

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Afzal, Madiha. "Pakistan's Democratic Opportunity." *The Cairo Review of Global Affairs* 23 (2016): 83-84.
- Agrawal, Ravi & Kathryn Salam. "Why Pakistanis Are Marching Against Imran Khan." *Foreign Policy*, November 5, 2019. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/11/05/why-pakistanis-are-marching-against-imran-khan/>
- Ahmad, Ehtisham and Azizali Mohammed. "Pakistan, the United States and the IMF: Great game or a curious case of Dutch Disease without the oil?." *Asia Research Centre Working Paper*, no. 57 (2012): 5, London School of Economics.
- Ahmad, Sara and Fatima Sajjad. "Musharraf's Policy of "Enlightened Moderation": An Analysis of Conflicting Perspectives in Pakistan." *FWU Journal of Social Sciences* 13, no. 1 (2019): 54-66.
- Ahmed, Imran. "Asia Bibi v. The State: the politics and jurisprudence of Pakistan's blasphemy laws." *Third World Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (2020): 274-291.
- Ahmed, Masood. "Why Does Pakistan Have Repeated Macroeconomic Crises?." *Center for Global Development*, July 2018. <https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/why-does-pakistan-have-repeated-macroeconomic-crises.pdf>
- Ahmed, Zahid Shahab. "Islam and the Politics of Secularism in Pakistan." *Religions* 14, no. 3 (2023): 416-426.
- Ahmed, Zahid Shahab. "Political Islam, the Jamaat-e-Islami, and Pakistan's Role in the Afghan-Soviet War, 1979–1988." In *Religion and the Cold War: A Global Perspective*, edited by Philip E. Muehlenbeck, 275-296. Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012.
- Akhtar, Aasim Sajjad. "Islam as Ideology of Tradition and Change: The "New Jihad" in Swat, Northern Pakistan." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and The Middle East* 30, no. 3 (2010): 595-609.
- Akhtar, Aasim Sajjad. "The unfinished project of decolonisation: a revisionist reading of Pakistan at 75." *The Round Table*, 111, no. 6 (2022): 699-708.
- Ali, Murad, Glenn Banks, and Nigel Parsons. "Generous yet unpopular: Developmental versus political role of post-9/11 US Aid in Pakistan." *Regional Studies* 34, no. 4 (2016): 42-58.

“Imran Khan’s speech in full.” July 26, 2018.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/7/26/imran-khans-speech-in-full>

Aljazeera. “Pakistan court rules blocking vote to oust PM Imran Khan illegal.” April 7, 2022.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/4/7/pakistan-court-rules-blocking-vote-to-oust-khan-unconstitutional>

Aljazeera. “Pakistan PM Imran Khan gone after losing no-confidence vote.” April 9, 2022.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/4/9/pakistan-prime-minister-imran-khan-no-confidence-vote>

Aljazeera. “Pakistan PM: Relations with India would be ‘betrayal’ to Kashmir.” May 30, 2021.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/30/pakistan-pm-khan-rules-out-normalisation-with-india>

Aljazeera. “Pakistan: Supreme Court hears Panama leaks case.” November 1, 2016.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/11/1/pakistan-supreme-court-hears-panama-leaks-case>

Almeida, Cyril. “What led to leader Imran Khan’s downfall in Pakistan?.” *Aljazeera*, April 9, 2022. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/4/9/analysis-end-of-imran-khans-term>

Amin, Husnul, Maryam Siddiq, and Lubna Batool. “Nation-Building in the Developing States: A Case Study of Pakistan.” *Global Social Sciences Review* 3, no. 4 (2018): 277-292.

Atlantic Council. “Experts react: A renewed Pakistan-IMF agreement.” November 23, 2021.

<https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/southasiasource/experts-react-a-renewed-pakistan-imf-agreement/>

Baber, Zaheer. “Racism without Races: Reflections on Racialization and Racial Projects.” *Sociology Compass* 4, no. 4 (2010): 241–248.

Bajpai, Kanti. “Managing Ambivalence: Pakistan's Relations with the United States and China since 2001.” In *Pakistan in Regional and Global Politics*, edited by Rajshree Jetly, 63-97. New Delhi: Routledge India, 2012.

Bettiza, Gregorio, Derek Bolton, and David Lewis. “Civilizationism and the Ideological Contestation of the Liberal International Order.” *International Studies Review* 25, no. 2 (2023): 3-4.

Business Recorder. “Full Transcript of Prime Minister Imran Khan's speech at the UNGA.” September 28, 2019.

<https://www.brecorder.com/news/524851/full-transcript-of-prime-minister-imran-khans-speech-at-the-unga>

Chawla, Muhammad Iqbal, and Ahmad Riaz-ul-Huda. "Islamization in Pakistan: An overview." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 52, no. 1 (2015): 265-281.

Cheema, Hasham. "How Pakistan's Panama Papers probe unfolded." *Dawn*, July 6, 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1316531>

Cheema, Qamar. "How did Imran Khan Replace Pakistani Islamists?." *Chanakya Forum*, March 27, 2022. <https://chanakyaforum.com/how-did-imran-khan-replace-pakistani-islamists/>

Corsi, Michael. "Pakistan 2018: General elections and the government of Imran Khan." *Asia Maior*, no. 29 (2018): 357-366.

Dawn. "Text of the Charter of Democracy." May 16, 2006. <https://www.dawn.com/news/192460/text-of-the-charter-of-democracy>

Dorsey, James M. "Imran Khan CPEC Diplomacy: Remodelling Trade Politics between Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia and China." *Aljazeera Center for Studies*, October 29, 2018. <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2018/10/imran-khan-cpec-diplomacy-remodelling-trade-politics-pakistan-iran-saudi-arabia-chin-181029102924737.html>

The Economist. "Pakistan's new prime minister turns to the IMF." October 11, 2018. <https://www.economist.com/asia/2018/10/11/pakistans-new-prime-minister-turns-to-the-imf>

Economic Times. "Pakistan reaches agreement with IMF, to get \$6 billion over 3 years." May 13, 2019. <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/world-news/pakistan-reaches-agreement-with-imf-to-get-6-billion-over-3-years/articleshow/69298422.cms?from=mdr>

Faiz, Asma. "We Are on the Same Page: The Curious Case of Imran Khan's Populism in Pakistan." In *Contemporary Populists in Power*, edited by Dieckhoff, Alain, Christophe Jaffrelot, and Elise Massicard, 55-72. Switzerland: Springer Nature, 2022.

Fox, Jonathan. *An Introduction to Religion and Politics: Theory and Practice (Second Edition)*. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Gong, Gerrit W. *The Standard of 'Civilization' in International Society*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

Hakim, Luqman-nul. *Islamism and the Quest for Hegemony in Indonesia*. Singapore: Springer Nature, 2023.

Hadiz, Vedi R. "A New Islamic Populism and the Contradictions of Development." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 44, no. 1 (2013): 125–143.

Hadiz, Vedi R. "Islamic populism and the politics of neoliberal inequalities." In *Routledge Handbook of Global Populism*, edited by Carlos de la Torre, 176-177. Routledge: Routledge, 2017.

Hagan, Ross & Haroon Shuaib. "Pakistan Reconstructed." *US Agency for International Development* [Archived], February 2014. <https://2012-2017.usaid.gov/news-information/frontlines/energy-infrastructure/pakistan-reconstructed>

Hashim, Asad. "Memogate': Pakistan's evolving politics." *Aljazeera*, January 15, 2021. <https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.aljazeera.com/amp/features/2012/1/15/memogate-pakistans-evolving-politics>

Hassan, Riaz. "Globalisation's Challenge to the Islamic "Ummah," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 34, no. 2 (2006): 311-323.

Hay, Colin. "Narrating Crisis: The Discursive Construction of the Winter of Discontent." *Sociology* 30, no. 2 (1996): 253–277.

Hayat, Usman. "2017 in review: Dirty politics trumped development economics this year." *Dawn*, December 29, 2017. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1379546>

Hussain, Abid. "Imran Khan: A year facing Pakistan's harsh realities." *British Broadcasting Channel*, August 25, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-49450145>

Hussain, Abid. "Imran Khan's U-turn: No longer blaming US for his ouster as PM." *Aljazeera*, November 14, 2022, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/11/14/imran-khan-u-turn-no-longer-blames-us-for-removal-as-premier>

Idrees, Muhammad and Naushad Khan. "A Survey of the Role of Judiciary in Validating Military and Authoritarian Regimes in Pakistan." *Sociology and Criminology* 6, no. 1 (2018): 1-3.

Jamal, Umair. "Pakistan's TLP Emerges Stronger From Protests." *The Diplomat*, November 2, 2021. <https://thediplomat.com/2021/11/pakistans-tlp-emerges-stronger-from-protests/>

Javed, Umair. "The Struggle for Control of Pakistan's Fragile Democracy." *Current History* 117, no. 798 (2018): 123-128.

- Juergensmeyer, Mark. "The Worldwide Rise of Religious Nationalism." *Journal of International Affairs* 50, no. 1 (1996): 1-20.
- Jørgensen, Marianne and Louise Phillips. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: SAGE Publications, 2002.
- Khan, Imran. "Prime Minister Imran Khan Keynote Speech at 17th Extraordinary Session of the OIC | Urdu Subtitles." YouTube, uploaded December 19, 2021. Video, 2:12-10:19. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xpcQHU-eAo4>
- Khan, Imran. "Spirit of Riyasat-i-Madina: transforming Pakistan." *Express Tribune*, January 17, 2022. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2339025/spirit-of-riyasat-i-madina-transforming-pakistan>
- Kuszevska, Agnieszka. "Nation building and Kashmir." In *Kashmir in India and Pakistan Policies*, edited by Piotr Balcerowicz and Agnieszka Kuszevska, 87-90. London: Routledge, 2022.
- Laclau, Ernesto. "Democracy and the Question of Power." *Constellation: An International Journal of Critical & Democratic Theory* 8, no. 1 (2001): 5-6.
- Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics (Second Edition)*. London: Verso Books, 2001.
- Mahomed, Nadeem. "The Elusive Ummah: Between the Political, Sectarianism, and Authority." *ReOrient* 7, no. 1 (2021): 27-45.
- Majid, Iymon. "Confronting the Indian state: Islamism, secularism, and the Kashmiri Muslim question." *International Journal of Asian Studies* 19, no. 1 (2022): 67-80.
- Malik, Iftikhar H. "Pakistan at 75: grappling with praetorianism and populism." *The Round Table*, 111, no. 6 (2022): 675.
- Malik, Muhammad Shoaib, Waseem Ishaque, and Syed Ali Shah. "Transformations in the Middle East: Implications for Pakistan." *Global Political Review (GPR)* III, no. I (2018): 85-87.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. "Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective on Culture and Terrorism." *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (2002): 766-775.
- Meer, Shah. "Imran Khan is crushing the poor": anger rises as inflation grips Pakistan." *The Guardian*, November 9, 2021. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/nov/09/imran-khan-is-crushing-the-poor-anger-rises-as-inflation-grips-pakistan>
- Milam, William B. & Matthew J. Nelson, "Pakistan's Populist Foreign Policy." *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* 55, no.1 (2013): 121-134.

Miller, Manjari Chatterjee. "Pakistan's Support for the Taliban: What to Know." *Council of Foreign Relations*, August 25, 2021.

<https://www.cfr.org/article/pakistans-support-taliban-what-know>

Momami, Bessas. "The IMF, the U.S. War on Terrorism, and Pakistan." *Asian Affairs* 31, no. 1 (2004): 41-48.

Murphy, Eamon & Ahmad Rashid Malik. "Pakistan Jihad: The Making of Religious Terrorism." *IPRI Journal* IX, no. 2 (2009): 17-31.

Narwaya, St Tri Guntur. "Discourse Analysis in the Perspective of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe." *Journal Communication Spectrum: Capturing New Perspectives in Communication* 11, no. 1 (2021): 1-11.

Nadim, Hussain. *Aid, Politics and the War of Narratives in the US-Pakistan Relations: A Case Study of Kerry Lugar Berman Act*. New York: Routledge, 2022.

Nazir, Pervaiz. "War on Terror in Pakistan and Afghanistan: discursive and political contestations." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 3, no. 1 (2010): 63-81.

Neo, Ric. "The Jihad post-Arab Spring: Contextualising Islamic radicalism in Egypt and Tunisia." *African Security Review* 28, no. 2 (2019): 100.

Nigam, Aditya. *The Insurrection of Little Selves: The Crisis of Secular Nationalism in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. "Prime Minister Of Pakistan Imran Khan's Speech At 14th OIC Summit." Accessed June 17, 2024, <https://insaf.pk/news/prime-minister-pakistan-imran-khans-speech-14th-oic-summit>

Pandey, Deepak. "Congress-Muslim League Relations 1937-39." *Modern Asian Studies* 12, no. 1 (1978): 629-654.

Rana, Muhammad Amir. "Taliban version of Islam." *Dawn*, January 15, 2023. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1731686>

Rangachari, T. C. A. "Pakistan and the Dilemma of Democracy." In *Pakistan: From the Rhetoric of Democracy to the Rise of Militancy*, edited by Ravi Kalia, 112-129. New Delhi: Routledge, 2011.

Said, Edward. *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*. New York: Vintage Books, 1997.

Sayyid, Salman. "Empire, Islam, and the Postcolonial." In *The Oxford Handbook of Postcolonial Studies*, edited by Graham Huggen, 127-141. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.



- Sayyid, Salman. "Islam(ism), Eurocentrism and the World Order." *Defence Studies* 7, no. 3 (2007): 300-316.
- Sayyid, Salman. *Recalling the Caliphate: Decolonisation and World Order*. London: Hurst & Company, 2014.
- Schiff, Rebecca L. "From military professionalism to coup d'etat: Concordance theory in India and Pakistan," in *Advances in Military Sociology: Essays in Honor of Charles C. Moskos (Contributions to Conflict Management, Peace Economics and Development, Vol. 12 Part 2)*, edited by Giuseppe Caforio, 363-402. Leeds: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2009.
- Shafqat, Saeed. "Pakistan military: sustaining hegemony and constructing democracy?." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 42, no. 2 (2019): 20-51.
- Shafqat, Sahar. "Pakistan in 2021: End of the Innings for Imran Khan?." *Asia Survey* 62, no. 1 (2021): 173-184.
- Shah, Aqil. *The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Shah, Syed Subtain Hussain. "Comparative study of post-9/11 and post-Arab spring rise of violent religious extremism in Pakistan." *Islamic World in International Relations* (2019): 27-39.
- Shakil, Kainat and Ihsan Yilmaz. "Religion and Populism in the Global South: Islamist Civilisationism of Pakistan's Imran Khan." *Religions* 12, no. 9 (2021): 777-798.
- Siddiqi, Sabena. "Imran Khan Takes on Corruption in Pakistan." *The Diplomat*, October 19, 2018. <https://thediplomat.com/2018/10/imran-khan-takes-on-corruption-in-pakistan/>
- Tanvir, Aameena. "What is the Future of Pakistan-U.S. Relations after Imran Khan's Ouster?." *South Asian Voices*, May 19, 2022. <https://southasianvoices.org/what-is-the-future-of-pakistan-u-s-relations-after-imran-khan-ouster/>
- The Tricontinental. "How the International Monetary Fund Is Squeezing Pakistan." October 17, 2023. <https://thetricontinental.org/dossier-69-how-the-international-monetary-fund-is-squeezing-pakistan/>
- ud Din, Muhammad Shahab, Waqar Ilahi, and Ehtaisham Ahmed Khan. "Rhetoric of a Populist in Power: An Exploration of the Construction of Identities in Imran Khan's Political Imaginary (2018-2022)." *International Journal of Human and Society* 4, no. 1 (2024): 307-317.

US Senator Foreign Relations Committee. "Senate Unanimously Passes Kerry-Lugar Pakistan Aid Package." September 4, 2009. <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/press/rep/release/senate-unanimously-passes-kerry-lugar-pakistan-aid-package>

Verkaaik, Oskar. "Ethnicizing Islam: 'Sindhi Sufis', 'Muhajir Modernists' and 'Tribal Islamists' in Pakistan." In *New Perspectives on Pakistan: Visions for the Future*, edited by Saeed Shafqat, 84-100. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2007.

Weinbaum, Marvin G. and Jonathan B. Harder. "Pakistan's Afghan policies and their consequences." *Contemporary South Asia* 16, no. 1 (2008): 25-38.

White, Joshua T. "Beyond moderation: dynamics of political Islam in Pakistan." in *Pakistan in National and Regional Change: State and Society in Flux*, edited by Fair, C. Christine and Shaun Gregory, 7-22. New York: Routledge, 2016.

Yasmeen, Samina and Fozia Umar. "Religious Extremism and Sectarianism in Pakistan: An Appraisal." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 58, no. 2 (2021): 59-64.

Yilmaz, Ihsan and Nicholas Morieson. *Religions and the Global Rise of Civilizational Populism*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023.

Yilmaz, Ihsan and Kainat Shakil. "The Silence of the Khans: The pragmatism of Islamist populist Imran Khan and his mentor Erdogan in persecuting Muslim minorities." *ECPR*, June 26, 2021. <https://www.populismstudies.org/the-silence-of-the-khans-the-pragmatism-of-islamist-populist-imran-khan-and-his-mentor-erdogan-in-persecuting-muslim-minorities/>

Yousaf, Farooq. "Pakistan in a post-Panama Papers world." *East Asia Forum*, October 27, 2017. <https://eastasiaforum.org/2017/10/27/pakistan-in-a-post-panama-papers-world/>

Zahid, Nida, Aziz Ur Rehman, and Usman Khan. "Civil Military Relationship in Pakistan During the Elected Regime of PML-N (2013-2018)." *Pakistan Journal of International Affairs* 6, no. 4 (2023): 304-306.