

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- AFP. (2012, Januari 14). *Imran Khan says he's not anti-West*. Retrieved from DAWN: <https://www.dawn.com/news/688042/imran-khan-says-hes-not-anti-west>
- Ali, I & Anwar, M. F. (2023). Pak-US Relations: An Overview in Historical Perspective (1947-2021). *Pakistan Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*.
- Al-Mujahid, S. (1981). Quaid-I-Azam Jinnah And World Muslim Unity: An Interpretation. *Pakistan Horizon*, 34(1), 16-28.
- Ayres, A. (2018, Juli 26). *A Glimpse of Pakistan's Foreign Policy Under Imran Khan?* Retrieved from Council on Foreign Relations: <https://www.cfr.org/blog/glimpse-pakistans-foreign-policy-under-imran-khan>
- Baloch, S. & Petersen, H. E. . (2022, November 26). *Imran Khan to resume protests – this time taking on Pakistan's military*. Retrieved from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/25/imran-khan-resume-protests-taking-on-pakistan-military>
- Barr, R. (2009). Populists, Outsiders and Anti-establishment Politics. *Party Politics* 15 (1), 29-48.
- Batool, F. (2020). Socioeconomic Factors behind Political Participation in Liberal versus Illiberal Democracy: A Case Study of Pakistan. *Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Karachi*.
- Batool, F. (2023). Populism in Pakistan: The Exclusionary-Inclusionary Devide in the Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan. *Journal of South Asian Studies*.
- Batool, F., Yilmaz, I. & Shakil, K. (2023). Contest between leaders of the Ummah: Comparing civilizational populisms of PTI and TLP in Pakistan. *Populism & Politics (P&P)*. *European Center for Populism Studies (ECPS)*.
- BBC. (2021, Oktober 5). *Pandora Papers: A simple guide to the Pandora Papers leak*. Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-58780561>
- Betz, H. G. (1994). *Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Britannica, T. E. (2024, Mei 23). *Imran Khan, prime minister of Pakistan*. Retrieved from Encyclopedia Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Imran-Khan>
- Butt, A., Munawar, S. & Masood, J. (2004). Populism and Pakistani Politics in the Post Musharaf Era 2008-2023. *Journal of Policy Research*, 9(1), , 598-605.

- Chaudhry, S. (2022, April 8). *A PM no more: How the historic move to eject Imran Khan through a no-trust vote unfolded*. Retrieved from Dawn: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1744819>
- Cohen, S. P. (2004). *With Allies Like This: Pakistan and the War on Terrorism*. Hoover Press: *Terrorism*, 103-116.
- Corruption Perceptions Index*. (2023). Retrieved from Transparency International: <https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2023>
- Dawn. (2021, Agustus 18). *Tracking Naya Pakistan - Three years into power, here's where PTI stands on some of its promises*. Retrieved from DAWN: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1641014/tracking-naya-pakistan-three-years-into-power-heres-where-pti-stands-on-some-of-its-promises>
- Dawn. (2022, April 25). *Naya Pakistan report card: The hits and misses of PTI's clipped term in power*. Retrieved from Dawn: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1686743/naya-pakistan-report-card-the-hits-and-misses-of-ptis-clipped-term-in-power>
- Election Commission of Pakistan. (2013). *General Election 2013 Report*. Retrieved from Election Commission of Pakistan: <https://ecp.gov.pk/general-elections-2013>
- Election Commission of Pakistan. (2018). *General Election 2018-Report*. Retrieved from Election Commission of Pakistan: <https://ecp.gov.pk/general-elections-2018-code-of-conduct>
- Farwa, U. (2023, Juni 19). *The Politics Of Populism In South Asia: How Khan Emerged As A Populist Leader – OpEd*. Retrieved from Eurasia Review: <https://www.eurasiareview.com/19062023-the-politics-of-populism-in-south-asia-how-khan-emerged-as-a-populist-leader-oped/>
- Ganguly, S. & Fair, C. (2013). The Structural Origins of Authoritarianism in Pakistan. *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 51(1), 122-142.
- Gibbs, M. & Politizer, M. (2022, Oktober 3). *Prime Minister Imran Khan promised 'new Pakistan' but members of his inner circle secretly moved millions offshore*. Retrieved from International Consortium of Investigative Journalist: <https://www.icij.org/investigations/pandora-papers/pakistan-imran-khan-prime-minister-allies-offshore/>

- Hawkins KA and Rovira Kaltwasser C. (2017). What the (Ideational) Study of Populism Can Teach Us, and What It Can't. *Swiss Political Science Review* 23 (4), 526–542.
- Imran, M., Murtiza, G., & Akbar, M. . (2023). Role of NAB in Eliminating Corruption from Pakistan: A Critical . *Annals of Human and Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 157-169.
- Janjua, H. (2022, Januari 26). *Pakistan: Is PM Khan more corrupt than previous rulers?* Retrieved from DW: <https://www.dw.com/en/pakistan-is-pm-khans-government-more-corrupt-than-previous-administrations/a-60559804>
- Javaid, U. (2010). Corruption and its deep impact on good governance in Pakistan. *Pakistan Economic and Social Review*, 123-134.
- Javed, U. (2018). Continuity and Change in Naya Pakistan. *Catalyst* Vol. 2.
- Jinnah, A. (1947). *Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly Pakistan*.
- Jones, O. B. & Shaikh, F. (2006). *Pakistan's foreign policy under Musharraf: between rock and a hard place*. University of Cambridge dan Chatham House.
- Kaya, A. (2018). Right-wing populism and Islamophobia in Europe and their impact on Turkey–EU relations. *Turkish Studies*, 1-28.
- Kennedy, C. (1987). The Implementation of The Hudood Ordinance in Pakistan`. *Islamic Studies*.
- Kermani, S. (2017, Agustus 18). *How Jinnah's ideology shapes Pakistan's identity*. Retrieved from BBC News: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-40961603>
- Khan, A. (2018). Nature and Contours of Party Politics in Pakistan. *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*.
- Khan, I. (2019, Juli 23). One Year In: A Conversation with Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan. (N. Lindborg, Interviewer)
- Khan, M. (2020). Pakistan-US Relations: Rethinking the Dependency . *Strategic Studies*.
- Khan, M. H., Qazalbash, F. & Kaur, S. (2022). Islamophobia in the West: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Imran Khan's UNGA Speech. *Religions* 13: 284.
- Khan, S. (2021, Oktober 12). *Pakistan: Where did billions of rupees in COVID aid go?* Retrieved from DW: <https://www.dw.com/en/pakistan-where-did-billions-of-rupees-in-covid-aid-go/a-60084630>
- Maiz, R. (2011). The Political Mind and Its Other: Rethinking the Non-Place of Passions in Modern Political Theory.

- Masih, P. (2023, Mei 10). *How Imran Khan's populism has divided Pakistan and put it on a knife's edge*. Retrieved from The Conversation: <https://theconversation.com/how-imran-khans-populism-has-divided-pakistan-and-put-it-on-a-knifes-edge-205392>
- Mele'ndez, C. & Kaltwasser, C. R. (2017). Political identities: The missing link in the study of populism. *Party Politics* , 1-14.
- Mir, H. (2018, Agustus 7). *The Imran Khan I Know*. Retrieved from International The News: <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/351820-the-imran-khan-i-know>
- Mogul, R. & Saifi, S. (2023, Mei 11). *Protesters are turning on Pakistan's military after Imran Khan's arrest. Here's what you need to know*. Retrieved from CNN: <https://edition.cnn.com/2023/05/11/asia/imran-khan-pakistan-political-explainer-intl-hnk/index.html>
- Mudde, C. & Kaltwasser, C. (2013). Exclusionary vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America. *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 48, No. 2, 147-174.
- Mufti, M. (2015). Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf: A New Phenomenon or A Continuation of the Political Status Quo. *Network of Research in International Affairs*.
- Mulla, A. (2017). Mediatized Populisms| Broadcasting the Dharna: Mediating 'Contained' Populism in Contemporary Pakistan. *International Journal of Communication*, 4181-4196.
- Naeem, F. (2023, Juli 25). *Unveiling the Legacy: How Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaped Pakistan's Foreign Policy*. Retrieved from Paradigm Shift: <https://www.paradigmshift.com.pk/zulfikar-ali-bhutto-foreign-policy/>
- Pakistan Tahreek-e- Insaf. (2018). *The Road to Naya Pakistan*.
- Rastogi, P. (2021). The Articulation of Discourse in Populism: Understanding 21st Century Pakistan. *E-International Relations*, 1-9.
- Rueda, D. (2021). Is Populism a Political Strategy? A Critique of an Enduring Approach. *Political Studies* 69(2), 167-184.
- Shah, S. A. (2018). Ideological Orientation of Pakistan People's Party: Evolution, Illusion and Reality. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, Volume No. 55, Issue No. 2.
- Shahid, K. (2021, Oktober 9). *Pandora Papers Unravel Imran Khan's 'Anti-Corruption' Narrative*. Retrieved from The Diplomat:

<https://thedi diplomat.com/2021/10/pandora-papers-unravel-imran-khans-anti-corruption-narrative>

- Shahid, K. (2021, Oktober 9). *The Panama Papers took down Khan's predecessor. How will his government weather the latest revelations of offshore wealth?* Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thedi diplomat.com/2021/10/pandora-papers-unravel-imran-khans-anti-corruption-narrative>
- Shaikh, I & Khan, R. (2023). The Menace of Corruption in Pakistan: Causes, Impact, And Solution. *Russian Law Journal, Vol XI, Issue 2*.
- Sheikh, S. (2018). The Promise of 'Naya' Pakistan and the Rise of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. *Indian Journal of Politics and International Relations, Vol. 11 No. 1 & 2 January-December*.
- Siddiqi, S. (2018, Oktober 19). *Imran Khan Takes on Corruption in Pakistan*. Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thedi diplomat.com/2018/10/imran-khan-takes-on-corruption-in-pakistan/>
- Stets J., J. Turner. (2006). *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions*. New York: Springer.
- The Royal Watcher. (2022, Agustus 14). *Pakistan Independence Ceremony, 1947*. Retrieved from The Royal Watcher: <https://royalwatcherblog.com/2022/08/14/pakistan-independence-ceremony-1947/>
- Ulain, H. & Hussain, F. (2020). Fighting governmental corruption in Pakistan: An evaluation of anti-corruption strategies. *Hrvatska i komparativna javna uprava: časopis za teoriju i praksu javne uprave, 20(3)*, 439-468.
- Wallerstein, I. (20014). *World Systems Analysis; An Introduction*. Durham dan London: Duke University Press.
- Weyland, K. (2001). Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics. *Comparative Politics 34 (1)*, 1-22.
- Wu, X. & Ali, S. (2020). The Novel Changes in Pakistan's Party Politics: Analysis. *Chinese Political Science Review* , 513-533.
- Yilmaz, I, & Morieson, N. (2022). Civilizational Populism: Definition, Literature, Theory, and Practice. *Religions*.
- Yilmaz, I. & Saleem, R. M. . (2021). A Quest for Identity: The Case of Religious Populism in Pakistan. *Populism & Politics Article 4*.

- Yilmaz, I. & Saleem, R. M. (2021). A Quest for Identity: The Case of Religious Populism in Pakistan. *Populism and Politics, Article 4*.
- Zaheer, Sana, dan Chawla. (2019). Reimagining the Populism and Leadership of Miss Fatima Jinnah. *Global Political Review*, 41-48.
- Zakaria, R. (2001). *The Man Who Devided India, An Insight into Jinnah's Leadership and Its Aftermath*. Mumbai: Popular Prakashan.
- Zalta, E. N & Nodelman, U. (2002, Mei 2). *Aristotle's Rhetoric*. Retrieved from Stanfor Encyclopedia of Philosophy:
<https://leibniz.stanford.edu/friends/preview/aristotle-rhetoric/>