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Police Reforms in Pakistan: Legal Framework, Implementation Failures, and the Way Forward

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ABSTRACT

Police reforming has been among the most thorny and unsolved dilemmas within the governance and rule of law system in Pakistan. Even after years of legal intervention, policy efforts, and judicial guidelines, the institution of police remains one of political interference, ineffective accountability, and inefficient services provision as well as mistrust by the populace. This article is a critical review of the legal framework of police reform in Pakistan, identifies structural and institutional factors that have led to the same implementation failure, and offers possible avenues to implementing reforms to be sustained. It claims that despite various reform-based legal tools that have been taken to the country such as police orders and provincial laws, the structures have not done much to bring about any noticeable change because of the deep political motivations of the government, opposition at the administrative levels, and lack of organizational independence. The paper also argues that police reform in Pakistan has not been addressed as one of the basic aspects of democratic government and constitutional rule of law but as a technical or administrative challenge. The article points out the necessity of a holistic and politically-based approach to police reform by placing police reform in the wider context of civil-military relationship, federalism and accountability systems. It concludes that reforms in policing must not be limited to redesign in legislation, but also by real political will, consistency in the judiciary, and participation of the society to turn the police into a service provider that is answerable to the law and the populace.

Keywords: Police Reforms, Pakistan, Legal Framework, Implementation Failures, Rule Of Law, Accountability, Governance

Introduction

The police institution takes a pivotal role in any legal or constitutional system as it

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acts as the main contact point between the state and its subjects in the enforcement of the law, law and order and internal security. Police in democratic societies are supposed to be a professional, non-political, service-oriented institution that works within the rule of the law and answerable to the civil government. The police in Pakistan, though, were traditionally viewed as a tool of control and not a service to the people, which they have been throughout colonial history, tyrannical rule, and political meddling. The result of this structural orientation has been the mistrust of the masses, systemic misuse of power and ineffective law enforcement that is incurable.[1]

The call to police reform in Pakistan is not new and incidental. The inefficiencies of the policing system have been recognised by governments since independence, commissions and judicial bodies that have stressed the necessity to reform the policing system. Nevertheless, it has not been able to achieve significant change even after the problem was noted several times. Reforms in police have been frequently proclaimed in crisis, whether crime or terrorism or outrage at high-profile abuse, only to fall into dilutions or even abandonment once the immediate pressure has been relieved. This is a vicious cycle, but it is even more significant as the very political and administrative powers that this reform is supposed to control are often sabotaged by it.[2]

One of the challenges facing proper police reform in Pakistan is the influence of colonial legal and administrative systems that value control over accountability. The police structure that was inherited during independence was developed to serve the aim of an authoritarian state as opposed to a democratic nation, focus was put on being obedient to the executive as opposed to serving the citizens. Despite the occasional efforts by Pakistan to modernize this structure by enacting new legal laws and institutional processes; the reforms efforts have hardly ever questioned the power structures in which the police are politicized and abused. Consequently, reforms tend to be cosmetic, that is, changing the structures but not the working culture.[3]

The problem of police reform has also obtained a new importance in the environment of democratic transition, constitutional reform, and federal changes. The emergence of the Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment, judicial questioning of law enforcement practices, and the growing knowledge of citizens about their rights have changed the expectations of the police. Meanwhile, terrorist menace, urbanization and social polarization among others, have extended the scale and complexity of the policing work. These strains have revealed the inefficiency of the current legal structures and the urgency of change that would be both effective and accountable.[4]

This paper discusses the reforms of the Pakistani police with the critical analysis of

[1] Siddiqi, H. (2020). The Failure of Police Reform in Pakistan: What Police Order 2002 reveals about the challenges confronting democratic consolidation.

[2] Zakir, M. H., Iqbal, F., Khan, S. H., & Ahmad, A. W. (2023). Police Reforms and Accountability in Pakistan. *Pakistan JL Analysis & Wisdom*, *2*, 197.

[3] Masudi, J. A., & Mustafa, N. (2023). Policing in Pakistan: A comprehensive study of law enforcement practices and challenges for reform. *Pakistan Journal of International Affairs*, *6*(2).

[4] Uddin, N., & Bibi, S. (2025). Reforming Pakistan's Criminal Justice System: Effective and Long-Lasting Solutions for a Reliable and Well-Organized Framework. *Review Journal of Social Psychology & Social Works*, *3*(2), 718-725.

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the legal framework, the factors of failure in the reform implementation, and the perspectives of the effective change. It states that police reform is impossible to comprehend or to accomplish in a vacuum of more extensive political and institutional dynamics. It has been demonstrated over and over again that legal reforms fail not only due to some technical problems, but also due to the fact that they bring a threat to the status quo and existing power relations. Sustainable reform thus involves a transition between the policy interventions that are ad hoc to a holistic intervention that looks at the political control part, the institutional autonomy part, the accountability mechanisms part, and the role of the people. Investigating these dimensions, the article aims to make its contribution to the more realistic and constitutionally based conception of police reform in Pakistan.

Literature Review

As is reflected in the literature of police reforms in Pakistan, there has been an appreciable acknowledgment of structural malfunctioning in the policing machine and an underlying aggravation at the inability of reform initiatives to bring about a lasting change. There is a broad agreement among scholars in the legal, political, and sociological fields that the crisis in policing that Pakistan faces is based on colonial institutional design, post-independent authoritarian rule, and long-standing political interference in police activities. Initial research highlights the fact that the police system that remained after the British colonialists was more of a tool of control, rather than serving the people and with the preference given to serving the executive authority rather than the people. It was this colonial legacy, scholars postulate that had created a coercive orientation, which up to now influences the conduct of the police force, organizational culture and perception by the people.[5]

An impressive amount of literature has been devoted to such an undertaking as the Police Order 2002 that is strongly viewed as the most ambitious attempt to reform the Pakistan policing system. According to the academic analyses, the Police Order aimed at implementing structural autonomy, functional separation of the police, and external control by the public safety commissions. Scholars point out that the Order was a conceptual shift compared to previous legislation because it perceived policing as a service, not a force, and focused on accountability, professionalism, and community involvement. Nevertheless, reviews are always keen to note that even after being designed progressively, the Police Order 2002 was never applied to its letter and spirit. Its reformist potential was diminished by political opposition, bureaucratic stagnation and selective enforcement, leaving it in disjointed and watered down implementation in the provinces.[6]

The other theme that was very visible in the literature relates to political interference in policing. According to scholars, the repeated failure of the police reforms in Pakistan is due to the fact that it exposes the discretionary authority of political executives to employ the police to patronize, coerce, and politically benefit

[5] Abbas, H. (2011). *Reforming Pakistan's Police and Law Enforcement Infrastructure:*. Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace.

[6] Chishti, M. M., & Ahmad, M. (2025). Addressing the Public Trust Deficit in Pakistan's Police: Challenges, Causes, and Pathways to Reform. *AL-AHQAQ*, *3*(1).

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themselves. Research on the relationships between civil and police reveals that high transfers, politicization of appointments, and pressure on both legally and informally by political forces negatively impact professional autonomy and encourage obedience rather than obedience to the law. This literature indicates that only a change in the political incentives that perpetuates control over the police can succeed when legal reforms are introduced. Until the political elites see the police as an arm of the executive, as opposed to a law enforcing agency of its own, any reforms are bound to be symbolic.[7]

The other area of judicial scholarship includes many debates about police reform. According to commentators of the law, the courts in Pakistan have often recognized police misconduct, inefficiency, and violation of rights, and have made orders to help them change and become more accountable and professional. Nevertheless, the role in the police reform by the judiciary is still controversial among the scholars. Others consider judicial intervention to be a corrective action in the event of executive malfunction whereas some warn of the dangers of over-judicial intervention because it will replace legal requirements with political ones. It is recommended by the literature that, although the courts have stated significant principles in regard to due process, human rights, and lawful policing, these efforts have been ineffective due to ineffective enforcement tools and lack of follow-up.[8]

The literature also looks at the issue of police reform based on human rights and rule of law. Researchers underline that inefficient police activity compromises the basic rights, such as individual freedom, equality, the right to justice. Research records trends of custodial violence, extrajudiciality and selective enforcement, contending that such vices are symptomatic of structural malfunction, and not as a result of individual misconduct. In this view, police reform can also be discussed as a constitutional requirement, but not a managerial decision. However, critical scholarship also points out that human rights discourse has been relegated in the discussion of reforms, as policy focus has been driven by the insecurity issues and concerns of control of crime.[9]

The concept of federalism has become relevant in recent literature as a crucial aspect after the devolution of constitution. Scholars comment on the ways provincial autonomy has changed the way police governance is done by creating different legal frameworks and reform directions across provinces. Whereas certain research reports propose that devolution brings space in which a policing officer can be locally responsive, some other research reports indicate that devolution has created inconsistency and lack of coherence in the enforcement of law. The literature emphasizes the fact that devolved power has in many instances been misused by provincial governments that sought to infiltrate police forces in order to sabotage

[7] Gondal, A. Q., Ahmad, M., & Hamid, H. M. A. (2024). Reimagining Justice: Modern Legal Reforms for Pakistan in the 21st Century. *Al-Aijaz Research Journal of Islamic Studies & Humanities*, *8*(3), 31-39.

[8] Arif, S., Bhatti, F. N., & Ansar, S. (2022). Police Services In Pakistan: Challenges And Reforms. *Journal of Positive School Psychology*, *6*(11).

[9] Ali, Z., Hussain, T., & Ali, A. (2024). Towards Legal and Judicial Reforms: In Pursuit of Transforming the Justice System. *Annals of Human and Social Sciences*, *5*(3), 789-801.

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reform agendas that were initially incorporated in the federal-level agendas.[10]

The comparative studies also play a part in the discourse by providing a setting of the issues of police reform in Pakistan in the wider patterns of the world. Scholars who make comparisons with other post-colonial and developing democracies point out that reforming the police is also political and needs long term commitment; besides legislative enactment. These works point to the significance of institutional separation, accountability, professional education, and trust of the citizens as major preconditions of effective reform. However, the opposite was true because Pakistan has been quoted as a case of a failed reform because it lacked these enabling conditions.[11]

Overall, the literature comes to the conclusion that police reform in Pakistan has been marked with grandiose legal frameworks and failure in implementation. Research experts have frequently stressed the idea that political interference, low accountability, and unwillingness to change institutions have continuously discouraged the implementation of reforms. The article is an expansion on the current literature in that it combines legal critique and institutional analysis by shedding light on the ways in which reform efforts have failed not because of the absence of ideas but because of structural limitations in Pakistan governmental system.

Methodology

The study has taken the doctrinal methodology with the additional institutional and governance oriented analysis to investigate the police reforms in Pakistan. The doctrinal approach specifically suits the scenario as the course of the police reform in Pakistan has been defined largely by the legal tools, executive edict, reform commissions, and court pronouncement as opposed to the systemic appraisal of empirical analysis. This paper aims at examining the content, goals, and structural presumptions that exist in the police-related legal frameworks in a manner that considers how they, in turn, conceptualize the concept of police autonomy, accountability, and their relationship with the civilian power. Through the analysis of the history of the changes in policing laws and reform programs, the methodology will aim at finding the lack of connection between the formal design of the law and the institutions behavior.

The key materials to this study will be statutory documents that regulate policing, law-making measures that have been proposed at various times in history, and court cases that have determined the powers of police, their misconduct and the need to reform. The logic of judicial reasoning is examined to find out how the courts have interpreted that of the police in the constitution of Pakistan and how the judiciary has tried to rectify the lapse in governance in law enforcement. Special focus is given to instances of abuse of police power, illegal detention, politicized policing, and the lack of a protection of the fundamental rights in question, as they are the situations where the judiciary is inclined to expect a lawful policing and to hold the institution of law

[10] Azhar, S., Rizvi, S. A. A., & Asghar, U. (2025). Criminal procedure code in Pakistan: Evaluating the process and challenges in investigating crimes. *The Critical Review of Social Sciences Studies*, *3*(2), 789-799.

[11] Abbas, H. (2012). *Stabilizing Pakistan through police reform*. Washington:: Asia Society.

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enforcement to account. The analysis assesses the role of judicial involvement in strengthening the goals of reforms or staying narrowly focused to curb episodes of redressing personal grievances.

Besides the analysis of the doctrine, the study also takes an institutional approach meaning that it locates the police reform in a wider context of politics and administration in Pakistan. Institutions of police are not analyzed in isolation; they are included in a system of governance that is marked by centralized executive authority, politicised administration and feeble accountability systems. This view enables the study to transcend the contents of the reform laws and investigate the influences of political incentives, bureaucratic culture and administrative practice on the results of implementation. Legal developments are contextualized by secondary sources like academic literature, reform commission reports, and policy analyses as well as to determine some common patterns of opposition to reform. The methodology combines the legal analysis with the institutional critique, which explains the failure of the police reform initiative in Pakistan to achieve much success despite the existence of reform-oriented laws.

Research Findings

The research findings indicate that despite attempts to bridge the legal frameworks to reform policing in Pakistan and the realities of police practice on the ground, there has been a perceived and structural gap between the two. Among the most important conclusions, the fact that the country of Pakistan has already had a high number of reform-based legal tools, which state the contemporary principles of policing, such as independence, accountability, professionalism, and service to society, but these principles have hardly been converted into any lasting institutional change. The use of laws and reform efforts have always understood the need of insulating policing and putting in place independent control mechanisms but this has remained more of a mere figurative idea as a result of lax enforcement.[12]

One of the main conclusions deals with the power of politics over policing. Irrespective of the legal provisions which seek to ensure that tenure of police leadership is intact and the transfer is not arbitrary, political executives still stand decisive power in appointing, posting as well as priorities regarding the use of police services. This form of political influence kills the idea of making decisions based on merit and creates incentives to influence police officers to be politically loyal contravianing the law. The failure of reform structures has been contributed by the fact that they have raised the question of vested political interests that are reliant on a compliant police force to stay in power, contain dissent, and sway elections. Because of this, reform laws are often watered down, amended or applied selectively to reinstate executive control.[13]

The other big discovery is that of failure of the accountability mechanisms that are

[12] Soomro, S. I. A., & Soomro, M. M. (2023). Criminal Justice System and Reforms in Pakistan. *Journal of Asian Development Studies*, *12*(3), 480-496.

[13] Faeique, A., Sami, N. R., Shikha, M., SA, S., Md, A. M., Ramim, M. T., & Shraboni, S. J. (2025). Evaluating the Reform Proposals of Police Reform Commission 2024: A Step Towards Accountable Policing in Dhaka, Bangladesh. *APPLIED RESEARCH IN ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES*, *6*(3), 30-45.

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envisaged in the reform initiatives. Most of the reform schemes incorporate the internal discipline, external checks, and civilian involvement in the form of the public safety institutions or complaints authority. Nonetheless, such mechanisms have either continued to not work or have been made ineffective due to lack of resources, absence of political support, or direct executive capture. In countries where such oversight organs are in place, in most cases they lack the power to enforce them, which restricts their capability in terms of holding the police officers to account concerning their misconduct. This ineffectiveness has helped in a culture of impunity that prevails within the police which strengthens distrust in people and compromises the law enforcing institutions.[14]

The findings also explain that bureaucratic resistance and organizational inertia is a critical factor in reform failure. Similar to other bureaucratic institutions, police institutions oppose any change that may upset established hierarchies, diminish discretionary power, or subject the institution to some external examination. There has been intermittent introduction of training reforms, performance evaluation programs and community policing programs, which have not been sustained by the institution. Reform measures are in most instances done in a shallow manner to show compliance but the main power structures are maintained. The same resistance can also be taken as an institutional culture which was created during decades of authoritarian rule, during which compliance with the executive authority was rewarded more than professionalism or serving the people.[15]

Another complicating factor in police reform has also come out as federalism. With constitutional devolution, provinces gained more autonomy in policing, leading to varieties of legal systems and reform directions. Although the idea of devolution allows the reform to be context-specific and local in accountability, the results indicate that provincial autonomy has in most cases been taken to augment political control over reform goals instead of serving reform agendas. Without minimum national standards of policing, the provinces have developed unequal strategies, undermining the integrity and allowing development of regression of reform-based principles. This disintegration has been a further complication in the state of trying to institutionalize accountability and professionalism in the country.[16]

Another finding is judicial intervention. Police abuse, inefficiency and violation of rights have often been recognized by courts, who have made directives to limit excesses and impose lawful conduct. Judicial decisions have been a major normative factor in defining the standards of lawful policing and strengthening constitutional protections. But the results show that judicial solutions have been mostly reactive and case-specific and they do not create any long-term structural transformation. The institutional constraints of courts are that they have no institutional capacity to oversee prolonged adherence, or to correct administrative customs, which constrains

[14] Imran, M., & Kazmi, S. S. (2025). The Rule of Law Crisis and its Implications on National Security in Pakistan. *Journal of Political Studies*, *32*(1), 36-57.
[15] Iqbal, K. (2015). The rule of law reform and judicial education in Pakistan. *Eur. JL Reform*, *17*, 47.
[16] Suddle, M. S. (2003). Reforming Pakistan police: an overview. *United Nations Asia and*.

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the potential transformative impacts of judicial involvement.[17]

In conclusion, the results have shown that the conceptualization of the police reform in Pakistan has been affected as a technical or administrative issue as opposed to a political and constitutional issue. The reforms have centered on company restructuring, training and modification of procedures without antagonizing the political motives that have perpetuated control of policing. This frame has enabled the reform activities to carry on without questioning the power relations that taint accountability. Consequently, police reforms have been frustrated over and over again not because of the absence of legal status or policy conceptualization, but owing to systemic governance failures that undermine the reform at the implementation level.

Discussion

The police reforms analysis on the example of Pakistan demonstrates that the failure of reform projects is inappropriately justified by the lack of adequate legal drafting or the lack of reform will. Rather, such failures are widespread in the politics of governance whereby law enforcement agencies are embedded through wider systems of power, favoritism, and domination. In their very nature, police reforms are aimed at the redistribution of power through restricting executive discretion, increasing accountability, and professionalizing coercive power. Back in the politics of Pakistan, redistribution of this kind has always been met with resistance by the political elite who consider the control of the police to be a key component in holding on to power and dealing with opposition as well as the election result. This structural fact is the reason why even the progressive designed reform laws are usually sabotaged at the stage of implementation.[18]

A major problem raised by this study is the lack of harmony between official legal autonomy and actual subordination. Although the police independence principle is repeatedly underlined by reform frameworks, autonomy was rather a nominal one. The political executives still carry out their influence using informal means, including transfers, posting and allocation of resources and this makes statutory safeguards useless. This loophole highlights a more far-reaching issue of governance: the continued existence of informal authority systems that prevail over formal legal standards. Unless police reform initiatives pay attention to these informal processes, these initiatives are unlikely to result in any lasting change, however fantastic the legal set-up might be.[19]

The restrictions of judicial intervention as a reform measure are also revealed in the discussion. By defining the norms of legal policing and denouncing the misuse of power, courts have been influential in supporting constitutional norms and human rights values. But judicial involvement has mainly been responsive, responding to violations after they have happened, instead of changing the incentives of the

[17] Korai, A. G., Ghaffar, A., & Samad, A. (2022). Human Rights in Pakistan and the Reasons for Prosecution Failure. *Journal of Law & Social Studies (JLSS)*, *5*(3), 450-467.
[18] Akram, A., Jaffar, A., & Ahmad, W. (2025). Justice under Pressure: Investigating Police Response to Child Sexual Abuse in Pakistan (2018–2025). *Journal of Social Horizons*, *2*(3), 141-57.
[19] Sherani, S. (2017). Institutional reform in Pakistan. *Report submitted to Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES)*.

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institutions. Although courts have the power to pronounce acts as illegal, and give orders, they do not have the administrative capacity and the enforcement tools to make sure people obey them in the long run. Not only would excessive dependence on judicial remedies turn courts into crisis managers as opposed to constitutional adjudicators, but would also give the executive players an escape as regards implementing fundamental changes in the system.[20]

The other very important axis is the police organizational culture. Reform projects have tended to underestimate the tradition of institutional norms that are a product of decades of authoritarian rule. Police culture in Pakistan has been more of obedience, control, and coercion as opposed to service, legality and accountability. These norms are deeply-rooted and have been hard to change with the training programs and structural changes which were introduced as part of reform programs. Unless it engages in a long-term investment in professional development and ethical training and performance assessment in relation to the outcomes of the work in the field of government, reforms are only superficial. Once institutional culture is in place, it is likely to perpetuate itself unless aggressively resisted by the use of consistent leadership and rewards.[21]

The issue of federalism also contributes to the complexity of the reform landscape. The constitutional devolution has disintegrated the policing system within provinces leading to differing reform policies. Although decentralization is theoretically viable in terms of innovation and responsiveness to local needs, it has also made provinces water down the pledges of reform and reassert their influence on the police forces. Lack of nationwide minimum standards of policing has led to the unequal accountability and the lack of coherence of reform. This disintegration brings out the conflict between provincial and national independent sovereignty and the requirement of equal guidelines of rule-of-law in a federation.[22]

Finally, it has been shown that police reform in Pakistan is not an administrative issue but rather a constitutional and political initiative. The only way to reform is to challenge the status quo of power relations, reframe civilpolice relations and institute accountability into governance forms. Unless such underlying problems are tackled, it can be seen that reform efforts will keep on revolving around lofty visions and failed results.

Recommendations

Pakistan is in need of sustainable police reform in which there is a change in intermittent law experimentation to a more holistic and politically conscious approach to reform. To start with, legal structures in policing need to be strengthened by having valid procedures that shield the leadership of the police against political whims per se.

[20] Gondal, A. Q., & Hatta, Z. (2023). Unraveling Justice: A Critical Examination of Pakistan's Judicial History and its Failures. *Pakistan Social Sciences Review*, *7*(4), 698-712.
[21] Ali, L., Soomro, S. A., & Qureshi, M. A. (2025). Legal and Policy Responses to Child Abuse in Pakistan: A Critical Analysis of Current Approaches. *Journal of Development and Social Sciences*, *6*(3), 738-756.
[22] Faisal, F., & Jafri, A. R. (2017). Corruption as a source of failure of good governance and management in Pakistan: Proposed remedial measures. *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*, *30*(1), 57-75.

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Operationalization of tenure security of senior officers must be in the form of enforceable protection other than discretionary and this is based on the fact that appointments and transfer must be done within the framework of transparent, merit-based policies. No reform structure can accomplish its goals without the protection of the political pressure.

Second, the accountability mechanisms should be empowered and enhanced. Reform laws ought to give independent institutions to the oversight bodies in terms of resources and implementing power. The civilian oversight should not be merely representative, as it should entail substantial involvement with the ability to research misconduct and impose penalties. The system of internal accountability existing in the police is to be reorganized so that it gives precedence to professional ethics and lawful behavior rather than the hierarchical loyalty. Responsibility should be institutionalized rather than a reactionary and selective process.

Third, institutional ability and professionalization should be of eminence in reform efforts. To improve policing performance, there is need to invest in training, forensic potential, managing data and contemporary investigative practices. Constitutional values, human rights, and community involvement as well as operational skills must be focused on through training programs. The contracting of performance evaluation systems should be restructured to promote lawful behavior, problem-solving, as well as trust among the population instead of arrest quotas or political conformity.

Fourth, federal and provincial coordination must be enhanced by designation of minimum standards of policing on a national scale. These standards must create minimum standards of accountability, professionalism and protection of rights though they should respect the autonomy of provinces. Forums between provinces can support knowledge-sharing and coordination, diminishing the fragmentation and promoting the best practices. There should be a consistent vision of policing on a national scale that will avoid retrogression and create uniformity among jurisdictions.

Lastly, there should be police reform in both the company of the broader reform of governance. The key to establishing the conditions supportive of reform is enhancing parliamentary oversight, increasing transparency in the decision-making process of the executive, and encouraging civic participation. Without the trust in the political institutions, no one can restore the faith in the police. Police reform should be seen, however, as a subset of a broader democratic reform agenda that should strengthen the rule of law and accountability.

Conclusion

Police reform in Pakistan, however, is one of the most important and evasive aspects of democratic governance and rule of law. Police system is still marred with political interference, lack of accountability and distrust by people in spite of the repeated policy attempts and litigations. This paper shows that the problem of reform failure does not stem out of a lack of legal imagination but structural governance constraints that cripple reform implementation. The principles of progressive principles have been expressed in legal frameworks, but these principles have lacked political will, institutional capacity and accountability mechanisms that would enable the transformation.

The results highlight that legal change cannot make police reform successful. It

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involves challenging established power dynamics, restructuring organizational motivations and instilling responsibility into the system of governance. Although the judiciary intervention is vital, it cannot take the place of the executive accountability and political dedication. Federal devolution provides space to become innovative but it may also be disintegrating where coherent standards are lacking.

Conclusively, police reform in Pakistan must be sustainable, holistic, and constitutionally based incorporating legal reform, political accountability, institutional capacity-building, and popular involvement. Pakistan can only restructure its police to become an institution ensuring law and protection of rights and winning the trust of people by viewing policing as a democratic service and not a form of control.

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