

**RESEARCH PAPER****Understanding the Changing Dynamics of Governance: A Case Study of Pakistan****Dr. Muhammad Asif**Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Govt. Islamia Graduate College Civil Lines
Lahore, Punjab, Pakistan***Corresponding Author:** asifali264@hotmail.com**ABSTRACT**

As oxygen is essential for the survival of the human being likewise good governance is absolute reality for the survival of any state. In spite of having tangible and intangible resources, Pakistan is under stress. One of the important reasons, is its' governing pattern which is not only corrupt but also has become malaise. It all weakened Pakistan. In Pakistan, the institutions have institutional gaps which not only restricted the capacity and capability of the institutions but also raised the questions over the credibility of the state. This paper will examine the issue of governance in Pakistan in the context of institutional governance. The research recommends that by keeping in mind the severity of current socio-economic and political challenges, Pakistan needs institutional governance in order to execute quality decisions. This paper is structured on qualitative methodology, based on secondary source data and used exploratory research technique to frame a case study.

KEYWORDS Tangible, Intangible, Governance, Institution, Institutional Governance, Good Governance**Introduction**

During Cold War Era, very much importance was not given to governance issues, but as it was ended, the new challenges like poverty, unemployment, corruption, global economic stagnation and the role of the institutions snatched the attention of the socio-political analysts. It has been observed that as compared to developed states, the situation is more complicated and depressed in developing or underdeveloped countries. The policy makers and the academicians convinced that the issues are directly or indirectly connected with governance. The governance, a systematic approach to address the roots of challenges and further to put forward a strategy to increase the opportunities for a common man. Generally speaking, the governance is a mechanism, used to deliver but the good governance will talk about how to deliver and what to deliver? The institutions are not only acknowledged but a specific environment is provided them to be flourished. In return, their capacity and capability are enhanced, required to address the challenges, causing to integrate the system (Muzaffar, Fern, & Yaseen, 2024). Although, it is a complexed phenomenon, having different interpretations, varies from situation to situation yet one common feature is about the role of the institutions, need to have capability to address the crises (Taylor, 2000). On the one side, good governance is connected with the political system. On the other side, it is linked with administration. Overall, it is connected with both, political system and administration, a struggle for survival. In the absence of good governance, the society has to face violence, corruption, injustice and deprivation (HDR, 2005). Since last two decades, the economist has linked economic stability with the idea of good governance. International financial institutions like World Bank and IMF focused on the implementation of good governance for sustainable development (Kaufmann & Kraay, 2002 & 2003).

Governance is perceived as an essential instrument to ensure effectiveness within state and society (Duncan, 2003). It is argued that governance is an instrument of state to manage the political, economic and administrative affairs and it communicates the institutional benefits to a common man. Good governance is a capital to manage the socio-political, internal and external issues efficiently and transparency. Now, it is a core issue for the economists to establish a strong relationship with economic prosperity and economic integration. According to UNDP, good governance is a positive indicator to introduce sustainable development (Muzaffar, & Choudhary. 2017; Putnam, 1993). Good governance is defined a legitimate contribution of the institutions to strengthen the political system. Categorically, the good governance has three phases e.g. policy-making process, implementation process and finally accountable environment. The idea of good governance is connected with institutional reforms. The sound economic growth policies could be possible only through good governance (Qureshi, 1999). Governance has multiple themes like responsiveness, accountability and management. In order to understand the dynamics of good governance, its evolutionary process need to be addressed. One of the feature of good governance is openness and responsive. As compared to developed states, the institutions are not as such responsive, missing connectivity between policy and governance (Shah, 1999).

The development studies argued that bad governance generated socio-political degradation and unstable environment within state whereas good governance is a process in which the formal and informal structure of the state are addressed before execution of decisions. Khan highlighted the importance of the institutions in the context of governance. Pakistan is in danger zone because its institutions are not appropriately working. The leadership should make sure the performance of the institutions to deal the prevailing challenges (Khan, 2012). The World Bank and UNDP reported poor governance in Pakistan which has been endorsed by World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Index. The governance is a legitimate authority, exercised by the institutions of state to patronize the economic and political development activities. It has three dimensions e.g. political regimes, political system and the capacity of the institutions of government. The World Bank argued that good governance is considered a management based strategy in terms of dealing the economic and social resources. One of an important aspect of good governance is implementation of fundamental rights like freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom from exploitation and freedom from hunger, enforcement of equality and equity, implementation of indiscriminate justice and encouragement of honesty, transparency and accountability. The philosophical and religious dimensions of good governance is to provide maximum satisfaction to a common man.

The concept of good governance is associated with the experiences of the human being who learnt throughout the ages. It is a unified consensus among the sociologist, economists and political scientists that the best mechanism to ensure the development activities is effective governance by introducing reforms in civil services, by improving the capacity and capability of institutions. It has been argued by the economists that the formation of the tax policies, consistent implementation of the fiscal policies, and finally the collection network of taxes could be possible through institutional governance. In the developing states, the tax system is not improved and the fiscal administration has to face multiple problems while collecting taxes from the private sector (Muzaffar, et. al., 2023; Malik, et. al., 2023). One of the important reason, that a common man has no trust over the mechanism of the tax collection. Apart from this, it is observed that as compared to centralized fiscal structure, the tax collection situation is better in decentralized political system. It is believed that governance could be in better position, if political system has fiscal devolution of power, having sound mechanism of resource mobilization and distribution of the resources.

In most of the federating states, the possible efforts are made to run all tiers of government. Categorically, first, the concept of good governance is about to discuss the political system. The political system is connected with the legislation structure of the state, to explore the system, in terms of dealing the political crises. In decentralized political system or devolution of power, the performance of the institutions is comparatively better than centralized system. Second, it is important to identify the role of the institution while formulating the policies or executing the decisions. The credibility of the system depends upon the capacity of the institutions. Third, the good governance requirement is efficiency. It means how much the institutions have the capacity to mobilize the human and capital resources. Next is the stability of the system, it means either the institutions have the potential to manage the resources or not. In the absence of clarity about objectives and functions, there is dire need to fragment all tiers of government. The consolidation of democracy is possible when the institutions are based on the governance, a relationship between the state and civil society (Kugelman, 2021).

The institutions of state are created to ensure the rule of law. In open political system, the governance is more accountable as compared to the closed political system. In Soviet Union, the institutions, monitored by state-agencies and the specific directions are given by the state authority. The institutions are engaged to deliver what they have been asked to deliver. On the other hand, in open political systems, like USA and European countries, the institutions exercise authority with democratic governance. They are flourished and the process of institutionalization of society is functioned (Stoker & Wolman, 1995).

Literature Review

Good governance is normally defined as the successful performance of the government, in terms of providing an atmosphere in which the institutions work freely according to the constitution and the government is being considered responsible to ensure accountability and transparency. It covers all areas of government, legislature, judiciary and parliament including press. One of the most important features of the good governance is the openness of the system. It means the institutions have the capacity and capability to address the socio-economic challenges of the given state and society. After the Cold War, the states shown concern with the idea of democratic governance and focused on progressive modernized economy instead of doing interference within the institutions. It is argued that good governance could not be possible until the institutions do not enjoy the legitimacy. In Post-Cold War scenario, the decentralization and devolution political structure were given importance to ensure accountability, transparency and rule of law. Khan (2012) "*Pakistan's Failing Institutions*," argued that the institutions have been failed in Pakistan so that the issues are not properly addressed. Ahmad (1998), *Reinventing the Government: The Case of Pakistan*, argued that the problems of Pakistan are connected with structural reforms. The good governance is badly affected due to red-tapism, centralized bureaucratic structure and finally stressed political system. Hussain (2009), *Governance and Development: A Case Study of Pakistan*, argued that socio-economic development of state depends upon the quality of governance. Now, the states need to adopt moderate trends in order to improve the functioning process of the institutions. In addition, the institutions have to play their due role to integrate the system so that the quality governance could be accessed. The economically successful regions have focused on the institutional governance. Ahmad Bilal Mahboob (PILDAT), argued that in the parliament of Pakistan, only those specific issues have been discussed which are supported by the leadership of the political parties. It has been discussed that parliament as political institution, has been remained failed to address the political crisis. It is emphasized that in order to strengthen the role of the parliament, the political leadership and the parliamentarians should have to empower parliament. Zaidi (1998),

Democratic Decentralization in Pakistan: A Contradictions in Terms, argued that Pakistan is missing good governance due to the absence of local governance. Abdullah (1998), *Political Rulership and Bureaucracy in Pakistan: The pattern the British Left Behind and Subsequent Development*, argued that institutional gaps have been observed between the formulation process of policies and implementation phase of the policies. The fault lines are with the implementation process, related to allocation of resources, mobilization of resources and finally management of the resources. Shah (1998), *Role of the Judiciary in South Asian States*, the political interference and the influence of the executive over the decisions of the judiciary have politicized the institution of judiciary. Good governance is linked with the rule of law. World Bank (1992), the governance is the strategy of the state to manage the affairs of the state through accountability, transparency and respect to laws. The government is considered to be responsible for providing socio-economic benefits from micro level to macro-level. Shamim (2023), *Role of Some Institutions and Public Policy Making in Pakistan*, argued that issue of governance is badly affected in Pakistan due to the diversified nature of the problems. In Pakistan, the power-tussle among institutions like parliament, bureaucracy and military has dismantled institutions. In order for the successful implementation process of the decisions, the civil-military leadership have to create integrated environment. The political system has three levels to actualize the input into output. According to Easton (1964) the credibility of any political system depends upon three levels. The first level is the system level, talk about the role of the institutions. The second level is the process level, a conversion process. The third level is the policy level, as whole to focus on the behaviour of the political system. Shafqat (1999) *Pakistani Bureaucracy: Crisis of Governance and Prospects of Reform* emphasized that bureaucracy as an institution should be revamped structurally. Apart from this, bureaucracy in Pakistan has been politicized, which damaged its hierarchical order. Hassan & Zeb (2021), *Analyzing the Impact of Good Governance on Socio-Economic Development: A Case Study of Pakistan*, argued that good governance is a driving approach to shape the institutions for sustainable economic development. It is argued that all international organizations have focused on idea of political governance. Iftikhar (2015) *Institutions, Governance and Development in Pakistan*, focused on institutional quality for governance. The institutional governance is possible through reforms. In the under developed states, the states are neither engaged with new ideas nor they are interested to reform their old-patronized institutions. The institutions need to be reformed on the basis of changing pattern of international norms of governance. Khan (2009) *An Outline of the Constitutional History of Pakistan*, argued that the continuous interruption of military and judiciary damaged the credibility of the institutions and now failed to deliver the basic needs of life. Neither the politicians nor the bureaucracy did efforts to develop institutional culture to strengthen system. Naseer (2001), *Building Trust in Government*, bad governance has encouraged the culture of corruption, nepotism, despotism and violation of law. It shattered the trust of a common man over the political system. Development Advocate Pakistan, (2014) *A New Way Forward for Local Governance in Pakistan?* highlighted the role of the woman and youth in the political process. It is argued that credibility of the political system depends upon the maximum participation of the civil society. (Wetzel, 2017), *Governance and Institutional Development*, viewed that an effective capable, efficient, open and accountable political system can address the challenges of sustainable growth. It is important to focus on enhancing technical credibility of the system to manage resources. (Hassan, 2002) *Governance and Poverty in Pakistan*, analyzed the impacts of structural adjustment policies on income distribution and poverty. The study identified many factors of increasing poverty, like slow growth rates, structural adjustment and stabilization programmes, low human resource development, and poor law and order situation.

(UNDP, 2011), *Human Development for Everyone* argued that technical capacities of organizations and institutions set the rules of governance. The studies of World Bank and other financial institutions paid attention to the idea of strengthening the capacity of government to counter corruption and irregularities. Peters (2010) *The Good Cause Book Subtitle: Theoretical Perspectives on Corruption Institutional Design and Good Governance* viewed that the government sector institutions should be restructured because they are lacking institutional governance. It is the political system of any state which need to enhance its' capacity to monitor the mal-administrative practices.

Liu (2017), *The Role of Media in Promoting Good Governance and Building Public Perception about Governance: A Comparison of China and The United States* argued that now the states are facing multidimensional challenges which are complexed and almost interrelated due to rapid political developments and technological change. By keeping in view of the changing trends, the role of the state has become important and the concept of good governance has been changed. The study argued that now instead of the orthodox paradigm of development, the developing states should focus on sustainable development economy. The governance should be measured in the context of the capacity and capability of the institutions. It depends upon the role of the government, how it responds to the issues? In democratic states, the governance is recognized as a tool to provide a guide line in terms of what to deliver and how to deliver?

Asian Development Bank (1995), *Governance: Sound Development Management* argued that the term "governance" should be explained by understanding the multidimensional layers. It is referred as a study of the management of resources, development strategy, technical functioning of the institutions and risk-taking factor while executing the decisions. From banking perspective, it impacts over the economic policies so that the quality of governance is given importance.

Khan, Nadeem, Ahmad & Akif (2021), *Breaking the Breakers, Public Policy & Governance Case Studies from Pakistan*, explained the basic parameters of public governance. It argued that issue of governance is extremely complexed. Pakistan has bad governance due to its non-responsive political system. OECD (2001), argued that the 21st century issues have dynamics of state and society abruptly. Growing spectrum of market economy and technologies compelled the states to introduce institutional governance. Now, the governance is need to be explored in broader context rather than traditional methods.

Material and Methods

The prime objective of research is to expand human knowledge, based on authenticity and unbiased. It is important for a researcher how to identify a problem. In order to value the research, different methodologies, like qualitative and quantitative are used. The qualitative methodology has been employed by following positivist approach in order to identify the statement of the problem. The data has been collected from different sources like secondary research and websites. The research has to face limitations, because most of the secondary research, while accessing good governance, preferred to evaluate the indicators of corruption, nepotism, transparency and openness of the system. This piece of research is an attempt to explore the institutional dynamics of good governance, taken Pakistan as case study.

Results and Discussion

On 14th August 1947, Pakistan was given complete political independence by British India Government. It was the outcome of a long struggle of the Indian Muslims

for a separate homeland in order to secure its separate identity. In Indian Sub-Continent, the Muslims were feared that their identity will remain at stake if the British Government quit India without dividing it. It was argued that 1937 Congress Ministries, influenced by the orthodox hindu religious political leadership exploited the Indian Muslims and it compelled the Indian Muslims to put forward demand for a separate homeland. The Muslim League ensured the fundamental rights for all, either Muslim or Non-Muslim. This was the first step for the implantation of good governance. Mr. Jinnah stated that everyone has the right to enjoy the fundamental rights, irrespective of religion, creed or color (Government of Pakistan, 1989)

After independence, Pakistan has to face inherited socio-political and economic challenges, like East-West political rift, center-provincial issues, immigrants' problem, hostile attitude of India, lacking of experienced political leadership, absolute diversified cultural differences, crisis of national language, orthodox religious clergy and finally difference of opinion between East Pakistan and West Pakistan on the formation of political setup for newly born state, Pakistan. In order to address these complexed challenges, the process of institutionalization was started with hopes and finally, on 23rd March 1956, the first Constitution of Pakistan was implemented. It was pure democratic constitution which addressed the socio-political and economic differences of East Pakistan and West Pakistan. The democratic governance in Pakistan ensured political stability in the state. It was argued that the institutional governance, required for parliamentary democracy, was not observed, led to cause of military intervention. The 1956 Constitution was abrogated and finally General Ayub Khan seized political power (Rizvi, 2011). Consequently, a political consensus on multiple issues which was developed between political leadership of East and West Pakistan was halted which given space to mistrust which created a political chaos. Mr. Ayub Khan intends to draw the next constitution on Presidential form of Government, opposed the recommendations of Justice Shahab Commission, proposed Parliamentary form of Government by keeping the internal political dynamics of the both wings (Gauhar, 1994). Apart from this, certain political arrangements like BD System, Political Parties Act (1962) and Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO), introduced by Ayub Government restricted the institutional growth.

From 1947 to 1971, Pakistan experienced two different nature of constitutions, 1956 Constitution (Parliamentary) and 1962 (Presidential), but both failed to ensure the good governance. It should be kept in mind that good governance is related to institutionalization process which was not provided to be flourished. As the 1956 Constitution was constituted, a political rift on the distribution of political power between the prime minister and governor general. On the other hand, 1962 Constitution was called a advocated to centralization whereas the political leadership of East Pakistan was in favor of provincial autonomy (Chaudhry, 1969). Instead of promoting institutionalization process and democratic governance, the weightage was given to increase personal power structure either through constitutional or unconstitutional procedures. It all contributed to restrict the growth of institutions and sabotaged the political stability and national integration. The absence of institutionalization process, democratization trends and bad governance finally separated East Pakistan in 1971.

The New Pakistan (Old West Pakistan), witnessed 1973 Constitution, a politically matured constitution. Mr. Bhutto, chief architect of constitution, belonging to feudal class, known as western democracy lover introduced political fascism and nationalized policy (Dawn, 1972) The autocratic and non-democratic political behaviour of Mr. Bhutto restricted the growth of the institutions.

On 5th July 1977, the civil government was removed from political power. Mr. Zia-ul-Haq as military dictator seized the political power. The majority of the constitutional amendments during regime of Mr. Bhutto was concerned to enhance personal political power instead of strengthening institutions. It all paralyzed the political system and restricted the growth of the institutional process and constitutionalism. In order to enhance the personal political power, Mr. Zia amended the 1973 Constitution and changed its' nature from parliamentary to presidential. The whole exercise was done only to increase the powers of president, because Mr. Zia-ul-Haq was himself to be elected as President of Pakistan. The 8th Amendment altered 70 Articles of 1973 Constitution, changed the spirit of the 1973 Constitution, which was federal in character. The Article 58 (2) (b) was the climax of the 8th Amendment, the President was empowered to dissolve National Assembly, "in his own discretion where, in his opinion" (Abbas, 1997). In order to inject his own thinking of Islamization, he changed the features of Objective Resolutions, the status of minority communities in contending elections and the qualification standard of a candidate. Finally, the creation of Federal Sharia Court was an attempt to counter the supremacy of Supreme Court and National Assembly (Khan, 1994). Apart from all these extra-constitutional acts, Mr. Zia-ul-Haq deliberately extended the role of intelligence agencies in political affairs in order to strengthen his own political agenda (Rizvi, 2011). During Zia regime, Pakistan witnessed restricted democratic process, institutional growth and democratization process. According to Khan, parliament was made a "Rubber-Stamp" (Khan, 2009).

It is argued that during Zia regime, the economic condition was comparatively better to Mr. Bhutto regime. It is also a bitter fact that the entire economic better position during Zia regime was due to Afghan War factor. The US was deeply interested to counter Soviet Union in Afghanistan and Pakistan became frontline state. In return, Pakistan was financially assisted by US Government (Lynden, 1981). The entire economic growth was artificial and unnatural, based on loans and financial assistance instead of real development activities.

The civilian governments in Post-Zia Regimes (Ms. Benazir Bhutto and Mr. Nawaz Sharif) had been remained failed to deliver due to controlled democracy. It weakened institutions and paralyzed the entire political process. Throughout the democratic years from 1988 to 1999, Pakistan missed political socialization, institutionalization and democratic governance. Consequently, it all invoked political instability and economic stagnation. The elected government of Miss. Benazir Bhutto was dissolved, charged of various allegations. One of the major allegation was about the incompetency of central government to discharge substantive legislation, to address Council of Common Interests, National Finance Commission and politicized the bureaucracy (PLD, 1990). In 1993, the elected government of Mr. Nawaz Sharif was dissolved. Again, it was charged that neither discharged the duties of National Economic Council, Council of Common Interests, compromised the integrity of the civil services and institutions were not allowed to function according to Constitution 1973 (PLD, 1993). The controlled democracy defamed the civilian governments and restricted the institutionalization process.

From 1989 to 1999, It is also a bitter reality that due to non-democratic behaviour of the political leadership compromised parliament and deliberately had weakened its role. The civilian governments in Pakistan instigated political instability and economic stagnation. On 12th October 1999, again the political regime of Mian Nawaz Sharif was toppled down. It was argued that the civil-military relations were not in good mood due to various factors, one of the most important issue was Kargil Issue. During Musharraf regime, the two national political leadership were in exile. In exile, a political reconciliation agreement, called Charter of Democracy, between Mian Nawaz Sharif and

Miss. Benazir Bhutto, in order to manage the political process. On the other hand, the military establishment again played its role to control parliament after the formation of Muslim League (Q). From 2014-24, the same strategy of pick & choose by the military establishment derailed the political process and undermined the role of parliament. The national and international media viewed that Pakistan is missing democracy because it is not being functioned, so that the political institutions are not strengthened. Although, the role of military was not in favor of democracy but the role of political parties was also not as democratic as it should be. The political leadership did not engage parliament through democratic culture and missed political legitimacy. Throughout the political history of Pakistan, the institutions are not strengthened so that they are not in position to address the current challenges, like political instability, economic instability, political polarization, extremism and cross-border issues. The state missed the institutional governance which badly affected the curtailed the capacity and capability of the institutions.

Good governance is a synonym of well-civilized society. The idea of good governance has been promoted in the 21st century in order to ensure a sustainable development because it provides a mechanism of establishing transparency, accountability and rule of law from higher to lower level. It is argued that it educates a common man to be civics and responsible, a basic requirement for democratic system. In developed states, the democratic governance is the sole pillar of state to ensure accountability, transparency, rule of law and mass participation. The good governance is considered a justified mechanism to distribute socio-economic resources, to strengthen capacity and capability of institutions and finally to introduce social development.

Recently, the international financial institutions and donor agencies convinced the political leadership of under-developed and developing countries to ensure governance in transparent and accountable mood. They recommended the policy parameters to introduce reforms in political, administrative, judicial and financial institutions. They focused on establishing a relationship among state, society and economy. In order to achieve economic prosperity, the social, political and economic system need to be restructured according to the changing pattern global socio-political and economic dynamics. So, it is important to know the integral parts of governance, then to articulate the parameters of governance. There is dire need to change the traditional orientation of the institutions into moderate structure. The idea of good governance is explained in two ways, economic governance and non-economic governance. The former is concerned to macro-economic stability, public goods and services and market economy. The latter is linked with the human rights and role of the institutions (Siddiqui, 1996). The emphasize of good governance is to discourage the culture of huge size of government and to improve the quality of governance for a substantive change within state and society.

Since independence, Pakistan experienced almost all forms of government. Besides this, the administrative, legislative and judicial reforms have been introduced on various occasions. In spite of all these efforts, still Pakistan is missing the train of prosperity and integration. The following factors dragged Pakistan towards instability. First, it is lacking of constitutional growth of the institutions. Second, it is lacking the capacity and capability of the institutions. Third, the institutions are missing competence and they are avoiding responsibility.

Conclusion

The research argued that process of democratization is attached with institutional governance. In Pakistan, the institutions are not flourished. The extra-constitutional acts

restricted the growth of the institutions which badly affected their capacity. Consequently, it created chaos which extremely damaged the scope of the institutions and now their response is not as efficient and transparent and as it should be. From governance point of view, the performance of the institutions is at the lowest ebb. Pakistan needs institutional governance from micro-level to macro-level in order to address challenges, related to politics and economics.

Recommendations:

- First, the institutions should be given space to be flourished. They should be structurally restructured according to the changing pattern of state and society.
- Second, the role of parliament needs to be strengthened by promoting political culture and democratic governance.
- Third, there is dire need to enhance the technical capacity of the institutions through upgrading the system.
- Fourth, the system of local government needs to be strengthened to ensure accountability and transparency. The role of the local government system should be acknowledged constitutionally.
- Fifth, Now, we are in the Age of Technology, so that we need to introduce technological based governance steps in education and health sectors.
- Six, the dynamics of bureaucracy should be changed from traditional colonial-bureaucratic structure to moderate-progressive bureaucratic structure.
- Last but not least, there is a dire need to uplift the moral standard of society through progressive education.

References

- Abbas, Hassan (1997). *Poleaxe or Politics of the Eighth Amendment (1985-1997)*, Umami Press, Watandost, New Garden Town, Lahore.
- Abdullah, Mumtaz (1999)' *Political Rulership and Bureaucracy in Pakistan: The pattern the British Left Behind and Subsequent Development'* in Tahir, Naveed Ahmad (ed), *Problems of Good Governance in South Asian Countries: Learning from European Political Models*, Area Study Centre for Europe, University of Karachi.
- Ahmad, Tasneem (1998). *Reinventing the Government: The Case of Pakistan, Reinventing the Government: The Case of Pakistan*, in Tahir, Naveed Ahmad (ed), *Problems of Good Governance in South Asian Countries: Learning from European Political Models*, Area Study Centre for Europe, University of Karachi.
- Asian Development Bank (1995). Governance: Sound Development Management.*
- Bilal, Ahmad (2018), *Institutional Capacity and Governance in Pakistan: A Case Study of Parliament*, The Wilson Center, *Pakistan's Institutions: We Know They Matter, But How Can They Work Better?* (edt) Michael Kugelman & Ishrat Husain, USA.
- Chaudhary, G.W (1969), *Constitutional Development in Pakistan*, Longman, London, p124
- Deborah L. Wetzel (2017), *Governance and Institutional Development*, Governance Global Practice.
- Duncan, R.C (2003). *Governance and Growth*, paper presented to the Symposium on Governance held at the University of the South Pacific, Suva.
- Easton, David (1964), "The analysis of political systems" in Macridis, C. Roy & Brown, E. Bernard (ed) *Comparative Politics*. Homewood: The Dorsey Press.
- Farakh A. Khan (2012), "Pakistan's Failing Institutions," Pak Tea House, <http://pakteahouse.net/2012/09/25/pakistan-failing-institutions/>
- Gauhar, Altaf (1994). *Ayub Khan: Pakistan's First Military Ruler*, Sang-e-Meel Publication, p176
- Government of Pakistan (1989), *Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Speeches and Statements as Governor General of Pakistan (1947-48)*, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Directorate of Films & Publications, Islamabad.
- Hassan & Zeb (2021), *Analyzing the Impact of Good Governance on Socio-Economic Development: A Case Study of Pakistan*, *NUST Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Vol. 7 No. 1. pp1-35*
- Hassan, Tayyab (2002), *Governance and Poverty in Pakistan*, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics Islamabad, Pakistan.
- Human Development in South Asia (2005), *Human Security in South Asia*, The Mahbub ul Haq Human Development Centre, Oxford University Press, USA
- Ishrat Hussain (2009), *Governance and Development: A Case Study of Pakistan (Chapter 8), Development Models in Muslim Contexts*, Edinburgh University Press.

- Judge, D, G Stoker & H Wolman (1995), *Theories of Urban Politics*, Sage Publications, London.
- Kamal, Siddiqui (1996), *Towards Good Governance in Bangladesh: Fifty Unpleasant Essays*, Dhaka, University Press Ltd, pp 15-16
- Kaufmann, D., Kraay, A, & Mstruzzi, M (2003). *Governance matters III: Governance indicators for 1996-2002*, Policy Research Working Paper No. 3106.
- Khan, Ayub, M (1967), *Friends, Not Masters*, Oxford University Press, London, pp 205-206.
- Khan, H. (2009). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Oxford University Press.
- Khan, Hamid (1994). *Eighth Amendment: Constitutional and Political Crisis in Pakistan*, Wajidalis Ltd, Lahore, p47
- Khan, Hamid (2009), *An Outline of the Constitutional History of Pakistan*, Pakistan Today, p 48
- Khan, Khalid Nadeem, Ahmad, Syed Abu Akif (2021), *Breaking the Breakers, Public Policy & Governance Case Studies from Pakistan*, Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad, Pakistan.
- Khan, M. M. & Alam, I. (2020). Good Governance in Pakistan: Parameters, Causes and Measures, *Pakistan Vision*, Vol. 21, No. 1
- Khan, Sarosh & Shamim, Syed Jazib (2023). Role of State Institutions in Governance and Public Policy making in Pakistan: Perspectives from Academia (January 01, 2023). SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=4579680> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4579680>
- Liu, Juan (2017), *The Role of Media in Promoting Good Governance and Building Public Perception About Governance: A Comparison of China and The United States* Wayne State University, China.
- London School of Economics, *Building Trust in Government*.
- Lynden, Van, Arnaut (1981, May 3), "High Pakistani Aide Expects U.S. Congress to Approve Assistance" *Washington Post*.
- Malik, A., Yaseen. Z., & Muzaffar, M. (2023). Governance in Pakistan: A Case Study of Pakistan Muslim League-N, *Journal of Politics and International Studies*, 9(2), 35-49
- Michael Kugelman, Michael (2021), *Turning Around Pakistan's Struggling Institutions*, in The Wilson Center, *Pakistan's Institutions: We Know They Matter, But How Can They Work Better?* (edt) Michael Kugelman & Ishrat Husain, USA.
- Muzaffar, M. & Choudhary. S. (2017). Human Development and Democratic Governance: An Analysis, *Orient Research Journal of Social Sciences*, 2(I), 71-94
- Muzaffar, M., Fern, Y. S., & Yaseen, Z (2024). Good Governance and Citizen's Trust in Pakistan: A Moderation Effect of Unethical Behavior, *Asian Journal of Human Services*, 26, 91-108

- Muzaffar, M., Fern, Y. S., & Yaseen, Z. (2023). Governance Dilemma: A Way Forward For Third World States, *Journal of Research Administration* 5(2), 9792-9803
- Naveed, M, Iftikhar & Khalid Sana (2015), Institutions, Governance and Development, *Economic Reforms Unit, Ministry of Finance Govt. of Pakistan, Islamabad, Pakistan.*
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development OBED (2021), Governance in the 21st Century.
- Peters, B. Guy (2010). *The Good Cause Book Subtitle: Theoretical Perspectives on Corruption Institutional Design and Good Governance*, Barbara Budrich Publisher, Opladen & Farmington Hills, Germany.
- PLD 1990, Central Statutes 142
- PLD 1993, Central Statutes 294.
- Putnam, R. D (2000). *Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Qureshi, S. K (1999). "A Governance Perspective on Development Issues", *The Pakistan Development Review*, Vol 38, No.4, pp327-332.
- Rizvi, A. H. (2011). *Democracy in Pakistan*. pp117-137, Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency Organization, Pakistan
- Shafqat, S. (1999), Pakistani Bureaucracy: Crisis of Governance and Prospects of Reform. *The Pakistan Development Review* Vol. 38, pp 995-1017.
- Shah, Anwar. (1999). Governing for Results in a Globalized and Localized World. The Mahbubul Haq Memorial Lecture, *The Pakistan Development Review*, No. 38, pp 385-431.
- Shah, Hassan, Naseem (1999), *Role of the Judiciary in South Asian States'* in Tahir, Naveed Ahmad (ed), *Problems of Good Governance in South Asian Countries: Learning from European Political Models*, Area Study Centre for Europe, University of Karachi.
- Taylor, D.W. (2000). *Facts, Myths and Monsters: Understanding the Principles of Good Governance*, *Int. J. Public Sector Manage.*, MCB UP Ltd., 13(2): pp108-124.
- UNDP (2014), A New Way Forward for Local Governance in Pakistan? *Development Advocate Pakistan*, Volume No: 1, Issue No: 1,
- UNDP, "Human Development Report (2016) Human Development for Everyone," <http://www.hdr.undp.org/en/2016-report>
- United Nations Development Programme Bureau for Development Policy (2011). Governance Principles, Institutional Capacity and Quality, One United Nations Plaza New York,
- World Economic Forum, "Global Competitiveness Index (2017-18)"
- Zaidi, Akber, Syed. (1999)'Democratic decentralization in Pakistan: A contradiction in terms?' in Tahir, Naveed Ahmad (ed), *Problems of Good Governance in South Asian Countries: Learning from European Political Models*, Area Study Centre for Europe, University of Karachi.