

**Populism and Ethno-nationalism: Impacts on Human Rights in  
Pakistan**



By

**HAFSA TAHIR**

**Registration No: 00000319539**

Supervised By

**Dr. BAKARE NAJIMDEEN**

**Department of Peace and Conflict Studies**

**Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS)**

**National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST)**

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**Populism and Ethno-nationalism: Impacts on Human Rights in  
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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
MS Peace and Conflict Studies

Supervisor

**Dr. BAKARE NAJIMDEEN**

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IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE MOST BENEFICIENT, THE  
MOST MERCIFUL

*“By the morning light, and the night when it is still. Your Allah has not  
Forsaken Thee, nor is He Displeased. And verily what is to come will be better  
than what has gone by.”*

(Surah Al-Duha: 93)

Al-Quran

## Thesis Acceptance Certificate

It is certified that the contents and form of the MS thesis titled “Populism and Ethno-nationalism: Impacts on Human Rights in Pakistan” written by Ms. Hafsa Tahir (Registration No. 00000319539) of Centre for International Peace and Stability has been vetted by the undersigned, found complete in all respects as per NUST status/regulations, is free of plagiarism, errors and mistakes and is accepted as partial fulfillment for the award of MS/MPhil Degree. It is further certified that the necessary amendments as pointed out by the GEC members of the scholars have also been incorporated in the said thesis and have been found satisfactory for the requirement of the degree.

Supervisor: \_\_\_\_\_

Dr. Bakare Najimdeen

CIPS, NUST

Head of Department: \_\_\_\_\_

Dr. Muhammad Makki

CIPS, NUST

Associate Dean: \_\_\_\_\_

Dr. Tughral Yamin

CIPS, NUST

Dated: \_\_\_\_\_

## **CERTIFICATE FOR PLAGIARISM**

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Signature of Supervisor

Dr. Bakare Najimdeen

Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS)

National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST)

Islamabad, Pakistan

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## **Dedication**

This study is dedicated to my family without whose moral support and guidance I would have never be able to complete it.



## Abstract

The narrative developed in this research is “populism and ethno-nationalism: impacts on human rights in Pakistan”. The populist agenda has made dramatic inroads recently as a nationalistic, xenophobic, misogynistic, and antagonistic to much of the human rights agenda. Therefore, this study depicts the various approaches of populism and how it has impacted the ethno-nationalism and human rights. The problem with populism is that it entails a leader to divide society through mobilization, so does in ethno-nationalism. The extreme intensity of populism causes aggressive acts by groups like discrimination, target killing and oppression through popular majoritarian. Consequently, the ethno populism inculcates the concept of both ethno-nationalism and populism. It is a form of political mobilization in which a leader rallies support from a specific ethnic group along communal lines and it surfaces when nationalism is co-articulated with populism in a political system. Nationalism and human rights is an extensively researched area by experts but there is lack of critical examination and manifestation of populism within these variables in context of Pakistan. Pakistan has constantly experienced the intensity of populism which is stimulus to exclusionary nationalism such that it is wearing away democratic culture. There is a tendency of human rights violation amidst the wave of populism and ethno-nationalism as it mobilizes the civilian in two groups. These groups has tendency to be antagonistic against each other. The study aims to analyse the approaches of populism which has been substantiated in Pakistan. In order to achieve objectives of this research, a qualitative research methodology is used wherein the primary data is used to analyse the human rights violation in arrears to populism and ethno nationalism by means of semi-structured interviews. While, the secondary data is used to gather hypothetical understanding to examine how populism has stimulated ethno nationalism which inculcated the violence. The populist approach by charismatic leader has provided short run or temporary solution to intricate social, economic and political problems of Pakistan. The populism manifests the increases in polarization in society such that it weakens the relation between ethnic, religious and racial groups. This has instigated fears, intolerance and anger within the community that has flare up greater human rights and civil liberty violations.

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# Chapter 1

## 1. Introduction:

Populism has influenced the dynamic of conflicts in many parts of the world, from Europe to the Americas (USA and Brazil) down to India. Global politics has witnessed serious challenges since the rebirth of populism as a global phenomenon. It has become significant to explore the context of the populist wave as a socially constructed ideology in order to understand the rising polarization in Asia. Religious populism made dramatic inroads in India as a populist political strategy and folkloric style politics which transformed the notion of “rising India” into “divided India” throughout Narendra Modi’s administration. The political strategy is one of the approaches to populism that Kurt Weyland defines in terms of political organization that is best considered as a political practice through which a personality leader carries out government power dependent on immediate, unmediated, un-institutionalized help from huge quantities of for the most part chaotic supporters.

Cas Mudde characterizes populism as a thinly layered ideology that believes society to be divided into two homogenous and hostile groups, the pure people versus the corrupt elite. Populism has been clustered into various kinds such as ideational approach, political style approach, political strategy approach, socioeconomic approach, and popular agency approach. Through the constructive methodology, we can depict these approaches in various historical dynamics of populism in Pakistan. Some factors stimulate the intensity of populism in society such as grievance, socio-economic inequality, insecurity and fear (Rastogi, 2020).

The extreme intensity of populism causes aggressive acts by groups like discrimination, target killing and oppression through popular majoritarianism. Consequently, ethno populism coaches the concept of political mobilization in which a leader rallies support from a specific ethnic group along communal lines and it surfaces when nationalism is co-articulated with populism in a political system. The escalation of reactionary and exclusionary forms of populism across the globe has remained a source of anxiety for reformist and liberal quarters (Javed, 2021). Pakistan has constantly experienced the intensification of populism which has a tendency to violate human rights. These groups tend to be antagonistic against each other. The populist approach by the charismatic leader has provided short run or temporary solutions to intricate social, economic and political problems of Pakistan. These leaders and their movements have

either led or enabled the rise of anti-minority sentiment, centralisation of power, and the steamrolling of institutional norms (Javed, 2021).

## 2. Research Significance:

This research is pertinent to study as it explains the rise of polarization, fear and aggression in a nation that is stimulated through the wave of populism and ethno nationalism. Populism has emerged with the process of democratization in the nineteenth century, and henceforth its characters and forms have mirrored the modes of democracy. The constitutional democracy has manifested the intensity of populism in almost all countries. Similarly, the relation between exclusionary nationalism and populism has a considerable influence on politics. Populism redefines democracy which proposes heavily on identity political target racial, nationalist, religious-cultural, and identity expression (Bakare, 2020). It is significant to study how populism has become a driving tool to human rights violations in varied inclusive and exclusive nations. The study depicts the understanding of the nexus or relation between populism and ethno nationalism which examines the impact of populism on exclusionary nationalism. The rise of populism has become a driving tool for the rise of extremism in society which explains intolerant and antagonistic behaviour. George Herbert Mead, a symbolic interactionist believes society is organized in a pattern of interaction that is designed among individuals (Leon-Guerrero, 2005). The individual ought to see themselves and others with prearranged relations within society. Therefore it is significant to analyse how various approaches of populism stimulate fear and aggression in prearranged relations i.e. ethnic and religious groups which have a prolonged impact on human rights specifically in Pakistan.

## 3. Problem Statement:

Populism is the idea that society is divided into two factions that are in a constant state of war with each other: the 'corrupt elite' and the 'pure people'. The populist leader portrays himself as a saviour or a friend of the people. The problem with populism is that it aids in the rise of polarisation in society. It has become a threat to the true values and purpose of democracy such that it diminishes the existence of democratic culture in a nation. It fosters the divide through charismatic leadership and polarized slogan in an exclusionary nationalism. Populism manifests the increases in polarization in society such that it weakens the relationship between ethnic, religious and racial groups. This has instigated fears, intolerance and anger within the community that flare up greater human rights and civil liberty violations. Populist leader portrays and idealises himself as a saviour to masses who will eradicate the system of those who have crafted it to benefit

themselves. It aids ethno nationalism through fear and aggression which can stimulate the violation of human rights in Pakistan. Populist discursive representation typically articulates a polarised, antagonistic framing of the socio-political field in a bid to inspire and mobilise frustrated or excluded social groups.

#### 4. Research Question:

- How has the wave of populism escalated in Pakistan?
- Understanding the nexus between populism and ethno nationalism?
- How has populism and ethno nationalism paved way for human rights violations in Pakistan?
- What is the impact of populism on exclusionary nationalism?

#### 5. Research Objectives:

- To understand the nexus between populism and ethno nationalism.
- To examine the impact of populism on exclusionary nationalism.
- To analyse the approaches of populism that has been substantiated in Pakistan.
- To examine how populism and ethno nationalism paved way for human rights violations in Pakistan.

#### 6. Research Methodology

The research is structured with an exploratory methodology to analyse the impact on human rights amidst the wave of populism and ethno nationalism in Pakistan. It follows qualitative data to examine populism as a driving force or a tool that inculcates the aggression and fear in exclusionary nationalism. It analyses the information from both secondary and primary data to gather extensive records on the influence of populism as a tool in ethno nationalist surroundings which has impacted human rights. Secondary data is used to analyse the approaches of populism through scholarly articles and reports while depicting the evidence through newspapers. The primary data is used to carry out semi-structured interviews with a sample size of 13 experts of conflict resolution, human rights, political science and peace and security studies.

## Chapter 2

### 2.1. Overview

The idea of collective consciousness and identity in societies has boarded many political thinkers to discourse about political and social behaviour regarding democratic understanding and practices. The popular impression of democracy that the government should be elected by “the people, for the people and of the people” has become multifaceted since the rise of the hegemonic and systematic transition of power in the diverse culture, tradition, religion and ethnic communities. The voting behaviour in elections and the impact of populism vigorously raised concerns for the drivers of the rise of ethno nationalism in Pakistan. Henceforth, the dynamics of identity politics has defined the mobilization of mass by the populist leader such that populist leader has often instigated the sentiments of people to gain votes and attain power.

In the time span of 20 years, the adherents of “liberal democracy have moved from triumphalism to near desolation” (Galston, 2018). According to David Brooks, the “anti-pluralists yearn for a return to clear borders, settled truths, and stable identities” while the liberal democracy intends to form a constitutional government which guarantees the civil liberties and individual rights through political pluralism wherein the organized group enjoys the independence from the government (Heywood, 2007). The anti-pluralism is supportive of the populism stance and oppose liberal democratic values and principles. Pluralism is a belief in a variety or the hypothesis that power is or ought to be broadly and equally divided (Heywood, 2007). While populists see themselves as an arch to democrats because they go against progressivism. Their majoritarianism idea emphasis on individual rights and limits the power at the core of liberal popular government. Galston (2018) accepts that liberal democracy has two attributes of deformation. The first is the elitist claim that they best comprehend the way to the public's end's and ought to be liberated from the badly designed need of popular consent. The second is the rise of populist movements (Galston, 2018). These deformities has become a matter of consciousness with the significant rise in the trend of populism that has impacted ethno nationalism and human rights around the globe.

The commonality between populism and ethno nationalism is that it entails a leader to divide people through mobilization. This aggressive and insecure divide causes hostile acts by people such as discrimination, target killing and oppression as MQM political party did in

Pakistan or BJP political party did with Muslim minorities. It initiates the concept of ethno populism that inculcates the notion of both ethno nationalism and populism. It is a form of political mobilization in which a leader rallies support from a specific ethnic group along communal lines. It surfaces when nationalism is co-articulated with populism in a single political system. Populism is the notion that society is categorized into two groups that are in a consistent condition of conflict with one another: the 'elite (the corrupt ones)' and the 'pure people'. Populism waves have always been part of Pakistan politics. The populist leader depicts himself as a hero, the genuine companion of people, who will rinse out the prearrangement of the people who have made it to benefit themselves. The civilians and government have often criticized each other for prevailing corruption and supporting one sector over the other in society. Populist governments restrict freedom of expression, debilitate controls on the state, regardless of the powerful judiciary or other administrative offices while limiting international involvement with the orderly danger to the security of human rights.

## 2.2. Conceptual Framework:

### 2.2.1. What is Populism?

The populist approach has made dramatic inroads as a nationalistic, xenophobic and misogynistic to much of the human rights agenda. Populism has posed challenges to human rights where we need to reconsider and rethink a significant number of the suppositions, strategies, and widen the judicial affairs while not abandoning the essential standards of human rights. Populism has been defined through various approaches specifically as ideational approach, political style approach, political strategy approach, socioeconomic approach, and popular agency approach.

	<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Scholars</b>
<b>Ideational Approach</b>	Thin focused ideology that believes society to be divided into two homogenous and hostile camps	Lyman Tower Sargent, Cas Mudde, Rafal Pankowski, Najimdeen Bakare
<b>Political Style Approach</b>	a method of political articulation that is utilized	Ernesto Laclau, Michael Kazin, and Francisco Panizza



	specifically and deliberately by the both rights and left-liberals and conservatives	
<b>Political Strategy Approach</b>	Policy choices, political organization, and forms of mobilization.	Kurt Weyland, Robert S. Jansen
<b>Socio-Economic Approach</b>	irresponsible economic policy are executed with extensive foreign debts and hyperinflation with severe economic adjustments	Rudiger Dornbusch and Jeffrey Sachs
<b>Popular Agency</b>	that populism is considered essentially positive for the mobilization of the common people	Lawrence Goodwyn

Table 2.1: Types of Populism Approach

The concept of an *ideational approach* to populism is grounded on ideology. Lyman Tower Sargent characterizes ideology as a system of values and beliefs regarding which different organizations and processes of society are acknowledged as reality or truth by a gathering of individuals where it sorts out the tremendous intricacy of the world into something genuinely basic and justifiable. Consequently, Cas Mudde characterizes populism as a thinly focused philosophy that believes society to be at last divided into two homogenous and hostile groups, the pure people versus the corrupt elite. He accepts that governmental issues ought to be a declaration of the overall will of individuals. Essentially, Rafal Pankowski takes on Mudde's meaning of populism and stresses the significance of social conduct in individuals. He contended that populist movements have been fruitful where they figure out how to make an association with a culture and behaviour pattern of masses. Najimdeen Bakare (2017) believes populism acts like an ideology because it influences people consciously regardless people are aware of it or not. It influences the processing of information and how people comprehend with their immediate socio-political environment. He believes that populism is an acceptable truth by a group of people

who socially construct in their own acuity, wherein they decide the principles of its organization and why the group acceptable social values should be followed strictly.

Ernesto Laclau, Michael Kazin, and Francisco Panizza comprehended a *political style approach* to populism. Wherein the Laclauan approach explain populism as an essence of politics and an emancipatory force wherein it reintroduces the conflict into politics and fosters the mobilization of the ignorant sectors of societies thus helping radical democracy. Similarly, Michael Kazin argues that the political style of populism is constructed on the contradiction between us and them. For Kazin, populism is not an ideology that captures the core beliefs of particular political actors but rather a mode of political expression that is employed selectively and strategically by both rights and left-liberals and conservatives. Francisco Panizza also opposes that populism as a discursive concept refers to it as relatively fluid practices of identification. Panizza argues that antagonism is a mode of identification in which the relation between the people as signifier and the people as signified is given by the very process of naming who the enemies of the people are. Populism is therefore an anti-status-quo discourse as it is part of a struggle over hegemony and power.

Rudiger Dornbusch and Jeffrey Sachs elaborated populism as a *socioeconomic approach*, also known as populist economics, wherein the irresponsible economic policy are executed with extensive foreign debts and hyperinflation with severe economic adjustments. The recent economic structure of Pakistan has faced extensive debt and hyperinflation within Imran Khan's administration. The approach also includes the practice of extensive redistribution of wealth and government spending. The fourth approach is a *political strategy* to populism which focuses on various aspects of political strategy like policy decisions, political association, and types of mobilization. Kurt Weyland defines populism in terms of political organization that it is best characterized as a political methodology through which a personality leader practices government power dependent on immediate, unmediated, un-institutionalized help from huge magnitudes of chaotic supporters. Robert S. Jansen convicts that populism is a political venture that can be undertaken by challengers and authorities of different associations in a quest for a wide scope of social, political, and monetary plans. The *folkloric style of politics* is also a political strategy approach that explains the leader and parties who try to mobilize the masses through maximum

media attention and popular support. The *popular agency* approach by Lawrence Goodwyn argues that populism is considered essentially positive for the mobilization of the common people.

### 2.2.2. Populism Practicality

Populism is an appeal to ordinary people. Populist leaders often idealised that they understand the struggles of the common person and establishment needs to be dismantled so ordinary folks can have better rights. They also pander to ideologies which they think will resonate with most people. The populist leader like Donald Trump, Narendra Modi and Imran Khan gained power through charismatic leadership and populist slogan. The former president of America Donald Trump was a media personality who raised the populist slogan of "make America great again", which inculcate the antagonist behaviour in defeating the Islamic state and raising migration issues throughout the state. Similarly, Narendra Modi was also a charismatic leader and he articulate the religious divide to gain power. The BJP political party religious movement led to the rise of polarisation wherein the minorities faced adversity and oppression. The abrogation of article 370 in Jammu and Kashmir by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is a populist stance too. Similarly, Imran Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan is also a charismatic leader who came to power by raising slogans against corruption.

Najimdeen Bakare (2017) argues that populism resonates with social narrative which exploit the cultural sentiments and normative structures by reinforcing the self over the other. It revive the historical and contemporary grievances (Bakare, 2017) wherein the exploitation always remains within the society. It becomes active when exclusionary form of nationalism is prevalent among masses. It always a gradual manifestation that trigger the violence wherein populism acts like virus to democratic values. In order to assess the social breakdown, Najimdeen Bakare (2017) enlist down certain factors. It is the mounting gap between rural and urban settlement, the disassociation between young and old, the increase of elitist politics, financial crisis and the struggle between globalist-cosmopolitans and the nationalists. These factor is also evident in Pakistan.

Ideologically, Populism has a tendency to work as a tool for other phenomena to intensify the divide inculcated in the notion of us vs. them within the community. Likewise, there are many drivers of ethno nationalism wherein populism has also

played a role wherein the ideological polarisation is manifested as us vs. other distinctive ethnic groups. Nationalism is merely one of the ideologies that autocrats and populists utilize (Bieber, 2018). Both ideologies have paced the understanding of identity crisis within the region through political and ethnic polarisation wherein the elite has always the privileged to mobilize the mass and lead them to achieve their idea of collective consciousness which has often contribute to an uprising of negative force in a society like hate, killing, oppression and violation of human rights. In nationalism, the people are defined through vertical inclusion and horizontal exclusion such as cultural-linguistic boundaries like race, religion, caste, place of birth etc. Ethno nationalism is when the idea of nationhood is created by appeal to ethnicity. One can argue that the east Pakistan freedom movement was based on ethno nationalism stance. Populism is an acceptable truth by a group of people who socially construct their world in their insight (Bakare, 2017). It has always navigated between the ideology, a perceived way of life or an instrument of change (Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2017; Sargent 2009). The mobilization of masses in ethno populism has instilled abhorrence and contributed towards human rights violations.

The political leaders have used populist stances to gain votes but have done next to nothing for ordinary people in Pakistan. But people do not realize this and get sentimental every election season while voting for leaders who are appealing to their sentiments. In theory, these ideologies sound fine, but in reality, it's all a ploy to get votes. Populist leaders have become part of the establishment instead of dismantling it systematically.

### 2.2.3. Populism Challenges:

Populism challenges uniformity by devaluing the value of inclusive nationalism and appreciating exclusionary nationalism. Populism acknowledges the standards of popular sovereignty and democracy as it is a strong supporter of majoritarian power. However, it is doubtful with regards to constitutionalism, to the extent that formal, limited institutions and procedures hamper dominant parts from working their will. It takes a much dimmer perspective on liberal assurances for people and minority groups (Galston, 2018). It is often argued that the intent of contemporary populism is what many scholars believe is illiberal democracy. It is a governing framework equipped for unravelling popular requests into public strategy with no boundaries that have kept liberal democracies from reacting adequately to pressing issues. According to this point of view, populism is a threat not only to the

democratic system but also to the predominant liberal variation of democracy (Galston, 2018). In reality, some observers contend that populism isn't without merit as it addresses "an illiberal democratic reaction to undemocratic progressivism," and subsequently is an attack on democratic culture. These observers contend that elites, by taking significant issues, for example, financial, economic, and administrative take off the public plan which they relegate and portray as a political slogan to the public. It has an absolute impact, as popular revolt simultaneously takes steps to overpower them.

The thought that "we humans" is expected to mean all residents, paying little heed to religion, habits and customs, and length of citizenship. An individual is a group of people who partake in a typical civic status (Galston, 2018). William A Galston (2018) believes that the right-wing populists have emphasized shared ethnicity and common descent, while left-wing populists have often defined the people in terms of class, excluding those with wealth and power (Galston, 2018). At the point when populists distinguish between "people" and the "elite," they portray every one of these gatherings as homogeneous. People have one bunch of interests and qualities, the elite has another, and these two sets are diverse as well as fundamentally opposed. The divisions are moral just as experimental. Populism comprehends the elite as miserably corrupt, people as consistently upright that there is no reason behind why people ought not to govern themselves and their society without institutional limitations. What's more, populists leaders claim that they alone address people as the solitary legitimate power in the public arena. Plurality, not homogeneity, describes most people groups, more often than not.

Populism is the antagonist to pluralism, and consequently of a contemporary democratic system. Forcing the presumption of uniformity on the reality of diversity temper the facts as well as hoists the attributes of some social groups of people over those of others. To the degree that this happens, populism turns into a threat to a democratic system, which, as Müller puts it, "requires pluralism and the acknowledgement that we need to discover reasonable terms of living respectively as free, equivalent, yet in addition unchangeably diverse humans". Anything that might have been conceivable in traditional republics, no type of identity politics issues can fill in as the reason for present-day democracy which stands or falls with the insurance of pluralism. Political movements dependent on this reason end up severely,

yet not before disillusionment offers a way to a fierce quest for stowed away adversaries. Populism leaders attack “foes of people” in moralistic terms, as self-seeking, corrupt, and given to conspiracies against common residents, regularly in collaboration with foreigners. Populism requires a consistent battle against these opponents. Populism plunges vote based social orders into a perpetual series of moralized lose-lose clashes as it compromises the privileges of minorities and it empowers domineering leaders to destroy the designated spots making progress toward authoritarianism.

#### 2.2.4. Pakistan, Populism and Human Rights:

The internal and external security of a state is dependent upon the tolerance between diverse communities. The manipulation that is proficient under populism has become a threat to not only democracy but also human rights affairs. The populist approach might help the leader to build a strong stance of support in the election and win the leadership like former president of United States Donald Trump, Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi and Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan did. But the consequence of populist government has always been on democracy and human rights. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan had historically been involved in multifaceted crises under the rubric of populism which existence can be found in religion and civil-military relations which has influenced the political discourse in the country (Rastogi, 2021). Populism as a political discourse for demanding the rights of minorities has always been a significant part of Pakistan establishment. Pakistan was born on the ideology of Two Nation Theory that believed Muslims and Hindus are two separate nations. This ideology was subject to the populist notion, where one group was superior and the other corrupt. Quaid-e-Azam played a critical role in inaugurating the social contract by introducing the ‘Two-Nation theory’ that led to the division of India into two separate countries, ultimately it is believed to be the first interval of populism as an antagonistic principle in an independent Pakistan (Rastog, 2021).

The masses became skeptical of populist behaviour. Populism could be built upon the financial imbalance as a socio-economic populist approach which defines how globalisation contradiction with Brexit (Betz 1994, Kriesi et.al., 2008), and a vertical down-up pivot alluding to control, and hierarchical position (De Cleen and Stavarakakis, 2017, Dyrberg, 2003, Ostiguy, 2009). Despite the fact, Jinnah said that Pakistan won't

be a religious state as he quoted the apprehension of basic liberties that all religious minorities will enjoy the same rights and advantages as other residents and will make legitimate undertakings in the issue of Pakistan (Jalal, 2014). Notwithstanding, the socially and religious political parties like Jamiat-e-Islami, Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam, and Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) stroled in to help the leaders narrative of a power vacuum in supporting Pakistan (Rastogi, 2021). The Air Marshal (Retired) Asghar Khan explains how the elite capture was involved in constructing the identity of Pakistan which impacted the diverse masses. He explains Pakistan struggle for democracy in the prevailing hegemonic and diverse population.

Pakistan faced a triumph of populism from 1971 to 1973 with the separation of East and West Pakistan. After the fall of Dhaka, Bangladesh, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's leftist economic policies were implemented with the popular slogan of roti, kapra aur makaan which was much depicted the notion of Islamic Socialism and social justice according to his principles (Zaidi 2019). The manifesto of the Pakistan People's Party had guaranteed the nationalization of every fundamental industry and monetary institution. Bhutto controlled the central power through the nationalisation of institutions as he was a firm believer that the generators of modern development or different ventures should not be permitted to be vested in private hands. All undertakings that comprise the framework of the public economy should be in open possession by nationalising the banking and insurance mechanism (Zaidi, 2019). Bhutto's rise to electoral accomplishment was grounded on his populist critique of Ayub Khan's monetary strategies of functional disparity bringing about the scandalous issues of redistribution and nationalization (Zaidi, 2019). The populist economic and political strategy of Bhutto was not well followed during 1971. His authoritarianism was pretty much evident through the rise of civilian dictatorship. The Federal Security Force (FSF) was established in September 1972 which was a paramilitary organization. The FSF was seen as 'Bhutto's private military arm'. The force was involved in grave human rights violations with killing, torture and disappearance of those who spoke against the establishment. It controlled the voice that spoke against the Bhutto regime, which instigated more hatred amongst many groups.

As indicated by Prof. Ayesha Jalal (2019), the applied pressing factor by the Islamists had its importance in the history of Pakistan when the national assembly collectively passed an amendment to the constitution on September 7, 1974,

characterizing the Ahmadis as a minority and broadcasting Ahmadis as non-Muslims. It laid the reason for an exclusionary thought of citizenship, sabotaging the Pakistani country state's obligation to equal rights to all citizens (Jalal, 2019). Populism has been seen on and off in Pakistan through various institutes. Though many have claimed that Prime Minister Imran Khan is also a populist leader who have gained votes through the notion of defining corrupt vs. the pure people. His political rallies echoed the slogan against corruption against the 'Pakistan Muslim League (PML(N) and Pakistan People Party (PPP)' political parties. The natural inconsistency dwells in his socio-economic populism when his poor-oriented rhetoric remains as opposed to his system's clear slant towards the business networks, or if nothing else the ones supporting him (Paracha, 2020). There are numerous components inside Khan's PTI who hold xenophobic perspectives against minorities. Additionally, Paracha (2020) contends that the disorderly factor in his populism is solidly entrusted to sidelining the established mainstream parties.

Like other populists, Imran Khan has offered implausible promises to sweep away entrenched problems as ending the big corruption in 90 days or when he also vowed at a political rally (Waraich, 2018). He appealed to the masses by addressing the statement against the elite and gather a remarkably diverse group of people, from social strata to religious hard-liners, wealthy class to struggling workers, and large landowners to beleaguered farmers (Waraich, 2018). However, many have doubted his political approach that will it bring more inclusive nationalism or will it contend to more division among the masses due to its divisive slogan.



## Chapter 3

### 3.1. Overview

Muhammad Ali Jinnah in a presidential address to the constituent assembly of Pakistan quoted that, fundamental rights are the first and foremost principle of the nation that must believe and practice that all citizens are equal and feel right to one state. The “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” is also part of Pakistan’s constitution as Articles 8 to 28 address the fundamental rights of its citizen. Despite the inscription of human rights law in the Pakistan Constitution, there is force and systematic governance denial to protect the citizen due to the rise of the identity crisis, populism and ethno nationalism stance.

Ironically, ideologies that fight to attain certain rights often end up oppressing others. Ethno-Nationalism and populism tend to oppress people and curb the people’s rights. They might benefit a few but often discriminate against others. The ideological beliefs of attaining equal rights for everyone are often left unachieved. The nationalist governments have often used the tactics of “torture, extrajudicial killing, the disappearance of activist, or political detention” to attain the desired national security of a state, wherein liberal concerns are often dismantled with the belief that national interests are at stake (Yazici, 2018). The populist government often encourages people to acclimate the violent act or means which claims to work for benefits instead of supporting civil liberties.

After World War Two and cold war the countries has adapted to human rights treaties which bound and discourage forthcoming abuse against the immoral practices of governments. Today, an increasing sum of individuals have come to perceive that state laws are not designed to protect Human Rights but they are challenged to protect the national interest, masses demands against minorities and elite capture in society. For example, migration in Europe wherein it is seen as a threat to cultural identity, economic opportunity, and intersecting terrorism (Roth, 2017).

Pakistan is already a divided polity that is fragmented further(Akhtar, 2018) due to the rise of ethno-nationalism and populism. In the midst wave of ideologies, the rise of human rights violations is perpetual. It depends on central and local government roles that how they establish social justice to maintain social order and stability. This chapter

critically analyzes inclusive and exclusive nationalism with the prevailing wave of ethno nationalism and populism. Lastly, it demonstrates the elements that disrupt the internal and external security of Pakistan.

### 3.2. Significance of Human Rights

Human security is essential and subjective for every nation and human rights aids to protect it against never ending grievance and greed. The concept of human rights is one of the widely discussed topics and debated narratives of national and international politics (Ghosal, 2010). The purpose of human rights is to protect the people's rights wherein they should be given the privileges wherever and whenever men, women and children find themselves (Landman, 2013). They must be given the right to speak freely, attain property, practice religion freely, security to life, provide education and be able to avail job opportunities. According to the various philosophical school of thought, the universality of human rights is arguable (Carson, 2017). The philosophers who represent the legal school of thought have debated over the categorisations, inclusive steadiness of human rights dissertation and the sociological impacts on human rights. But on the subjective side, the functional hypothesis is that the rights must be “express, uphold, and assure the exiting features”, which must promote the significance of free will (Douzinas, 2002). The human personality is often subject to the features, qualities, and characters which must be put before rights and other public institutions. These subjects are used as gears in aiding the public expression of previously formed and complete selves (Douzinas, 2002). These assumptions are part of the liberal school of thought which has an insolvent perception of the theme. (Douzinas, 2002).

Human rights are not dependent upon or impose certain “universal personality traits”. Their unremitting struggle to the enlargement of new clusters and novel areas of activity directs that they are deeply argumentative in nature. The recognition of Human Rights goes origins from the central gratitude and self-esteem of the individuals that are natured beyond respect, and it traces towards the foundations of identity. Identity describes the human personality and define its traits and promises to protect its legitimacy among other varied identities. The Human is destined or blessed to struggle for endless solid acknowledgement of their exclusive identity. But many problems occur when intolerance, grievances and greed clash with the other identity. There are preventable misrecognition, innumerable examples of the gaps between the self-image of an individual or group and the identity that the law and rights have projected. The clash

between the defined law and identity has made law the essential but insufficient and unreliable partner in the tussle for human rights. Hence, it is true to quote that the whole identity cannot be grounded on the universal features of the law. It is a constant struggle of identity and human rights to work together to attain significant rights through the law of the state and international law (Douzinas, 2002).

The struggle for Human rights has always been a part of the evolution of mankind. It has struggled for recognition, institution, and legislation to promote the free will of the individual. The history boards the event of Manga Carta (1215), the Petition of Right (1628), the United States Declaration of Independence (1776), The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). The international organisation always has been vocal about human rights such as United Nations, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Human Rights Foundation and many more have contributed to attaining human rights. They echoed the voices of the oppressed against the nationalist stance and promoted the rights of the individual within the internal diameter of states. The “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” is the first document to enlist the 30 rights to which everybody is eligible.

### 3.3. Democracy and Human Rights:

Canada, Australia and New Zealand are good examples of their commitment to human rights. These countries are known commonly for a democratic political system and practices of an independent judiciary as the safeguard of citizen rights (Posner, 2014). This helps us to build an analogy that it is necessary to opt for a democratic institution in order to protect human rights (Carson, 2017). The notion that government rules by the people, of the people and for people. This helps the federating units to administer the law that are in favour of all the people residing as a citizen in a country. Democracy is significant institutes that principles to check and balances, federalism, protecting people’s rights, based on popular sovereignty and significant as it holds the concept of separation of power.

However, there is also a concept that democracy can also build obstacles for the people who belong to demos and the one who does not (Mouffe, 2000). This has also challenged the “universality of human rights”, the exclusive group of demos usually targets the “refugees, stateless persons and the prisoners at Guantanamo Bay” (Carson,

2017). These people have no governmental bodies to safeguard their natural or human rights.

The biggest challenges democracies face today is the rise of populism, even in the Covid19 pandemic. The populist government has created more diversity through the federal ignorance towards one group against the other. Politics has become gradually more populist, illiberal and authoritarian (Koutsoukis, 2020). When populists direct the politics they reintroduce the idea of the nation as the most influential polarised political symbol for the masses. Populism threatens democracy by the juxtaposition of the ‘people’ to the ‘elite’ fuelled by grievances and distrust towards the government (Koutsoukis, 2020). The populist behaviour within the democratic government has always stressed negatively on internal and external security of a state. The rise of human rights violations is pertinent torture, enforced disappearances, curbing the freedom of press or media and extrajudicial killing.

#### 3.4. Human Rights & Nationalism

Ironically, Human Rights and nationalism has assured to protect the rights of individuals but both concepts contradict one another over the understanding of characterization of the rights that individual must attain. Both, nationalism and human rights believe to provide human security to individuals but contradict over its legitimacy and practicality. Nationalism means a nation that comes together to live as one nation in a bounded territory ruled by the national authority (Yacizi, 2019). Nationalism is not just a concept of international relations, it is an ideology and a belief that bring cohesion in diverse groups to come into a social contract. The social contract in nationalism constitutes order and justice which explain and construct a nation. Nation in a world politics is an imagined community wherein the cluster of individuals share the parallel characteristic of culture, language and symbols (Vittoria, 2012). Earnest Gellner believed that a nation is constituted purely from a mutual identification of its people. There is a sense of belonging and solidarity that allows a nation to construct boundaries. The definition of a nation is broad as it has emerged with the constant humanity examination of themselves and a sense to become a part of approximately larger than oneself community (Vittoria, 2012).

Yacizi (2019) beliefs that the rise of nationalism is grounded on the principle of satisfaction or violation. Ironically, it does not include all the members of a nation as

Hobsbawm believed that nationalism is a product of devised ethnicities by political elites to protect their interests (Yacizi, 2019). Nationalism has great importance in the study of peace and conflict studies. The conflict that has been triggered due to the causes of polarization is significant for research in the international community, but nationalism cannot be inherently violent. There is a various contextual factor that has brought up the capacity of violence within the explicit boundaries of nationalistic stance. It includes the “structural, political, socio-economic, ethnic, and perceptual issues, as they provide the base from which violent behaviour expands” (Prochko, 2018).

The International Human Rights believes inequality as a whole and characterizes individuals through a top-bottom approach but the nations are bound to replicate the national interest with the human interest to protect the constitutional beliefs that the government decide to manifest. The nation often opts for anarchic and down-top approaches in addressing the laws for citizens. They define human security with the contradictory prevalent belief of the mass public rather than equating each individual as equal. Nationalists are always bound to protect and achieve national security to build a strong stance over the phenomena of the nation in the international arena, while international Human Rights believes that every human is equal despite race, caste, colour, religion or gender. The attainment of human rights is the necessity of every human to build the peace equilibrium in a conflicted world. With an anarchic dominion and liberal intuitionism, human security is often built through democratic adherence by practising human rights. But the democracy has always been challenged through populism and ethno nationalism. One of the biggest challenges that human rights face today is to maintain human security within the nations with the rising trend of elitism, diversity, hegemonic social pressure and globalisation.

It is a moral notion of behaviour to which each person is eligible to attain the benefit of being a human (Schmitz and Sikkink, 2013). These principles have benefitted prevalent recognition as “international norms and law” that defines the connection between the country and its people. Human rights challenge realist and liberal thought with the constructive understanding of individuals as significant identity. Human rights face many challenges in international law wherein the state remains the main gatekeeper in defining and practising human rights law. They usually face disapproval due to the system and surroundings of anarchy.

Stammers (2009) refers to the “paradox of institutionalisation”, or what Koskeniemi (1999) calls the “colonisation of political culture by a technocratic language” of human rights. The study of politics, hegemonic, peace and conflicts in the dynamics of International law points out the legal contrast between “civil and political rights” and the “economic, social and cultural rights” (Casla, 2018).

The realists are intensely doubtful about international law (Morgenthau, 1940; Krasner, 2002), and also about the international assertion of one ‘moral code’ over potentially conflicting others (Morgenthau, 1948). For realists, the normative values and international regimes do not have power in themselves. The proclamation of human rights lacks analytical or explanatory value to account for state action. Hence, international human rights law (IHRL) does not deserve much attention (Casla, 2018). Michael Freeman (2002) believes, "realism can explain the neglect of human rights by states, but it can not explain the introduction nor the increasing influence of human rights in international relations". While Landman (2006) writes that under realism states only allow human rights norms to emerge and develop ‘to gain short-term benefit and raise international legitimacy while counting on weak sanctions and largely unenforceable legal obligations. However, realism and human rights stem from very different starting points, but they do not necessarily speak untranslatable languages and their respective positions and agendas are not essentially contradictory (Casla, 2018).

On the other hand, liberal interventionism has contributed a lot to the “global human rights community since the 1990s”. It has worked hard in elaborating the human rights concern by pushing the agenda through the use of force to pursue humanitarian goals like the significance of democracy for human rights. They were behind the concept of “Responsibility to Protect (R2P)”, which was established by an independent group in Canada (Casla, 2018). It was later partly incorporated in "UN World Summit outcome of 2005". R2P is a concept that humankind as a whole has a shared responsibility to safeguard the civilian against the serious human rights violation like genocide, war crimes and crimes that are against humanity (Casla, 2018). It is significant to constitute a man as a person before the law. Human rights safeguard the individual status by identifying its value and efforts.

Human rights and nationalism promises to safeguard the people right. Nationalist political parties take the responsibility to achieve and protect national unity at any cost

and highlighting national interest over any other concerns. But such goals has violated certain types of human rights such as freedom of assembly, free speech, free electoral participation (Yazici, 2018).

### 3.5. Ethno-nationalism

Nationalism is a broad concept that has been further categorised itself under the fabric of ethnic, cultural, language, religious and ideological understanding. This study particular ground itself to study ethno-nationalism to understand the populist stance of Human rights violation in Pakistan. Ethno-nationalism is when a nation and nationality is defined in terms of ethnicity. It is based on the ethnocentric approach in order to constitute social and governmental progress. Ethnicity is the emotion and beliefs attached to a particular population, cultural group or territorial area based on cultural grounds (Heywood, 2007).

Nationalism is very much curtailed with the concept of identity politics. It gives people the benefit to enjoy political participation, establish history, and forge social bonds and collective spirit to create a sense of identity larger than the individual existence (Heywood, 2007). Nationalism is built upon various interrelated notions of nations. These notions can be constituted through liberals, conservatives, socialists, anarchists, fascists and fundamentalists. There are political parties that are formed in a democratic setting that follows the varied notion of a national perspective. To treat nationalism as an ideology often encounter three problems. First is nationalism at times categorized as a political doctrine rather than a fully-fledged ideology which often ignores the influence of ethno-nationalism and cultural nationalism (Heywood, 2007). Second, nationalism is sometimes depicted as a psychological phenomenon instead of a theoretical construct. Lastly, nationalism has schizophrenic characteristics as it can be “progressive and reactionary, democratic and authoritarian or rational and irrational. (Heywood, 2007).

The nation is a combination of cultural and psycho-political factors, where it is hard to resolve where the balance resides within the two. The exclusive concept of nation-state give more importance to ethnic unity and shared history wherein it invites the conservative approach and to the most extreme fascist perspective where the nation is held together through primordial bonds, innate attachment to language, religion and culture. But the inclusive concept of nation-state navigates the civic consciousness and patriotic loyalty, suggesting that nation can function as “multi-ethnic, multi-religious,

multi-racial and so forth” (Heywood, 2007). The inclusive concept of the nation-state is believed to follow more liberalism and multiculturalism.

Ethno-nationalism is more of an exclusive concept in a nation-state. According to Anthony Smith emphasis on modern nations and pre-modern ethnic communities which he called “ethnies” implies that there is less difference between ethnicity and nationality (Heywood, 2007). Today the modern nation is an updated version of immemorial ethnic communities. However, if we classify the ethno-nationalism stance through constructive lenses one can identify the tension between civic nationalism and ethnocultural nationalism in a nation. Civic nationalism is a form of liberal nationalism that emphasis upon political allegiance to cultural unity wherein they are endowed with attaining equal rights to self-determination. The concept of self-determination is coined with the idea of popular sovereignty. During the French revolution, the writing of Jean-Jacques Rousseau introduces the concept of Sovereignty. It is a principle of absolute power expressed as legal authority and political power to a country through a general will. Henceforth, ethnocultural nationalism is a combined notion of cultural nationalism and ethno nationalism.

Cultural nationalism has a prime emphasis on the regeneration of the nation as a distinctive civilization rather than on self-government (Heywood, 2007). It opts for bottom-up nationalism wherein it builds the fabric of security around the cultural identity over overt political demands. Ethno nationalism is instigated based on ethnic distinctiveness and the desire to preserve it. The tension between civic nationalism and ethno nationalism is comparatively different and diverse. Civic nationalism also known as liberal nationalism is inclusive in nature compare to exclusive ethno-nationalism. Civic nationalism is enveloped into a political nation with the belief to practice equality and civic loyalty in the culturally diverse social fabric of a nation. While Ethnocultural nationalism has enveloped itself with the cultural or historical nation that beliefs in particularism. It is organic in nature and builds upon ethnic allegiance with cultural unity. Both kinds of nationalism have developed based on identity.

Identity politics is a pertinent subject in any form of nationalism. The sense of patriotism or collective identity is a tool for a nation to construct a sense of belonging and collectiveness among people. It has been the cause of many conflicts yet conflict resolution is pertinent in this subject through communication and understanding the social



fabric of populism. Kaufmann believes that populism can harm liberal institutions, minorities and reason as happened in Hungary and Poland (Bonikowski, 2018). Thus, it will be against civic nationalism as it supports the liberal understanding of a nation.

### 3.6. Pakistan, Ethno Nationalism and Populism:

Pakistan is a multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic state which emerged as a nation in the name of Islam (Azhar and Muhammad, 2017). Pakistan is articulated based on the religious ideology of the two-nation theory which believed in the existence of a separate nation for both the Hindus and Muslims. It is a state that ascertains that popular sovereignty belongs to Allah. The constitution of Pakistan has been designed under the Islamic principle and beliefs. Religion is the central drive of Pakistan policy framework such that there are many political parties in Pakistan that represent the ethnic nationalist stance. Since August 1947, Pakistan has been wedged in a swirl of deviating cross-cutting social-political fabric (Azhar and Muhammad, 2017). Populism has always been part of Pakistan history. The thin layered ideology supported the various groups' stance in various ways. The populist slogan was the key element that captured the mass mobilisation throughout the elections.

#### 3.6.1. Balochistan:

Balochistan is the largest province of Pakistan that is home to over 12,344,408 citizens according to the Pakistan Census Report of 2017, which is around 5.1 percent of the total population. It is a resourceful province with a lot of diversity ethnically and politically. The relation between state and province has faced many fluctuations politically and socially. It belongs to much tribal structure of society that has influenced Baloch nationalism in Pakistan (Noraiee, 2020). After the independence of Pakistan, the Shai Jirga decision to accede with Pakistan contradicted the Khan of Kalat. When he declared independence, the state consider it as against the partition plan and posed a serious threat to the integrity of the nation. Therefore in 1948, the armed forces were sent by the central government to sign an accession paper (Azhar and Muhammad, 2017).

Similarly, in 1958, the issue of allotment of agricultural land to pertain as the central government allotted land to Punjabi settlers. The agricultural land was to be irrigated through the "Pat Feeder Canal". The local people felt that the central administration was trying to take away their resources (Azhar and Muhammad, 2017). Thus, the locals showed resistance which triggered clashes.

But the issue was resolved when the central government revised their policies and return the land to the local population.

Later in 1973, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto imposed a governor's rule by dismissing the first elected government of Balochistan. The federal government believed that the provincial government was violating the constitution by escalating Baloch armies to separate from Pakistan. the dismissal of elected government angered the Balochis and the guerilla warfare started amongst the federal and provincial fabric. It is believed that Bhutto's decision to deploy an army affected the nation and provincial dynamics in many ways.

Hence, when the former military regime and former army chief Zia ul Haq came in power, he dismissed Bhutto's policies and granted amnesty to Baloch guerrillas by distributing funds for settlement and freed many prisoners (Azhar and Muhammad, 2017). The military act extended the loophole of relation and communication between Balochis and the federal government (Ahmad, 2000).

During the Pervaiz Musharraf military regime, the issue of royalty erupted between Musharraf and Bugti as he claimed for the increase in power as the central government held the authority to a majority of decisions (Azhar and Muhammad, 2017). The issue was prevalent amongst the social and political fabric of provincial and central such that the confrontation resulted in Bugti's death.

During that time there were many provincial and federal complexes due to varied events as the policies for Balochistan land i.e Gawader, was not in local interest. The death of Akbar Bugti elevated tension and relations. The Baloch nationalism was mainly the tribal-political rivalries. The central issue revolved around the share of power. The radical nationalism that has enveloped the Balochis were extreme as they were involved in "indiscriminate murder, abduction, ransom, arms trafficking and drug trafficking" (Noraiee, 2020). There were many politically ethnic driven groups formed such as "Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) led by Hyrbyair Marri; Balochistan Republican Party (BRP) led by Brahandarg Bugti; and Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF) led by Dr Allah Nazar. These nationalist parties opted for ruthless policies of terrorization, harassment, abduction and indiscriminate murder of the civilians most of the people from Punjab (Noraiee, 2020).

Currently, Balochistan is the ground of proxy wars between the regional and international powers too. The BLF has accused BLA leader Hyrbyair Marri as an Iranian poppet as it has been reported that Iran has also claimed BLF and BRA benefitted from the support from Iranian security forces as the leader and supporter were provide shelter and resources even inside Iran (Noraiee, 2020). Similarly, India has been persuading Iran and Afghanistan to support the Baloch insurgent groups against Pakistan. They also assisted the groups to raise their voice in western nations in a seminar held by Democracy Forum in February 2017 in London, the Hyrbyair Marri and Mir Suleman khan of Kalat discussion was in parallel to Indian strategies (Democracy Forum, 2017).

It is significant to understand the Baloch ethnic nationalist issue through a bottom-up and constructive approach due to its tribal fragment social rule and power distribution. The widespread corruption and brutality from the inside and outside fabric have dominated injustice to people living below the poverty line. Balochis restricted belief that Balochistan belongs to only Balochis has created a more populist stance where the internal ethnic conflict has also triggered as Balochistan is home to multi-cultural and ethnic society.

### 3.6.2. KPK

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is the Pashtun predominant province of Pakistan. It is a multi-lingual region wherein the immense majority in Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan speak Hindko and Seraiki language. Pashtun ethno nationalism takes us back to 1929 when the Khudai Khidmatgar movement was carried out by Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who was the social reformer and landlord of Charsada (Aman and Jan, 2015). At the time of partition in 1947, the Pashtun leader wanted a separate nation for Pashtun while Hindko and Seraiki supported Muslim League's ideology and demand for Pakistan.

Since the creation of Pakistan, the political tussle between federal and Pashtun nationalists has always surfaced. The federal government dismissed the Khan's government in fear of losing the majority in the house which elevated the tension and struggles for the Pashtun movement (Azhar and Muhammad, 2017). Many political parties were formed based on nationalist parties such as Nationalist Party (NP), Awami National Party (ANP), Paktunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PkMAP) and Qoumi Watan Party (QWP).

ANP is one of the strongest parties in KPK which has always been part of nationalistic politics in the country. It follows the legacies of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, as his descendant “Khan Abdul Wali Khan” initiated the ANP in 1986 which is known to be a left-wing party (Shalmani, 2018). From 2008 to 2013, there was a contradictory relation between Taliban and ANP where the ANP publically criticised the militant network which resulted in target killing and suicide bombing by Taliban groups. This led to ANP losing many of its members and destabilization during political participation, thus a loss of its governance in the province. ANP was also accused of corruption by Juma Khan Sufi, who is the founding father of ANP (Shalmani, 2018).

PkMAP was made in 1989, which was evolved into the National Awami Party (NAP), headed by “Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai” (Dawn, 2018). It advocates Pashtun nationalism while claiming Baloch and Pashtun uniformity in varied social and economic fabric such as resource share, providing facilities and official employment. With the maximum provincial autonomy, they demand equal distribution of resources with any military interference in politics (Dawn, 2018). The party was not in favour of the merger between FATA and KPK as they believed FATA must be a governor or a council wherein the election should be conducted based on adult franchise. PkMAP has demanded the creation of a province for Pashtun from Durand line to Mianwali since they do not enjoy equal rights same as Sindh and Punjab.

Other than nationalist political parties, there was the nationalist movement that occurred in the KPK. These movements are the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM), Pakhtunkhawa Ullesi Tehreek (PUT) and Dr Khan Tehreek. PTM was the transformation of the Mehsud Tahafuz Movement (MTM). MTM was a social movement to raise humanitarian concern for native people who became the victim of militancy and the “war on terror”. They were against target killing and unmarked landmines. The killing of Naqibullah Mehsud by police in Karachi became the turning point for PTM, wherein a huge protest was carried out. The prominent ethnic movement started advocating the civil rights and campaigned for the “removal of landmines, enforced disappearance, extrajudicial killings, internally displaced person calamity, discrimination, unfair policies of profiling Pushtun and humiliation by

security agencies during check post and public domain” (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020; Jiwani & mallick, 2020).

### 3.6.3. Sindh

Sindh is the most populated, multi cultural and ethnic province. Its political parties played a major role in framing the political system of Pakistan. The institution of commerce and industry are stronger compared to other provinces such that it generates the largest income revenue. However, Karachi seemed to be the most developed compared to other cities in Sindh. Sindh has been challenged in various ways during the partition. The muhajir was settled mainly in Punjab and Sindh, wherein one million settled in Sindh and prime urban properties. This changed the demographic condition of Sindh, as the majority was established in Karachi, Hyderabad, Mirpur Khas and Nawab Shah. In reaction, the Sindhis resented the concentration of Muhajirs in their province on the monopoly over government employments, state institutions and favours in giving urban properties (Azhar and Muhammad, 2017).

During the 1970s, Bhutto’s government gave a lot of emphasis to language therefore he made Sindhi the official language of Sindh which created tension with the Muhajirs. Akhtar (2013) believes that Bhutto wanted to protect his political party as he anticipated the emerging power of Urdu speaking Muhajirs. The language has been part of a political fragment in Sindh. This specific legislation upset the tension between other identities. The rural-urban gap and Sindhi Urdu division increased when Bhutto introduced a quota system in provincial and federal governments which created more internal issues in Sindh. The division created by populist leaders left a mark on the political structure of the province. To counter the power of PPP, the Mohajar Qoumi Movement (MQM) was formed. MQM gained a lot of popularity in 1988 as it was the single largest nationalist political party in Karachi and Hyderabad. MQM got extensive support from Urdu speaking community which helped the party to pursue ethnic nationalist agenda. The federal government tried to control the party tactics by launching military operations to control the violence and arrested many MQM workers. The nationalist MQM party workers were involved in the abduction, target killing and blackmail (Azhar, 1997).

### 3.6.4. Punjab

Punjab is the most populated province of Pakistan such that Punjabi constitute an overwhelming majority in administration and politics (Kennedy, 1991). The region is rich in culture and belong to trilingual, diverse cultural and have varied ethnic population. Seraiki was a popular language other than Punjabi in the province, mainly in Multan, Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan. The Seraiki nationalist has always projected their view that they have separate language and culture. A Seraiki nationalist movement started in 1960 by Riaz Hashmi, to achieve official language status for Seraiki and a separate province. Henceforth, Zia ul Haq dispersed the moment but it remerged and claimed to establish printing, radio and TV programmes to be in Seraiki linguistic (Raja, 2012).

In 1969, the Bahawalpur Muttahida Mahaz (BMM or BUF) as the movement came forward against the merger of a princely state in Punjab. The movement gained a lot of support and succeeded in gaining all provincial and national assemblies in the election of 1970. But the separation of East and West Pakistan affected all the hard work and proposition, thus movement was dimmed. The former prime minister, Yousaf Raza Gillani did opt for varied political policies which did not have much appreciated. However, the movement was never violent against another group.

### 3.7. Human Rights and Pakistan

The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan dedicates a whole chapter to the fundamental rights of people. Article 8 to Article 28 discuss an extensive list of freedoms and liberties which will be provided to people being the citizens of the country. Besides being protected under the law, the rights of people are still violated on various grounds which included caste, religion, class and gender. The situation of human rights, instead of getting normalize, is getting complex due to the element of diversity that exists in Pakistan. The government of Pakistan and the respective institutions are not directly involved in the violation of human rights but at the same time, they are not doing enough to protect the rights of minorities, marginalized communities, women, children and humans in general.

Human Rights Commission in its report issued in 2013 states that Courts and law implementation authorities experience the ill effects of the absence of funds, political obstruction and enormous backlogs of preliminary cases prompting extensive delays. Pakistan's status as an Islamic Democratic system additionally implies that the lawful framework is comprised of a combination of both Islamic, and

secular laws which implies that the interpretation of basic freedoms infringement happening is frequently on a case-to-case basis. Most observers and residents for the most part concur that Pakistan's legal code and framework is to a great extent worried about crime and national safety, and less with the insurance of individual or community rights. Accordingly, a large number of basic freedoms infringement happen with terrifying continuity in Pakistan, going from the trampling on of rights identified with free speech and assembly, sectarian and religious intolerance, oppression minorities, illicit confinement and the growing number of enforced disappearance especially of the journalists and users of free speech.

Asma Jehangir, a human rights activist and lawyer, called Pakistan a “dysfunctional society” in terms of human rights protection and assurance. Most of the blame is on the four military rulers who made the “stinking society more stinking” as Jehangir reports. US State Department Report (2021) states that there exist significant human rights issues in Pakistan. Negligence at the government’s part, absence of government accountability, and frequently unpunished abuses, cultivating a culture of impunity among culprits, regardless of whether official or informal. Authorities barely took any action against government officials responsible for gross human rights violations. Human Rights activists within Pakistan even consider that the carelessness and impromptu attitude of administration along with the judiciary have resulted in the marginalization of ethnic, and religious minorities.

## Chapter 4

### 4.1. Data Analysis

#### 4.1.1. Populism is active in exclusionary forms of nationalism rather than inclusionary forms of nationalism.

Populism has always found its way to instigate polarisation, aggression and fear amongst the masses. It has become an active driver to conflict in the exclusionary form of nationalism. Nationalism by definition is the idea that we as a nation are distinct from another nation. Even this concept though, the ideology of nationalism has been defined over the years and in many different ways but it's not necessarily that researchers have an agreement over that how it manifests. A lot of researchers on nationalism say that nationalism does not always have to have a negative effect. Critically, the realist anarchy and liberal institutionalism is much critical nationalism based on its inclusive and exclusive nature in various countries. The interviewee Dr Nilofar Siddiqi approves the assumption as she quotes,

"Nationalism has two tendencies, inclusionary and exclusionary. The nationalism that promotes secular India was based on inclusive nationalism for many years which was an idea that we all are democrats, whether it is muslim or hindu. Currently, that has changed under the Modi administration to exclusive nationalism because of the presence of populism".

In comparison to Pakistan, there is exclusionary nationalism as it was created on the idea of one religious group. Nilofar Saddiqi points out that the exclusionary type of nationalism is linked to the lack of democratic sustainability in Pakistan. Populism is more linked with exclusionary forms of nationalism rather than inclusionary forms of nationalism. Nationalism can be both good and bad but populism in practice appears to make worse exclusionary notions by dividing the masses into out-group or in-group sources which creates a polarized society. For example, in India hindus under the Modi administration has created a lot of problems for Muslim minority groups.

"Its manifestation has a spillover effect on the international stage with politics between Pakistan and India. The creation of Pakistan as muslim state will ultimately affect the muslim in India This dichotomy of nationalism makes worse international relations between minority and majority groups like Muslims and Hindus in India."



Populism has played on national sentiments because its objective is to immobilize people by gaining support through emotional appeals in favour of national interest. The interviewee Dr Hassan Askari Rizvi, the former chief minister of Punjab (caretaker) 2018 and wrote many books on the military, arms, politics of Pakistan, points out that,

"Nationalism and nationalist slogan are a part of populism. It depends on what the situation of a country is and how could people get mobilize. The populist slogan is a driver in uniting the nation to work towards the significant direction through an emotional appeal through leaders. Such slogans become an appeal to accommodate people as they consider their leader as a solution to all of their problems. Many leaders have used this strategy like Imran Khan, Nawaz Sharif and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto."

Populist slogans help the groups to idealize or mobilize people through promises and criticising the other groups. But the interviewee argues that

"Pakistan economy requires a dispassionate and realistic assessment of the situation and it's a matter that needs to be handle by technocrats. In emotional populism, leaders promise to give jobs and to build 50 000 houses. But when he holds the office of power the reality strikes in with practicality that there is a lack of finance and resources in a country to fulfil ever-increasing demand. There is economic space to be catered. Through populism, one can build support but it undermines and exploits the masses. It provides a temporary solution to intricate social, economic and political problems which require a serious and long term mechanism."

Similarly, the populist approach was present in the US with President Donald Trump as he raised the slogan of America's First. The interviewee argued that the Trump administration collapsed in four years. The new administration of the US is also suffering as Biden is facing problems due to the populist government ethnic nationalist approach. The populist approach was more inclined towards American Society which tarnished Global Civic-Nationalism. The interviewee Dr Shafqat Munir who is a specialist in human rights, peace-building at SDPI said that,

"The rise of ethno nationalism and populism is a factor of declination of civic or inclusionary nationalism. Ethno nationalism and populism movements have arisen not only in Pakistan but across the world. The new populist party are coming into power wherein populism and ethno nationalism has reduced the space for civic nationalism. Likewise in India Modi's populist and ethnic nationalist approach. There was a time when India has a slogan "Rising India" that has been transformed into "Divided India", because of the ethno-populism and ethno religious approach of Modi."

India was a secular and democratic nation. The human rights issue are increasing with Modi's populist and ethno national agenda. Henceforth, a similar happened in Europe as ethno nationalist groups gained power with the populist approach by mobilizing people. Civic nationalism is a broader spectrum, where lots of people interact with each other whether they belong to the same ethnic, religious or lingual group or any distinct ethnicity. But ethno nationalism revolves around ethnic groups.

However, there is a belief that there is a moderate presence of populism in Pakistan. The interviewee Dr Zafarullah Khan argued,

"Populism presence in Pakistan is difficult to find. The dynamics of Pakistan is different from the global populism going on around the world. There is no populist issue at the provincial level but at the national level, there is populism as the third political party has attributed a bit to populism. Nationalism, specifically ethno nationalism is constructed in a different landscape. There are problems related to the economic share of resources, the share of NFC award as the role of 7th NFC award and development disparities. The problem in Pakistan is not populism. Historically we might have seen, but many policies have brought development in Pakistan. There is a need to be optimistic about federal efforts as the 18th Amendment gave a lot of autonomy. Even Pervaiz Khattak fought for KPK while Shahbaz Shareef fought for Punjab development and brought about many changes. There are many more constituent representatives who generated more rights."

Ethno nationalism and populism must be evaluated separately, though they do have a close connection also there are few differences concerning some theoretical aspects. However, the interviewee Zaighum Abbas argues that,

"By the definition ethno nationalism and populism cannot be merged. Conversely, during the period last 15-20 years, populism has had an impact on the whole world including Pakistan. From Brazil, where the populist right-wing government is in power while in the UK conservatives belong to a populist regime. In Asia and the sub-continent especially India and Pakistan, there is a populist wave in the region. Therefore, populism is a source of conflict in different countries and regions. On the other ethno nationalism is something different, which is based on identity and cultural symbols. So, the presence of diverse ethnic groups in such countries is a positive sign. There is no negative impact of ethno nationalism on civic or inclusive nationalism. Populism is a route cause of conflict not only in Pakistan but across the globe. Ethno nationalism cannot be a loop with populism."

Populism has triggered many conflicts in Pakistan whether these are religious, ethnic, linguistic or cultural differences. Populism can be segregated into two groups

i.e. right-wing Populism and left-wing Populism. Left-wing Populism stands upon and grows on basic issues of masses e.g. the soviet union while right-wing relies on identity, religious and cultural issues e.g. Modi's Government in India, which rely on the Hindutva mind-set. They are holding their whole government on a single lined narrative i.e. anti-Muslimism narrative. The interviewee Zaighum abbas is a firm believer that populism is a source of conflict and will be a source of conflict in future too. He quotes that,

"In a heterogeneous country like Pakistan, ethno national parties energize the government. The main actor behind the decline of civic or inclusive nationalism is the State, who always try to converge all powers at one centre of gravity i.e. federation."

In contrast, the other interviewee believed that ethno nationalism is a part of nationalism while civic nationalism is a fragment of civic nations. There is no direct proportion to it. In Pakistan, ethno nationalism can be a matter of populism existence due to the need of ethnic groups. Likewise, an expert commented that the rise of nationalism is proportionate to the surge in populism and vice versa. And with this trend, it is understandable that civic nationalism is witnessing a downward spiral. The people are mobilized through sentiments of bald patriotism and anything against the established norms of patriotism is termed and treated as anti-national.

The different perspectives have been subdued about colonisation, identity and polarisation. The identity issue has always surfaced the conflicts as in 1971, the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan was a failure in addressing the issue of ethno nationalism. The interviewee, Dr Asma Awan considered that,

"Pakistan does not have a right definition of nation or qaum. The Muhajars identifies themselves as Muhajar qaum, similar there is Pathan qaum, Baloch qaum, Siriki qaum, and Punjabi qaum. Qaum is an Urdu word which Punjabi, Balochi, Pakhtaun, Siriki, Sindhi or muhajir defines differently. Pakistan identity as a nation was gained much emphasis compared to ethnic groups. These are not qaum, these are just ethnic identities that represent diversity in Pakistan."

It is significant for the institutions in Pakistan to establish progressive social relations of the people. Therefore the very definition of the term nation, needs to be jot down from a political lens. The interviewee comments that there are many political parties and political leaders who are exclusive nationalists and using the course populism as a tool to signify their identity for their political influence.

"In Baluchistan, there is a huge gap between the leaders and civilian economic conditions. The poverty rate is high in Baluchistan and at the same time, the corrupt leaders are successfully exploiting ethnic identities for their benefit. The comparison should not be against Punjabi or Balochi rather it should be against a rich Punjabi and a poor Punjabi, a rich Balochi and a poor Balochi, a rich Pakhtun or a poor Pakhtun because Punjabi and Baloch are on the same page, they are facing the same challenges."

Pakistan is a federation where every ethnic group has a right to represent itself. The ethnic political groups are increasingly demanding more autonomy through the quota system, freedom and share of culture in national representation. The interviewee Dr Khushboo Ejaz argues that,

"The ethnic groups give strength to a federation in Pakistan as they demand more autonomy which unfortunately the present populist government is denying. Even in Sindh, the opposition is the ruling party there, so they are not giving any significant representation to other groups. There is diversity and its duty of federation that how it brings along all ethnic communities. It is significant to build a strong local institution to keep the federation strong. Hence, one curriculum decision will not support ethnic diversity in Pakistan."

She comments that currently, ethno nationalism is not much active in Pakistan, though there was a clear sign of nationalist issue two to three years ago such as PTM was prevalent.

"The Pashtun and Baloch will always try to voice out their problems as seen in universities located in Lahore and Islamabad. In Punjab University, there is various ethnic groups' presence who are a lot active and give a strong notion about their demands and requirements. There is an impact of ethno nationalist movement in various universities as ethnic groups keep on opposing the authority and even are critically interrogative towards them. It is even happening in Quaid-e-Azam University though the other public universities have strict laws."

She comments on the behaviour of polarised groups that there is a populist wave presence as these groups belong to the elite class and no one from an underdeveloped area could voice out their opinion.

"There is mixed participation of these activists as some are active politically. These students follow Marxist and socialist ideologies. The establishment opted for many strategies to control ethno nationalist activism by recruiting the local people in varied government jobs. The ethno nationalism in KPK is very well managed, just a minor tendency left due to Balochistan and KPK territorial and property issues. While in Sindh, there is feudal or landlord influence over decision making.

The social issue is often listened to and resolved by the local leaders. There are many ethnic groups in Karachi compare to Lahore.”

Populism as a driver to ethnonationalism has been criticised by other experts as there are many other influential driver like greed and grievance. The interviewee Dr Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi critically comments that,

"A temporary populism doesn't have any strength and ethno nationalism is rampant every year across the globe. These issues are mainly found in third world countries where people living in such areas are deprived of basic human needs. The violation of basic human needs is a key driver to create ethno nationalist issues.”

#### 4.1.1.1. Populism and Security

However, there is a mixed notion about populism as security for Pakistan. Dr Hassan Asakari Rizvi comments that populism doesn't need to affect the external and internal affairs of Pakistan.

"There is an issue of policy and resources so populist leader uses slogan and when the government doesn't perform well then security is affected. It is affected by policies because non-populist leaders can also affect the external and internal affairs of Pakistan. As not all leaders of Pakistan were populist leaders and they still affected Pakistan."

But Dr Shafqat Munir certainly believes that the populist approach affects the cis-frontier (internal) and trans-frontier (external) security of any country including Pakistan. As the Populist Party take power through elections.

"The populist approach portrays all other forces as betrayers and traitors than themselves. They create rifts among the population as the sense of fear arises which deteriorates internal security. When internal security weakens the external threats for the country arises too. The international community also criticized violations of human rights and restraints on media. Meanwhile, international watchdogs publish negative reports, tarnishes the image of the country at internal levels. If populist governments take decisions as per ethnic, religious, linguist basis then conflict arises that increases insecurity among people leading to an internal fragile security environment. Transfrontier security is indirectly proportional to cis frontier security as it tends to effects each other. The populist approach of the current government is negatively affecting Pakistan."

However, the interviewee Zafarullah Khan does not believe populism is a key driver against security. He critically asserts that,

"Populism is merely part of the prevailing issue. In Pakistan, there is a grievance, economic deprivation, geopolitical and geo-economics issues. It has become a sandwich between these dominant issues. There is geo-economic adversity in Pakistan which can affect internal and external security. There is a huge role of actors and their chaotic performances such as Pakistan is on the red list due to covid-19 neither it has ideal relation with America."

Likewise, the interviewee Zaighum abbas quote that Populism is contagious germination, which not only affect internal but also deteriorates external security. In Pakistan, the religious populist regime has tortured minorities, which aggravated anti-Islam and anti-Muslim sentiments within the country. Later, the same spread across the world and Pakistan is being known as an intolerant nation for its religious beliefs. So, intensified internal rifts and resentments of minorities and sects weaken internal stability and retain an external threat to national security and integrity. The current ruling government of Pakistan is part of global populism. Populism is myopic and always scapegoat vulnerable communities including gender-based violence and religious or sectarian minorities. Moreover, the populist regime in India, has a vital threat to Pakistan's national security. Similarly, Dr Imdad Ullah said that,

"Populism is a model which has been protected through the element of nationalism. The need to protect security of Pakistan is significant. With the populism, people leaving outside Pakistan has leverage and recognition but there is Islamophobia also and treatment of minority as significant issue to address."

The exclusionary forms of nationalism tend to use populism to challenge internal security. Nilofar Siddiqi argues that,

"Minority groups like Pakhtuns in Pakistan when claiming their rights, they are seemed as traitorous. It is seen as kind of an insult to the nation that they are demanding. They are accused of disinformation, misinformation and clouding with foreign. It creates more complications and outgrowth exclusionary forms of nationalism because it doesn't allow minority groups to acquire their rights. "

In the case of the Pashtun movement, demand for greater protection of their community towards human rights and internal security. There entirely portrayed as funded by foreign entities to an extent that any valid right they claim is seen as invalid. It is problematic both for notions of human rights within the country and also problematic for internal security. Siddiqi further adds that exclusionary nationalism and populism are problematic for local bodies too. It increases people's distrust of other ethnic communities.

"In Pakistan and India, misinformation and disinformation are common. Rumours about minority groups can spread quickly whether they are misled to blasphemy which later instigates violence. This is all wrapped up in the notion of exclusionary nationalism."

The external security is more complicated as there are Pashtuns in Afghanistan also and when relations are weak between Pakistan and Afghanistan, the Pashtuns are directed to show loyalty towards Pakistan. Otherwise, they are considered traitors due to the overlap of ethnic groups.

"Likewise in India, when Muslim Indian says something on behalf of Pakistan they are considered as traitorous because who is an Indian in India is now becoming what equated being Hindu which is an exclusionary form of nationalism."

Thus, when identity politics play out at the international level has become more complicated due to populism. Certainly, the grievances of certain ethnic groups are being manipulated by the opponents of Pakistan. As the violence during the last decade was perpetrated by the local Pakistanis, with the support of, especially from Indians.

#### 4.2. Populism is basis for ethno nationalism which has stimulated the violation in human rights in Pakistan.

Dr Hassan Askari Rizvi criticises the notion of populism as the key driver of ethno nationalism, he comments that,

"Populism is not directly related to the human right violation. There are a few issues like democracy is weak in Pakistan. But when there is no populist leader there is still the presence of human rights violations. So does in a dictatorship or when a leader lacks leadership qualities."

Human rights violation is not only by state but the state is one of the factors which leads to the violation. In addition to human rights are violated due to powerful groups present in the society, the state is sometimes vulnerable to protect the rights of minorities. Both populist and non-populist leaders can fail to provide security or rights. Rizvi comments that individuals, extremists and many other groups can also violate. The state is one element, which leads to human rights violations, but it also protects as per its duty.

"Human rights violations can be done in any political system where there is no democracy. Human rights are established based on the presence of democratic culture.

While Dr Shafqat Munir argues that in Pakistan, the current populist government came in the name of ethno nationalism. The government has curtailed media freedom, parliament is side-lined because the government is emanated out of populism.

“The slogan of *Change* of the ruling party was a populist approach. When populist or ethnic nationalist governments came into power, they assume that they are very powerful. Point in case, current ruling party of Pakistan has no as such dominance in parliament but some other parties are helping them out. Now the human rights are shrinking, media is being controlled.”

There is presence of gender-based violence and ethnic issues been aggravated. Police brutality is also raising day by day; the populist government assumes that they are solely well-wishers of Pakistan. Populist thinks that they are honest and sincere to the country, consequently, they blamed other as betrayers. There are two basic approaches to run a government, populist regime takes stern actions e.g. strict tax laws in Pakistan. However, economy is dependent upon loan. Prices are hiking day by day; the provision of economic freedom is also an example of fundamental human rights. Munir comments that,

“Article 38 of the Constitution of Pakistan provision of food, shelter, and clothing is the responsibility of the state. Moreover, Article 19 of the constitution give the right to speak to every Pakistani. Similarly, articles 17, 18, 19, 20, 25 give human rights to citizens. Populist governments assume that they are in the right direction, while, all others are heading towards wrong direction.”

Human rights violations in Pakistan has been increased in Pakistan as compared to previous eras. Pakistan is on the 145th index of media freedom. Similarly, in women protection laws it is far behind the other countries. Populist governments believe that they are the last hope of the country and there is no patriotic, honest and sincere than their party. They also termed other forces as betrayers and traitors. They also justify the wrongdoings of their allies and associates.

However, Zafarullah Khan gives a different perspective as she asserts that the human rights issue is not a political problem as it is more of a social issue. The federal has standing committees that help in resolving such issues in National Assembly.

"The statistics prove that the situation is getting better. The right to information is always prevalent in the current and previous



governments. The province like KPK and Sindh has also reformed. Pakistan has matured a lot in the 21st century such that we have constituted the Human Rights Commission act. Pakistan is the fifth populous country in the world which has different dynamics and issues which does not confine to populism."

There is a social push and pull factor that has created a Human rights violation issue. There is a need for policy structure issues like in the Lahore 14 august incident, there was a lack of police structure and planning. Pakistan lack in governance as there are agency and institution. Dr Zaffarullah Khan comments that the right to protest is given to the people although the use of tear gas and water cannon can be seen. But the Covid- 19 situation has changed the dynamic of the right to protest too.

"The Kasur incident, the Zainab law has been initiated so we need to acknowledge the developmental fact of Pakistan. There is a need to be optimistic as with time the mechanism is changing and better policies are adopted like the women commission of 2012. The issue of Human rights is mainly because the institution is under resource."

It is hard to prove the causation of Human Rights and there is an increase in polarization in society. Polarization in society is manifested between in-group like ethnic or other identity centred groups. There is anger and fear between polarised in-group and out-group. The interviewee Nilofer Siddiqi believes that one needs to be careful that whether it is cause relationship or whether the two things are simultaneously moving.

"According to a research of United States that voters in a polarized society are willing to trade off democratic principles with their interest. So the Republicans are ignorant towards African Americans, instigating violence against a minority group and but being a republican for a voter is significant as they will vote for it no matter how they are behaving towards minorities."

This type of polarization is problematic because it gives leaders unchecked power wherein the leaders are not held responsible and letting undemocratic behaviour aside including attitudes towards other minority groups or human rights violations. Simultaneously we see a similar trend in Pakistan. The interviewee Nilofer Siddique comments that,

"Social media is quite evident the voter behaviour as PMLN supporters and PTI supporters seemed to clash and stronger supporters of their party."

But people of social media are still in minority as people who live in rural parts of Pakistan may not have such a strong political party or be part of the elite. She believes that the elite are getting stronger, and no doubt compares to 20 years ago. Ethnic voting is still very common in Pakistan. Populism has paved the way for human rights violations in Pakistan against vulnerable groups of masses. In Pakistan, populism stands upon religion and politics. The populist approach is being employed to trigger the religious and cultural sentiments of the masses. Pakistan has been ruled by right-wing populist powers since its conception except one era 1967-68 movement against General Ayub Khan. Pakistan was ruled by direct or indirect right-wing military dictatorships. Military Establishment in the nursery of production of right-wing populism. Populism is the root cause of human rights violations in Pakistan.

In any state, ethno nationalism may be on the rise due to the issue of denial of rights to certain sub-national groups. In the case of Pakistan, for example, the treatment of the issue of political and civil rights of Balochis and Pashtuns through the use of violence has resulted in serious human rights violations. Whereof the case of missing persons is a stark example. There is unemployment, lack of education for the children. The interviewee Dr Asma Awan believes that,

"It is the elite class that has been exploiting the resources for their interest. When the leaders refuse to build a road because it would open up new places for locals. People who are being exploited are unaware of it. Punjabi thinks their Punjabi leader, Balochi thinks their Balochi leader and Pakhtaun thinks their Pakhtaun leader, will give them the right but they are the ones who are exploiting human rights. And in the end, they blame the government. All this is because of a lack of awareness among the people."

Dr Khusboo Ejaz argues that,

"When the ethnic nationalist is coming to power, the populist regime and establishment have tried to curb the voices through all kinds of tools they have. The media is not free in Pakistan due to which one cannot report violence. There is no rule of law in the country. Due to restricted media, many cannot practice democratic rights."

According to operational definition of populism, it clears a lot of things. The notion of elite verse people, 1% versus 99%, it is significant to ascertain that justifying the elite based on populism is also injustice. After Tehreek-e-Pakistan, the colonial ruler left the elite and then that elite continued ruling, so saying that the elite is right is indeed injustice and this is something that misguided. Whether it is inferiority complex or superiority complex and whether it is superiority complex of

elite or inferiority complex of people. Both are in complexes are in psychological sickness. As human rights are being violated. There is no denying the fact that populism and ethno nationalism is causing it.

Society is comprised of the division of identities which tend to be polarised as the natural way of communication. It is the governance of a state that assist the causation to reduce the fear, aggression and populist stance within it. The economic depreciation and economic mismanagement have been a part of populism to drive ethnicity and sectarianism. The populist leader uses appeals and then tells that only he can solve all the problems. Then it depends on the society that how they manage their greed and grievances. In Pakistan, there is ethnicity like MQM caused exploitation and injustice.

It is significant to see the context behind leadership in a society and what kind of issues can be exploited. If there is ethnicity then there can be issues of inequality wherein the out-group exploits the in-group. Hassan Askari Rizvi quotes that,

"In 1970 election Mujeeb-ur-Rehman used ethnic slogans of Bengalis rights and exploitation by West Pakistan as Punjabi leaders. In Sri Lanka, the Tamil movement same issues was raised. the issue is found in many developing countries that many leaders took advantage of the situation."

However, interviewee Zafarullah khan criticize the notion of populism and argued that,

"Instead of populism, Pakistan is facing youth bulge phenomena. We have a huge population of youth which have change the dynamism of state policy. If we look at Imran khan supporter, they are rich, belong to oversee and their rights has been given to them. Unlike the mediocre youth, these people have access to education, medical care and various other resources. Due to economic differences there is youth bulge presence which needs to be address. There is a need for social transition between conservatism and modernism of society."

## **Chapter 5**

### **Conclusion**

Populism is significance has arisen over the years because of the rise of populist leaders and exclusive nationalism. Populism has always been part of the social and political fabric of a nation. It acts as a driver who stimulates the emotion of the masses towards inclusive or exclusive nationalism. According to the majority of experts, populism is present in Pakistan while the intensity varies from time to time. The extreme intensity of populism results in a harmful social and economic policy structure in Pakistan. As it tends to oppress the minorities hence targeting human rights and security. Populism is dependent on the concept of the majority where the popular believe themselves as righteous and most patriotic towards their nation than any other group. This leaves a negative imprint on oppressed minorities. During the populist wave, the freedom of expression and minority rights is mostly affected. According to the social constructivist lens, gender, minority religious groups, ethnic groups are effected by populism wave.

The way populism manifests today in the world gives way to the exclusionary form of nationalism. Thus, it fosters to the extent that populism and exclusionary nationalism go hand in hand. Populism is defined more broadly as political outsiders, taking on the corrupt elite and an unequal status quo which is a biased approach. The issue is when leaders justify their actions by saying it's in the interest of the people and create further exclusionary nationalism. But it doesn't necessarily mean every leader categorized as populist will necessarily be problematic. Political issues seldom can be solved through the use or threat of the use of force. Thus, it is important for the security establishment to realize this and similarly crucial for the political leadership to take ownership of all the political and social issues in Pakistan causing the rise of ethno nationalism and populism.

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## Appendix

### Interviewee Panel

	<b>Name of Interviewer</b>	<b>Designation</b>
<b>Respondent 1</b>	DR HASSAN ASAKARI RIZVI	former chief minister of Punjab (caretaker) in 2018 and wrote many books on military, arms, politics of Pakistan
<b>Respondent 2</b>	DR ZAFARULLAH KHAN	PIPs Representative
<b>Respondent 3</b>	NILOFAR SIDDIQI	Assistant Professor at University at Albany
<b>Respondent 4</b>	DR SHAFQAT MUNIR	Peace, Resilience & Human Rights Expert at SDPI
<b>Respondent 5</b>	DR BAKARE NAJMIDEEN	Head of Department Research, CIPs
<b>Respondent 6</b>	DR IMDAD ULLAH	Assistant Professor at Cips, NUST
<b>Respondent 7</b>	DR ASMA AWAN	HOD & Professor of Political Science at Kinnaird College
<b>Respondent 8</b>	DR KHUSBOO EJAZ	Senior/Assistant Professor Political Science at Kinnaird College & GC
<b>Respondent 9</b>	PROF ZAIGHUM ABBAS	Assistant Professor at GC university, Gilgit – Baltistan Activist
<b>Respondent 10</b>	DR HUSSAIN SHAHEED SUHARWARDI	Professor at University of Peshawar
<b>Respondent 11</b>	DR ZAHID ANWAR	Dean of Social Sciences at University of Peshawar
<b>Respondent 12</b>	DR ABIDA BANO	Professor at University of Peshawar
<b>Respondent 13</b>	SYED MUZZAMIL	GNN Senior Anchor

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