Civil Society in Pakistan – History, Prospects and Challenges

Khalid Saifullah[1]

Abstract

Civil society is one of the least researched subjects in Pakistan. The country inherited a secular, indigenous, and welfare-oriented civil society from British India. Over the years, civil society has evolved in Pakistan. This study describes the history, prospects, and challenges of civil society in Pakistan from the pre-colonial era to the twenty-first century. The study follows the documentary research method and reviews the academic literature to present the findings. The study finds that civil society in pre-British India was traditional, indigenous, and localised. Panchayats, Jirgas, guilds, and groups of notables were dominant constituents of this civil society. Civil society during the colonial era was traditional, charitable, and less political in its nature and functions. However, the independence movement from British rule has somehow made it political and leaned towards human rights and freedom. During the twenty-first century, civil society passed through various phases. It played a crucial role in promoting women's and minority rights and raising voices for democracy. NGOisation of civil society resulted in its decreased ownership among local communities and reduced influence over the government and society in Pakistan.

Keywords: Civil Society, Civil Society in Pakistan, NGOs, Pakistan

---

[1] The Author is PhD Scholar at Bahria University Islamabad and a Head of Programs and Compliance at Brien Holden Foundation. Email: khalidsaifkhan1@gmail.com

Introduction

The idea of civil society is as old as the history of humanity. The review of academic literature reveals that civil society can be traced back to ancient civilizations such as the Indus Valley, Mesopotamian, Mayan, and many others (Mahajan, 1999; Qadeer, 1997). The descriptions of civil society were varied in these civilisations because of the cultural, historical, and geographical diversities; however, the key functions were identical (Seligman, 1998). The philosophers in ancient Greece and Rome were the first to coin the term 'civil society' in their writings (Jacob, 1991). In ancient times (4th and 5th centuries BCE), civil society was synonymous with the notions of society, state, community, and economy (Saifullah, 2023). Over the centuries, civil society emerged as a distinct idea and occupied a noticeable place in social and political studies. Civil society is now categorised as different from the state, society, community, family, political party, and traders' unions (Qadeer, 1997).

Civil society is generally considered a contested, fluid, and contextual concept around the globe. Different scholars have provided different, even opposing, definitions of civil society. Summarising the most prevalent debates in the existing literature on civil society, it can be defined as a public sphere within a society, separate from the state, market, community, and family, where citizens come together, discuss their social, economic, and political issues mainly connected to the state and, in some instances, with the market, community, and family, and advocate for peace, equality, democracy, morality, secularity, and human rights (Schmitter, 1993; Muukkonen, 2007; Upadhyay, 2006 & Mahajan, 1999). The relationship of civil society with the state, market, community, and political society is also a subject of continuing debate in the social and political sciences. Similar discussions persist over the scope, functions, nature, and constituents of civil society. Materially, civil society includes individuals, organisations, groups, associations, networks, and

movements that are autonomous from the state, self-supporting, non-kin, non-profit, open, and voluntary (Shils, 1991; Linz & Stephan, 1996 & Diamond, 1999).

The modern notion of civil society became popular when societies were transforming from monarchies to democracies during sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe, indicating its strong relationship with and importance towards democracy, human rights, and equality (Zaleski, 2012). Civil society is considered both a process towards democratic government and an outcome of democracy in any country. The strengthening of civil society is considered directly linked to strengthened democracy, accountable government, and dignified human life in any country (Cohen and Arato, 1994; Mahajan, 1999; Zaidi, 2002). For any state to work democratically, civil society needs to work freely under enabling laws to make the government and market accountable and promote democracy, peace, equality, and morality.

The origin of the concept and coining of the term 'civil society' in western literature pose some limitations to defining this in a non-Western context. When western scholars were outlining and characterising civil society in their contexts, non-western countries also possessed their vibrant and dynamic counterparts. Non-western scholars couldn't coin a term substitute for the Western notion of 'civil society.' They have to borrow the term from Western literature to describe their indigenous civil societies. Urdu literature also adopts this term directly from the English language. Borrowing the notion of civil society from the West carries some limitations for non-Western scholars. Non-western scholars, when trying to describe their civil societies, appear to be Western phenomena (Hassan and Sabir, 2016). This demands extensive research to de-westernise the concept of civil society and characterise it in non-western contexts.

This study is both descriptive and qualitative. It follows the documentary research method and reviews the existing literature consisting of documents such as books and research articles (Ahmed, 2010). Documentary research method includes the study and review of the documents "that were not prepared specifically in response to some requests from the investigator" (Ahmed, 2010). The documentary research method is an emergent research method in the social sciences and is being followed by researchers around the world (Mogalakwe, 2006). The study defines the concept of civil society and describes the history of civil society in Pakistan. It shares how civil society in Pakistan has evolved over the years, from the colonial era until the twenty-first century.

Civil Society during Pre-colonial Era

The archaeological evidence of the Indus Valley Civilization in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa indicates that people were living a peaceful communal life even during the Bronze Age. Journalist Anwer Pirzado (2013), in his book 'Indus and its Delta,' shared Mohenjo-Daro's mythology. It explains that in Mohenjo-Daro, which was a city of 100,000 people at its peak during its history, every resident provided a brick and a gold coin to every new settler to construct his home and start a business. That society was very welcoming and peaceful for the foreigners. Mongols, Arabs, Greeks, Aryans, and many other tribes of Persia and Central Asia who came as migrants, traders, and invaders mingled with the locals and settled in this prosperous valley. Society was agrarian overall, but residents of the city did their businesses mostly related to agriculture. Because of the traditional tools and techniques, agriculture at that time was not possible without the establishment of communal irrigation, cultivation, and harvesting systems. These common practices in ancient society in Pakistan provide the basis of civil society. Civil society was aiming at community services and providing volunteer services to other humans. Iqbal, Khan, and Javed

(2004) highlight the role of religions, including Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, and Sikhism, as the basis for social work and charity. They also indicated some other socio-cultural practices that promoted the concept of traditional and welfare-oriented civil society in the Subcontinent. These include community living and the joint family system.

Historian Sibte Hasan (2012) writes in his Urdu book 'Pakistan main tahzeeb ka irtiqa' (Evolution of History in Pakistan) that archaeologists could not find any weapons like a sword and other war arms from the archaeological sites of the Indus Valley Civilisation, indicating the peacefulness of the people. Civil society in Pakistan can also be traced back to the guilds that run the cities of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro. Both historical cities were exemplary democracies instead of kingdoms or absolutist states like those in the West at the time.

Islam has also introduced the concepts of human rights in Haqooq ul Ibad, which strengthened the benevolent side of traditional civil society in the country. Overall, civil society in pre-British India was traditional, indigenous, and localised. Panchayats, Jirgas, guilds, and groups of notables were dominant constituents of this civil society. Sometimes, these groups served as a mediating institute between the individuals and the king.

Civil Society during the Colonial Era:

Bhattachary (2016) wrote that Britain introduced government laws and institutions to administer charity, educational and healthcare organisations, and philanthropists. Out of the six different laws available now in Pakistan related to the registration of civil society organisations, four, including the Societies Registration Act, 1860, the Trust Act, 1882, the Charitable Endowment Act 1890, and the Cooperative Act, 1925, were introduced during colonial rule. Bano (2013) shared that the major intentions behind this legislation were to control and monitor the activities of traditional civil society organisations

that were becoming politically active, especially during the 1857 revolt against Britain.

During colonial rule, civil society organisations were secular and worked for all segments of society regardless of any discrimination based on faith, caste, creed, and colour. The British, through their legislation, reduced the autonomy of these traditional institutions. The activities and decisions of these traditional organisations were made subordinate to the government. The emergence of urban areas contributed to the rise of modern civil society, which was more institutional and formalised.

Most of the population in the sub-continent was rural and engaged in agriculture. Farming at that time was based on traditional techniques and manual practices. This forced farmers to help each other and unite. This further provided the basis of traditional-rural civil society in the subcontinent. Farmers started organising themselves as cooperatives in 1904 to promote self-help initiatives. Similarly, landless peasants in Sindh were actively mobilised for their collective interests during the 1930s and 1940s and formed the Sindh Hari Committee. These initiatives of civil society were mobilised by the leftists and nationalists' leadership of the landless farmers in Sindh (Iqbal, Khan, and Javed, 2004).

During the independence struggle from the British Raj, these civil society organisations contributed well to mobilising the masses and raising awareness related to the freedom movement. Thus, the basis for modern civil society was laid down during this process: a civil society that was convinced of the importance and establishment of a democratic government to fulfill human rights, provide freedom, and promote democratic values (Qadeer, 1997). While sharing the challenges faced by traditional civil society, Alavi (1989) pointed out that the British Government promoted its laws and language while traditional civil society had developed its comfort with the traditional systems and

languages. English replaced the Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit languages of the pre-colonial era, making traditional education irrelevant and hence losing its importance. Washbrook (1999) considered the British's decision to hold separate elections in the subcontinent to have contributed to dividing the civil society in the United India across ethnic and religious lines.

Civil society during the colonial era was traditional, charitable, and less political in its nature and functions. It remained mostly engaged in charitable activities. However, the independence movement from British rule has somehow made it political and leaned towards human rights and freedom.

Civil Society during Post 1947 Era

Bhattachary (2016) traced the civil society in Pakistan as traditional and consisted of kinship unions, panchayats, tribal assemblages, and other associations based on religion and land ownership. She wrote that the charitable actions of civil society in Pakistan were further institutionalised by the Islamic teachings of Zakat, Khairat, and Sadqa (concepts of voluntary giving in Islam).

Qadeer (2007) shared that Pakistan was born with the inherited ambiguous concepts of human rights, democracy, and civil liberties. Pakistan was meant to be a different thing for different communities belonging to diverse areas, languages, religions, and social classes. This foundational unclarity further aggravated the situation in society, especially in civil society. Bhattachary (2016) shared that soon after independence, traditional civil society in Pakistan played a significant role in taking care of the migrants from India to settle them in newly established Pakistan. However, since its inception, state policies and its propensity for being central and authoritarian have had a significant impact on the evolution of civil society in Pakistan. This has undermined the capacity and scope of civil society in the country. Focus on security has dominated the political debates and actions, and civil society lagged during this course. Shah

(2004) pointed out that the ruling elite, soon after the establishment of Pakistan, started depoliticising society. Discussions like human rights, the state's accountability, freedom of expression, provincial autonomy, and citizen empowerment were suppressed in the name of national security. The state chose security over development, and that has dented the evolution process of civil society right from its beginning in the new state.

Alavi (1989) indicated another important point related to partition. While comparing with Europe, he considered the whole process of nation-building to be opposite to how nations emerged in Europe. Nations were forming their states in Europe, while in colonial societies, problem states were transforming into nations. This process ultimately weakened the emergence of modern civil society and the health of traditional civil society. Alavi (1989) further added that soon after the partition, the civil society in newly born Pakistan, especially in urban areas, faced a leadership crisis due to the migration of Hindu communities to India. Hindu communities were more aware of the systems, policies, rules, and official languages of the colonial state. After they left, it created a "social vacuum," especially in the area of trade unions, that was later somehow filled by Urdu-speaking communities of India who were new to this area and communities. Alavi shared that the founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, during his 11 August 1947 speech, laid the foundations of secular citizenship in Pakistan, which was later compromised due to several factors, including security risks from India and Afghanistan.

Pakistan Red Cross Society might be the first organisation registered through the order of the Government in newly established Pakistan (PRCS, 2024). It was founded in 1947 and became a member of the International League of Red Cross Societies in 1948. Begum Rana Liaqat Ali Khan, the wife of the first prime minister of Pakistan, was believed to be the first

leader to establish modern civil society in Pakistan. She not only demonstrated herself as a women's leader but also established various organisations to promote women's leadership, facilitate refugees' resettlements, and promote economic empowerment. In 1948, she established the Women Volunteer Service (WVS), the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA), the Pakistan Cottage Industry Association, and the Rana Liaqat Craftsman Colony. Conflicts among the traditional and liberal segments of civil society in Pakistan started appearing after these initiatives by Begum Khan. She and her other colleagues were labelled as westernised and destroyers of Islamic moral values (Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987). Although these organisations were registered under the old laws introduced by Britain, however, soon after the independence, the new governments in Pakistan seemed to accept the emergence of modern civil society.

During the second half of the twentieth century, democracy remained suspended most of the time in Pakistan after its independence. There were a few intervals when democracy started functioning, although more in a controlled form through legal and administrative measures. This weak democracy has played a two-sided role in the context of civil society. During military and authoritarian regimes, civil society started campaigns and movements to restore democracy and protect human rights. These military rules simultaneously suppressed civil society and provided an opportunity to flourish, for example, the anti-Ayub Khan protest by civil society for his controversial victory in the 1965 presidential elections (Bhattachary, 2016). Shah (2004) shared various examples of Ayub's era to squeeze the civic and political spaces. These include prohibiting politicians from taking part in political activities, banning some political parties and civic organisations, subordinating the judiciary, and curbing the freedom of progressive print media. The government introduced the 1960 Press and Publication Ordinance to enhance its control over newspapers and publications in the name of

national security. Academia was pressurised not to conduct any such research that criticised the government. APWA, established by Rana Liaqat Ali Khan, was forced to promote the 'modernist' agenda of Ayub's government. Ayub's era witnessed the curtailment of spaces not only for the modern component of civil society but also for traditional wings. Under his rule, the government created the West Pakistan Department of Auqaf mainly to manage waqf (endowed) properties to control and monitor the activities of the traditional civil society. The left-wing organisations faced flagrant treatment. Traders and peasants were prohibited from developing and operating their organisations to work for the rights of their communities.

While researching the history of civil society in Pakistan, many writers typically ignore another crucial aspect, which Qadeer (2007) brings to light. It is the Indus Water Treaty (IWT), signed between India and Pakistan on September 19, 1960, with the facilitation of the World Bank. He notes significant changes in the landscape of traditional civil society in Pakistan. The canal irrigation system weakened the centuries-old traditional communal irrigation systems and indigenous knowledge related to agriculture. Now farmers had to depend less on each other and more on public sector departments. IWT, along with the green revolution, changed rural life and livelihoods. The socioeconomic status of thousands of rural communities, although inequitably and geographically uneven, had improved. This has also changed the dimensions of rural-traditional civil society by weakening the centuries-old communal irrigation system which reduced their internal dependencies and limited the opportunities to interact with each other.

During Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's period of government, civil society initially thrived through the activation and formation of labour unions, student unions, women's organisations, and professional groups. Bhutto was initially considered a leader by the civil society of that time (Islam and Farmanullah 2015). Later,

due to Bhutto's inclination towards authoritarian rule, the state became coercive. By the mid-1970s, Bhutto had almost suppressed the freedom of expression, dealt Baluch tribal uprisings with power, and accommodated religious lobbies with undue compromises. All these actions together further weakened the civil society in Pakistan. Qadeer (1997) believes that civil society had huge potential that could not be exploited during this period. He further describes civil society during this era as being in a transition phase from rural-traditional to urban-modern, with further cleavages of ethnicity, religion, and class.

Zia's era was considered the most repressive for civil society in the history of Pakistan. It has simultaneously forced civil society to stand up and raise voices, especially for the rights of women and monitories. The religious component of civil society has been strengthened across sectarian lines through foreign funding during this period, which has also played an important role in shaping the policies and practices of the government (Bhattachary, 2016). Qadeer (1997) shares the intensity of the situation: almost every institution in Pakistan during this era was divided into ethnic and sectarian cliques. The role of the mosque increased along with the social and political status of religious leaders. Although civil society raised voices against Zia's Islamisation, overall, this period remained tilted towards conservative groups, and secular associations remained fragmented and lost ground. The democratic struggle of women groups against Zia's Islamisation process and Hudood ordinance is considered exemplary in the history of civil society in Pakistan (Weiss, 2001).

Shah (2004) highlights the importance of Zia's era concerning the emergence of NGOs as part of modern civil society in Pakistan. Bano (2013) describes that it was the leftists who introduced and established NGOs for the first time in Pakistan. She further adds that the main causes of the inception of NGOs in Pakistan were repression by military rules, the bad impacts of

Afghan Jihad on Pakistani society and politics, the weakening of socialism in Russia, the popularisation of neoliberal agendas, and the inflow of international development aid. Indicating the tendency of military governments to control civil society in Pakistan, out of the six contemporary laws related to NGOs registration in Pakistan, four were introduced by the British Government and two by Ayub's and Zia's military governments. These laws include the Voluntary Social Welfare Agencies Ordinance of 1961 and the Companies Ordinance of 1984. Gondal (2012) shares that these six laws and their responsible departments have no harmony among themselves, and together they create confusion for newcomers especially those who are not law-knowing persons. Even at the government level, there is no agreed definition of an NGO. Over the years, NGOs have dominated the space within civil society. NGOs reshaped the civil society in Pakistan. Foreign funding forced NGOs to work as formal institutions like the government, with well-defined policies and procedures. NGOs also adapted the community development paradigm introduced by western donors with the relevant terminologies, frameworks, and jargon. NGOisation of civil society has alienated it from the local communities.

Military governments, in addition to these regulatory laws, developed a parallel system of local governments. Activities allocated to NGOs through relevant legislation were also assigned to local governments, forcing NGOs to compete with local governments in terms of scope and interventions. Aziz (1966) finds a lot of similarities between the functions of local governments and NGOs. Qadeer (1997) shares that during Zia's era, a division of modern-liberal versus traditional-ethnic segments of civil society was also very visible. Denominational organisations were visible as compared to other segments of civil society.

Civil society comparatively remained active during the elected governments of Benazir Bhutto (1988–90 and 1993–96)

and Nawaz Shareef (1990–93 and 1997–99). Some selected NGO leaders, particularly those delivering social services, were invited for consultations during several advisory committees and commissions. However, this does not indicate that civil society and the government had smooth relationships during this era; there were several measures taken by the state to impede NGOs' activities in particular. During Benazir's government, in 1996, a bill was submitted to parliament proposing obligatory registration, mandatory auditing, and compulsory disclosure of detailed information by NGOs. The bill also favoured the extension of the government's powers to clutch assets and control the interventions of NGOs. This bill was held in the Senate and was resubmitted in 1998 during Nawaz's government. Security agencies during Nawaz's government also started intervening in NGO administration and registration processes by scrutinising their projects and activities. Suspicion on account of international NGOs increased concerning national security and interests, especially during a discussion on nuclear disarmament and human rights (Shah, 2004).

During the 1990s, the government itself introduced a unique type of NGO, known as 'Rural Support Programmes,' organised, owned, and endowed by the government. The government facilitated RSPs by providing them with financial resources and establishing their links with international donors such as the World Bank. In addition to RSPs, the government also established health and education foundations during the same period. These foundations and RSPs never worked with the NGOs and their networks and kept their separate identities. In 1997, the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund (PPAF) was established to mobilise the financial resources for poverty alleviation, especially for RSPs and relevant government's programs. Over the period, these initiatives have turned into larger organisations working at larger scales. RSPs and foundations competed with the small NGOs in their efforts for resource

mobilisation through internal and external donors. Moreover, these have shifted the overall direction of NGOs towards service delivery instead of human rights. Qadeer (2007) found that RSPs could not achieve their core objective of promoting collective and self-help initiatives; however, they promoted local leadership among middle people in rural areas.

The role of civil society during Musharraf's era remained controversial, as some of the civil society leaders joined Musharraf's cabinet and welcomed the coup. Zaidi (2006) finds no difference between civil society and uncivil society during this era because instead of promoting democracy, civil society was welcoming the military regime. However, Qadeer (1997) determines that instead, Musharraf promoted the NGOs. Civil society during this era set a historical example for the restoration of the judiciary. The lawyers' movement against Musharraf's unconstitutional suspension of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan has emerged as a unique example of its kind in the world. The discontinuity of democracy has directly affected the progression of civil society in the country. To justify the martial law and suspension of the constitution, the 'doctrine of necessity' was repeatedly used by various military rulers, including Musharraf. The role of the judiciary overall has remained repressive to the strengthening of civil society.

Civil society during the twenty-first century passed through various phases. It played a crucial role in promoting education, women and minority rights, and raising voices for democracy. Various governments have introduced several measures to curb the space of civil society, including enacting new policies and procedures including INGO Policy 2015 by the Ministry of Interior and NGO Policy 2013 by the Economic Affairs Division, setting up parallel institutions, and influencing the agenda. During this period, NGOs started dominating the space within civil society. NGOisation of civil society brought mixed results. Due to the dominance of the western agenda and the role of foreign aid,

local communities expressed less ownership of the new form of civil society.

Civil Society in Pakistan: A Regional Overview

While comparing the strength and maturity of civil society in Pakistan with other countries in South Asia like India and Bangladesh, Pakistan's civil society has withered during the twentieth century mainly due to fragile democracy, poor governance, weak institutions, military-feudal-bureaucracy alliances, and a lack of will in government to strengthen the civil society (Naseem, 2006; Alavi 1990; Shah, 2004). Although this fact indicates the role and importance of the government in strengthening civil society in Pakistan. Zaidi (2006) ignores this fact and criticises civil society in the country for its weak position. He characterised civil society in Pakistan as implementing a foreign agenda, opportunistic in nature, and depoliticized. He further makes no distinction between civil and uncivil components of civil society, ignoring the history of different efforts and movements of civil society in Pakistan during various military regimes. Iqbal (2002) believes that it is the failure of Pakistani leaders who are responsible for empowering the civil society in the country and that they ignore its potential to promote peace and tolerance in the society. Pasha (1997) considers Pakistani civil society to be underdeveloped because of authoritarian governments, the Afghan War, agrarian culture, and colonialism.

Sims (1997) shares that the growth of NGOs as a component of civil society in the country is slow as compared to other South Asian countries. Zaidi (2011) finds that NGOs in Pakistan dominate civil society and that these are less effective in promoting democracy as compared to NGOs in neighbouring India. Qadeer (1997) adds that Pakistan, being a Muslim country, has a weak civil society as compared to other countries where Muslims are not in the majority because there is an overall

tendency in Muslim countries to suppress democracy and hence civil society.

Conclusion

Pakistan inherited a secular civil society from British India that was agrarian, rural, and inclined towards the welfare of their communities. This civil society played a crucial role in the independence movement and the settlement of refugees in Pakistan. Civil society started modernising itself after the establishment of Pakistan. Formal organisations were set up to promote the rights of women and minorities. Civil society passed through various phases along with democracy in Pakistan. During military dictatorships, civil society was suppressed, while it gained some momentum during democratic governments. NGOisation of civil society during the 1980s contributed to westernising its agenda and outlook. This alienated civil society from the local communities. Moreover, government policies remained disabling to civil society. The government is the main actor responsible for developing and strengthening civil society in any society; however, various regimes in Pakistan didn't play their due role in creating an enabling environment for civil society.

References

Ahmad, E. (1980). Post-Colonial Systems of Power. *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 350-363.

Ahmed. J. U. (2010). Documentary Research Method: New Dimensions. *Indus Journal of Management & Social Sciences*, 1-14.

Alavi, H. (1973). Elite Farmer Strategy and Regional Disparities in the Agricultural Development of Pakistan. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31-39.

Alavi, H. (1989). Nationhood and the Nationalities in Pakistan. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1527-1534.

Baqir, F. (2014). The Evolution of Volunteerism in Pakistan (SPO Discussion Paper) *Strengthening Participatory Organisation.*

Bhattacharya, S. (2016). Civil Society in Pakistan: functioning and challenges, *South -Asian Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies*.

Hasan, S. (2012). *Pakistan main tahzeeb ka irtiqa.* Pakistan Publishing House.

Hassan, T. & Sabir, M. (2016). Civil Society-Democracy Nexus in Pakistan. *Beaconhouse National University, Lahore and University of the Punjab, Lahore.*

Khan, A. J., Pasha, A. G., Jamal, H., & Parveen, S. (2002). Dimensions of the Non-profit Sector in Pakistan.

Mahajan, G. (1999). Civil Society and Its Avtars: What Happened to Freedom and Democracy?. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1188-1196,

Malik, I. H. (1997). *Ethnic Politics in Sindh,* Rasul Bakhsh Rais (Ed), State, Society and Democratic Change in Pakistan, Oxford University Press.

Malik, I. H. (1997). *State and Civil Society in Pakistan, Politics of Authority, Ideology and Ethnicity.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Malik, N. (2009). The Modern Face of Traditional Agrarian Rule: Local Government in Pakistan. Taylor & Francis.

Malik, N. (2009). The Modern Face of Traditional Agrarian Rule: Local Government in Pakistan, Development in Practice. *Taylor & Francis,* 997-1008.

Bano, M. (2013). *Breakdown in Pakistan, How Aid is Eroding Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press India.

Mirahmadi, H., Farooq, M. and Ziad, W. (2012). *Pakistan's Civil Society: Alternative Channels to Countering Violent Extremism,* World Organization for Resource Development and Education (WORDE).

Mogalakwe, M. (2006). The Use of Documentary Research Methods in Social Research Department of Sociology University of Botswana Gaborone. *Bostswana, African Sociological Review,* 221-230.

Pakistan Red Crescent Society (2024). https://prcs.org.pk/our-history/ accessed on 24 January 2024.

Pirzado, A. (2013). *Indus & its Delta.* Anwer Pirzado Academy.

Qadeer, M. (1997). The evolving structure of civil society and state in Pakistan. *The Pakistan Development Review.*

Qadeer, M. A. (2006). *Pakistan, Social and Cultural Transformation in a Muslim Nation*. Routledge.

Rahman, M. (2005). Dynamics of NGOs: A Pakistani Perspective. *Journal of Independent Studies and Research-Management, Social Sciences and Economics.*

S Akbar Zaidi (2011). *Military, civil society, and democratization in Pakistan.* Vanguard Books.

Saifullah, K. (2018). *Gramsci, Hegemony and Civil Society in Pakistan.* Iqbal International Institute for Research and Dialogue, International Islamic University, Islamabad.

Singh, V. (2012). An Analysis of Concept and Role of Civil Society in Contemporary India. *Global Journal of Human Social Science.*

Upadhyay, A. (2006). Civil Society and Democratic Space in Russia. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4651-4653.

Weiss, A. M. (1999). Women, civil society and politics in Pakistan. *Citizenship Studies*, 141-150.

Zaidi, S. A. (1999). Why Pakistan's Military Government Will Fail. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 3422-3424.

Zaidi, S. A. (2002). Politics of Opportunism. *Economic and Political Weekly,* 4539-4540.

Zaidi, S. A. (2006). Civil and Uncivil Society. *Economic and Political Weekly,* 3556-3557.

Zaidi, S. A. (2008). Social and Structural Transformations in Pakistan. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 10-11.