



RESEARCH PAPER

Lucian Pye and Political Development: A Case of Pakistan

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PAPER INFO	ABSTRACT
Received: July 19, 2021 Accepted: September 10, 2021 Online: September 25, 2021	This study was designed to analyze the political development of Pakistan in respect of Lucian Pye's theory of Political Development. Political development is a process of change in the political scenario of a country. It enhances the capability, effectiveness and efficiency of performance of a political system.
Keywords: Lucian Pye, Pakistan, Political Development, Political System	The data was collected from the students of M.S/M.Phil, PhD, and faculty members of the department of political Science, History, Pakistan Studies and International Relations to the public and private sector universities of Punjab province of Pakistan. A questionnaire was developed to collect the data from respondents. The data was analyzed by applying descriptive as well as inferential statistics and results were generalized. The results of Building of Democracy in respect of Lucian Pye's theory of Political Development showed that the level of political development remained low in Pakistan. This study recommends that government should take measures to change parochial and conflictive political culture.
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Introduction

Political development is a concept that developed in various forms. Many profound social, economic, political, technological, and cultural transformations (Pye & Verba, 2015). With social mobility, better education, and higher life expectancy rate, people become receptive to change and equality in the social sphere. In the economic sphere, there is more industrialization, specialization of functions informal organization, growth of infrastructure, and increase in commercial activities. People become more participatory in the transition to democracy (Lancaster & Walle, 2018). Political development is a concept that emerged in the 1950s (So, 1990). When newly independent states of Asia and Africa faced many social, political, and economic problems. These states began to formulate developmental plans for the well-being of their citizens. However, the notion of political development was originally presented in the 1960s by many experts like Lucian Pye, Leonard Binder, Myron Weiner, Herbert Feith, and David Apter. when these states start efforts to establish a new political system suited to their environment, political scientists pay their attention to the process of development and problems that they faced in political, cultural, social and

economic field. The term "Political Development" is difficult to define because of two reasons. The first one is that, definition of the term is not clear and second is that, political development is a broad topic which covers many areas and there are many criteria to measure the term, many writers have attempted to define the term. They developed definitions of political development according to their observation and analysis. All experts tried to give proper and suitable definition on political development. In the view of Samuel. P Huntington, political development and political modernization are synonymous terms. Thus, "political development can be defined as political modernization" (Weiner, Huntington, & Almond, 1987). F.W Riggs define political development as "The process of politicization by increasing participation or involvement of the citizens in the state activities, in power calculation and consequences" (Riggs, 1981). It has also been defined by Rustow as "The increasing national political unity plus a broadening base of political participation" (Waseem & Hayat, 1997). Lucian Pye is credited with having analyzed the concept of 'Political Development' in depth.

Literature Review

Political Development

The term "Political Development" is compound of two words i.e. the political and development. The political means relating to politics and development means the act of growing gradually towards progress. The word politics is derived from the Greek word "Politiki" which means the state affairs or political affairs. According to Greek, the subject which deals with the affairs of the city-state is called as 'Politics' (Dr. S. Khan, 2009). Politics is a term with varied uses and nuances. In the era of greater connectivity or modernity, the term 'Politics' is completely different. Politics relates with the matters, which are concerned with exercising or obtaining power within an organization or a group. So, politics is usually defined as a process by which groups of people make certain decisions. Here social relations are involved along with authority or power. It also consists of the methods or tactics to formulate and apply policy. Politics involves the use and the regulation of power, influence and authority, especially in the allocation of things which people want. No group of people could live together for long without effective control overpower. Rules have to be made and made known to everyone. Authority is a relationship at the very core of a political system in which men obey because they believe it proper to do so. According to the modern philosopher Michael Oakeshott, "Politics is merely the organization of running the state". Thus, politics is essentially the struggle for the authority to make decisions and to implement them for the welfare of the public.

Development means the process that is growing gradually towards progress, good change and become more advanced (Willis, 2005). The process of development in the third world is multi-dimensional (Baster, 1972). Development in a society is due to the result of social, economic and political changes. For example, when old notions of a society are being replaced by new ones, which is commonly known as social change. In social change, orthodox society is replaced by liberal society. Likewise, when there is change in any aspect of a political system, is the political change (Packenham, 2015). In political change, democracy replaces the dictatorship. So, development is the process of replacing old notion by new idea. It is the opinion of exponents of development theory, they say that the political change is the first step towards development (Smith, 1974). Change in political system has many aspects.

Like change in legitimacy, change in policies, change in individuals (Smith, 2009). When change takes place in these aspects of the political system then it can influence each other. For instance, change in policies can result in the change of individuals. Similarly, the policy formulation and the process of decision making can affect by the change in political elites. Sometimes, interest groups or pressure groups affect the government policy to benefit themselves, and their cause and can bring change. Political elites of some particular ideology can change the structure, political process and interest. The comprehensiveness of change depends upon the nature of the political system. For instance, the change can be brought in liberal democracies through peaceful means by the people's will. While in communist countries, communist party bring overall change in all aspect of life by using the coercive method. The initiators of change are very effective and can change the direction of progress by influencing the process of government policy formulation and decision making. Leonard Binder, in his book "Crises and Sequences in Political Development" has referred to Political Development as "Changes" in the style and type of politics (Binder & La Palombara, 2015). Therefore, Political Development is a continuous process that changes all types of political systems.

Different theorists believe that every step towards change is progress and development. While some disagree with it and say every step towards change is downgrading the system (Jackson, 1964). The changing view in which political development is illuminated is Fukuyama's work. "In his work "End of History and Last Man" he describes democracy as the final stage of human political development. And different types of political systems in the world can change into similar political, the social and economic systems" (Fukuyama, 2006). It means that when democracy prevails worldwide as the best government system, then the world system would call it politically developed. According to his opinion, only political changes can result in political development. The comprehensiveness of political development depends upon the nature of change. If the change is balanced and stable, it will become the reason for the political development; otherwise, it will be harmful to the political system. It is necessary for political development that change should be within limits, following the people's expectations. Change can give stability to the political development if the behavior of the people and institutions can change according to the objective and new policies. Such a type of change is desirable for the system to sustain political development. According to Aristotle and Ibn-e-Khaldun, the series of upward and downward progress for political development revolves around the cyclic change theory. It is the view of the Ibn-e-Khaldun that change in one aspect results in a change in other aspects (Khan, 2007).

The political system is a set of interrelated and interdependent political institutions. These institutions are responsible for formulating and implementing the collective goals of a society. When change occurs in a political system and institutions of a state, political institutions adapt themselves according to the new environment leaving the old ones. It means that political development made do the change in the political system. Political change in the political system makes political development possible because political change and political development are interdependent. Thus, political development became the cause to develop a system that functions smoothly under certain laws. Political change brings political development, which results from the involvement and participation of citizens in-state activities (Törnquist, 1999).

Building of Democracy in the Perspective of Theory and Pakistan

Joseph La Palombara and J. Ronald Pennoch say that political development is closely related to building democracy by inculcating democratic values in the people. In other words, political development is synonymous with the establishment of democracy (Lancaster & Walle, 2018)

Lucian Pye, however, disagrees with this view and points that such a concept will exclude the cases of those countries, where democracy is non-existence. Moreover, democracy is value laden, while political development is value free, democracy is popular in west, while east is deprived of it. Political development is, therefore, different from democracy. Some time, the introduction of democracy can prove positive liability to development.

The democratic history of Pakistan started after its emergence as an independent state. The building of democracy in Pakistan is divided into three phases i.e. Beginning of Democratic System, Change in the Democratic System and Restoration of Democratic System. The country faced many challenges so did not continued it (Kukreja & Singh, 2005).

Beginning of Democratic System

The beginning of the democratic system in Pakistan started after it emerged as an independent state. The founder of Pakistan (Quaid e Azam) started the struggle to introduce it as a democratic state in the world. Therefore, he formed the new cabinet with the Prime Minister of Liaqat Ali Khan and other prominent leaders to make progress in every field of life and forward the country in development. He had full control over armed forces and full authority over civil administration. It was a recognized fact that the predominant role of the leader (Quaid e Azam) was the source of strength to the country. Slowly but surely, Pakistan was progressing as a young democratic nation under the leadership of Quaid e Azam. After the leader's death, Pakistan faced more challenges than hurt its initial democratic setup and political development stages. There was neither a political party nor a political leader to continue the democracy and stabilize the country's system and politics. Even the largest party Pakistan Muslim League PML, could not play any role in this regard. The internal crisis became the reason for the change in the system (Ahmed, 2014)

Change in the Democratic System

The system of Pakistan changed from democracy to dictatorship in 1958; the military intervened in politics and justified that parliamentary democracy could not function. After stabilizing the country, the military would be conducting elections to transfer all powers to the newly elected government. But it did not happen in the elections of 1965, Combined Opposition Parties COP was defeated in the elections, and Conventional Muslim League CML won the elections.

Details of 1965 Elections Results

Political Parties	Seats in West Pakistan Assembly	Seats in East Pakistan Assembly	Seats in National Assembly
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Conventional Muslim League CML	104	71	124
Combined Opposition Parties COP	01	Nil	15

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

When Ayub Khan won this presidential election, the Pakistan Democratic Movement was started against him. This movement forced him to resign the government's reign, and he handed over the authority to the Commander-in-Chief Yahya Khan in 1969. (It became clear that political parties were banned during his era, major political parties allied to contest the elections as COP). In elections of 1970, a brawl on power-sharing started between the leader of West Pakistan and East Pakista

Elections Results 1970			
Political Parties	Seats in West Pakistan Assembly	Seats in East Pakistan Assembly	Seats in National Assembly
Pakistan People's Party PPP	144	Nil	81
Awami League AL	Nil	288	166

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

The election result showed the divergent disposition of the two wings of the country. In the east wing, the Awami League, with a simple majority in the national assembly, insisted on making the constitution strictly following the six-point formula of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. Z.A Bhutto, who led the largest party from the west wing, wanted some changes in at least two points. The military government had strong reservations about handing over power to Mujibur Rehman without a major revision in the six-point formula. As Z.A Bhutto, Mujibur Rehman, and Yahya Khan could not agree on a framework of constitutional and political arrangements, Yahya Khan postponed the assembly session. Z.A Bhutto and Mujib-Ul- Rehman wanted to take the government as they got the most votes from their provinces. The issue between both the leaders made the situation worse; Yahya Khan did injustice and gave the reign of government to Z.A Bhutto, due to which Pakistan lost its East Wing. The system of government changed from dictatorship, but; it did not last long (Ahmad, 1976).

Elections Results 1977	
Political parties	Seats in National Assembly
Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	155
Pakistan National Alliance (PNA)	36

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

The second general elections were held on the opposition's demand in 1977. The elections showed the victory of the PPP, which surprised most of the political leaders and PNA. The triumph of the PPP was short-lived because PNA accused the government of massive rigging of the polls, which gave such an overriding victory to the PPP. The PNA's anti-movement against PPP demand to enforce the Nizam-e-Mustafa in place of the PPP initiated a socialistic un-Islamic political system. At that

time, the country's situation was not good; therefore, the military again intervened in 1977. The military leader Zia-ul-Haq gave justification of his intervention in politics that the government was not functioning. He would conduct the election within 90 days to transfer power to the civilians, but it did not happen again. The elections of 1985 were held on a non-party basis (Commission, 1972).

Elections Results 1985

Political parties	Seats in National Assembly
Independents	207
Seats reserved for women	21

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

In the elections of 1985, Muhammad Khan Junejo become the puppet Prime Minister of Pakistan and the office of the President took by the Zia-ul-Haq. The next elections were holding after the death of Zia-ul-Haq in 1988, this was the new hope for the restoration of democracy.

Elections Results 1988

Political parties	Seats in National Assembly
Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	94
Islamic Democratic Alliance (IJI)	56
Independent	40

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

Benazir Bhutto's party got the majority in elections and took the office of the Prime Minister. She was one of the first lady PM in Pakistan and Muslim World. The dictatorship changed into democracy after eleven years. Her government dismissed after one year and eight months on the basis of incompetence leader. The elections held again in 1990.

Elections Results 1990

Political parties	Seats in National Assembly
Islamic Democratic Alliance (IJI)	106
Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	44
Independent	22

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

IJI won the elections, the leader Nawaz Sharif formed coalition government in center as well as in provinces. His government could not do any significant thing for the country. A power struggle was started between Prime Minister and President of the country which called for next elections in 1993.

Elections Results 1993

Political parties	Seats in National Assembly
Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	89
Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML N)	73
Independent	16

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

Benazir Bhutto again got the majority; it was second term of her to reign the government. It was again dismissed by the President Farook Leghari after three years and seventeen days. The next elections were held in 1997.

Elections Results 1997	
Political parties	Seats in National Assembly
Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML N)	136
Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	18
Independent	21

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

The performance of PPP in this election was very poor while PMLN performed more better (B. Khan, Khan, & Ahmad, 2000). Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister second time; he did not complete his tenure again due to dramatic takeover of military. The instable democratic system again changed into dictatorship in 1999. By the military, elections were held in 2002.

Elections Results 2002	
Political parties	Seats in National Assembly
Pakistan Muslim League Quaid e Azam (PML Q)	126
Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML N)	19
Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	81
Independent	21

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

As the result of the 2002 elections, Pervez Musharraf took the office of the President; he tried to resume Pakistan's image as a democratic and moderate country. For this objective, he paid his full attention to stabilizing the political institutions, economic development, and foreign relations. In addition to this, he provided a four-point formula to resolve the Kashmir issue and stabilize India's relations. His attempts highlighted the soft image of Pakistan in the world (Musharraf, 2006). Many other political decisions and activities became the cause of to fall of his regime. His decision to declare the emergency rule in the country, Lal- Masjid incident, atomic issue, suspension of famed Chief Justice, unpopular operation in the west, and strong criticism from rival political leaders such as Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif. PPP and PML-N flared a political protest throughout the country against him. After the end of military rule, new hope for the return of democracy in the country was spread (Pakistan, 1970).

Restoration of Democratic System

Until 2008, Pakistan did not experience even one democratic transfer of power from one democratically elected government that had completed its tenure to another. All of its previous democratic transitions have been aborted by a military coup. As a result of the 2008 elections, the military rule ended in the country, leading to the restoration of the democratic system (Hasanie, 2013).

Elections Results 2008	
Political parties	Seats in National Assembly
Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	91
Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML N)	69

Pakistan Muslim League Quaid e Azam (PML Q)

38

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

PPP won the majority in NA but could not form a government alone, so President Asif Ali Zardari formed a coalition government. The return of civilian rule in the country was a new hope to stabilize the political system. This move was widely viewed as an effort to restore the democratic system in Pakistan. First time in the history of Pakistan, the government of PPP completed the term and successfully transferred the power to the newly elected government of PML-N in 2013 (Flores & Nooruddin, 2016).

Elections Results 2013

Political parties	Seats in National Assembly
Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML N)	166
Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	42
Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)	35
Others	99

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

As a result of the 2013 elections, PML-N leader Nawaz Sharif formed the government one year before the scheduled general elections; he was disqualified due to the Panama scandal. If it does not happen, he could become the first Pakistani Prime Minister to complete a full five-year term. Despite this, the next general elections were held on time, and political power was transferred to the newly elected PTI leader Imran Khan in 2018. It was the second successful transition of democracy throughout the political history of Pakistan, and it would be continued if the military did not intervene in the politics.

Material and Methods

This study was concentrated on building democracy from Lucian Pye's theory of Political Development and the level of political development in Pakistan. Therefore, the students of M.S/MPhil, Ph.D., and faculty members of public and private sector universities of Punjab province were the target population and were limited to those public and private universities where the departments of political science, International Relations, History, Pakistan Studies exist. A sample of 244 respondents was selected using snowball and stratified sampling techniques. One hundred and sixty-three respondents were from public universities, and eighty-one respondents were from private universities. A questionnaire comprised of 3 statements on a five-point Likert type was developed for students to collect the data. Keeping in view the nature of questionnaire, Likert Scale was selected as SA= Strongly Agree=5, A=Agree=4, NO= Opinion=3, DA= Disagree=2, SDA= Strongly Disagree=1. The research tool should be reliable, matters very important, which enhances the quality of the study. The same is the case with the validity that is very important for selecting a research tool of four types; content, criterion, predictive, and construct. The expert opinion usually determines the content validity and face validity. Keeping in view the requirements of the study, the first version of the instrument was developed. In the second stage, all the questionnaire items were mixed and developed in plain form; this plane questionnaire was distributed to the (5) Ph.D. Teachers, (10) M.Phil. Teachers, thirty (30) Students in the four 4 Universities (two private and two public)

for pilot testing in November 2018. The face and content validity was got checked by the committee consisting of these experts:

- Head of the Department Political Science, GC Women University Sialkot
- Assistant Professor Department of Political Science
- Assistant Professor Department of English

After pilot testing, the committee of the experts analysed the results and suggested to exclude some items having poor relationship from the questionnaire to make it reliable. The Coefficient value calculated was 0.890 with the help of SPSS as shown in table below;

Case Processing Summary		
	Numbers	Percentage
Case Valid	244	100.0
Excluded ^a	0	.0
Total	244	100.0

Reliability of Statistic	
Cronbach's Alpha	Items
0.890	29

The language of these tools were also got checked by the language experts available in the Department of English, Government College Women University Sialkot. The collected data was tabulated by using the basic inferential statistics; Percentage, Mean Score, Arithmetic Mean and Z-tests of significance by the researcher with the help of statistics experts.

The mid value (Norm Score) of the statements was fixed 3 for normal level of political development in Pakistan. The obtained data were tabulated and analyzed with the help of Microsoft Excel and SPSS.

Results and Discussion

The following findings were drawn from the findings of the study sample.

Results of Political Development as Building of Democracy in Pakistan							
Statement		Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Mean Score
S ¹	F	17	23	7	155	42	2.25
	P	7.0	9.4	2.9	63.5	17.2	
S ²	F	9	25	6	168	36	2.19
	P	3.7	10.2	2.5	68.9	14.8	
S ³	F	1	26	3	181	33	2.10
	P	.4	10.7	1.2	74.2	13.5	

The results showed that the building of democracy have not any effective role in the political development of Pakistan, therefore the level of political development remained low in Pakistan.

Summary to Test Hypothesis's

Category	N	Mean Score (\bar{X})	SD	Z
Male	113	72.51	27	0.06
Female	131	72.00	27	
Public	163	69.04	27	0.96
Private	81	78.61	25	
Teachers	100	72.35	22	0.09
Students	130	72.03	31	
M.S/ M.Phil.	44	75.04	16	1.01
PhD	46	70.39	10	

After the application of Z-test statistic the all four null hypotheses were accepted. The calculated Z-statistic value of H_01 was found 0.06 therefore, no significant difference is found in the opinions of male and female respondents regarding the role of building of democracy in the political development of Pakistan. The difference is insignificant of H_02 therefore, the calculated Z-statistic value was found 0.96 and the Null hypothesis is accepted because no significant difference is found in the opinions of public sector and private sector respondents regarding the building of democracy in the political development of Pakistan. The Null hypothesis of H_03 is accepted because no significant difference is found in the opinions of teachers and students about the role of the building of democracy in the political development of Pakistan, the calculated Z-statistic value was found 0.09. The calculated Z-statistic value of H_04 was found 1.09, therefore, no significant difference is found in the opinions of M.S/ M.Phil. and PhD regarding the building of democracy in the political development of Pakistan.

Conclusion

The entire history of Pakistan was bumpy, and it has experienced the leadership of twenty-one Prime Ministers, which defame the external and internal image of Pakistan. From 1947 to 2018, none of the Prime Ministers completed his tenure. Therefore, democracy in Pakistan did not contribute to making political development. Pakistan has traveled a long distance towards its march on the path of democracy. Due to the lack of governance, institutional development, mismanagement, and the mounting political ambitions of the military generals collapsed the democracy four times in Pakistan. The elected representatives had also not contributed to continuing parliamentary democracy. They were involved in corruption, nepotism, money laundering, dynastic politics. The continuity in one political system is the big source for political development, lacking in Pakistan. First time in the history of Pakistan, the elected government was replaced by another elected government in 2018, which was a fruitful sign for democracy and political development. Hence, if it continues, there will be the possibility of political development.

Recommendations

Lucian Pye's theory of political development and the problems that impede political development in Pakistan after the data analysis following suggestions are recommended to enhance the political development in Pakistan.

- Government should concentrate on tremendous development in the working, functioning, and structure of political institutions, which cause political development in Pakistan.
- There is a need for the unity of the political leaders on political decisions to transform the conflictive political culture of Pakistan into consensual to strengthen the democratic political culture.
- Political parties should perform the most beneficial drives of political socialization, which are imperative to developing democratic political culture.

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