment of President Pervaiz Musharraf (The Telegraph, 2008).

On 18th August, Pervaiz Musharraf resigns from his presidential office and Muhammad Mian Soomro takes over as caretaker President (The Guardian, 2008). The unilateral recommendation of Asif Ali Zardari as a presidential candidate was also a reason of variance between the two parties. Asif Zardari, the co-chairman of PPP, wins presidential election with 481 votes and takes oath as the 12th President of Pakistan (The News, 2008).

In March 2009, lawyers and political parties of opposition undertook a long march for the restoration of judiciary. The long march was successful and the reinstatement of the judges was announced by the then Prime Minister Gilani (Dawn, 2009). After the restoration of judiciary, almost all mainstream political parties work together for the 7th National Finance Commission Award. This Award was introduced in 2009. The NFC Award is helped to the federal and provincial governments of Pakistan for the equal distribution of revenues and resources. The 7th NFC Award was passed by the federal government and all four provincial finance ministers on 30th December 2009. This Award was addressed as a landmark achievement for the financial autonomy of provinces and a logical modification in the policy of government to increase the share of provinces (Dawn, 2009). On 9th March 2010, President Zardari signed the bill of protection against harassment of women at workplace (Dawn, 2010).

The National Assembly passed the famous 18th amendment in the constitution on 8th April 2010. On 15th April 2010, this amendment was also passed by the Senate. On 19th April 2010, when President Asif Ali Zardari signed the amendment bill, it became an act of parliament. The most important feature of this amendment is to reduce the presidential powers and enhance the provincial autonomy. Particularly, this amendment removes the Presidential powers to dissolve the Parliament and these powers are transformed to the Prime Minister. After this amendment, President is just a ceremonial head of the state. This amendment renamed Baluchistan as Balochistan, Sind as Sindh and North West Frontier Province (NWFP) as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). The manuscript of the constitution is also excluding the name of General Zia-ul-Haq. The limit on third time becoming as CM and PM has been removed. The 18th Amendment in the constitution of Pakistan is a landmark achievement of all political parties specially the PPP. This amendment is eliminating the Presidential powers to dissolve the Parliament (Tribune, 2010).

PML-N and MQM quit the PPP Government, thus PPP lost the strength in the National Assembly. MQM remained part of PPP Government in Sindh to achieve maximum political advantages through bargaining tactics and polarization. PML-N was a major coalition partner of PPP but their mutual distrust and following of old practices of power politics did not let them continue together for a longer period. Resultantly, the situation emerged with these developments was tricky one to manage for the Government. In April 2011, PPP had negotiations with PML-Q and succeeded to form a coalition at the centre with PML-Q. Chaudhry Pervez Elahi became deputy Prime Minister of Pakistan without any constitutional powers (Kanwal, 2017).

The 19th amendment was assented by the President on 1st January, 2011. This amendment is reforming the judicial appointments procedure and the tribal areas of district Tank and Laki Marwat have been including to FATA. This amendment eliminates the powers of Chief Justice for the selection of judges and now the Judicial Council of Pakistan sent recommendations to the President for the appointments of judges. The high court of Islamabad was renamed as Islamabad high court. In the procedure of appointment of new judges, the Prime Minister is also a member of judicial council. This amendment also suggested that in camera sessions of the committee meetings will be held and the record shall be maintained. The Parliament and their committees will not be permitted to argue on the routine of judges. This amendment altered the following articles; 81, 175A, 182, 213 and 246. Most part of this amendment deal with the judicial appointment procedure and justice system of Pakistan (Business Recorder, 2010).

The 20th amendment was signed by the President on 28th February, 2012 and it became an act in the constitution of Pakistan. This amendment has establish a process for the set-up of a caretaker government and matters related to the chief election commissioner and other members of the ECP. According to this amendment, the ECP has the powers to appointed the caretaker PM and CM. The new chief election commissioner took oath in the office of Chief Justice of Pakistan. This amendment is specially designed for the conduct of free and fair elections in the country (Dawn, 2012; The Nation, 2017).

The new coalition Government remained busy to control the political strength of PML-N in the Punjab. Then a move was started to create new administrative units in Pakistan. The move had mustered the support of right wing parties including JI and PML (Functional). Prime Minister Gilani was a strong supporter to constitute Southern Punjab as a separate province. PML-Q also joined the move to weaken the influence of its opponent, PML-N in the

Punjab. Zardari fully supported Gilani to start discussion process with all the political parties with an outlook to make a separate province in Southern Punjab to give them political and administrative identity (Kanwal, 2017). The seven-member bench of Supreme Court declared his decision of contempt of court on 19th June 2012. According to this decision, PM Gilani was disqualified for a period of five years to not become a member of parliament. After the disqualification of PM Gillani, Raja Pervaiz Ashraf is elected as Prime Minister of Pakistan on 22nd June 2012. Throughout the period, both parties could not evolve consensus on long awaited issue of Indus water distribution between Punjab and Sindh and construction of Kalabagh Dam. Not any referendum was conducted to decide the solution of the issue as promised by the PM of Pakistan, Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani (Dawn, 2012).

The democracy in this period has been undermined by the weak organization of political parties as well as by the zero-sum-game approach to politics. Political parties continued to work as undemocratic institution with non-political power sharing pattern. Both leaders of PPP and PML-N did not pay any attention to improve internal democratic structure of the party. Political parties have identifications through their leaders who remained key decision makers and embodiment of the party itself (Kanwal, 2017).

Despite the continuity of these old patterns of party politics some positive developments are also observed during the period. For the first time, an elected Government completed its five years in the history of Pakistan. Aghaz-i-Haqooq-e-Balochistan, seventh NFC Award, passing of 18th Amendment, political reforms in Gilgat-Baltistan and allocation of special funds to Khyber Pakhtunkhawa for the development of infrastructure and increasing gas development surcharge for Balochistan were such developments which show the positive contribution of political parties to popular demands of the provinces to strengthen the federation. However, the dynamics of Balochistan in security perspective remained beyond the capacity of the Government and continued subject to security establishment for governance. Despite an unstable path and many other issues, it was a great milestone for an elected government that has completed the constitutional tenure (Kanwal, 2017).

The caretaker Prime Minister, Mir Hazar Khan Khoso took his charge on 25th March 2013. General elections 2013 was held across Pakistan on May 11, 2013. The total registered number of votes were 84207524, and 46217482 votes were polled, the turnout was 55.02%. PML-N got majority in National Assembly with 128 general seats, PPP got second majority with 33 general seats and PTI got third position with 28 seats. Nawaz Sharif was elected as new Prime Minister of Pakistan. Mamnoon Hussain, the candidate of PML-N, was won the presidential election. PTI and PAT mutually organized the Azadi March and Dharna on 13th August 2014 (Urdu Point, 2013).

The 21st amendment bill was passed by the parliament on 6th January 2015. President Mamnoon Hussain signed the amendment bill on 7th January, 2015. This amendment bill modified the Article 175 of the constitution and has also contained a sunset clause which will be expire after two years. This amendment generated military courts for the speedy trial of terrorists. The decision to amend the constitution came after the incident of Army Public School Peshawar (Tribune, 2015; Dawn, 2015).

The 22nd amendment was signed by President Mamnoon Hussain on 2nd June 2016 and it became an act in the constitution of Pakistan. After this amendment, the retired Judges and bureaucrats will also be eligible for appointment as a member of election commission or Chief Election Commissioner. Maximum age for appointment as a member of election commission (65 years) and Chief Election Commissioner (68 years) is also being fixed (Dawn, 2016; The Nation, 2016).

7. Conclusion

This paper studied the concepts of political stability, political development and political participation in general. This study also examined that most political development theorists have highlighted the significance of increasing political participation in the developmental process. Political parties are important for proper making of institutionalization and political developments in any democratic system. It helps in the change of political culture and effects political participation.

Political history of Pakistan reflects the least concern to institutionalize the political system for democratic stability and shows that political stability and institutionalization was not the priority of the past governments. Similarly, political participation and mass mobilization not seems to be institutionalized through articulating and aggregating mass interest for the consolidation of political system. However, despite the continuity of old patterns, PPP, PML-N

and some other political parties showed enough maturity to save the political system through cooperation in introducing a number of reforms in the constitution, these efforts considered to strengthen the federation of Pakistan. The most significant of these is the 18th amendment to the 1973 constitution of Pakistan.

In this paper, the structure and functioning of the two governments during 2008-2016 is discussed to assess the political institutionalization in terms of political development. An elected government completed its tenure for the first time in the history of Pakistan. Five years of government of PPP completed from 2008 to 2013. After the general elections of 2013, smooth democratic transition was made possible and PML-N came into government. An overview of major political developments from 2008 to 2016, is also helped us to understand that this era was unique in the history of Pakistan.

References

- Ake, C. (January 1975). A Definition of Political Stability. *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 7, No.2, 273.
- Almond, G. A. (1960). Introduction: A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics. In G.A. Almond, & J. S. Coleman, *The Politics of Developing Areas* (pp. 3-64). Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Almond, G. A. (1970). Political Development: Analytical and Normative Perspectives. In G. A. Almond, *Political Development: Essays in Heuristic Theory* (p. 288). Boston: Little Brown and Co.
- Apter, D. E. (1965). *The Politics of Modernization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bill, J., & Hardgrave, R. (1973). *Comparative Politics: The Quest for Theory*. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co.
- Birch, J. (2017, July 19). Political Stability. Retrieved from [www.quora.com](https://www.quora.com/What-is-political-stability): <https://www.quora.com/What-is-political-stability>
- Business Recorder, 23 Dec 2010.
- Dawn, 17 March 2009.
- Dawn, 31 Dec 2009.
- Dawn, 10 March 2010.
- Dawn, 28 Feb 2012.
- Dawn, 20 June 2012.
- Dawn, 16 March 2013.
- Dawn, 8 January 2015.
- Dawn, 9 June 2016.
- Finer, S. E. (1972). Groups and Political Participation. In G. Parry, *Participation in Politics* (p. 59). Manchester, Britain: Manchester University Press.
- Huntington, S. P. (1965). Political Development and Political Decay. *World Politics* Vol. 17, No. 3, 386-430.
- Huntington, S. P. (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hurwitz, L. (April 1973). Contemporary Approaches to Political Stability. *Comparative Politics* Vol. 5, No. 3, Special issue on Revolution and Social Change, 449.
- Kanwal, L. (2017). Political Development in Pakistan: Continuity and Change During Zardari Period. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* Volume No. 54, Issue No. 2 (July - December), 137-153.
- Karimi, M., & Singh, S. S. (2014). Political Development Concept by Looking Briefly at the Iran's Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Rule. *Journal of Public Administration and Governance* Vol. 4, No. 4, 67-78.
- Keim, D. W. (1975). Participation in Contemporary Democratic Theory. In R. Pennock, & J. W. Chapman, *Participation in Politics* (p. 1). New York: Lieber-Atherton.
- LaPalombara, J. (1974). *Politics within Nations*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Lei, S. (August 2013). Contentious Politics and Political Stability in Contemporary China: An Institutionalist Explanation. Salt Lake City, Utah: The University of Utah.
- Mushtaq, I., Baig, F., Mushtaq, S. (2018). The Role of Political Parties in Political Development of Pakistan. *Pakistan Vision* Vol. 19, No. 1, 176-190.
- Pennock, R. (1979). *Democratic Political Theory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Pye, L. W. (1966). *Aspects of Political Development*. New York: Little Brown and Company.
- Salim, A. (2005). Political Parties in Pakistan. *SDPI Research and News Bulletin* Vol. 12, No. 1, 6-10.
- Subba, S. (2017, February 15). Political Stability. Retrieved from [www.quora.com](https://www.quora.com/What-is-political-stability): <https://www.quora.com/What-is-political-stability>
- The Express Tribune, 20 April 2010.
- The Express Tribune, 7 January 2015.

The Guardian, 18 Aug 2008.

The Nation, 7 June 2016.

The Nation, 17 Feb 2017.

The News, 7 Sep 2008.

The Telegraph, 27 Dec 2007.

The Telegraph, 25 Aug 2008.

Urdu point, 2008. <https://www.urdupoint.com/politics/general-election-2008.html>

Urdu Point, 2013. <https://www.urdupoint.com/politics/general-election-2013.html>

Verba, S., Nie, N. H. (1972). *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*. New York: Harper & Row.

Verba, S., Nie, N. H., Kim, J. (1978). *Participation and Political Equality: A Seven-Nation Comparison*. New York: Cambridge University Press.