



## Public Policy Formulation in Pakistan during Military Regimes

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### ABSTRACT

Pakistan has faced intermittent military interventions in politics since its establishment. In altered military governments, Pakistan faced severe swipes in public policy formulation since first martial law of Ayub Khan to the last military government of General Musharraf. Military governments tried to get de-jure prestige after coming into power and designed the government structure to sponsor their interests. Under military governance, performance of judiciary, religious leaders, external players and local administration persisted in critical situation. During military regimes, transformation program was executed in the country through public policy formulation intended to bring broadminded modifications in the constitution, legal and public domains of the country. This study will observe the major policies of the military regimes in Pakistan and their impacts on social setup of the country. The core purpose of this study is to scrutinize the process of public policy formulation in Pakistan during military regimes, their effects upon the socio-political environment of Pakistan and addresses the key causes of disappointing results of these policies. The causes of armed forces interventions in politics of Pakistan will also be analyzed. The findings specifies that pitiable articulation of policies, feeble establishment, dominating behavior of military executives, poor structure of funds management, varied interests of community and that execution of public policies blemished by exploitation are noteworthy reasons to failure of public policies in the country. The study acclaims rearrangement of socio-political situations as benevolent expansions for difficulties of public policy.

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## 1. Introduction

Public policy is the main source through which governing body establishes guidelines or handles the necessities of its inhabitants according to the directions given by the constitution. The stability and progress of administration of any well managed country is a marvel that is reliant upon public policy. Since the establishment of Pakistan, the governing bodies have been struggling to implement a cherished mechanism for public policies formulation and implementation to address public issue but remained failed to adopt it.

The public policy formulation is a technical role of governing body which is a complex procedure effected by the different environmental and socio-political powers. Public policy formulation in Pakistan has always been faced political involvement and stress due to which it has been an arguable subject of policy developers. Handling the issues that are affecting the social development and economic growth of the country is the prime objective of public policy and to provide suggestions for the improvement of social indicators and economic sector.

Since its existence, Pakistan remained failed to articulate a strong public policy to overcome its issues. After Pakistan came into being in 1947, the number and power of army raised progressively due to numerous factors associated to colonial era. The royal inheritance united with the absence of proficient public servants, paved the way for martial law in the country and interference of the army in the public administration. Top level bureaucracy invited the military rulers to run the country by giving reductions to them against the public representative.

The migration on massive scale and communal assassinations of the people accompanied by partition, growth of nationalist activities on ethnic basis and disputes with India and Afghanistan due to Durand Line and Kashmir shaped the image of profound defenselessness. The first war between India and Pakistan was broke out after few months of partition over Kashmir. The declarations of Indian representatives that Pakistan will not be able to persist for a long time added fuel to the fire which resulted national disintegration. These elements influenced the initial security measures of the country and gave the reason for extraordinary and growing endowment of budget for military. (Giunchi, July 2014)

Ayub khan imposed first military government on October, 08 1958 in the country. After the Martial Law of General Ayub, country perceived four martial laws with small intervals. In four martial laws, military dictators captured the governments upsetting the democratic esteems. Second military government was enforced by Yahya Khan in 1969 replacing General Ayub Khan. Third military government was initiated by General Zia on July 05, 1977 and he governed the Pakistan for eleven years. Unsuitable public policies and imposing quick Islamization by Zia caused uprising of sectarianism in the country. During Musharraf's era economic and social development was observed which reflects that the public policies of his tenure remained beneficial for Pakistan.

Public policy is a blend of the actions, requirements and decisions taken by government. Environmental directives such as financial, political and societal features not only form the shape of public policy also affect productivity and impacts of policy. Initially, the term public policy was presented by the American political scientist, Harold Lasswell in 1951 who is accepted the creator of policy science and after that in several of publications. "Public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do" (Dye, 2013). "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 is a formal document statement of intentions and sets of actions of a government to either remove certain deficiencies or to improve the conditions in any particular area of concern/interest" (Raja, 2015).

## 2. Public Policy Formulation

Significant duty of an executive body of any country is to formulate public policy and its enactment.

According to the “Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan” 1973, sole concern of an executive branch is policy making through further division amongst the central, provincial and local governments. “The Principles of Policy”, Chapter 2 of the “Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan” 1973 is observed as charter of desires of the people of the country.”

Formulation of public policies is the exceptional zone of designated legislature of the state and policies formulated by the legislature are being executed by the apparatus of the state. Logically, strategy and policy are different from each other. Public policy is honestly universal representing that what has been prepared whereas strategy summarizes the precise actions for understanding the objectives and goals defined by the policy. A great number of individuals, interest and pressure groups, politicians, ministers, legislators, public servants, organizations, authorities, experts, external countries to safeguard their interests are involved in the development of public policy.

Man as an individual and in society is a being of social nature. Hence, the life of man is the life of social interaction. Man’s social interaction does not exist in isolation of social problems and as man interacts in different spheres of life – politically, economically, technologically, educationally, and otherwise, these social problems diffuse and spread along these sectors of life. It is in recognition of these social problems and in a bid to proffer durable and reliable solutions to them that the government is always seen formulating policies in response to them and in relation to fostering development, stability, growth, citizenry wellbeing and administrative efficiency. This is necessary because if attempts are not made to address these problems as they arise, they may degenerate into uncontrollable stages with the society’s socio-economic growth and development endangered (Okoli and Onah, 2012).

In view of this, a policy is a conscious plan of action and the action itself, initiated to solve a specific social problem. It is a plan or course of action by a government, political party or business designed to influence and determine decisions, actions and other matters (Lennon, 2009).

### **3. Theoretical Frameworks for Examining Public Policies**

The study of policy process and analysis has speedily developed as unique extent of theoretical study which appropriately described to draw attention towards an extensive series of educational benefits, commonly in the western world. The stages model adopted for collecting data for this study offers an upright design for the methodical framework to examine the public policies. Due to this model, presentation of composite procedure for formulation of public policy comparatively becomes easy in modest way to pursuing a logical apparatus that may be imposed to formulate the public policy. The stages model is stated into different ways and has been individually named as linear model, public policy cycle, heuristic stages model or the sequential model (i.e. Jones, 1997; Lemieux, 2002; Smith & Larimer, 2009; Anderson, 2011). According to the stages model, the procedure of making of public policies can be distributed into numerous stages. Actually, every stage parallels to numerous moments in policy cycle. Public policies are framed by executive branch and executed by public and private actors. According to the model of Howlett and Ramesh’s (2003), Policy cycle have five phases i.e. agenda setting, policy formulation, policy adaptation/decision making, implementation and evaluation.

### **4. Research Methodology**

This study on public policy formulation in military regimes in Pakistan was exploratory in nature. The research design was qualitative. The data was collected through secondary sources which includes research articles published in various journals and available on online sites. Moreover, data was also collected through books written on public policy by some foreign and local authors.

### **5. Public Policy Formulation During the Military Regime of Ayub Khan (From 1958 to 1969)**

First military government was imitated by Ayub Khan on October 08, 1958. His regime is regarded as Golden Sixties. After taking control as “Chief Martial Law Administrator”, he declared that Martial Law

will be eliminated after handling prevailing situation in the country i.e. economic, social and administrative misperceptions. In the beginning years, General Ayub Khan gave stress to improve the supervision of government to firming his control. "Constitutional Commission" was formed by him. Commission reported on May 06, 1961 that presidential system is suitable for the country in place of parliamentary system. Ayub enforced a new constitution in the country on March 01, 1962 and lifted martial law on June, 06 1962. According to the new constitution, General Ayub took oath as President of Pakistan.

He introduced "Political Parties Act" on July 16, 1962 through which he expelled all political parties and seal their offices. Convention Muslim League was structured by the followers of Ayub Khan and he declared as president of Convention Muslim League on December, 24 1963.

Presidential elections were planned in January 1965. On July 21, 1964 all political parties in opposition included Council Muslim League of Khawaja Nazimuddin were organized as "Combined Opposition Parties" (COP) at Dhaka. Aim of this alliance was to provide joint contestants for Presidential, National and Provincial Assemblies. Conventional Muslim League had chosen Ayub Khan as presidential candidate.

Ayub had given a stunning manifesto to the country. According to him 'public will' was supreme in all affairs of the country, democracy would fundamentally base on realism and basic rights of the public must be protected. As per forthcoming packages he committed that provision of broadest, imaginable and evenhanded sharing of wealth, adoption of a viable mechanism to preclude the repetition of floods in East Pakistan and rehabilitation of affected ones, constancy of costs of goods to avoid inflation, a complete code of ethics for media, Principal of Parity between two parts of Pakistan according to the constitutional requirements, progress of the concept of Islamic nationalism for alliance with Muslim world, struggle for independence of Kashmir, protection of minorities and equality of privileges. (Hussain, 2018)

The program launched by General Ayub was actually transformation which was imposed through implementation of public policies. The agricultural policies/Green Revolution of Ayub Khan improved the constancy of the government. The most significant and consistent public policy firstly was formulated in Pakistan in the era of Field Martial Ayub Khan. (Ansari, 1970)

## **6. Public Policy during General Yahya Khan's Regime (1969 to 1971)**

General Ayub was removed on March 25, 1969 in result of campaign planned cooperatively by "People's Party of Pakistan" of "West Pakistan" and religious parties from "East Pakistan". General Yahya Khan acquired control of the country as substitution of General Ayub Khan. In his tenure, Pakistan indulged in civil war resultantly divided the country into two parts in 1971 by giving birth to Bangladesh as an independent country.

After observing the tense political condition of the country, General Yahya decided that general elections would be detained on October 05, 1970 to transfer command to voted representatives of the public. He initiated Legal Framework Order (Interim Constitution) on March 29, 1970 as guideline for upcoming elections. First General Elections were held in the country in December, 1970 for which credit is gone to Yahya Khan.

Mujeeb ur Rehman picked up 160 seats out of 162 in Eastern part of the country but his party Awami League remained failed in getting any seat from Western part of the country whereas, Mr. Bhutto got 81 seats of National Assembly in Western part of the country. Both Mujeeb ur Rehman and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto wanted to become the Prime Minister of the country. Yahya Khan decided to handle the situation by using Forces in Eastern part and remained unsuccessful. At least, Yahya handed over the authority of remaining part of the country to Mr. Bhutto on December 20, 1970.

### **7. Public Policy during the Regime of General Zia-ul-Haq (From 1977 to 1988)**

After the harrowing happening of “Fall of Dhaka”, country recuperated its administrative framework in the command of Mr. Bhutto from People Party of Pakistan as Prime Minister of Pakistan. Beside commendation of General Tikka Khan, Mr. Bhutto indorsed General Zia as “Chief of Army Staff” of Pakistan. Later on, General Zia deposed Mr. Bhutto on July 05, 1977 by initiating third martial law in the country and governed the Pakistan for eleven years till August 17, 2019.

General Zia is admired for the promotion of Islamic values in the country. His firms believe was that Pakistan gain freedom on the notion of two nation theory based on Islamic values. Hence, Islamic laws must be adopted for the governing of it. But, determination of Zia was much critiqued due to self-centered relatively less advantageous for public. (Ziring, 1988).

The administrative situation of the country was extremely uncertain in the regime of General Zia. After taking charge of Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Zia declared that he will ensure the conduction of general elections within 90 days in Pakistan and the country will observe its representative administration very presently. But, General Zia suspended the program of general elections against his promise and initiated the program of accountability against politicians. (Arif, 1995).

The society of Pakistan was overwhelmed and divided on religious, political and traditional foundation since its existence. Due to forceful stress on Islamization and unsuitable policy steps of General Zia, it was further divided into clusters. Though, General Zia was not the main source of the divisions of nation but undoubtedly he enhanced the division of society due to his brutal policy. (Shakir & Qadri, 2015)

General Zia gave attention for the existence and growth of the country. Zia considered the country an Islamic state rather than democratic. Zia was against secularism and not acknowledged the significance of administrative procedure. Pakistan’s Public Policy was mandatory to be consisting of secularism & Islamic ideology however, significance stress of Zia towards Islamic side played vital role towards destruction in every field.

The story of the era of General Zia can be surmised according to the reality that there was a need of public policy for Pakistan which could handle the dominant circumstances and organized under irreligious elements (Ziring, 1988).

### **8. Public Policy during the Regime of General Musharraf (From 1999 to 2008)**

Forth martial law of the history of Pakistan was enforced by General Musharraf on October 12, 1999. His era is deliberated as best regime of the country regarding quick progress of economy and social development. Perfect public policy was designed and executed during the entire tenure of Musharraf and the country was developed significantly during his eight years tenure.

Era of General Musharraf is deliberated as peculiar regime by military in the history of Pakistan. In military administration of General Musharraf, democratic values were motivated which is observed as contradictory against dictatorship. The features of the era of General Musharraf are distinctive and fairly remarkable such as these situations were not examined in the whole past of the country. (Shakir & Qadri, 2015).

Pakistan was facing political disorder and some more depreciation issues. After commencement of martial law, General Musharraf tried to get possible chances to overcome these issues. Incident of attacks of 9/11 on twin towers in United States and consequent announcement of United States to start battle against terrorism appeared as danger for the autonomy of the country. But, Musharraf changed it with his absolute competence into benediction for Pakistan. He remained successful to assure United States that Pakistan will be an ally in War against Terrorism under particular terms of complete clearance of debts, removing

economic prohibitions and an extra aid of \$19 billion (Rabbi, 2012)

To handle the horrific issues of economic situation of the country, General Musharraf implemented a completely straightforward policy. Musharraf was fully aware that a firm policy is required to alleviate as he had took responsibility of incapacitated economy. The former democratic government gone with \$900 Million debts from International Monetary Fund, massive external loan of 47.6% of GDP (\$43 Billion) in 1998 and about 93.3% of GDP was entire loan (World Bank, 2014).

General Musharraf wants to commence democracy in the country for which he accepted the decision of the “Supreme Court of Pakistan” & held countrywide elections in 2002 to restore the democracy. Generous consideration and passion to acquire progress and focused aims were the main motives of Musharraf that assisted the country to generate finest public policy eternally.

General Musharraf was farsighted and liberal minded person wanted to support public awareness in the country. Due to his liberal thinking, he passed the law of women empowerment in Pakistan. Musharraf formulated flawless policies for all sectors as he imagined the country amongst the rapidly growing countries of the world. In view of Musharraf, restoration of Pakistan from ashes to gold was possible through secularism and country should be free from different types of discriminations. Musharraf conducted referendum like Zia to prolong his occupancy and was criticized by the opponents as dictator minded person. As “Chief Martial Law Administrator”, Musharraf permitted to all political parties of Pakistan to take part in general election (this permission was granted first time in the history of the country) He fixed a perimeter of bachelor’s degree for assembly members to enhance the worth of Parliament and vote. To deliver extra authorization he decreased the age limit for voter from 21 years to 18 years. The reserved seats of minorities and women for Senate and National Assembly were increased. For proper representation on local basis, local body elections were held in 2001.

Distinguish policy measures of General Musharraf were; formation of National Reconstruction Bureau, freedom of media, operational execution of education system, women empowerment and Immunization package. Formulation of public policies such as liberty of media, women empowerment and actual execution of these policies clearly indicate that Musharraf was not a narrow minded leader.

In Musharraf’s regime, economic growth of the country was on the way of progress than formerly and the country was registered in the row of world’s settled economic powers of future. The external loans of Pakistan were declining significantly and growing speed of economy was remarkable. Primary economic symbols like foreign assets, GDP, equilibrium of payments, equilibrium of trade, decrease in poverty and unemployment were all encouraging.

General Musharraf planned a five year plan of economic development to fight against the dominant economic issues of Pakistan and for the improvement of fiscal zone of the country (Khan, 2004) stress was placed upon to regulate unemployment and inflation, reestablishment of macroeconomic permanency, restoration of key institutions, through enhanced fiscal authority, structural reforms and modifications to eradicate falsifications.

In the very beginning of the era of Musharraf, economic restructuring was planned which was proved fruitful to achieve success. To acquire the desired objectives significantly in the following years and for the growth of economic condition, reforms were implemented successfully. Dribbles of economy were channelized towards boosters by introducing an appropriate procedure of policy and they assisted for the growth of economic condition (Husain, 2009).

Musharraf presented the country as model place for investment by improving the parameters of economy and via improved structural capabilities of the industry. General Musharraf struggled hard to be operative and highest amount of FDI arrivals were inflated to support the economic position by oversees depositors

which stabilized the Pakistani economy and delivered employment on large scale to local inhabitants (Nasir, 2013).

## **9. Conclusion**

The immense examination of the study of formulation of public policy during military regimes in Pakistan and their effects as prescribed by the developers of policy determines that there is no specific sequel to categorize the reasons of the unacceptable outcomes of policy. Moreover, there are several conventional measures replicated as main reason for letdown of public policies during military regimes in the country like dominant attitude of the martial law administrators, nonexistence of a suitable structure for formulation and implementation of policies, absence of organizational structure, lack of democratic participation of political leadership, enormous corruption, lack of visionary leadership, adoption of central method in policy execution, inadequate financial allocations, weak community establishment, dejected civic facilities, untrained human resources, doubtful policy intentions and pitiable checking and assessment classification.

It has been recognized that the procedure of formulation of public policy and its implementation during military regimes had dominated by the personals in authority.

Implementation plays commanding role in determine the success and failure of policies. The findings indicate that implementation of public policy in country is a complicated procedure and based on thoughtlessness. Public policy is formulated by elites holding authority, political sponsorship, out of power leading groups, affiliated secret powers, and effective apparatuses for contribution in the policy subsystems. Due to instability and weak political conditions country has to face martial laws with different intervals. General Muhammad Ayub Khan initiated the first martial law in the country October 08, 1958. The first martial law was finished in 1969 with the replacement of another military rule by Yahya Khan. General Zia ul Haq enforced third martial law in the country in July 1977 and endured in authority for eleven years. In his tenure he faced ferocious resistance for speedy enforcement of Islamization. His inappropriate policies caused sectarian uprisings and exploded ethnic and racial differences among different classes.

Forth martial law was initiated in the country in October, 1999 by General Musharraf. At the time of imposition of martial law by General Musharraf, impression was that Musharraf wants to promote democracy but the facts of his period proved opposite. Examination about significant features of public policies throughout the Musharraf regime demonstrate that formulation of policy during the regime of General Musharraf was impeccable yet though, policies were defiantly improved in comparison with the policies of preceding martial law Administrator of the country. General Musharraf was an imaginative intellectual having generous personality.

The suitable policy primly gratified the beneficiaries in the greater concern of the country. Therefore, appropriate policy procedure may be implemented to achieve the desired results of the public policies. Several strategies can be adopted by government for successful implementation of public policy to acquire desired results i.e firming the absolute role of legislature in policy formulation process, carrying further probable commitment of people at indigenous level of policy formulation, draft out a solid emphasis on public worth in policy formulation and fetching the contribution of community in consumption of present funds appropriately. The governments should be accountable for emergent of practicable policies for public to handle their concerns. The armed forces of the Pakistan are most contemporary and biggest in the world. Pakistan Army became the pivotal political power in late 1950s which progressively penetrated in its economy. In 1980s, Pakistan's military found infiltrated in decisive political decision making although utmost penetration into the social order and economy was initiated in the succeeding decade and continued to till now.

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