



RESEARCH PAPER

Enigma of Political Parties in Political Socialization of Pakistan: A Case Study of Muslim League

Dr. Ghulam Fareed¹, Dr. Muhammad Muzaffar², & Anam Riaz³

1. Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Government College Depalpur, Punjab, Pakistan
2. Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science GC Women University Sialkot, Punjab, Pakistan
3. MS Scholar, Department of Political Science GC Women University Sialkot, Punjab, Pakistan

PAPER INFO	ABSTRACT
Received: November 7, 2019	Political Parties play a vital role in shaping the future political attitude of an individual. This study was designed to determine the role of political parties generally and Muslim League particularly in socializing the people of Pakistan politically. Mix Method was used generalize the results of this study. A total number of 385 voters were randomly selected from Gujranwala Division, a questionnaire comprising of 37 statements on five-point Likert scale with one open ended statement was developed and the collected data were analyzed by applying the descriptive and inferential statistics. The results of the study showed that the political parties especially Muslim League could not perform continuously and the level of political socialization among the masses of Pakistan remained low. Pakistan Muslim League should present a clear ideology and party manifesto to retain their representation at the National and Local level to socialize politically the general masses of Pakistan.
Accepted: December 30, 2019	
Online: December 31, 2019	
Keywords: Political Parties, Political Socialization, Pakistan Muslim League, Pakistan	
Corresponding Author: muzaffarrps@gmail.com	

Introduction

Socialization is a complex phenomenon and disorder process that is difficult to identify in a phase of individuals life. It transmits the attitude, values and norms from one generation to another in a specific community. Broadly speaking socialization is a process of transmission of orientation of an individual toward the social objects (Robert Le, 1963). While political socialization is a psychological concept by which political culture changed and maintained. It refers to the ways in which political norms and values are formed. It helps in the process of establishment and development of beliefs and attitude about the political system

(Verma, 1975). The important question is that why and how political values, attitude and norms need to be transmitted from coming generation to other in a given society and political culture. According to Almond and Coleman, culture, traditions values and norms are not something that is transmitted through genes (Das & Choudhury 1997).

These are the requirement and social obligations of an individual who is member of the society. And these requirements can be fulfilled by involving the individuals in learning process of a society system. It helps them to understand social and political system of a society. There are major agents of political socialization that play an important role in this process include family, education, peer group, media and political parties (Langton, 1969). In the childhood the learning process start from the family, school and peer group plays key role whereas media and political parties influences more in adulthood (Beck, 1977).

In every democratic state of the world, political parties are an organized group of the people who are working as unit and using their political power aiming at controlling the government and trying to influence its policies (Khan, 2005). They play a vital role because it shapes the future political attitude of an individual. Parties formed the public opinion by offering the solution of economic, social and political problems faced by the general masses. Political parties are an important agent for the transmission of values and norms of dominant culture of the society (Gassah, 1992). It imparts and preserves the norms and culture of the community or society. They provide the political platform for political debate, communication and discussion. It also shapes the voting behavior and preference, increase political efficacy and make sure the political participation (Johnston, 2005). Political parties in Pakistan try to inculcate certain values in the members of the society.

No political party can gather momentum until and unless it is supported by the general mass. The political body of All India Muslim League not only emancipated the social and economic conditions of the Muslims of India. It also played a significant role to unite the Muslims of India on a single political platform and had successfully tried to safeguard the political interest of the Indian Muslims (Ahmed, 2004). During the colonial period, All India Muslim League as the representative body of the Muslims in opposition of the Indian National Congress (Sayeed, 1968). On the political scene of United India All India Muslim League emerged on 30th December 1906 in the annual session of All India Educational Conference at Dacca. It gradually becomes popular political party of the sub-continent of India. It motivated the Muslims of India have their own political platform where they can defend their political interest (Ahmed, 1974). Within the few years younger generation of the Indian Muslim with the middle class found their way into politics of the All India Muslim League. They challenged the colonial rule in India and discarded the programmed of unqualified loyalty to the British ruler but also demanded for self-government. It got become popular and got penetration in British colonial in Muslim populated units. It successfully

socialized the Muslims of sub-continent of every school of thought for the demand of separate state (Aziz, 1976).

All India Muslim League involved the ordinary Muslims, also people were in the street involved that's why the politics came down to general mass. It left unpalatable imprint on the historical backdrop of Indian Muslims since it was the nationwide fomentation of the Indian Muslims with focal association (Ali, 1967). The development of All India Muslim League changed the political arrangement, created the initiative and the administration of the development bowed pre ordinance of urban white-collar class, instructed the world class with all out rejection of the landed class which after the development had fizzled (Safdar, 2000).

In the twentieth century Quaid-e- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah filled the gap of political scenario of the Indian Muslim, he was singularly gifted individual who make the efforts to the advancement of his community welfare. All India Muslim League did not make any noticeable change in political programmed except establishing loyalty to British. When Jinnah had returned from England, the Muslims in India lacked cohesion direction and objective a leader and platform. All India Muslim League almost dead but Jinnah filled these gaps largely (Afzal, 1991). It was never meaningful political body until and unless Jinnah took up its leadership. Jinnah expands the party by giving it to new constitutional structure.

Firstly, he established the Muslim League represent each Mohalla ward within the city. Another step was taken by in 25th session of All India Muslim League in 1937 where it was suggested that immediate step should be taken to put into effect an economic, educational and social program to improve the lot of laborer and farmer to encourage the cottage industries and state enterprise. The organizational change brought the League into closer contact with general mass and this change made it more effective and better working within the shortest time (Choudhury, 1969).

Being a political party, All India Muslim League participated in the 1937 elections and was unable to achieve desire success, and about two and a half years of Congress rule had to be failed by Muslims. But the Muslims in Bengal had an amazing performance in the 1937 elections.

In all nine provinces around about 482 reserved seats for the Muslims and Muslims secured only 104 seats. The party arose as second largest, but the level of socialization was very low because it could not get tremendous success as they won the seats in 1945-1946 elections. Elections were very important in political history 1945-1946, League engaged in one-point manifesto elections. The Central Legislative Assembly elections took place in December 1945 and the provincial elections took place in January 1946. The most impressive outcome of these elections was the Muslim League's resounding victory, which captured all thirty Muslim seats in the central assembly. While they claimed to be a national body

representing both the Muslims and the Hindu, the Congress did not put any official candidate for these Muslim seats.

Table No. 1
All India Muslim League Position in 1945 Elections

Sr. No	Province	Obtained seats	Total seats
1	Assam	31	34
2	Bengal	113	119
3	Bihar	34	40
4	N.W.F. P	17	38
5	Punjab	79	88
6	Sindh	28	35
7	U. P	54	66

Under the leadership of Husain Shaheed Sherwardhy and Abdul Hashim All India Muslim League socialized the general mass and it got 110 out of 117 reserved seats of the Bengal Muslim. While in all other Muslims dominated provinces of league, it performed equally enthusiastic beside the NWFP which was still under the congress influence. The victory of League in the elections of 1946 made its leader Quaid-e-Azam undisputed leader. In short, the Elections of 1945-1946 proved that All India Muslim League alone represented the Muslims of India. The performance of Muslim students in the elections of 1946 was outstanding and brilliant particularly the Aligarh students. About 1500 students were busy in the All India Muslim League election campaign. At Aligarh, such a student had a training center, how to socialize the Muslim League's message and organize the election campaign (Burki, 2003). Besides the students, Ulema and women also played a tremendous role in the history of sub-continent of Muslim India.

After independence, Muslim League began to lose mainstream backing of the general population, in the interim Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhasani and many other unmistakable pioneers framed their own political body named as Awami Muslim League in 1949. Arrangement of public mobs, decayed law fullness circumstance, vacuum of initiative, language issues, taking off costs of basics, police uprising, agrarian uprisings in certain areas and various issues of the new rising state broke the exclusive requirements of the residents.

Presently the general population was searched for the elective authority, which was given by the Awami Muslim League of Maulana Bhasani and Krishak Sramik gathering of Fazlul Haq. Some littler gatherings and including these gatherings framed an appointive partnership named as United Front in March 1954 got upwards of 223 seats, while the League verified the just 8 seats. The annihilation of decision party is not uncommon, however what is surprising is the way that the Muslim League being the mass based and most seasoned gathering would never get again in East Pakistan.

All India Muslim League struggled through a variety of circumstances to socialize the Indian Muslims. Though its history it had to face many challenges and passed through many crises. However, for the All India Muslim League most crucial juncture was the year 1927 when it was divided into Jinnah-League and Shafi-League. The party was reunited at Lahore but soon another serious challenge threatened its unity. Pakistan Muslim League is the oldest and founding party that was founded by the all the leadership of India in December 1906 at Dacca. At the time of independence of Pakistan, only Muslim League was in existence and 62 out of 76 members of first constituent Assembly belonged to the party. As the party was associated with the dynamic and charismatic leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah (who was the Governor General and president of the constituent Assembly).

Pakistan Muslim League was the general mass based political party. Soon party began to lose its position among common people after the death of Quaid-e-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan (who was the first Prime Minister and president of the party). When Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was died and Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated, the party was deprived of experienced leaders and began to lose popularity. The party was essentially more an activist movement within the pre-colonial. It was a charismatic movement that socialized the several groups and social forces rallied around the demand for Pakistan under the guidance of Muhammad Ali Jinnah that was his charismatic leadership of Jinnah, Muslim masses were brought on to one platform and goal. But after the demise of Quaid-e-Azam the down fall of party accelerated rapidly; its character degenerated and its spirit disintegrated.

The Muslim League was routed in East Pakistan in election by winning only 10 seats out of 309 seats in 1954. But in West Pakistan, it failed to socialize the people and had to face defeat at the hand of Republican Party. Thus, it lost its popularity. Between 1955 and 1958 the fortune of the party continued decline. In 1957 the party lost its position among the general mass and in 1958 Ayyub Khan staged a bloodless military coup the party as defunct. After three years, Ayyub Khan revived the party by the name of Convention Muslim League and became its president on 24th of December 1962 (Sayeed, 1995). In the history of Pakistan was ushered in wherein the version of democracy was introduced.

Table No. 3
Convention Muslim League in 1965 Elections

Cities	Total Votes	Ayyub Khan	Fatima Jinnah	Other Candidates	Invalid	Total Cast of Votes
Chittagong	334	181	151	0	2	334
Camille	287	156	128	0	2	286
Dacca	558	199	353	1	2	555
Hyderabad	406	201	201	0	0	405
Karachi	1907	837	1049	4	13	1903

Khulna	283	167	113	2	0	282
Lahore	1210	819	371	1	17	1208
Lyallpur	397	274	123	0	0	397
Peshawar	521	299	215	0	6	520
Rawalpindi	319	202	106	2	8	318

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

The Muslim League Convention was succeeded to secure the highest peak of vote of common man. They reelected Ayyub Khan as president in 1965 following his election contested against Miss Fatima Jinnah (sister of Quaid-e-Azam). In 1958 the system of Basic Democracy was introduced in which voters delegates their rights to choose President. Basic Democracy system failed to produce a class of new leaders, in sight full and independent in their outlook (Kennedy, 2003). A parallel party was also revived Council Muslim League Khawaja Nazim-ul-Din became its President. During the Elections of 1970, the socialization of party was reduced and failed to maintain its status among the voters.

Table No 4
PML-Council, PML-Convention, PML-Qayyum in the Election of 1970s

Sr. No	Party Names	Votes	Seats
1	All Pakistan Awami League	22, 937	-
2	All Pakistan central Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam and Nizam-e-Islam	35,990	-
3	Independent	1,719,435	15
4	Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan	945, 324	04
5	Jamiat Ulema Islam (West Pakistan)	1, 134, 346	-
6	Markazi Jamiat-e-Ahle Hadees Pakistan	35, 876	-
7	Markazi Jamiat-ul-Ulema Pakistan	1,322,525	7
8	National Awami Party (Bhashani Group)	45, 063	-
9	Pakistan Muslim League- Council	1,719, 435	07
10	Pakistan Muslim League-Convention	590, 312	02
11	Pakistan Muslim League-Qayyum	1, 289, 595	9
12	Pakistan Democratic Party	254, 389	-
13	Pakistan National Awami Party (Wali Khan)	446, 513	06
14	Pakistan People's Party	6, 148, 923	81

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

As result of these elections Pakistan People's Party secured absolute majority of votes from the West Pakistan, it succeeded to socialize the common man for their protection of their interest. The factions of Pakistan Muslim League like PML-C, PML-Q failed to socialize and rehabilitate the confidence of the general mass because the original founding party was lost its image in masses.

Table No. 5
Pakistan Muslim League-Qayyum in the Election of 1977s

Sr. No	Party Names	Votes	Seats
1	Independent	417, 808	08
2	Pakistan People's Party	10, 093, 868	155
3	Pakistan National Alliance	6, 154, 921	36
4	Pakistan Muslim League-Qayyum	157, 370	01

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan General Election 1977

Although, in the 1977s elections Pakistan People's Party succeeded to socialize the masses, but the results of elections were not acceptable to the opposition parties; Bhutto removed from power and imposed martial law throughout the country (Burki, 1968). On the other hand, Pakistan Muslim League-Qayyum did not play active role to socialize the people, it secured 157, 370 votes. Zia Martial law regime nurtured a new political party with an old name Pakistan Muslim League and used to balance the PPP and regional parties.

Table No6
PML-Qayyum and PML-Malik Qasim Group in the Election of 1988

Sr.No	Party Name	Votes	Seats
1	Awami National Party	408,168	02
2	Baluchistan National Alliance	71, 058	02
3	Islami Jamhoori Ittihad	5,939, 088	54
4	Independent	3,939, 088	40
5	Jamiat Ulema Islam -Fazal-ul-Rehman	393, 164	07
6	National People's Party Khar- Group	97, 990	01
7	Pakistan People's Party Khar-Group	7,584, 498	92
8	Pakistan Muslim League-Qayyum	2, 196	-
9	Pakistan Muslim League-Malik Qasim Group	55, 052	-

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan General Election 1988s

The factions of Pakistan Muslim League, failed to maintain the position of oldest political party, Pakistan Muslim League-Qayyum and Pakistan Muslim League-Malik Qasim Group participated in the elections of 1988, they could not secure a high number of vote bank in these elections. They failed to become their parties' general mass-based parties, so their level of socialization was very low.

Table No.7
PML-N/Islami Jamhoori Ittehad in the Election of 1990s

Sr. No	Party Name	Votes	Seats
1.	Awami National Party	356, 160	06
2.	Islami Jamhoori Ittehad/PML-N	7, 676, 032	104
3.	Independent	2, 246, 912	21
4.	Jamiat Ulema Islam-Fazal-Ul-Rehman	622, 214	06
5.	Pakistan Awami Tehreek	237, 492	

6.	Jamhoori Wattan Party	129, 431	02
7.	Pakistan National Party	127, 287	02

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

After the death of Muhammad Khan Junejo, Muslim League was divided into two factions i.e., Muslim League-N and Muslim League-J. Muslim League-Nawaz took over the party and became the head of the party. Pakistan Muslim League-N came in power 1990s election with the help of other minor parties and took many steps for the free economy and privatization (Abid, 2002). It socialized the common man by addressing their social problems. In elections of 1993 Pakistan Muslim League-N secured only 73 seats of National Assembly but in 1997s elections the party increased the level of political socialization by securing the 135 seats of the National Assembly.

In the elections of 2008 Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz secured vote bank 6,917,752. They used different strategies to socialized general mass by various means of meetings, procession, and media. In 2013 PML-N emerged as largest political party; the party socialized the voters by elections campaign strategy and formed the government. Pakistan Muslim League-N secured high vote bank 14,497,923 and formed the government. But in 2018 it failed to socialize the masses and face defeat at the hands of Pakistan Tehreek Insaff.

Material and Methods

This study was designed to determine the level of political socialization among the general mass from the three districts of Gujranwala division of Punjab province. Target population of the study was the male and female from Gujranwala, Gujrat and Sialkot. A sample of 385 voters from three districts (Gujranwala, Gujrat and Sialkot) of Gujranwala division of Punjab province was selected by using the multi-stage random technique. One hundred and ninety voters (80 male and 110 female) were selected from the Gujranwala district, 90 voters (35 male and 55 female) from the Gujrat district and 105 voters (40 male and 65 female) from the Sialkot district. Keeping in view the requirements of the study the first version of the instrument was developed and translated into Urdu. All the items of the questionnaire were mixed and developed plain form of questionnaire in the second stage and this plane questionnaire Urdu Version was distributed for the sake of pilot testing. The face and content validity were got checked by the committee of experts. The Coefficient value calculated was 0.805 with the help of SPSS. Null hypotheses were developed to determine the difference of opinion among the study sample and were tested by using the descriptive and inferential statistics.

Results and Discussion

The results of the study showed that political parties of Pakistan are not socializing the general mass. Parties are not effectively socializing the common man regarding the political system of Pakistan. They are failed to educate the

masses politically and socially. In Pakistan, political parties are not providing the opportunity to others to represent the parties from the outside of their family members. The parties of Pakistan just presenting those issues in front of the people which are just concerned to their favor and they just try to criticize the ruling party instead of pointing out the real issues of the country.

Table No 8
Mean Score (Wise Analysis& Factor Wise)

Statement	Mean Score	Statement	Mean Score	
16	2.76	5	1.89	
14	2.53	19	1.88	
		22	1.77	
13	2.44	6	1.73	
26	2.44	20	1.72	
7	2.24	15	1.69	
8	2.22	12	1.68	
3	2.05	24	1.67	
9	2.03	25	1.66	
2	2.00	10	1.62	
		23	1.61	
11	1.98	17	1.60	
1	1.96	21	1.60	
4	1.96	18	1.52	
Average Mean Score= 1.93				
Factors	Statements	Norm Score	Norm Mean Score	Mean Score (Obtained)
Formation of Public Opinion	04	12	03	1.99
Participation in Election	06	18	03	1.95
Formation of government	03	09	03	2.03
Interest Articulation	04	12	03	2.14
Recruitment Function	03	09	03	1.70
Political Education	03	09	03	1.66
Political Socialization	03	09	03	1.92

Table No. 8 showed that two (02) statements showed negative level of acceptance of respondents. Seven (07) statements showed relatively low level of acceptance and seventeen (17) items showed the high negative acceptance levels of the respondents. Over all mean score of all the twenty six items was 1.93 which indicates the high level of negative acceptance. The mean score of factor "Formation of Public Opinion" was 1.99, the average mean score of the factor

“Participation in Election” was 1.95, when the opinion of respondents was taken about the role of political parties in “Formation of Government” the mean score was 2.03 which showed the lowest level of acceptance. The average mean score of the factor “Interest Articulation” was 2.14. The average mean score of the factor Recruitment was 1.70. When the respondents were asked about the role of political parties in flourishing the “Political Education” the average mean score remained 1.66. Similarly when the questions were raised before the role of political parties of Pakistan in socializing the masses the response recorded was 1.92.

In this study an open-ended question ‘how political parties of Pakistan can increase the level of political socialization among the general mass or voters’ was asked from the sample respondents, 210 answered this question which is 54% of the total sample. Whereas the remaining 46% did not respond this answer and left the column blank. The analysis of response of respondents in this regard as

- Political parties of Pakistan should practice internal democracy and employ transparent nomination procedure through primary election.
- Political parties should provide a platform for the political socialization by interaction between elected and electorates.
- By providing the political platform where people have opportunity for discussing political issues and political awareness among the masses.
- By activating the political conscious among the mass and enhancing the political participation of the men as well as women equally.
- Political parties should ensure the transparency of information about the elected representative including political campaign.
- Political parties should establish training center at the community level to train the general mass about the skills to require taking part in politics and elections.
- By direct communication with voters including grass-root activities such as canvassing and contacting voters as well as holding party meetings.
- Political parties of Pakistan socialize the general mass by raising voice over the issue of national concern.

Hypotheses

Ho1 No significant difference exists in the opinions of male and female respondents regarding the role of political parties in socializing the masses of Pakistan.

Ho2 No significant difference exists in the opinion so female urban and male rural respondents regarding the role of political parties in socializing the masses of Pakistan.

Ho3 No significant difference exists in the opinions of female urban and female rural respondents regarding the role of political parties in socializing the masses of Pakistan.

Ho4 No significant difference exists in the opinions of male urban and female urban respondents regarding the role of political parties in socializing the masses of Pakistan.

Ho5 No significant difference exists in the opinions of male rural and female rural respondents regarding the role of political parties in socializing the masses of Pakistan.

Ho6 No significant difference exists in the opinions of male urban and female rural respondents regarding the role of political parties in socializing the masses of Pakistan

Table No 9
Summary
Hypotheses Tests

Hypotheses	Category	N	Mean Score (X)	SD	Z Value	T Value
H ₀₁	Male	160	53.75	44	0.06	
	Female	225	47.50	47		
H ₀₂	Male Urban	62	58.56	23	0.10	
	Male Rural	98	50.70	43		
H ₀₃	Female Urban	88	50.72	43	0.07	1.96
	Female Rural	137	45.43	43		
H ₀₄	Male Urban	62	58.56	23	0.09	
	Female Urban	88	50.72	43		
H ₀₅	Male Rural	98	50.70	43	0.07	
	Female Rural	137	45.43	43		
H ₀₆	Male Urban	62	58.56	23	0.16	
	Female Rural	137	45.43	43		

Table value indicates that difference is insignificant therefore Nullhypothesis Ho1, Ho2, Ho3, Ho4, Ho5 and Ho6 are accepted that no significant difference is found in the opinions of respondents regarding the role of political socializing parties in the masses of Pakistan.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Keeping in view the above results it can be concluded that the political parties are not socializing the voters regarding the political system of Pakistan effectively. They failed to educate the masses politically and socially. The parties of Pakistan just presenting those issues in front of the people which are just concerned to their favor and they just try to criticize the ruling party instead of pointing out the real issues of the country. This study recommends that

- Political parties should engage young people in political process also through political activities as well as through community socialization.
- Parties should socialize the citizens by aggregating and articulating the interest of mass.
- Political parties should take into consideration the rules of elections as well as political and economic realities in which campaign must functions.
- Political Parties should be sharing the worthy and credible political information with the general mass to enhance political knowledge.
- There should be recruitment and training of political leaders.
- Political Parties of Pakistan must provide the opportunity to others to represent the parties outside of their family members.
- Parties should conduct political seminar to involve the common man in the activities of political system.
- Political parties should provide a political platform for discussing political issues and political awareness among the common man.
- Pakistan Muslim League should present a clear ideology and party manifesto in front of the common man.
- Pakistan Muslim League should retain their representation at the National and Local level.
- Pakistan Muslim League should conduct public meetings for the political awareness of the general mass.
- Pakistan Muslim League should educate the masses and build consensus on national issues.
- Pakistan Muslim League should conduct intra-party elections for the provision of party representation to other members of the party.

References

- Abid, S. (2002). *Pakistan Ka Nia siasi Nazam Aur Maqami Hakoomtoon ka kirdar* . Lahore: Jamhoori publications.
- Afzal, M. R. (1991). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1958-1969*. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural.
- Ahmed, M. (1974). *Bureaucracy and Political Development in Pakistan* . Karachi: National Institue of Public Administration .
- Ahmed, N. (2004). *Political Parties in Pakistan; Along war Ahead*. Islamabad: Khursheed Printing company.
- Ali, C. M. (1967). *The emergence of Pakistan*. New York: Colmubia University Press.
- Aziz, K. K. (1976). *Party politics in Pakistan 1947-1956*.Islamabad: National Commision on Historical and Cultural Research.
- Beck, A. (1977). *The Role of agents in political socialization* . New York: The free press.
- Burki, S. J. (1968). *Pakistan Under Bhutto 1971-1977*. London: Longman.
- Charles H., K. (2003). *Pakistan at Millennium*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Choudhury. G.W. (1969). *Constitutional Development in Pakistan* . London: Longman.
- Das, H.H, & Choudhury, B.C.(1997).*An Introduction to Political Sociology*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi.
- Gassah, L.S. (1992). *Regional Political Parties in North East India* . Osmon public India.
- Johneston, M. (2005). *Political Parties in Theoretical and Democratic prespective*. Washington: Washinton Press.
- Kennedy, C. H. (2003). *Pakistan at Millennuim*. Karachi: Oxford UNiversity Press.
- Khan, H. (2005). *Constitutional History of Pakistan*. karachi: Oxford University.
- Langton, K. P. (1969). *political socialization* . New York : Oxford Univesity.
- Robert Le, V. (1963). *Political Socialization and Culture Change*. New York : Free Press.

Rosenstone, S. J. & Hansen, John Mark (2003). *Mobilization, Participation and Democracy in America*. New York: Longmen.

Safdar, M. (2000). *Pakistan: Political Roots and Development 1947-1999*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Sayeed, K. B. (1968). *Pakistan, The Formative Phase 1858-1947*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Sayeed, K. B. (1995). *The Political System of Pakistan*. New Delhi: Concept publisher.

Verma. S.P, (1975). *Modern Political Theory*. Delhi: Vikas.