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# **RESEARCH PAPER**

# Struggling for Democracy: A Case of Democratization in Pakistan

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PAPER INFO	ABSTRACT
Received:	The objective of this research paper is to review the challenges for
August 26, 2021	democratization in Pakistan. The problem of democratization and
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Online:	collapse of non-democratic regime. Ten factors as given by Michael J.
December 19, 2021	Sodaro are considered effective in helping a democratically unstable
Keywords:	state to stabilize its system in other words helps in the democratic
Electoral Politics,	consolidation. It is argued in this research that the ten factors of
General Elections, Political Participation,	democratization as given by Michael J. Sodaro have been absent in the
Women Empowerment	political system of Pakistan and working on these factors can lead
*Corresponding	Pakistan to the road of democratization. This study uses qualitative
Author: ammaracheema78	method of research and proposes a novel framework for the deed of
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	positively to democratization/consolidated democracy.

## Introduction

Democratization refers to the process of building a democracy following the collapse of a non-democratic regime (Sodaro, 2001). Fundamentally, it is a procedure of conversion of one form of government to another. Any democracy that has free & fair elections, no monopoly and protected rights of citizens is termed as a consolidated Democracy. The relation between parliament and democratization is sort of cooperation between different institutions which enable the smooth drive to the road of democratization. A constitution that fails to public aspirations can hardly serve as the foundation stone of a democratic rule (Mehmood, Pakistan Political Roots & Development 1947-1999, 2000). According to Lord Bryce in "A Democratic Government", the right to rule does not belong to any specific class rather this right belongs to the society because of the sense of collectivity, which means society as a whole decides on matters of public welfare.

The aim of democratization is to avoid any authoritative intervention that sabotages the rights of citizen and the elimination of all forms of non-democratic regimes. Democratization is an ongoing process in various countries around the world, but many factors determine its success. The process of democratic consolidation aims to handle any future democratic hard time and pursue for long lasting democracy (Sodaro, 2001). The acceptance of the democratic principles and rules by the public is much needed in this

process. Ultimately, if public is not supportive in democratization then nothing tips down to success. There are certain independent and dependent variables that distresses this process of democratic consolidation. Many scholars believe in democratization that designates two to three democratic features for instance, free and fair elections will ultimately convert to consolidated democracy (Sodaro, 2001).

## **Factors of Democratization**

Michael J. Sodaro presented ten dynamics that lead to long lasting democracy and for its smooth survival. Although these ten factors are not a solid formula that comes with hundred percent results, it ultimately helps in the renovation of democratic norms. As each democracy is different, so it's not that all are implementing the same factors and even if they are doing so they will ultimately receive different outcomes (Sodaro, 2001). For example, education is a key to the success of democracy, but it's not the only key and not all democracies are rich in education. Every state discovers its own road to democracy that is based on personal eccentricities.

There are countries that are not following key factors of democracy, but they are successful and there are countries that are following democratic keys but are not successful (Sodaro, 2001). The sustainability of democracy is not dependent on a certain formula but varies in every aspect. Following are the ten independent variables that increase the probabilities of democratic consolidation(Sodaro, 2001). To promote democracy in a healthy way, the following variables are inevitable.

- 1. Stateness: Institutions of State
- 2. Democratic commitment of elite class
- 3. Stable Economy
- 4. Private Business
- 5. Support of middle class
- 6. Acceptance and inculcation of Democratic norms and Values
- 7. Democratic Political Culture
- 8. Literacy Rate
- 9. Societal Homogeneity
- 10. Supportive International order

The very first factor that leads to democratization is the effectiveness of state institutions showing legitimacy over defined areas (Sodaro, 2001). This concept leads to the idea of Alfred Stepan and Juan Linz, "Stateness" as an imperative prerequisite of democracy (Juan José Linz, 1996). The legitimacy of the government is required for the

smooth functioning of democracy and also for its strength. The operation of democracy is directly linked to the state institutions as these institutions are responsible for the whole democratic functioning. There are many states that go through the process of democratization and by adopting the policy of "Stateness" i.e., Yugoslavia and Russia are the prime examples (Sodaro, 2001).

The legitimacy of the institutions, sovereignty, liberties, equality, fundamental rights, and opportunities, all these conclude the whole idea of democracy to some extent. All these ideas are not possible without the application of strong state institutions. The important state institutions such as legislature, executive, judiciary, military, and bureaucracy, all these institutions must act in a way so as to maintain their strength in a way that they protect any harm against democracy.

When the state institutions are not safeguarding fundamental rights, liberties and popular will, this situation indicates the danger for the process of democracy. The military must act like a subordinate of the government, the judiciary must be free from any pressure, and the bureaucracy must support the process of democracy and assist the civilian government in the process of policy making. The effectiveness of a single department is not sufficient; democratization requires the effectiveness of all leading institutions. When state institutions are organized in a way that follows the core values of democracy then the process faces only success.



Figure 1 Factors leading to Democratization

There are many historical examples showing the success of democracy dependent on the stable institutional process. While history also shows that the instable process derails the democratic process. Numerous desires of different state actor like military for authority and supremacy resulted in the failure of democracy. In many developing democratic counties, chances of military intervention are high as their militaries are stronger than civilian governments.

Although democracy is the government of the people, practically all modern liberal democracies are presenting a government of a specific class defined as the elite class. The term "elite" is a group of people that not only include politicians, but administrative heads and many leading figures are also part of this term. There are few examples in the world where this class supports the process of democracy i.e., American elite class in 1970, Nelson Mandela in South Africa, elite in many communist states became the cause behind the shift from communism to democracy, and Latin America where this elite class became a cause behind democratic transition. The devotion of elites for democratic norms what is the base of "democratic elitism", theory of Peter Bachrach (Bachrach, 1967).

Especially, in developing states, where masses are not politically conscious enough. The condition of elite and political behavior of masses is so interlinked that politically conscious states can definitely handle this elite class, but politically less conscious states may face certain problems. Ultimately, for democracy, the behavior of the masses is very importance (Sodaro, 2001). This dominance increases the chances for corruption because this class tries hard to attain its personal interests. The ratio of corruption is there in all democracies, but corruption is on peak in developing states where this elite class is stronger than developed states (Sodaro, 2001).

For the sake of democratization, one of the prerequisites is effective and efficient leadership that appeals to the public and also supports democratization in an impressive manner. The whole episode of democratization and consolidation depend upon the traits of leaders who are indulged in the process. Whenever a state faces the problem of lack of leadership, the chances for process derailment are high. For example, Pakistan in early years faced this problem as there was no charismatic leadership after Quaid-e-Azam to lead the country and that gives the chances to other actors for intervention.

Although, there are few other factors behind intervention but absence of epitome of civilian leadership gave a wider chance to create the vacuum in the system. There are plenty of examples where the military fills this gap of leadership. For example, the military coups of 1969, 1977 and 1999. The opportunity to build democracy is much dependent on leadership and this leadership needs to come in many traditions. The democratic states need to focus on their political culture to provide them with the best leaders (Sadaro).

The next two factors that contribute to the process of democratization are related to the economy of a state. The economy tends to create stability and that is what is required for democratization. In modern liberal democracies, the freedom for private business is essential. Many scholars believe that economic freedom leads to political freedom, and to some extent this assumption is proved right. In the same order many believe that lack of economic liberty leads to non-democratic regimes (Sodaro, 2001). There are studies proving that capitalist class is responsible in success of the ancient liberal democracies i.e., United Kingdom, United States of America (Moore, 1966). When societies turn their ways toward growth of industries, agricultural growth or growth of private enterprises, there are high chances of successful democracy. Prosperous entrepreneurship gives certain positive fruits to democracies.

Moore argued that before WWII Germany, Russia and Japan did not allow flourishing of its capital class, they turned fascist, communist, and military elite respectively. He even assumed that without the capital class, there is no future of democracies (Moore, 1966). The emergence of democracies owes a lot to the bourgeoisie class, because they are not viewing government for its economic needs, in fact the reverse is true that democratic governments are dependent on this class (Sodaro, 2001). This concept also leads to the importance of the middle class for democracies as the middle class gives a solid backbone to democracies. This assumption is also taken by different scholars in different studies, and they argued in support. There are certain exemptions, as in some cases these private businesses tend to support non-democratic regimes i.e., Asia, Latin America etc. The communist China is also portraying a reverse example, as China fully supports private enterprises. There are always reverse notions to a particular notion, but economy is somehow contributing to the growth of democracies (Sodaro, 2001).

The role of the middle class is critical in establishing democracies, as the 1 percent of society is elite, and the remaining society is either below the poverty line or is included in the middle class: this middle class is an existent and physical force behind sustaining democracies. Many experts of democracies believe that societies with no middle class are less likely to create democratic norms. This substantial middle class is concerned with retrieving the elite class. The clash between elite class and middle will presumably not allow anyone to harm democratic norms. There is this assumption that the middle class creates a favorable democratic atmosphere by generating small business for their own livelihood (Gabriel A. Almond, 2011). In ancient Greek, experts believed in this notion as this class demanded for accountability of the government.

The class system is different in each state, for example in Pakistan the classification of classes is diverse as; upper class (elite class), middle class (upper middle class, middle class, and lower middle class) and poor class (Gabriel A. Almond, 2011). This middle class historically linked with the evolution of democracies i.e., United Kingdom, United States of America, and France where these middle classes used their strength to create democratic environment and further supported democracy as a system (Sodaro, 2001). The genuine theme of their support is not actually democracy but to avoid any hurdles in the system. They may support any system that guarantees them the stability i.e., the middle class of Pakistan support non-democratic regimes as they provide stability. So, the aim of the middle class is not democracy but their own security and whoever provides this security they will support that specific system. If a democracy, and they will start to support different other elements.

In the early 1920s, Germans sensed the failure of democracy and gradually opposed democracy. This opposition provides room to flourish non-democratic actors.

The reverse happened in British, where they opposed non-democratic regimes and supported democracy as they hoped for development under democracy. The illusion of development or no development can contribute to the support or opposition under any system. Another example, in history women had no right to participate in different democracies, but after struggling they got the right of participation.

The next prerequisite factor that is required for democracy is the efficiency of civil society. The organized groups of people in terms of associations can provide a platform that handles democratic problems by facilitating between different sections of the society. The civil society always remains in a dynamic role to sustain different consequences, but it needs to be more responsible in democracies. Interest articulation is of key importance in any political system and in democracies it can easily turn the whole episode. As political cultures of developed and developing states are different, the pattern and role of civil societies is also different.

A political culture that's acting democratically helps in creating a democratic state, but if the political culture is against democratic norms, then the reverse will happen. In the creation of democratic political culture what contributes the most is education and particularly political education. Normally, states with more education are more likely to succeed in democracy. For example, Pakistan's democratic failure is due to the low literacy rate because when the public is not educated then they are not able to act democratically. So, for the sustainability of democracy literacy is required.

Another factor that helps to maintain democratization is homogenous states, but many modern liberal democracies are not homogeneous still democratically, they are strong. Today, democracy in multicultural states, polarized states, and fragmented states proved that heterogeneous societies can also sustain democracy e.g., historically Yugoslavia is one of the best examples, the United Kingdom. Lastly, democratization also needs a suitable international order because if international order is not supportive then democracy may face external problems. For example, many non-democratic interventions were supported by external or major power especially in developing states.

### Conclusion

Democratization does not require some enigmatic radical footsteps for success; instead democratization needs few fundamental deliberate changes that help in stability. All these ten factors of democratization are important, but in case of Pakistan democratic perception of public and institutionalization of parliament is much needed. These two factors will lead the speedy democratization in Pakistan that ultimately results in consolidation.

## Recommendations

Following are few recommendations in case of Pakistan to support democratization

- 1. There is a strong need of applied understanding of democracy and democratization among the public as well as the institutions which is only possible through effective Political Socialization and Political Mobilization.
- 2. Government institutions should encourage the need of democratization, as it is the devolution of power, hence, institutional performance will be better as power is not concentrated, there is effective division of tasks.
- 3. The institutional reforms are much needed in case of Pakistan and especially parliamentary reforms are required to meet the real aspiration of parliament in democracies.
- 4. There is a dire need of building a democratic attitude in masses by educating them about their rights and how Democracy is a vital source in helping them to achieve that.

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