

# Public Policy Analysis under Military Governance in Pakistan: A Comparative Study of Two Contrasting Regimes

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## Abstract

Intermittent Military regimes have been attached to the politics of Pakistan since its birth. Pakistan has witnessed drastic swings in public policies in each different military regime; starting from the one of Field Marshal Ayub Khan to the most recent one of Musharraf. For this paper, we shall be comparing and contrasting between two dissimilar military regimes of Zia and Musharraf. It is found that public policy during Musharraf's regime was more effective and yielded fruitful results. On the other hand, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, despite being an effective leader, failed to devise an effective public policy. The main issues of Zia have translated into economic distress of today, since current happening are a by-product of Zia's regime. Root-Cause Analysis (RCA) has been done using the back propagation technique to identify the problems in the public policy during Zia-ul-Haq's regime. Also, a couple of hypothesis have been formulated which have been supported by the results of RCA. Results have been as per the expectation, since the impacts of past happenings on today's environment have been pronounced. The two alternative hypotheses that were formulated against the null hypothesis are accepted against the rejection of null hypothesis, as per the results.

**Keywords:** Public Policy, Military regime, Socioeconomic distress

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Public policy refers to the actions taken by the administrative executive branches of a country for varying classes of issues, in a way that they are consistent with the laws and institutional customs (Hill, 2014). Public policy of Pakistan has long been a debatable topic among policy makers. Pakistan has never witnessed a strong public policy that would cater to all of its needs. Policy making in Pakistan has always been subjected to political pressures along with others. The aim of public policy is to address problems that are being faced by economic sectors as well as to improve the social indicators.

The first impactful and significant public policy that came into the political scenario of Pakistan was in the era of Ayub Khan (Ansari, 1970). Ayub Khan was the first military dictator who declared martial law in Pakistan. Public Policies concerning economic, social and political factors during Ayub's regime not only helped Pakistan to recover its crippling economy but also helped it to improve its social indicators. The green revolution in Ayub's era boosted the economic performance and stabilized the economy on the whole. However, the public policy during Ayub's was implemented forcefully. It was the modernization program that was being implemented through public policies during Ayub's regime (Ansari, 1970). After the declaration of first Martial Law by Ayub Khan, Pakistan witnessed four different martial laws intermittently, where military dictatorship overcame the administration of the country by thwarting democratic governments.

This paper aims to compare the public policies of two contrasting military regimes i.e. the regimes of Zia-ul-haq and Musharraf, and addresses the problems that were the root cause for the failure of public policies during Zia-ul-Haq's regime. Gen. Zia-ul-Haq imposed the third martial law on July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1977 and remained in power for more than a decade (including his tenure as the President). Zia-ul-Haq remained for a long time of eleven years, yet, he faced fierce opposition from public for enforcing rapid Islamization. The reason of this opposition was inappropriate public policies that geared sectarian riots and ignited cultural issues among different social classes.

On the other hand, Musharraf's regime was more of Autocratic cum democratic. The public policy during Musharraf's era was very effective and proved to be significantly fruitful for Pakistan. Both the economic as well as social indicators improved significantly during Musharraf's era, which indeed reflects the success of public policy making during his regime.

## 2. PUBLIC POLICY DURING ZIA-UL-HAQ'S REGIME:

It would be appropriate to start off the analysis of the public policy of Zia era from the very beginning. After the traumatic incident of 'Fall of Dhaka', Pakistan recovered its political environment with the government of PPP and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, holding the portfolio of Prime Minister of Pakistan. It was Bhutto who promoted Zia-ul-Haq to the rank of four stars, which was against the recommendation of General Tikka Khan (Noman, 1989).

Zia-ul-Haq ruled Pakistan longer than any of his predecessors (Ziring, 1988). Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was overthrown by Zia-ul-Haq in 1977 and from then he ruled Pakistan for almost eleven years. Some researchers attribute his longevity with the invasion of Soviet Union and estrangements with India. Zia strived hard to maintain the unity of military establishment. Pakistan army remained the biggest supporter and proved to be a supporting pillar for Zia throughout his tenure.

Zia-ul-Haq is given due credit for promoting Islamic culture in the society of Pakistan. He was a staunch believer of the idea that since Pakistan got its independence on the name of Islam, therefore, it must be governed in accordance with the Islamic principles. However, his purpose was highly criticized for being self-serving rather than being beneficial for the community, at large (Ziring, 1988).

Zia made several attempts to assure that the process of Islamization in Pakistan is uninterrupted, which is the reason why many refer the era of Zia as 'Islamization Centric'. It was the prime focus of Zia-ul-Haq to implement Shariah laws as he considered it the only way out. Zia tried to treat the political trauma of the nation, which was the legacy of Bhutto, through his so-called process of Islamization. Some prominent and worth-mentioning Islamization measures included Hudood Ordinance, Establishment of Shariah Courts, and Appointments of more than 10,000 clerics in different institutions, constitutional amendments, blasphemy laws, economic Islamization and expansions of Madaaris.

Such fierce emphasis on Islamization led to the intensification and multiplication of the divisions in the society. Pakistani society was plagued with divisions on political, religious and cultural basis since its birth, which was further engorged by inappropriate policy measures in Zia's era. Although, Zia may not be the sole reason behind the divisions of society, however, he certainly accelerated them through bad policy measures. A referendum was also conducted in 1984 regarding the Islamization program and it received a large number of positive feedbacks, officially only. Nonetheless, many protests were carried out by different groups against the implementation of Shariah laws during and after the regime of Zia-ul-Haq. This paradoxical situation was due to the fact that the referendum was organized in a manipulating manner, which generated biased results.

The political environment of Pakistan was highly unstable during Zia's era. Zia-ul-Haq soon after holding the seat of Chief Martial Law Administrator assured that general elections will be held within 90 days and Pakistan will soon have its new democratic Government. However, he backed out from his own promises, postponed the General Elections, and started the process of accountability of Politicians (Arif, 1995). It was circulated all over media that this step was taken on strong public demand. A disqualification tribunal was setup by Zia through which several members of parliament were declared ineligible and were no longer able to participate in any political activities, within the territorial limits of Pakistan.

After the retirement of President Fazal Illahi, Zia-ul-Haq took over the position of President. Since the parliamentary setup was missing, an alternative of it was introduced by Zia under the name of Majlis-e-Shura. The structure of Majlis-e-Shura resembled to that of Old Parliamentary system; however, all of its members were comprised of technocrats and were to be nominated by the president, directly. Majlis-e-Shura, at that time, acted as a board of advisors to the President (Baxter, 1985).

In the mid-80s, Zia-ul-Haq decided to stabilize the political environment of Pakistan by bringing forward a democratic government. Nevertheless, it was imperative for him to secure his position for which the referendum of 1984 proved to be a useful tool. With the majority of public having consensus over Zia-ul-Haq being the president of Pakistan, Zia secured his position for the next five years. Finally, general elections on non-party basis were carried out for the very first time in Pakistan. Many researchers attribute today's sectarianism in Pakistan as a result of non-party elections held during Zia's regime.

Muhammad Khan Junejo was selected as Prime Minister by Zia-ul-Haq from the elected members of parliaments. M.K. Junejo was a simple person and was selected by Zia-ul-Haq to be a puppet of his hands (Hoodbhoy & Nayyar, 1985). In order to lift the state of emergency while maintaining his position, Zia got certain amendments endorsed from the Parliament first. Those amendments provided President with an extension in his powers that were previously curtailed in the constitution of Pakistan. However, the so-called democratic government created by Zia could not sustain under military leadership for a very long time. The assembly was finally dissolved by Zia-ul-Haq in 1988, which was indeed the result of conflicts over several issues between Junejo and Zia (Talbot, 2009).

Turning over to the economic environment during Zia's regime, it seemed better than other sectors at a very first glance, however, it has challenges of its own. Zia-ul-Haq with the help of Ghulam Ishaq Khan and other technocrats improved the economic situation of Pakistan on short-term basis. Private investments were improved due to flexible exchange rate systems. However, the military regime of Zia failed to improve the structural weaknesses of the economy.

The long-term planning for the economy during Zia regime was ineffective. The weaknesses soared and intensified as the economic issues were not addressed seriously, because of the political turmoil and entanglements in other affairs. The policy makers had a fairly long period of over eleven years to improve the worsening situation; however, there seemed to be no learning from the past events. Moreover, the overemphasis

on Islamization led towards experimentation of Islamic economics during Zia's regime, which did not yield any significant fruitful results for the economy (Haque, 1985).

The story of Zia-ul-Haq's regime can be summed up with the fact that Pakistan needed such a Public Policy that could cope up with the prevalent situations and must be secular in structure and substance (Ziring, 1988). Zia laid emphasis on the survival and development of Pakistan; however, he was of the view that Pakistan is an Islamic State and not a Republic. He condemned secularism by not acknowledging the importance of political process in bridging the gaps between competing interests of Muslims in Pakistan. Therefore, the public policy of Pakistan required to be comprised of both Islamic and Secular ideology, but the overemphasis of Zia-ul-Haq on Islamic part led to devastations in every facet.

### **3. PUBLIC POLICY DURING MUSHARRAF'S REGIME:**

History reveals that Musharraf's era, is considered to be the most eccentric military regime in Pakistan of all time. The military regime of Musharraf was more inclined towards democracy which seems to be paradoxical. The characteristics of Musharraf's era are unique and somewhat interesting as they were never witnessed before in the entire history of Pakistan.

Musharraf's era is regarded as the era of rapid economic growth and Human Development in Pakistan. The development indicators of Pakistan improved drastically during the eight years of Musharraf's era. Starting from 12<sup>th</sup> October, 1999 till the end of his regime, flawless public policy was devised and implemented throughout his tenure.

Musharraf was a lateral thinker and always wanted democracy to rule Pakistan (Talbot, 2002); however, the political environment which was deliberately created by the Government of that time forced him to impose martial law by dissolving the National Assembly and Senate. On the very first moment of the imposition of Martial Law, Musharraf seemed to be the executioner of democracy, but the fact later on turned out to be opposite.

Musharraf was the first military ruler in the history of Pakistan who not only accepted the ruling of Supreme Court of Pakistan, but also initiated nationwide general elections in the year 2002 for the sake of promoting democracy. Liberal thoughts and frenzy to achieve growth oriented objectives were the prime reasons that helped Pakistan to come across the best public policy ever.

In the early years of his regime, when Pakistan was tangling between political turmoil and other deteriorative problems, Musharraf capitalized the available opportunities in the best manner possible. The September 11 attacks on Twin Towers and the subsequent announcement of US to initiate war against terrorism seemed a threat to the sovereignty of Pakistan at first. However, Musharraf with his sheer brilliance turned it into a blessing for Pakistan. He assured US to be an ally in 'War against Terrorism' against the specific conditions of full settlement of debts, lifting of economic embargo and an additional aid of \$19 Billion. The Pak-US bilateral relationships were improved and estrangements were transformed into engagements (Rabbi, 2012).

Unlike his counterpart Zia-ul-Haq, Musharraf was a liberal-minded visionary person eager to promote social awareness in Pakistan. Women empowerment was a self-evident measure of Musharraf's liberal thinking. He envisioned Pakistan among the fastest growing countries of the world for which he tried to devise impeccable policies for each sector. It was his belief that for the revival of Pakistan from ashes to gold, it should become a secular country, free from all kinds of discriminations. Some opponents argued that Musharraf was a dictator-minded person, as he adopted the same path of referendum like Zia to elongate his tenure. He was the first dictator who allowed all political parties to participate in the elections. To improve the standard of Parliament and vote, he set a limit for Bachelor's degree for nominate of any Assembly member. Also, the vote limit was decrease to 18 years as from 21 years, to provide youth more empowerment. Similarly, special reserved seats for women and minorities were increased in National Assembly and Senate. Local body elections were also conducted in 2001, which give local representation a voice.

Some of the notable policy measures of Musharraf era include Freedom of Media, Women empowerment, establishment of National Reconstruction Bureau, effective implementation of Education system reforms and Immunization program. Devising Policies like Freedom of Press and Women empowerment and their effective implementation provides sufficient evidences to establish the fact that Musharraf was neither an Authoritarian nor a narrow-minded person.

Apart from this, the economic performance of Pakistan was way better than before during Musharraf's regime. Pakistan was enlisted in the list of upcoming mature economies of the world. The growth rate of Pakistan was phenomenal and external debts were decreasing drastically. All the leading economic indicators such as GDP, Balance of Trade, Balance of Payments, Foreign Reserves, Unemployment and poverty were all favorable.

Musharraf adopted a very straightforward policy to deal with the monstrous economic problems of Pakistan. Musharraf knew that he had taken over the charge of a crippling economy, which needs a solid policy to be stabilized. The preceding civilian govt. left with enormous external debts of \$43 Billion (47.6% of GDP) in

1998, loans from IMF was amounting approximately \$900 Million and the total public debt was around 99.3% of GDP (World Bank, 2014). In order to combat the prevalent economic problems and to develop the economic sector of Pakistan, Musharraf designed a five year program of economic reforms (Khan, 2004), in which the emphasis was laid upon the following things:

- Restoration of Macroeconomic Stability
- Structural reforms and adjustments to eliminate distortions
- Revival of key institutions through improved economic governance
- Control inflation and unemployment.

The economic reform designed in the very beginning of Musharraf's regime proved out to be a great success. The successful implementation of reform started improving the economic indicators and achieved the targeted goals significantly in the subsequent years. Leakages of the economy were channelized to injections through proper policy measures, which helped in the expansion of economy (Husain, 2009).

With the help of improvements in economic indicators and by providing better infrastructure facilities to the industrial sector, Musharraf presented Pakistan as an ideal place for investment purposes. The efforts made by Musharraf proved to be successful and record amount of FDI inflows were pumped in the economy by foreign investors which expanded the size of economy and provided employment at large to the citizens of Pakistan (Nasir, 2013).

The above analysis of the important aspects of public policy during Musharraf era shows that policy making in Musharraf's regime was not perfect though (Looney, 2008), however, it was certainly better than the policies of Zia-ul-Haq's regime. Musharraf was a lateral thinker with liberal mentality, while Zia was an authoritarian ruler preferring Islamization, above all. It is pertinent to mention here that these remarks are based on the final outcomes observed in both eras, not on the basis of the policies. Since implementation plays an imperative role in deciding the success or failure of a policy, hence, comparison of two different public policies over two different time periods requires a detailed paired-comparison analysis.

#### **4. ROOT-CAUSE ANALYSIS**

In order to find out the causes that are responsible for the failure of public policy during Zia's regime (or alternatively we can say responsible for not yielding the desired outcomes from the public policy), the technique of Root-Cause Analysis is employed.

Root-Cause analysis is a method used to figure out the causes that lie behind the failure of a project (Rooney & Heuvel, 2004). In this paper, the method of Root-Cause Analysis is used to determine the causes of failure of Public Policy during Zia's regime. This analysis will be helpful in finding out the causes that played significant role in making the public policy of Zia's era unable to achieve the desired targets.

The table 1 in appendix describes the factors that are found to be the driving force of Public Policy Failure during Zia's regime.

#### **5. CONCLUSION**

The root cause analysis shows us that the stemmed problem that we can see was the failure of public policy during Zia's Regime. This policy had adverse effects on the socio-economic well-being of the country as well as the long lasting effects of terrorism that the country is experiencing now. The real root causes of this effect are described under four major headings in the above table. We will be using a Back Propagation Technique to administer how several things which are showing their results now have contributed to the conclusion that Zia's public policy was the worst (Refer to Figure 1 in Appendix). Two hypotheses have been formulated in this regard and further discussion will throw light on them:

H<sub>1</sub>: General Zia ul Haq failed to devise an effective Public Policy

H<sub>2</sub>: Zia ul Haq policies led to sectarianism and ethnicity in Pakistani Society.

Terrorism is the foremost threat that Pakistan is currently facing today and all have been gifted to it during Zia's time. Analysis shows that injustice, illiteracy, dissatisfaction and poverty are socio economic indicators which lead to terrorism. During Zia's time injustice and dissatisfaction in minority groups can be related to Islamization whereas illiteracy and poverty can be linked to sluggish economic growth in eleven years of Zia Regime. Thus, the workforce that was to be nurtured then isn't prepared for today's challenges. Resultantly, there has been a demand – supply mismatch, which has led to terrorism. Institutional paralysis and zero support for secularism further damaged the institutions that were supposed to build the nation. Hence, the first hypothesis that pertains to effective public policy stands vindicated, and there is no proof to disprove it.

Militancy and intolerance is attributed to the Soviet war which took place in Zia's regime. The moderate society of Pakistan had a cultural shift and it transformed into a fundamentalist one where Islam and Jihad were the way of life. Promulgations on media and discouragement of women at work decreased household income which was a contributing factor to terrorism. Weaponization and violence became norm of the society and the non-political elections lead to sectarian and ethnic outfits which diluted the national unity. Madarsas got

highly ‘Talibanized’ and Kalashnikov culture emerged, which was based on making decisions on power rather than logic. These contrasting policies lead to non-rejection of the second hypothesis and lead to anarchy in the society, which was clearly divided on ethnic and sectarian basis. Formulation of MQM and BNP are a few examples of this basis.

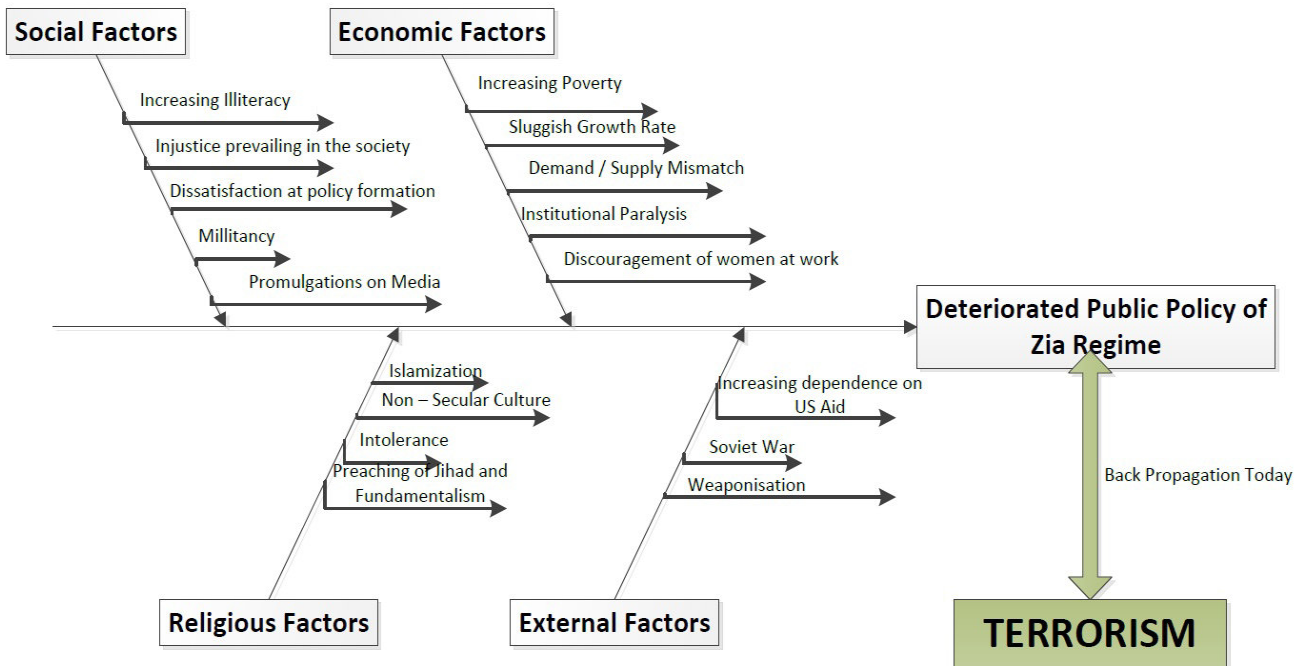
Hence, one can conclude after looking into the current perspective and turn of events, Zia’s rule had given birth to the biggest problem of Pakistan which has been a result of deteriorated public policy during Zia’s Regime. The deteriorated public policy is indeed the root cause of all the issues that Pakistan is facing today. Musharraf’s rule has been the only rule so far, which has challenged Zia’s doctrines. PPP and PML – N governments have always adopted some artifacts of Zia’s regime which has bought their downfall, yet, they fail to realize that dual strategy of Islamization and Centralized power is certainly not what the people of Pakistan want.

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**APPENDIX Table 1: Root-Cause Analysis of Public Policy Failure during Zia's Regime**

<b>Social Factors</b>	<b>Following are the factors which directly affected the general society in Pakistan; income classes and other psychographics hardly mattered since the impact was unanimous</b>	
	Increasing Illiteracy	Literacy rates went down as more and more students enrolled in Madrasas due to Islamic spark in the society
	Prevailing Injustice in the society	Courts were taking time in resolving the issues; rape and terrorism victims were devoid of justice immediately
	Dissatisfaction at public policy	Since it was an army rule, democratic public policy planning was not in place which lead to dissatisfaction
	Militancy	Talibanization was encouraged and so was general perception against Non-Islamic forces
	Promulgations on Media	Except for the State owned media vehicles and some newspapers, there were no other mediums; PEMRA was not functional and leftists were charged with treason
<b>Economic Factors</b>	<b>Following are the factors that had a severe impact on the economy of the nation; even large inflows in the name of foreign aid could not stop the decay</b>	
	Increasing Poverty	Currency devaluation and increasing expenditures on defense lead to poverty
	Sluggish Growth Rate	Trade closures with India and several other countries dimmed the growth rate
	Demand / Supply Mismatch	Balance of Trades tilted due to increasing competition; due to lack of proactive measures, Industries weren't producing as per the requirement, exports were lackadaisical
	Institutional Paralysis	Local bodies were not in place; this caused grass root corruption and non - functional of public institutions
Discouragement of women at work	51% of the population wasn't actively participating in the economic growth as result of men dominating society hence, under - utilized potential.	
<b>Religious Factors</b>	<b>Following are the factors which has an indirect effect on economic factors and a direct effect on social factors as society was shaped accordingly</b>	
	Islamization	The major factor and constituent of today's terrorism; from a moderate society we transformed into a radical one
	Intolerance	Is a corollary of Islamizations; Islam was used for all the wrong reasons
	Preaching of Jihad and Fundamentalism	Again a corollary of Islamization; Jihad was taught in schools and Madrasas
<b>External Factors</b>	<b>Following are the factors which set the control environment for the socio-politico-economy of Pakistan in the 80's</b>	
	Increasing dependence on US Aid	The economy was crippled and stagnant as US aid in lieu of Cold War was only considered as an alternative to all leakages; trade embargos were also the resultant
	Soviet War	Directly impacted Pakistan's political economy
	Weaponization	Due to Afghan war and rising tension with India, weapons were infiltrated



**Figure 1: Root-Cause Analysis (Ishikawa)**