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## HYBRID REGIME AS BARRIER FOR DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN PAKISTAN (2008-2015)

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KEYWORDS	ABSTRACT
Democratic Consolidation, Hybrid Regimes, Institutions	<p>This study argues that hybrid regime in Pakistan (2008-2015) with changing exercise has decreased norms of democratic consolidation. Some extensive gains are made in Pakistan during this era 2008-2015 in terms of democratic norms like constitutional amendments and provincial autonomy. Important unique gain is completion of one term as civilian government of Pakistan People’s Party 2008-2013 and the second civilian government of Pakistan Muslim League (N) 2013-2018. Both the civilian regimes have worked as democratic government, but somehow autocratic trend in decision making approach was observed. Political exercise of this hybrid regime in Pakistan created weak condition of the democratic norms which made way for authoritarianism. This regime was tended to be unbalanced, changeable, or both due to weak civil liberties. The civilian control in this political regime was not stable and transparent in decision making. Further, civilian control over five-areas including public policy, elite recruitment, external defense, internal security, and military organization and was not effective. This paper help us to understand why hybrid regime arose which disturbed democratic consolidation process in Pakistan.</p>  <p>© 2021 Gomal University Journal of Research</p>
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### INTRODUCTION

According to the reports of The Economist Intelligence Unit’s Index of Democracy Pakistan was declared as hybrid regime from 2008-2015. The Democracy Index provides a clear picture of the state-run democracy of various states of world. This Index is based on five classifications including election procedure, civil liberties; functioning of government, political culture and political participation. Based on their scores within these parameters, every state is measured as one of type of regime like, full democracies, authoritarian regimes, flawed democracies and

hybrid regimes. It is necessary to explain notion of hybrid regime. Hybrid regime is political structure which comprises mixed elements of both autocratic system and a democratic system. In further words, hybrid regime is considered where democratic institutions exist theoretically, competitive elections, multi-party system, a legislature with insistent exercise of authoritarian designs of power (Ottaway, 2003). Process of democratization in Pakistan has not been consistent and workable in character due to lack of participation of public in decision making, inadequate civilian control which disrupted democratic consolidation in Pakistan and it gave birth to hybrid system.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The existing literature revealed that hybrid regime as barrier for the democratic consolidation in Pakistan, no major study was conducted to address hybrid regime as the barrier for democratic consolidation in Pakistan. This paper fills this gap and offer first extensive summary on hybrid regime as barrier for the democratic consolidation in Pakistan. This paper first presents what is hybrid regime. In light of available literature hybrid regime is amalgam of both authoritarian and democratic form of government. It can be classified into three groups. The first group, of writers like Donnell and Zakaria, realizes hybrid-governments are flawed or faulty democratic system (Zakaria, 1997), in which there is lack of the democratic features (Zakaria, 1997). The second group, of authors Schedler and Cassani, claims that hybrid administrations are dictatorial states (Cassani, 2014). The third group of writers, including Gilbert, Bogaards, Mohseni, and Wigell, support the amalgam regime as a different regime kind, overlies with both authoritarian and democratic groups (Gilbert, 2011). Thus, all classifications shows that there is not clear democratic form of government neither autocratic government. Zakaria categorized hybrid regime as illiberal democracy, or set aside controls of the military in the instance of the tutelary democracy.

Some prevailing studies of hybrid regimes have already supported a two-dimensional line as advocated by Bogaards and Wiggell or multidimensional method stated by Mohseni and Gilbert (Gilbert, 2011). Merkel's work assumed clearly to amalgam regimes by Gilbert and Mohseni. Their major parameters for hybrid regimes are Elections, civil liberties and tutelary interference (Merkel, 2004). The greater work of scholars suggested hybrid system as the continuum view (Schedler 2002, 2006; Munck, 2006; Diamond 1999; Howard, 2006; Roessler, 2009). In order to explain significance of this research study, various literature is wisely studied, but inadequate literature was available that covered challenge for democratic consolidation in Pakistan under hybrid political structure. Aqil (2014) argued that military prerogatives are obviously not the only impediment to democracy but prospects of continued democratization are complicated by various political, economic and security challenges. Tudor (2013) claims structural weakness left Pakistan governing political system unstable. He explains that democracy in Pakistan engaging the autocratic interference of bureaucracy and the military. Rizvi (2014) state that the extensive break among the democratic values, authoritarianism and civilian institutions is problem for the democracy.

Baqai (2014) enumerated that previous five years of democratic rule in Pakistan has observed a very fragile democracy, where the democratically elected government frequently resisted with calamity of survival and where democratic insufficiency has always continued. Adeney (2017) explains there is mixed up political system with certain lessening of civil liberties, defective rule of law as well rigged elections. Because in such hybrid regime condition of civil liberties, election

and rule of law does not exist satisfactory. Zakaria argued that in tutelary democracy there are properly democratic institutes, but powers reduced by the armed forces. This paper engages the discussion and concepts of hybrid regimes from the context of authoritarianism advocated by [Mohseni and Gilbert \(2011\)](#). They used term hybrid regime for non-authoritarian, nondemocratic political system. They described those civil liberties, elections, and tutelary interference are the important factors for hybrid regime. Their approach come to agreement to assess importance of regime heterogeneity. This paper is advocated from work of Katharine Adeney Pakistan as hybrid regime. The widely work on hybrid regimes today proposes continuum understanding ([Diamond, 1999](#), [Munck, 2006](#)). This study filling gap in research about hybrid regime is barrier for democratic consolidation in Pakistan, which may be important input to current database of knowledge.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this research study qualitative method was used based on secondary sources through process of argumentation thereby examining different sources like reports of Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy, Freedom house, academic papers, books, various journals available online as well as the newspaper articles that are related to topic. In this connection, an analytical approach taken to explain the hybrid regime as the barrier for the democratic consolidation in Pakistan.

## RESULT & DISCUSSION

This paper makes analyses regarding hybrid regime as a barrier for democratic consolidation in Pakistan. It was revealed that civilian control is considered sharing of decision-making control between military and civilians. This study highlights the achievements and failures of civilian governments to establish supremacy over armed forces for consolidation of democratic regime. The analysis was developed from conceptualization of civilian control which describes five areas of political decision making like the public policy, elite-recruitment, internal security, national defense and Military Organization. This study shows civil-military relations in Pakistan from 2008-2015 undermined the civilian supremacy and value of democracy. However, on the basis of the work of Markel, Gilbert, Cassani, Munck , Diamond, and Zakria this regime in Pakistan from 2008-2015 can be described as competitive, with growing civilian supremacy, but with limited civil liberties. It is concluded from Freedom House, The Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy there was low score in area of civil liberties which weaken democratic values. It was visible that current transition in political system of Pakistan was more workable than prior transitions because of improved civilian harmony, dropping the military's capability to impact elite employment. The process of democratization has not consistent and sustainable in character. Lack of participation of public in decision making, inadequate civilian control, weak political culture, affects democratic consolidation in Pakistan and it gave birth to hybrid system. Moreover, this study made noteworthy role to conduct more research on same topic around the world.

### A. Elections

Elections are the legitimized methods in democratic systems for the transfer of political power from one system to other ([Javaid, 2010](#)). The elections are important element to know about the status of any country either a state is fully democratic, authoritarian, flawed democracies or hybrid regimes. After analysis from existing literature particular reports of economics intelligent unit, freedom House and work of Markel, Gilbert, and Zakria then it can be concluded that in

Pakistan there is hybrid regime from 2008-2015 where two elections took place first in 2008 and second 2013, but not independent and fair-minded, and they break up liberal-democratic values of freedom. These elections cannot favor true democratic spirit. In this regime members of opposition parties are forced to change their closeness in favor of the government party. The elections in Pakistan are conducted for National Assemblies, Senate and provincial Assemblies as per constitution of Pakistan. The National Assembly is comprised on 342 members, while senate 104 members. There is a parliamentary system of the government headed by a Prime minister. Members of the National Assembly are elected for the term of five years. Of the 342 seats of National Assembly, 272 are filled with direct elections, 60 seats are for women, and 10 are reserved for minorities ([Freedom House, 2014](#)). The election 2008 and 2013 are discussed below.

### **Election of 2008**

Elections 2008 were a turning point in the political history of Pakistan because these elections offered a new chance to establish basis for the democratization ([Iffat, 2010](#)). All major political parties participated in this election ([PILDAT, 2009](#)). First time in political history of Pakistan both political parties made political co-operation to settle down their differences and mutually decided to reduce the impact of the military. Pakistan People's Party, failed to achieve heavy mandate in spite of people's kindness in elections of 2008. As the PPP secured 88 seats in the National Assembly. After results of these elections Zardari was incapable to form his government without assistance of Nawaz Sharif. These general elections were held in Pakistan on February 15, 2008. In these elections no political party was in a position to form the government without political coalition. Asif Ali Zardari made coalition with Awami National Party, Mohajar Qoumi Movement, and Pakistan Muslim League-N. In these elections all political parties fully assisted to Zardari in making a new civilian government after military rule. These Elections raised the wave counter to the Pro-Musharraf forces which resulted into the Pakistan People Party lead government.

The 2008 elections in Pakistan were neither free nor fair because there was widespread rigging, the electoral roll was faulty and millions of votes were missing. In certain parts, women were massively under-registered. Consequently, while election stress was avoided on Election Day, however, the selective pressure occurred, particularly against the journalists and media houses ([Freedom House, 2009](#)). In this connection, in spite of many hindrances, poor governance and blunders the Pakistan People's Party led the government (2008-2013), the thirteenth National Assembly was far more confident. In this regard, Pakistan People Party government achieved continuity of some democratic norms through the continuation of 5 years tenure of assembly. But the performance of consolidated democracy continued down in the five years due to the challenges in governance which have changed into predicament. Consequently, there has been discontent in society due to ongoing worse condition of the economy, corruption, and provision of the speedy justice. In this connection, National Assembly in spite of some mislaid chances attained few foremost achievements and success in restoring the parliamentary democracy, and constitutionalism.

The thirteenth National Assembly got the opportunity to framework for constitutional reforms due to the Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League-N over mutually agreement to re-establish democracy by passing their May 2006 Contract of the Democracy. Their active partnership over March-July 2007 was helpful to bring back the Chief Justice and other judges

of Supreme Court dismissed by Musharraf, and both political parties opposed his November 2007 step regarding emergency and worked on his exclusion. After the killing of the Benazir Bhutto, the two parties decided to form a countrywide harmony, although Pakistan People's Party and the Muslim League-N enforced Musharraf to resign from the presidency in August 2008. The alliance of the both parties cut down soon after when Pakistan People's Party refused to reinstate the terminated judges of the courts, including Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry. Tensions further arose between the both political parties when the Shahbaz Sharif government was suspended in March 2009 and governor's rule was established in Punjab, by President Zardari. The crisis was calmed when the Pakistan People's Party lifted the governor's rule in the Punjab and restored the judges under the pressure of Pakistan Muslim League and public.

The relationship between the two political parties progressively enhanced in parliament, where they collaborated on the major lawmaking, including the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth constitutional amendments. Role of national assembly in democratic progress was conceivable because of this alliance of both parties. The parliament achieved more objectives visibly than its predecessors. But on others side memogate controversy troubled Zardari government. The memo gate controversy revolves around a memorandum addressed to the former US army Chief Admiral Mike Mullen. It sought Obama administration apparently seeking help in the wake of Osama bin Laden raid to ask Pakistan military to desist from launching military coup (Shaheen et al, 2011). The memo was appeared publicly in October 2011 in Pakistan. The Chief actor of this memo controversy was Pakistani-American businessman Mansoor Ijaz, who was a friend of former Pakistani Ambassador to US Hussain Haqqani who asked him to deliver a top-secret memo for United States support (Mansoor, 2011). The memo is supposed to have been drafted by Haqqani on the directives Asif Ali Zardari (Geo News,2011). The memorandum was given to Mike Mullen over then national security advisor James Jones. Supreme Court of Pakistan has opened a larger investigation into the backgrounds, reliability and purpose of the memo (Abbott, 2011).

Then on April 19, 2012, an appeal was submitted in Supreme Court to arrest former Pakistani ambassador to United States, Husain Haqqani through Interpol. Then showing the forensic results of Ijaz's BlackBerry chats with Haqqani, the Supreme Court of Pakistan released its conclusions on June 12, 2012. Due to memo controversy the civil military relations came under heavy strains. The Supreme Court asked the all respondents to submit their replies. The army and ISI chief submitted their response directly to the Supreme Court ignoring Prime Minister. Prime minister Yousaf Raza Gillani made a striking statement with respect to the memo gate controversy on January 2011 in interview with Chinese newspaper he said that Chief Of Army Staff General Asfaq Pervez Kiyani and General Shuja Pasha Inter Service Intelligence Chief had violated rules of business while submitting their response to supreme court without approval of competent authority. Ongoing conflict amid army and Prime Minister was further confounded when army responded prime minister statement. So, it is clear that in hybrid regime election take place but autocratic type of culture and democratic norms both can be realized with passage of time.

### **General Elections of 2013**

The 2013 elections were held under better-quality of framework. The Election Commission of Pakistan took a number of measures to streamline election. The records of the voter rolls were



updated. About 37 million names were eliminated and around 36 million were added in voter rolls. The ECP introduced a service through which citizens could check their record about voter registration through mobile messages (Freedom House, 2014). The polling for election 2013 began on May 11, 2013. The election campaign had come to an end on mid night of 10th may 2013. Regrettably, election campaign of number of parties like Pakistan people party, Mohajar Qoumi Movement, and Awami National Party spoiled by constant terrorist attacks that killed their workers and members. The situation on polling day especially was tense and not favorable for peaceful elections. There was huge rigging at several voting stations in NA 250 and PS 113 Karachi. The General Elections in 2013 were thought to be as good elections, but a few parties still had reservations and closed the elections as rigged. Some consider 2013 elections bringing with problems. Different parties shared worries about Elections. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf continued to protest against rigging. PTI worker raised protest against rigging in Karachi and demanded re-counting where rigging was committed. MQM also agitated and demanded for re-polling in NA 250. The dream of first civilian transition of government came true on June 5 2013 when Nawaz Sharif stepped in as Prime Minister of Pakistan. The General Election of 2013 in Pakistan led to first ever smooth power transition from one civilian elected government to another.

## **B. Civil Liberties**

Civil liberties support the individuals to contribute in the political growth, including the right to vote freely, contest for public office, join political parties and organizations and representatives selection (Freedom House, 2010). Civil liberties are imperative element of democratic political system. Because civil liberties make political system legitimate for democratic values (Freedom House, 2013). The strong enforcement of civil liberties in a regime provides a broad ground in which citizens can participate and have fair competition. In contrast, those regimes which poorly defend civil liberties their meaningful citizen participation in economic, social, and political life become unfair competition. Furthermore, the protection of civil liberties sheds light on civil society and democratization (Diamond, 1999; Schedler, 2002; 2006). In democratic states peoples have legitimate right to assemble, demonstrate and criticize the policies of government. As far as the civil liberties and political rights are concerned, through this era 2008-2015 few events showed that Pakistan is still far behind as consolidated democratic regimes. As rule of law is prime factor for democratic state. But in Pakistan last few years the courts remain less effective.

There were discontent in the public about the state's unending failure to protect citizens from violence committed by non-state actors. The World Economic Forum graded Pakistan 133 out of 134 in both 2009 and 2010, in its Global Gender Gap calculation of female economic sharing (Adam, 2010). The women continue to face massive economic hurdles, in spite of the legitimate protection against gender discrimination in public sector service. The parliament of Pakistan in 2009 took some steps by presenting a 10 percent quota for women's service in all public-sector institutions and passed a law to avert gender-based aggravation in the offices (Ellick, 2009). The rule of law is a vital obligation for the government to withstand its laws successfully and act rendering to defined privileges but there were some issues in this period. The judiciary has become more politically energetic after restoration of Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry. Though, extra judicial killings, compulsory disappearances, torment, and mishandlings were observed in common (Freedom House, 2015). Additionally, special resentment between Iftikhar Chaudhry

and A. Zardari made troubled relationships among administration and the judiciary (Waseem, 2012).

Judicial involvement sustained afterward Nawaz Sharif when was elected as Prime Minister. As Human Rights Commission of Pakistan explained that having punished a Prime minister for disrespect of court previous year, the Supreme Court sustained in 2013 to belligerently leave disrespect notices to politicians” (HRCP, 2013). The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan also distinguished that in spite of 20,000 cases undecided in Supreme Court and in other lower courts, as they were anxious about suomoto authorities by the court as some legal specialists emphasized that due to lack of policies how courts ordered such matters”. On other side violence restricted political and civil freedoms in certain areas of Pakistan. As one such act of violent which took place in head quarter of TMQs (Tehrik-e-Minhaaj Ul Quran) on July 17, 2014 where dozens of activists were killed and wounded when Punjab Police opened fire on the headquarter (Daily Jang, 2014). This cruel act exposed that state itself dishonored legitimate rights of the people. Media freedom was constrained concerning to critical reporting. Constitution authorized government to control speech on subjects of armed forces, religion, and the judiciary (Siddiqi, 2010).

The penalties for such violations were three years in the prison and fines of up to 10 million rupees, although these rules have been ignored. It was materialized that during the March 2009 demonstrations took placed against Zardari. The government of PPP temporarily shut down the cable service of the television stations including GEO and Aaj TV. The Pakistan People’s Party leading Information Minister Sherry Rehman has to resign in protest. In March, 2014 anonymous gunman tried to murder news analyst Raza Rumi when he left a studio in Lahore. Another television correspondent, Hamid Mir of the Geo network, was attacked in Karachi on April 13 2014. Mir’s family criticized the ISI chief Zaheer-ul-Islam that he involved in the matter. The channel was jammed, and copies of Jang newspapers were burned. The physical safety of journalists was also a concern. Because few journalists were murdered in 2009. Several reporters who were covering the conflict in the tribal areas and parts of NWFP (now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa) in 2011-2012 were imprisoned and threatened. Girls’ schools, in the FATA and NWFP (now KP), faced threats and attacked by Islamist militants. Girls under Taliban rule in the area of Swat were banned from attending school; at least 200 schools were destroyed. Legal provisions for the freedoms of the assembly and association were selectively maintained.

The Tehrik Taliban Pakistan and other combative groups attacked media for their reporting. The state has taken steps to address the desires of ethnic sections. In April 2010 North West Frontier Province was renamed as Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa in an effort to identify the legacy of province’s 75 percent Pashtun majority. However, following change, forceful clashes break out between Pakhtuns and Hazara peoples. Patterns have emerged in Sindh and Baluchistan (Farhan, 1971). Religious minorities faced rise in violence in 2014. In January, 2014 a bomb attack on a bus of Shiite pilgrims killed nearly 30 people near Mastung. Two events involving allegations of blasphemy occurred in 2014 when a crowd of people burned down homes of people of Ahmadis sect in Gujranwala in July 2014. In November, 2014 Christian couple was burnt in brick kiln in Kasur district of the Punjab by crowd. All these factors showed that civil liberties, freedom of the expression remained under few restrictions despite there was civilian rule.

### **C. Functioning of Government**

The functioning of government is necessary for democratic structure. If democratic decisions are not made and implemented then true concept of democracy is not significant. The elected prime minister and its cabinet make policy in discussion with the parliament. Although, the government of Pakistan People's Party (2008-2013) done political performance in the area of constitutional amendments, provincial autonomy, restoration of 1973 constitution but on other side Pakistan people's Party government could not handle long social and economic challenges efficiently. There were corruption, fiscal deficit, energy shortage, unemployment and high debt in regime. After completing its five years PPP stepped down on March 16, 2013, to pave approach for next general elections. It was the first chance in political history of Pakistan that an elected government had completed its tenure. In 2013 election Pakistan Muslim League-N came into power in country. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif faced multiple issues after winning election of 2013.

National economy rate was declined. Power deficiencies are rampant and it impede commercial efficiency. Pakistan has also security concerns in this period because Pakistani Taliban fights against government troops in the tribal areas. Baluchistan situation was worse along with the Afghanistan and Iran border. Government of Pakistan Muslim League -N comes under heavy criticism for the apparent irresponsibility (Reuters, 2014). The Pakistan Muslim League-N also failed to appoint the heads of key institutions like Securities and Exchange Commission of the Pakistan, Pakistan Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority, National Institute of the Oceanography, Council of Works and Housing Research and Science Foundation. The Pakistan Muslim League - N was under heavy criticism during 2013 to 2016 that one brother is the Prime Minister of the country and second Chief Minister (Shabaz sharif) of Punjab. In this regard prominent analyst stated that Sharif's regime was dynastic with unofficial advisors and non-responsiveness to public feeling (Nawaz, 2014).

Sharif's commercial secrets offers to Indian government not liked by the opposition parties and even Army leadership were unhappy (Wall Street, 2014). All these factors indicated that Sharif government was not functioning well. According to the reports of The Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy 2008 the position of Pakistan is at 108 out of 167 countries with 5.71 score regarding functioning of government. Similarly The Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015 position of Pakistan is at 104, 104, 105, 108, 108, and 112 out of 167 countries with score 5.71, 5.71, 5.36, 5.36, 5.36 and 5.31 respectively score regarding functioning of government (The Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy reports, 2008-2015). It can be analysed from Economics Intelligent Units reports from 2008-2015 the functioning of government was not much progressive in regime of Pakistan People's party and Muslim League and democratic decisions were not made and implemented.

### **D. Political Culture**

Political culture is important pillar of democratic government. Political culture refers to attitudes toward the political system and its various parts (Gabriel & Sidney, 1963). According to Lucian Pye political culture is set of beliefs, attitudes, and sentiments, which give order and meaning to a political procedure (Morlino, 2017). It may be defined the traditions adopted by people to participate in a political process. The political structure of Pakistan is significantly influenced



by caste system. This caste system also called biradari system. In this biradari system people are divided into social grading (Ahmed, 2005). In biradari/caste system individual opinion have no importance, because they are bound to follow the decision of biradari. Pakistan have feudalism because political structure is regulated by feudals class. The leading political parties take full advantage of their votes by harnessing land-lords' owners, over non wealthy farmers and urban factory workers. In this regard, in such a political culture the individuals' opinion does not stand chance in front of biradari and vote become an element which signifies a family action.

Political culture is crucial for functioning and sustainability of democracy. A positive democratic political culture indicates that the losing parties accept the decision of the voters and allow for transfer of power. The Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy reports for the years 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015 indicates that Pakistan got score 4.38, 4.38, 4.38, 4.38, 4.38, 3.75 and 3.75 in the area of political culture (The Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of the Democracy reports, 2008-2015). It can be evaluated from the Economics Intelligent Units reports from 2008 –2015 that score regarding political culture was low. The beliefs, attitudes, and sentiments, of political parties, and society were not supportive to political procedure in the regime of Pakistan People's party and Muslim League. The feudal class of both political parties exploited lower class and constrained them to participate in public matters.

### **E . Political Participation**

Political participation may be defined activities of citizens affecting politics. Political participation is important element for any political system, since it is essential part of democracy. Wherever limited citizens take part in decisions there will be little democracy; if there is participation in decisions, the additional democracy will be there is (Verba, 1972). Political participation focus on problem solving and helping others (Zukin et al., 2006). Political participation is important criteria for measuring degree of democracy in a state. It is fact that healthy democracy needs active, freely participation of people in public life. Democracy flourishes in a political system when people are eager to participate in public discussion, elect representatives and associate them with political parties because without broad participation democracy starts to wither. In this regard political parties in Pakistan compete in elections. However, well established parties maintain their patronage networks. It was noted that women faced the practical limitations in voting during the election of 2008 and 2013, particularly in province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan, where radical groups and traditional societal constraints are predominant. It can be calculated from the Economics Intelligent Units reports, and Freedom House reports from 2008–2015 that score regarding political participation were very low in the range of 2.22 to 2.78. The non-participation of the people in the public matters particularly in election, gave damage to democratic norms. Similarly on the basis of low score of the political participation measured by Economics Intelligent Units, and Freedom House this regime was declared hybrid regime.

### **F. Holding of Formal Powers**

In hybrid regime there is also problem of formal powers. Because in such regime real democratic government seems to unable to perform its function in various fields. If we assess either there is an inadequate scope of influence of the elective offices, Pakistan surely shows restrictions in this area. Pakistan's government during 2008 - 2010 worked with narrow transparency and liability

however, this has improved with the continuation of civilian rule. The military had influence in political policymaking procedures, adding to its old authority in foreign policy and security subjects. The military is a main force in Pakistan thus enjoys more autonomy. It was observed that time to time ups and downs were occurred between civilian and military leadership in the past. President Asif Zardari during his regime tried to put ISI under the control of Ministry of Interior to enhance the civilian control. The military was not ready to comply with the decision. Ultimately this decision was reversed (Talbot, 2012). Military had maintained its control over major appointments and promotion of military. General Kayani has given extensions in service to senior officers beyond age of retirement, particularly to Lt General Shuja Pasha from 2007–2012.

He also got three-year extension as army chief in July 2010 keeping in view ongoing operation and security issues (The Nations, 2010). The military had a strong grip over all the decision-making process related to security. Democracy cannot be consolidated until the army becomes subordinate to civilian government and dedicated to democratic constitutional mandate. (Diamond, 1999). However, the army remained dominant factor in Zardari interior and outside policies because democracy under this regime was not functional, due to corruption, disorder, and personal benefits of the leaders of the party which were in power. Zardari selected his close friends to imperative positions, and made a few efforts to restrict military's influence in the field of state security. The civil-military relations during Zardari government continued problematic. The complete tenure of Zardari saw that elected government was losing its integrity, while military continued a respected national institution. The other factor regarding power differences between executive and judiciary was challenge for democratic consolidation in Pakistan.

The Supreme Court of Pakistan issued directives to Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani to write a letter to Swiss authorities for re-opening the inquiry against Zardari banks accounts. Prime Minister Gilani refused to follow the orders of Supreme Court on a ground that Zardari had immunity being president. Then other political parties filed petition in the Supreme Court against the Speaker's ruling to save the Prime Minister Yousaf Gilani from ineligibility (Dawn, 2012). Pakistan people's party government justified their interpretation that after 18th amendment Speaker had judicial powers to make decision about the ineligibility of a member of the National Assembly. The Supreme Court rejected this stance of PPP Government and finally Gilani was confirmed guilty of contempt of court on April 26, 2012 for not observing the instructions of the Court. Then Gilani resigned on 19 June 2012 under the pressure of Court (Dawn, 2012). These developments destabilized the process of democratization in Pakistan. New debate started in the country about sovereignty of Parliament and independent judiciary. Muhammad Waseem stated the removal of Gilani as result of clash of institutions (Waseem, 2012).

Croissant et al. (2011) categorized civilian control over five major areas like public policy, elite recruitment, external defense, interior security and military organization with specific purpose of collecting outcomes to evaluate degree of civilian authority. Although civilian autonomy has increased in Nawaz Sharif regime as compared to Zardari regime but on other side military's prerogatives remain also high. Civil–military relations in this regime were like mixed model where in few areas military has an influence in few domains there is a joint decision- making approach and, in some areas, civilian government was free to make the decisions (Rizvi, 2010).

To evaluate degree of civilian control in Pakistan hybrid regime, it can be discussed in following headings.

### **Public Policy**

This part includes conclusion making approach and the execution of all proposals matters apart from aspect of interior safety and security policy. The legitimacy of selected leaders also rests on their capability to convert public interests into actual policies (Newton & Van, 2005). This area is dominant to democratic laws, because elected civilians decide on subjects, possibility, and length of the policies. Civilian authority over this extent means that civilians alone decide effectiveness of policies and supervise organizational enactment of these decisions (Croissant, et al. 2011). The level of civilian control over this zone rest on the military's impact over both decisions making and execution. The military has impact on policy decision making if it can properly or casually declare its interests in setting outline for, framing, the policies. After 18th Amendment, in Pakistan various changes were introduced in 2010 regarding structure of power. In April 2010, special parliamentary committee on constitution reforms given their ratifications and recommendations for implementation of 18th Amendment, this committee introduced important constitutional changes in the distribution of powers between center and provinces. According to this amendment Agreement was also made on transfers of resources in the NFC in 2009.

### **Elite Recruitment**

The area of elite recruitment is also important one because it raises the core aspects of the political regime, including directions, principles and methods of the employing, selecting and legitimizing the holders of political office. In order to determine the degree of civilian control over elite recruitment, one has to assess that what extent the military is capable to exercise influence over these dimensions. Civilian control over elite employment means that military is banned from creating a substitute channel for admittance to political office (Chambers, 2010). Civilian control over rules of competition is weakened when public offices are excluded from open competition and if the military influences electoral procedures. Civilian control over the rules of participation is reserved if dynamic military employees are suitable for public office and soldiers influence the formation and termination of government. Where Croissant et al.'s principles are different from Stepan's previous effort on military privileges after a transition (Stepan, 1988). Vital dimension for considerate Pakistan and other governments transitioning from military regime, is their focus on the elite employment; where the military control rule setting, procedure and consequences of the elite choice (Croissant, 2010). The capability of the military to launch a takeover has been condensed by the citizen agreement. Legislators are concentrating that using the military to eliminate their opponents from power will undermine democracy.

### **External Defense**

The defense of the state remains basic function of military including external defense (Trinkunas, 2005). While on other side investigation and control over the procedures, rules must with the civilian rule. Civilian control in this part is not a question of capability but it is about who makes the decisions for the national defense (Berlin, 2009; Bruneau, 2012). The military has to be parted from other security associated actors. The army can, however advice the civilian administration in terms of plan setting, strategy making and implementation for countrywide importance. However, the civilian government ought to have the ultimate say on decisions,

containing those on military budgets for the sustaining of democratic form of government. In this regard there is National Security Council (NSC) which is accountable for matters of state safety. The Council was restrained in 2009, but was revitalized by Nawaz Sharif, in 2013. Between 2013-2016, the meeting of this Council occasionally takes place and many decisions on outdoor security were taken. It is worth mentioning that armed forces did not interfere when the parliament revised constitution of Pakistan in 2010 and it was a positive signal. However, owing to corruption and incompetence in civilian institutions, military institutions performed better than the civilian. In relation to external defense, civilian control remains low, in spite of the fact that the 2008–2013 parliaments took important developments toward active foreign and defense policy (Fair, 2011). But due to the exploitation and ineffective policy the civilian government in this hybrid regime of Pakistan from 2008-2015 could not perform well in this area.

### **Internal Security**

Internal security of the state involves all of the choices and actions related to the employment of the military on tasks and activities for maintenance of peace and security inside the territorial boundaries of state. It contains armed forces participation in counter-insurgency, law application and counter-terrorism operations, border control, as well as the restoration of civilian set-up and military actions (Wilkinson, 2006). The role of military in the internal security of the country is important. Military is the single institution in the state that protects the country from the internal threats (Sattar, 1999). In this connection, as it concerns with the safety of the state and society so all internal security activities must be under the civilian administration. Thus, most significantly, the non-military security forces, national intelligence apparatus, and the law enforcement agencies must be separate from the military (Loveman, 1994). In this regard, the internal security during 2008- 2015 in Pakistan was mainly at the risk due to terrorism and extremism. In this regard various operations were conducted to maintain peace and stability in country.

As Military Operation was taken against religious activists in the different parts of Malakand Division as well as Swat, Buner and Dir Lower in order to create writ of the Government and deliver non-violent and self-governing life to public of the area. At the same time, it instigated sufficient dilemmas like devastated economy, joblessness, bad health conditions, education, and various issues of Internally Displaced Persons. The operation was carefully chosen as final choice after letdown of peace agreement of provincial government. First contract was signed with the local Taliban, under the leadership of Mullah Fazlullah and second contract with past Taliban group TNSM led by Sufi Muhammad. Taliban had disallowed the agreement. Taliban continue to attacks on Pakistan military and other security services including, Frontier Corps. The operation Rah-e Rast was launched on April 28, 2009 when an army convoy was trapped by Taliban. Army launched the operation with willpower to completely remove the fighters. After accomplishment of Swat operation Rah-e Rast the government anticipated of launching another operation to eradicate militants from South Waziristan. This operation was called operation Rah-e-Nijat.

Civilian ability to supervise effectively military's internal security operations depends on the structure of norms, procedures. The regular audits of military personnel also important factor under civilian government to ensure internal security. In relation to interior security, if analysis made then it can be observed that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's was able to promote talks with the TTP during 2014-2015, although the dialogs with TTP were unsuccessful, and the army

launched the operation Zarb-e- Azb in June 2014 for maintaining internal peace. It is essential to explain that internal security is responsibility of civilian leadership but military's impact remains extraordinary as civilian authorities are extremely at mercy of military to implement those plans. This is a result of unfortunate competences of police forces, and frequent domestic clashes.

### **Military Organization**

This area of military organization involves all the policies related to military's assignment and structure of the armed forces. This also includes decision about equipment, acquisition, logistics, and training, as well as personnel management and the military's promotion system. In democratic states the civilian government holds the powers regarding military appointments particularly appointments of highest command of the forces which is constitutionally conferred in the president on the guidance of prime minister. But in exercise, the military has supremacy over the appointments and promotions related to field of Army, and other seniors bureaucratic staff appointments in the Ministry of Defense. As Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif chosen his favorite, Raheel Sharif, as Chief of Army Staff in November 2013 over two more senior officers. The military in Pakistan remains powerful and capable of defending its key interests (Siddiq, 2014). The civilian government positively stimulated the nuclear command authority under the control of the prime minister, weakening the formal power of the president. But on other side the military does not want any civilian interference in its core and structural matters.

However, there has been some progress concerning defence budget which was never discussed by elected civilians before (Ahmed, 2009). However, in 2008, the army offered its first budget proposal for discussion (Ali, 2008). In spite of this fact, it is widely taken as a purely symbolic gesture that military is eager to be more subject to civilian oversight (Fair, 2011). Parliament during Pakistan People's Party regime tried to reduce army privileges in defence policy by forming special Parliamentary Committee on National Security. In this regard, as it concerns with the safety of the state and society so all internal security activities must be under civilian administration. Most significantly, non-military security forces, national intelligence apparatus, and the law enforcement agencies must be separate from the military (Loveman, 1994). The aim of this committee was to provide guiding principle on imperative security policies, especially on counter terrorism. But on other side it was also observed that role of standing committees was not effective. During Pakistan People's Party Government General Ashfaq Pervez played an important role for the restoration of democracy. He fully supported the democratic process in Pakistan.

### **CONCLUSION**

It is fact that hybrid regime of 2008-2015 in Pakistan could not established stable measures for democratic consolidation in Pakistan, because functions and policy of the civilian government could not achieve true targets for stability of democracy. Some considerable gains have been made in Pakistan during this era 2008-2015 in terms of democratic norms, like constitutional amendments and provincial autonomy. The important unique gain is completion of one term as civilian government of Pakistan People's Party 2008-2013 and second civilian government of Pakistan Muslim League (N) 2013-2018. Both the civilian regimes (PPP and Pakistan Muslim League- N) have worked as democratic government but someway autocratic trend was detected in decision making. This regime was tended to be unbalanced, changeable, both due to weak



civil liberties, electoral issue and holding of formal powers. In this hybrid regime of Pakistan public has trust on military leadership, while having tiny belief in politicians in the matters of rule of law and good supremacy. It was pragmatic that from upper to lowest, political leaders were unified for exploitation but not for state stability or national benefits. The function of civilian government of Zardari and Nawaz while showed lacks of capability, honesty and assurance to national development. Old political culture, lack of participation of public and derisory civilian control affects democratic consolidation in Pakistan and it gave birth to hybrid system. This system weakens constitutional and political institution, so our arguments has provided strong results.

### **Recommendations**

- ✓ There should be pure democratic form of government. Therefore, to ensure democratic stability in the country there is a need for research study on some key issues in the state.
- ✓ To avoid hybrid regime in the country it is important that transferring of power to local government is important step towards the democratic stability. As local bodies system is necessary for democratic set-up. It is vital that performance of elected government must be effective to makes political institutionalization more capable. The individuals must have checks and balances on government capability to ensuring responsiveness and accountability.
- ✓ As the bureaucracy carries out necessary function in the country. Therefore, Pakistan should have an efficient management services for true spirit of welfare state to ensure democratic set up. In this connection, the bureaucracy must be operational with the technical talent and training, with the relatively good pay, competitive standard of the recruitment.
- ✓ The political parties are the basis of political society and without effective party system democracies cannot have active governance. To assure democratic alliance in Pakistan it is vital that political parties must have not sole objective of seizing power but should serve state factually. All major political parties in Pakistan should have vibrant political image.
- ✓ Democracy can be consolidated in Pakistan when the legislature performs its function towards the socio-economic and political improvement of the country. The legislature must make the policies for employment creation, provision of good road networks, and other infrastructural developments for the community. The authoritarianism, is the key challenge to democratic stability. We should support to democrats and democratic values.

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