



Foreign Aid And Democracy: An Analysis Of The Us Aid To Pakistan In Post-Cold War Era (1999-2020)

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Abstract

On the heels of the World War II, President Harry Truman unveiled the Marshal Plan (MP) in anticipation to cope with the ravages of the War through reconstructing the war-torn European states. The Marshal Plan entailed the disbursement of a colossal amount of foreign aid in (US dollars). Apart from development and reconstruction, foreign aid under the MP was also propelled to foster democratic values and to contain the spread of Communism both in Europe as well as the rest of the World. Since then, foreign aid has served as the linchpin of the United States of America's foreign policy to promote a verity of goals, let alone the promotion of democracy. The proposed study is interested in exploring the relationship between foreign aid and democracy through an analysis of the effects of USAID's financial assistance on democracy promotion in Pakistan. Secondary data will be retrieved from secondary sources such as government and non-governmental reports, articles, newspapers and books etc. the findings adumbrate that despite receiving billions of US dollars from the United States of America, the form of government in Pakistan can best be described as something of a hybrid sort. The findings suggest that as opposed to the theoretical debates underpinning the relationship between foreign aid and democracy, foreign aid may only foster democratic values under specific circumstances.

Introduction

Foreign aid refers to provide grants, low interest loans and assistance or resources by the donor country, institution or the group of countries or institutions to the recipient nations or developing

nations. The phenomena of foreign aid started since post World War II, with the United States Marshal Plan in 1949 to reconstruct European nations; to promote democracy and to contain communism (Ali, 2015).

According to some estimation, the US Agency for International Development (USAID) separately donates \$700million per year over democracy-related programs, such as election campaign, strengthening parliament, judiciaries and political parties, human rights and women's empowerment vis-à-vis the power of civil society organization (Kangoye, 2011). So, foreign aid could act on the political regime of the developing or recipient nations as promoting democratic institutions, good governance and the rule of law, income and education system and so on (Knack, 2004).

Amongst the scholars' debate over the relationship between foreign aid and democracy as the basic aim is to promote democracy in third world countries through foreign aid (Kangoye, 2011). Like many other developing countries, Pakistan almost depends on foreign aid to finance her economic development which increased Pakistan dependency on external assistance. Pakistan almost received \$70billion US Aid in different leader's tenure since 1947 to 2019 with multifarious reasons and objectives but this huge amount of aid did not benefit Pakistan; because varieties of social indicators, such as employment, health and education, saving rate is still low and trade gap has widened (Shah, 2019). It means that foreign aid failed to improve the economic conditions in Pakistan (Ali, 2015). Foreign aid did not lead prosperity in Pakistan but preserved the interest of some influential elites. This creates doubts of democratization in Pakistan, because many times democratic regimes were replaced by military regimes while no one democratic leader has completed their democratic tenure in Pakistan's political history (Shah, 2019). Besides the USAID, Pakistan received \$33billion aid since 2001-02. According to 2013 US Congress report, Pakistan has received \$25.91billion USAID both militaries and economic aid since 2001, including \$2.5billion military aid and \$1.2billion economic aid under Coalition Support Funds (Shah, 2019). According to a report, Center for Global Development, 2013, 30percent aid was allocated for economic aid and 70percent was allocated for military assistance to Pakistan since 2002 to 2009 (Pakistan: US Development Strategy, 2013). This research paper analysis the US Aid to Pakistan and democratization in Pakistan since 1999 to 2020 and finds out the reasons and hurdles, why US Aid has failed to promote democracy in Pakistan? The data is analyzed in section-vice bellow with short details after the section of literature review and research design via research methodology.

Literature Review

According to Friedman that foreign aid is averse to civil liberty and democracy. Because most of aid goes to the government, which empower and strengthen governmental sectors instead of private sectors. In regards of other scholars, aid probably fragile government accountability, rule of law, weakens civil society development and undermine democracy. According to some report, the IMF conditionality and desirable reforms often undermine the constitutional check and balance system of the recipients. Other scholars argued that foreign aid encourage coup and reduce the process of democratic regimes. Knack also finds that higher level aid worsens corruption and bureaucratic quality. (Knack, 2004)

The study of Knack explored many countries with long period of time, concluded opposite results of foreign aid on democracy. Used longitudinal data analysis and total OECD aid from 1975-2000. Knack

finds out no effect of foreign aid on democratic results in the same period. However, Paxon and Morishima defined that Knack outcomes are failing because Knack independent variable is all foreign assistance from all OECD countries, regardless of whether the assistance involve in obligations related to democracy. (Azpuru, 2006)

The study of Jacob Swenson focuses on the growth impact of foreign assistance. The study finds that democracy matters in producing growth under the conditions of aid on the degree of political and civil liberties. It is concluded from the Swenson study that aid with condition can lead growth in long run, but also find out that without conditioning aid can lead high level of corruption. (Azpuru, 2006). To be concluded, the scholars define that aid has no impact on democracy, or aid has positive impact on democracy and aid has positive relationship with democracy (Kangoye, 2011).

According to Finkel, Perez-Linan and Seligson notions, it is not very simple “to specify the two defendant variables whether and how foreign aid promotes democracy because there is no universal accepted definition and measurable concept of foreign aid and democracy”. However, many scholars attempted to measure the concept of foreign aid and democracy promotion through Freedom House Index and the POLITY IV Index (Enia, 2006).

According to Goldsmith (2000 a) analysis “the relationship between the level of development assistance given to Sub-Saharan African countries in 1990s and changes in their political systems, he finds out that foreign aid has small but positive impact on democratization” (Enia, 2006).

While according to Carapico (20002) analysis “he finds out that foreign aid has limited ability on democratization and even might worse the matter in Arab world those governments’ objects against aid which violates the state sovereignty”. According to Brautigan and Knack (2004) argue that aid has positive as well as negative effect on democratization in Sub-Saharan countries” (Enia, 2006).

In 2004 Knack collected many recipient nations from 1975 to 2000 and analyzed the two different eras the Pre-Cold War and the Post-Cold War period but finds out no specific evidence that foreign aid promote democracy. Another scholar Finkel et al analyzed in 2005, the grants which provided by the Democracy and Governance Program at USAID leads positive changes in democratization around the world through Democracy and Governance Programs (Enia, 2006).

According to Goldsmith 2001 analysis aid can lead positive reforms in the Sub-Saharan Africa domestic politics in four ways; “1st donor-dictated structural adjustments may produce pressure for government reforms as a buy product; 2nd aid may be given directly in the name of political reforms either as an incentive or reward; 3rd as foreign aid directed toward NGOs, a strengthened civil society may produce democratic reforms; and 4th aid may be given with specific political conditions attached that could lead to reforms (Enia, 2006).

To the same data, Knack (2004) argued that aid can positively affect electoral process in the form of technical assistance, positive impact on the promotion of civil society, strengthening of the judiciary and legislative branches and might positive impact on education in recipient nations as increasing democratization process (Enia, 2006).

Empirical Evidence: The Case-Study of Bangladesh

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Bangladesh is a third world country and mostly depended on foreign aid since independence, which came into being in 1971 (Hossain, 2014). According to World Bank (WB) information, the government of Bangladesh received the amount of foreign aid approximately US\$64.13 billion from various donor nations and agencies since 1771 to 2018 (Sultana, 2021). Basically, Bangladesh received foreign aid in the forms of loans and grants including others different forms such as food aid, commodity aid and project aid from bilateral donors and multilateral donors such as Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States, the World Bank International Development Agency or IDA and Asian Development Bank or IDB (Hossain, 2014).

According to the World Bank information (2019), the amount of aid was changed with the passage of time. For instance, the amount of aid to the government of Bangladesh was US\$13.01 billion from 1981–1990, US\$11.48 billion from 1991–2000, US\$12.21 billion from 2001–2010, and US\$20.60 billion for the last eight years of 2011–2018. The amount of foreign aid was enormous since independence while decreased since 1996. The economic conditions were improved gradually while aid dependency was decreased in Bangladesh (Sultana, 2021).

Similarly, the amount of foreign aid in shape of loan and grants are also changed gradually. For example, the amount of grants was 51 percent from 1971-81 while it decreased almost into 31percent in 2001-12. Conversely, the amount of loans increased from 49 percent to 69percent since 1971-81 to 2001-12. Likewise grants and loans, food aid and commodity aid were also decreased such as 32percent and 42 percent since 1971 and figured both are less than 6 percent in 2012 due to self-sufficiency and less dependency over commodity aid and food aid (Hossain, 2014).

According to the information of the Bangladesh Economic Review (2005, 2005; 2019, 2019), the addition of national resources to ADP fund were 35.83% and 43.03% in Fiscal year of 1993–94 and Fiscal Year of 1994–95, while this contribution further extended to 55.86 percent and 64.4 percent in the Fiscal Year of 2016-17 and 2017-18. So, it is considered that economic dependency of Bangladesh is decreased over foreign aid gradually (Sultana, 2021). It is expected that Bangladesh will be the next Asian Tiger in future in the view of various economists (Hoodbhoy, 2019). This study identifies that foreign aid has blessed and positive impact on the economic development of Bangladesh (Hossain, 2014).

Besides the positive relationship of foreign aid and economic development in Bangladesh, it is also acknowledged in the recent long-term plan of the government of Bangladesh with the aim to become a middle-income and high-income nation by 2021 and 2041 around the world. It has already recognized that Bangladesh is a lower-middle-income nation in 2015 (Sultana, 2021). In 2014 the GDP growth of Bangladesh is \$116.4bn with per capita income GDP \$859(Hossain, 2014). This per capita GDP of Bangladesh is increased approximately \$1698.35 in 2018 according to World Bank (Sultana, 2021).

Comparing with neighboring countries, the growth rate of Bangladesh is 7.8 percent second to India's growth rate of 8percent and more than Pakistan's 5.8 percent. Similarly, the dept per capita of Bangladesh is \$434 that is much less than of Pakistan's \$974 dept per capita, while foreign exchange reserves of Bangladesh are about to \$32billion four times equal to Pakistan's \$8billion foreign exchange reserves. It is notified that the amount of that growth rate is enlarged from zero

point in 1971 to \$35.8 billion in 2018 much more than of Pakistan \$24.8 billion. According to IMF investigation the current economy of Bangladesh is \$180 billion and further will enlarge to \$322 billion in 2021 (Hoodbhoy, 2019). According to some information the economic growth of Bangladesh is wider than 7 percent yearly per capita GDP and four times advanced since 2000 (Bangladesh at 50: Booming Economy, Shrinking Rights, 2021).

This shows practically the positive effects of foreign aid over the economic growth of Bangladesh (Sultana, 2021). Like the above statement, this study explores certain other features that foreign aid is contributed in positive way to economic growth and development in Bangladesh such as aid and public investment, aid and domestic revenue generation, human and social development and institutional reforms in Bangladesh¹. These are mentioned below in short detail.

Since independence, Bangladesh is dependent on foreign aid to organize public sector investment projects under the ADP. According to some information the government of Bangladesh utilized 67 percent of the foreign assistance in shape of project aid while could not utilize the total aid². Bangladesh funded the ADP in 1973-74 totally with foreign assistance. Though Bangladesh minimized the amount of foreign assistance but still utilized foreign assistance in public sector. In Fiscal Year of 2015-16 Bangladesh used \$11.12 billion on the ADP, with amount of \$8.22 billion from domestic resources and \$2.9 billion foreign assistance³.

These project assistances are used in various sectors such as transport, communication, energy and power, industries and infrastructure development and water resources. Resultantly, Bangladesh can be economically developed and have maximum employment opportunities including to transfer from rural-based agricultural economy to urban-based technical and manufacturing economy, but the agriculture sector is essentially contributed with public investment. Bangladesh is near to gain food self-sufficiency⁴. Some of the scholars suggest that the flow of foreign aid reduce the revenue and tax generation of the recipient countries. Resultantly, it further decreases the domestic savings of the recipient nation and depend it further on foreign aid. While it is also identified that loans can lead the recipient nation positively to reform taxation system⁵.

Since 2009, the IMF and the WB pressurized the government of Bangladesh to implement such reforms. However, these reforms are still not achieved, but the country is still capable to enlarge the tax revenue approximately \$19.4 billion in Fiscal Year 2015-16 which was almost \$7 billion in Fiscal Year 2007-08. It is acknowledged that Bangladesh often gets foreign aid as loans, not as grants, that show positive impacts of the aid on domestic taxation and revenue⁶. Human development means

B.B. Rao and G.M. Hassan, 'An Analysis of the Determinants of the Long-Run Growth Rate of Bangladesh', *Applied Economics*, vol. 44, no. 5, 2012, pp. 572-573

² Economic Relations Division, pp. 11-13

³ The Planning Commission of Bangladesh, *Seventh Five Year Plan*, pp. 2-20; It can be seen in Appendix 3 that the share of Agriculture to GDP in Bangladesh is continuously reducing and has reached at 11.70% in FY 2015-16

⁴ Sala and Bocchi, pp. 238-239.

⁵ J. Thornton, 'Does Foreign Aid Reduce Tax Revenue? Further Evidence', *Applied Economics*, vol. 46, no. 4, 2014, pp. 359-361; P. Clist, 'Foreign Aid and Domestic Taxation: Multiple Sources, One Conclusion', *Development Policy Review*, vol. 34, no. 3, 2016, pp. 379-380.

⁶ Hassan and Prichard, pp. 1708-1710.

to improve human needs, such as education, health and employment and so on⁷. The government of Bangladesh initiated such reforms to improve human and social development. Bangladesh is mostly dependent on foreign assistance to implement these social development schemes⁸.

Bangladesh invested almost 37.73 percent aid in social and human development projects since 1995 to 2012. As a result, economic activities increased, and human development approaches returned a better FDI inflow and self-employment; which contributed with the economic development of the country positively.⁹ According to WB information in 2018, after the independence of Bangladesh several social sectors are improved, such as life expectancy, child mortality, literacy rate, education and life expectancy and so on (World Bank, 2019). For instance, the average Life expectancy is increased from 40 years in 1971 to 73 years in 2020.(Bangladesh at 50: Booming Economy, Shrinking Rights , 2021). When the state of Bangladesh emerged, more than 80 percent people live below poverty line while it decreased into 26.20 percent recently according to WB 2018 information (Sultana, 2021).

In 1951 census the population of Bangladesh was 42million and Pakistan's population was 33.7million, but recently Bangladesh population is 165million much less than of Pakistan's population 200million. This shows that Bangladesh has a sustainable control over population growth (Hoodbhoy, 2019). Making better health conditions of women Bangladesh recruited female health workers to deliver door to door family planning service achieved high contraceptive prevalence 62 percent and a rapid fall in fertility from 6.3 births per woman in 1971 to 2.3 in 2010 (Bangladesh Makes Exceptional Health Progress Despite Poverty, 2013). According to ILO information women employment in Bangladesh is 33.2 percent as compared to Pakistan 25.1 percent (Hoodbhoy, 2019).

Donors' support has been very effective in achieving MDGs, improving Human Development Index criteria such as health and education, and financial ups and downs in implementing the development projects¹⁰.The donor nations pressurized the government of Bangladesh to implement several reforms in government such as transparency, accountability, human rights effective public administration and Bangladesh used almost 7.18 percent of foreign aid in these institution improvements, to strengthen judiciary and law enforcement, financial institutions, democratic values, decentralization of military interruption in politics and so on.

However, there are still some challenges to the government of Bangladesh in these reforms' implementation¹¹. Although, Bangladesh civil society is better and struggled to minimize military involvement in politics (Hoodbhoy, 2019). While many democratic governments have been ruling this country since 1991, such as Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) elected two times as (1991-

⁷ G. Koehler, 'Some Preliminary Reflections on Development, Public Policy and Welfare States' in G. Koehler and D. Chopra (eds.), *Development and Welfare Policy in South Asia*, Routledge, New York, 2014, p. 16.

⁸ Dristy, pp. 7-8

⁹ Bhavan, pp. 1770-1772

¹⁰The Planning Commission of Bangladesh, *Millennium Development Goals: Bangladesh Progress Report 2015*, Government of Bangladesh, Dhaka, 2015, pp. 9-13, <http://www.plancomm.gov.bd/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/MDGsBangladeh-Progress-Report_-PDF_Final_September-2015.pdf>, consulted 12 March 2018

¹¹ Parnini, pp. 553-554

1995, 2002-2006), Bangladesh Awami League (BAL) also elected for two terms (1996-2001, 2009-2012) (Hossain, 2014). Bangladeshi leaders are corrupt, but still responsible to their electorates and forced to invest in people rather than in weapon or military establishment (Hoodbhoy, 2019). Therefore, this study shows that foreign aid has positive impact on the economic development, social and human development including institutional development of Bangladesh (Hoodbhoy, 2019).

The Evolution of US Bilateral Aid to Pakistan and Democracy

Since independence Pakistan has wax and wane relationship with the United States and one of the recipients of the US. The US provided aid to Pakistan along with 7 decades due to pursuing her foreign policy geo-strategic and security goals via supporting democratization in Pakistan (Ali, 2015). According to the news report 2019, Pakistan received \$70 billion aid from the US (Shah, 2019). According to an American think-tank report in 2018, Pakistan received US Aid almost \$653 million in 2013, \$630 million in 2014, \$691 million in 2015, \$687 million 2016, \$392 million in 2017 and \$345 million in 2018 (Shah, 2019).

After signing SEATO and CENTO in 1954-55 by Pakistan due to convergence towards the Western Powers, the US aided Pakistan 1.2 billion to \$1.5 billion in military assistance and \$3 billion in economic assistance till 1965 (Ali, 2015). After the Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the US again needed Pakistan help to contain communism. Pakistan received \$3 billion for military assistance and 40 F-16 aircraft in 1981 and by 1985, Pakistan was the fourth largest recipient of the US aid and by 1987, it came into second largest recipients of the US aid after Israel (Ahmad, 2019).

Since post-9/11 attack, the US declared war on terror and forced Pakistan to join her. The US offered \$25.9 billion in military assistance and economic assistance in different ways, such as Coalition support Fund, Military Financing, international disaster Fund and etcetera (Ahmad, 2019). According to some report Pakistan spends 90 % amount of aid on security and military purpose rather than civil society encouragement (Dawn).

During the military regimes, almost in 32 years, Pakistan has received about of \$24.993 billion in economic assistance and \$6.646 billion in military aid. While in the democratic regimes Pakistan gained amount of \$8.612 billion and \$2.286 billion (Ali, 2015). With huge amount of aid economic condition of Pakistan is not improved, the literacy rate is still 50 percent and other social indicators, such as employment, health and education, saving rate is still low and trade gap has widened (Husain, 1999).

Foreign aid did not lead prosperity in Pakistan but preserved the interest of some influential elites. This creates doubts of democratization in Pakistan. According to BBC 2017 report, no one prime minister of Pakistan completed his five years tenure in history till 2018. Nawaz Sharif was blamed and accused in charge of corruption dismissed by Pakistan's Supreme Court and while he blamed Pakistan's military (Pakistan's election five things to know, 2017). Military has ruled for three times (1958-1971, 1977-1988, 1999-2008) while still has interfere in Pakistan civilian governance (Singh, 2018).

Research Design and Methodology

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The study of this research paper is interested to explore Foreign Aid and its relationship with Democracy or democratic values. The study endeavors to acknowledge and find out the impacts of Foreign Aid in the development of democratization. To this end a case-study has been taken to attempt and analyze the US Aid to Pakistan after the Post-Cold War Era 1999 to 2020.

Research design means to draw an outline or make strategy of the detail's arrangement. Research design is the way of formulating decision preceded to a phenomenon occurring. Research design conducted after the selection of research problem and finalized before the data collection (Akhtar, 2016). According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) research design is a systematic way to collect, analyzes, interpret and report data in study of research (Boru, 2018).

In other words, research design is a systematic pattern of investigation to find out the answer of a research problem or research question (Kumar, 2011). So, research design facilitates the required data, way of analyzing, collecting and applying the same data and how to answer the research problem or question (Boru, 2018).

In research process there are two ways collecting data. The first one is primary data collection and the second one is secondary data collection. The first one primary data is collected directly by firsthand of sources like surveys, observations, interviews and experiments. It is original data in shape of information and cannot be subjected to any processing. Primary data is not been published yet while authentic, more reliable and objective in nature. Secondary data is collected besides other ones than the reader or researcher while the data is already available and analyzed by others already. The sources of secondary data are journal articles, books, magazines, newspapers and so on (Rani). The key findings of this research paper are basically derived from secondary data sources and qualitative in nature.

It has been collected from multiple data (published or unpublished) sources such as publication of governments, technical and trade journals, reports of various banks and businesses, public records, statistical or historical documents, unpolished sources like diaries, letters, biographies of personalities and so on (Rani).

Significance of Research

There are numerous benefits of research not only in natural science but also in social sciences. It is the research, those asses the governments to execute and framing policies and decisions regarding budgets, bills, economic and monetary policies and so on. Research provides various ideas with the aim to enhance knowledge and provides new discoveries and inventions of the hidden truths and facts in this world for the benevolent of human Bing. With the help of scientific research, the old traditions and myths are exposed and falsified. Research facilitates the development of civil society and welfare of human being. To the sum up, research provides the facilities to solve all governmental, civil, business, political and social problems. So, research is Fontana's of enlightenment (Dutonde, 2018).

Key Findings and Results

The Regime of President Musharaf and Democratic Reforms 1999-2007

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Pakistan has interrupted experience in the development of democratic government. The military has takeover and demolished several times in the history of Pakistan's political affairs. After the nuclear explosion in 1998 during the Premiership of Nawaz Sharif, the United States imposed nuclear sanction on Pakistan and suspended economic and militaries assistance to Pakistan. On the same way, after military coup held in the country and dethroned the civilian government the military general hold the government of Pakistan and became chief executive of the country in the state of emergency, the US further imposed sever democratic sanctions on Pakistan and stopped all kind of assistance(Hussain, 2005).

However, the situation changed after the 9/11,2001terrorist incident occurred in the US, all the sanction are lifted and the US further provided assistance to Pakistan while pressurized to restore democracy and democratic values such as independent judiciary, improving democratic institutions and administration and so on (Hussain, 2005). Musharaf announced in 2001 that he will bring enlighten moderation and make better record of Human rights in the country. Such as women empowerment, minorities rights, and working-class opportunities under local government act 2001. But the record of human rights worsened in military government even he restored democratic government in the country (Naazer, 2017).

The military government promised to restore democracy, make economic revival, accountability, devolution of power, and ensure democratic institutions, free and fair election and to establish civilian government as soon as possible as Musharaf named enlighten moderation (Sughra Alam, 2020).

Subordinating Judiciary

As Musharaf promised to make judiciary independent, the situation changed when he came in power. When the SCP challenged the military coup, Musharaf ordered to take new oath or resigned the position while majority of the judges take new oath and some of them resigned almost 19 judges via 6 of them are the SCP. The military government then positioned new judges and they supported the regime of Musharaf legally (Naazer, 2017). The SCP also pledged that the current government could amend the constitution of Pakistan as necessary. The Supreme Court of Pakistan SCP legally validated the military coup in the country as state of emergency which is necessary to unify the nation and run the administration of the country. Musharaf could restore the democratic government in next three years (Sughra Alam, 2020).

Musharaf held a referendum around the country. The SCP validated the referendum and passed the Legal Framework Order LFO in 2002. This further empowered newly elected president of Pakistan authorized to dissolve National Assembly of the country, to appoint the governors, commanders of the military forces, members of the National Security Council NSC and has the authority to amend the constitution. So, the judiciary lost its autonomy and directed on the well of military government (Naazer, 2017).

In the current scenario, the independent judicial system of Pakistan faces the enormous undecided cases. There are approximately, 2.2 million undecided cases across the country according to the recent report by Judicial Commission of Pakistan. For instance,

53,686 cases are still undecided pending into the Supreme Court of Pakistan, 350,495 cases under Provincial High Courts and 1773171 into District Judiciary including Islamabad. In the words of W. E. Gladstone, “justice delayed is justice denied”. In the words of Martin Luther, “law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice, and when it fails, it becomes the treacherously controlled dam which block the flow of social progress”(Saroya, 2021).

Similarly, well-functioning judicial system improves the economy of state as it attracts the FDI inflow. But, in Pakistan the FDI inflow is about to \$2.3 billion in last four years. It shows the inefficiency of judicial system of Pakistan as Pakistan ranked 156 out of 190 countries according to the World Bank’s Doing Business report, 2019. According to the same report, Pakistan takes 1072 days to resolute the commercial case as compare to Singapore 164 days, New Zealand 216 days and the United Kingdom 437 days (Saroya, 2021).

Condition of Accountability around the Country

To establish accountability and transparency around the country, the military government established National Accountability Bureau or NAB to hold and arrest corrupt leaders, bureaucrats and businessperson. But the government closed the cases against those persons who favored the government while many opposition leaders were under custody and arrested. So, the NAB played partial game under the military system (Sughra Alam, 2020).

The government used this institution as a tool to pressurize the opposition leaders not for accountability. Even there is no notification before or after the arrest while keep in custody for 90 days to inspect the case. The basic aim of the government is to change the loyalty of the opposition parties’ leaders such as PML-N and PPP. Those who favored the government their cases were closed while who keep loyalty oversaw multiple cases (Naazer, 2017).

Arresting Political Leaders and Banned such Citizen Rights

The military government arrested the political leaders and compelled the last civilian government leader to leave the country. The freedom of association, gathering, expression and political rallies were banned. Even after democratic government since 2002 the arrest of political leaders was continued (Naazer, 2017). The government also imposed Maintenance of Political Order to hold over political rallies, gathering, strikes and freedom of speech even banned political parties’ rallies against the government. For instance, PML-N rally from Peshawar to Lahore was stopped and arrested their workers and leaders. Similarly, Alliance for Restoration of Democracy Restoration was banned in March 2001 in Lahore¹², while in 2004 many of the opposition party PML-N leaders were arrested in 2004 (Naazer, 2017).

Deprivation of the Right to Elect Leader

The government enforced the citizen not to elect the leader at national and provincial level. The establishment utilized the local government election 2001 and favored the referendum in favor of Musharaf (Naazer, 2017). On 30th April 2002 there are irregularities showing results across the

¹² HRW. (2002). Word Report 2002. Human Rights Watch (HRW).

country on Television news that the newly elected leader apologized in his speech.¹³ Similarly, the 2002 general election was also utilized by the establishment institution. The major political parties were controlled. The Human Rights group and political parties declared the election as a flawed election (Sughra Alam, 2020). While the government restricted a person to be chief minister or prime minister twice times under Legal Framework Order LFO, targeting PML-N and PPP leaders and declared BA degree for the candidate to contest the election (Naazer, 2017).

Musharaf was too much empowered to change the rules of election, amend the constitution and even appoint the election campaign staff and duty officers. According to a report, instead of democratic transition the government established military rules in Pakistan¹⁴. When the senator of opposition parties protested against LFO in 2003, and not recognize it as the part of constitution, the government disqualified almost 65 federal and provincial representatives¹⁵. So, the government suppressed the opposition and strengthened the establishment government (Sughra Alam, 2020).

Ban over Freedom of Association

The government holds bans on freedom of association and amended the Civil Service Act 1973, and Removal from Service Ordinance 2000 forced to disallow the courts interfering or contest the state authority. Thus, the establishment forced the arrest of freedom of association workers and activists. The established played an authoritative role in state affairs and authorized the president to dissolve National Assembly under Article 58-2b (Sughra Alam, 2020). According to Human Rights Index, the country remains poor, undemocratic, press and rallies, freedom of association were suppressed, judiciary remained fragile and incompetent and corrupt till 2004. The establishment violated and abused human rights around the state¹⁶. The United States remain silent and no action has taken due to allegiance of Musharaf towards the US as an ally (Naazer, 2017).

Devolution of Power and Musharaf Reforms and Civilian Government

The transition of power and authority from Center to the local units is called as the devolution of power. One of the key objectives of the devolution of power is to ensure good governance and carry out the needs of citizens under local government. In Pakistan, the development of local government was continued since independence (Ali, 2018). However, the system again revised under president Musharaf regime in 2001. Under the Local Government Ordinance, the system is consisted on local bodies' district government, town and tehsil government, and union council government. The plan is contributed to all the provinces except the military

¹³ HRCP. (2003). Current HR Information: Political Development-2002. Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP).

¹⁴ HRW. (2003). World Report 2003. Human Rights Watch (HRW).

¹⁵ HRCP. (2004). Current HR Information: Political Development-2003. Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP).

¹⁶ USDS. (2005). Supporting Human Rights and Democracy: The US Record 2004-2005. US Department of State (USDS).

cantonment areas and FATA to accomplish the grievances and issues of the local population (Sughra Alam, 2020).

But the politicians considered it is a threat to their politics in future. The institution of bureaucracy also criticized the local government system that the district commission rested under the control of district mayor or Nazim. However, the donor parties recognized the system and provided financial assistance to finance and support the LGO in Pakistan (Ali, 2018).

The local government utilized the military government in Pakistan and utilized the national referendum in 2001 and general election in 2002. Majority of parties' leaders criticized the national referendum and general election as corrupt and rigged, patronized and favored identity politics of the establishment. This creates gap between the bureaucracy and elected representatives while further subordinated bureaucracy and made the good governance fragile (Sughra Alam, 2020).

After general election the establishment promulgated Legal Framework Order on 21st August 2002. It further enlarged the power of president who can amend the constitution, can dissolve the National Assembly, and appoint the governors and commander of armed forces and member of the National Security Council approved by the SCP. When he declared vote of confidence in National Assembly and the Parliament after 17th amendment in the constitution with 53 percent result in 2004, the opposition boycotted, and Mutahida Majlese Amal or MMA also criticized the policy of Musharaf (Sughra Alam, 2020).

The establishment considered it is the violation of the accord and take the position of Chief-of-Army-Staff COAS and even resigned three prime ministers in just two months tenure. On the same year NA passed a bill and the Senate approved it on 1st November 2004, while acting president signed the bill authorized Musharaf to be as a COAS and president of Pakistan. This really showed that democracy is abused and even it is the violation of basic principles of democracy. Instead of democracy the establishment promoted the military involvement in state affairs and approximately 300 civilian posts were exercised by the military persons (Sughra Alam, 2020).

General Election of 2005

The government announced the local government election will be held in 2005. The election will be based on non-party base, but the major parties labeled some of the symbols. Such as PML-Q used enlightens moderation, PPP used friend of people and MMA used truthful. Election was conducted in two phases 18th August and 25th August 2005. PML-Q declared the winner party and PPP remained the second party. For self-rule Musharaf again pleaded for presidential election in 2007. He dismissed chief justice of SC which caused the layer strike across the country, latter he was re-elected again. The electoral college of parliament and provinces give an opportunity to re-elect Musharaf again as president of Pakistan for next five years, the opposition boycotted.

When the constitution delayed the decision, Musharaf suspended constitution and the judges and enforced the state of emergency and media was banned

on 3rd November 2007. Later, the situation re-settled and offered the opportunity for presidential election. But the situation changed after Benazir assassination on 27 December 2007. However, this time the situation worsened in Pakistan, security issues increased, suicide attacks and violence began. Finally, general election was held in February 2008. A civilian government was established by the coalition parties and Musharaf was forced to impeach and he resigned on 18 August 2008 (Raja, 2021).

On the same way, in 2008, the civilian government decided to transfer the power from the center to the provinces. But the process was very slow in procedure until 2015. The donor nations also supported the plan to ensure good governance and stability in Pakistan. During Musharaf time-period, the government passed Local Government Order LGO in 2001 that not only empowers the local government but also provides 33 percent seats for the women under LGO besides the constitution of Pakistan (Ali, 2018).

The local government election was postponed due to PPP leader death of Benazir in 2008. However, the PPP government passed 18th amendment in 2010 in Parliament and the power was shifted from the centre to provinces¹⁷. But the local elite class delayed the bill due to their narrow self-interest. Even the SCP ordered to carry out the bill. So, the government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa passed the act in 2015 while Sindh and Punjab passed it in the same year. But still the provinces did not functionalize the system while the SCP again ordered to functionalize and transfer the power to local governments in provinces in 2016¹⁸. But still, there are some issues in local government system such as capacity and revenue generation problem, service delivery problems, the issue of representation and women under the local government, minorities group and other group representations (Ali, 2018).

Women have 33 percent quota to participate in local government, but they face some hindrance and pressurized by some religious and political parties prohibiting from the election especially in KP and Baluchistan. Many politicians objected that women could exert their power politics in their opinion. The minorities groups also criticized the system¹⁹. According to 2017 consensus, minorities' population is less than 4 percent while government represents only religious base communities²⁰. The non-religious communities criticize the system that it undermines their ability and based on selection not election (Ali, 2018).

The Government of PPP 2008-2013

After the resign of President Musharaf, the military government ended, and PPP new leader Asif Ali Zardari became as elected president of Pakistan on 6th September 2008. For the restoration and democratic form of government, the elected party make a coalition government with other political

¹⁷ Faisal Buzdar, "Strengthening Local Governments in Pakistan: A Case for Constitutionally-Mandated Electoral Timeframes" (Islamabad: AAWAZ, 2015).

¹⁸ Hasnaat Malik, "Devolution of power: SC displeased with local government delays," Express Tribune (Karachi), May 12, 2016, www.tribune.com.pk/story/1101836/devolution-of-powers-sc-displeased-with-local-govt-delays/.

¹⁹ "Local Government Women Councilors' Caucus launched," press release, The Nation (Lahore), April 21, 2017, www.nation.com.pk/21-Apr-2017/local-government-women-councilors-caucus-launched.

²⁰ For details, see the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics website: www.pbs.gov.pk.

parties especially PML-N. But there are some different interests on the party bases, yet they continue the elected government for the sake of civilian government. The government of PPP completed the tenure as a civilian government in political history of Pakistan at first time (Raja, 2021).

However, there are some failures and gains of the PPP government in five years of government. For instance, the government has no accurate management system that creates financial and administrative collapse in the country. The government neglected criminal cases and further led corruption on national level. The government appointed unable persons on the major corporation and government institution and no interest to improve National Accountability Bureau and no suitable accountability law. This worsened the situation of country and majority of the masses came under poverty line, while the government has received a record loan in history of Pakistan (Saeed, 2014). However, the PPP government restored the original form of 1973 Constitution. Under the 18th amendment, the government shifted autonomy to provinces and abolished concurrent list from the Constitution (Ali, 2018).

The government also passed 7th National Financial Commission Award which further improved parliamentary and federal system in Pakistan. The PPP current government adopted the policy of reconsolidation and never and create legislative consensus on the national issues. The government also developed Benazir Income Support Program to overcome the poverty of masses to some extent (Saeed, 2014).

The Government of PML-N 2013-2018 and Democratic Development in Pakistan

In May 2013, a general election held which gave the opportunity for the third time in Pakistan political history that PML-N leader Nawaz Sharif became an elected prime minister of Pakistan. The democratic parties recognized the transfer of power to a new civilian government from the civilian government. It was considered a free and fair election. The PML-N party completes its tenure although PM Nawaz Sharif was disqualified in 2017 by the Supreme Court of Pakistan (Raja, 2021). The current government promised certain reforms. Some of the certain policies are explained and criticized below (Khan, 2019).

1 Ensure universal approach to foodstuff besides government across the country as right to food as the basic right of human. Yet the government never completed the promise to bring into effect by the legislature as of right to food. Similarly, targeting four percent advancement in agriculture sector not benefited²¹.

2 the PML-N government claimed that government will spend four percent of GDP in education sector and health sector by 2018. But the government just used less portion of the same claim. Such as 2.1 percent on education and 0.7 percent on health in 2014, 2.2percent and 0.7 percent in 2015, 2.3percent and 0.8percent in 2016, 2.2percent and 0.9 percent in 2017 and 2.4percent and 1.1percent in 2018 on education and health respectively (Khan, 2019).

3 Inflation rates were dropped in five years of tenure because of low price of oil, suitable exchange rate and support to stabilize the price of grains. So, the PML-N government in last five years

²¹ Pakistan Economic Survey

overcomes the burning issue of inflation overcome and lowered to some extent in the country-wide. The inflation rate was lowered to 4percent in 2018 from 9percent in 2014. It is the great achievement of the PML-N government, but the sustainability is also questionable because of on international level oil price going out of the nation hold (Khan, 2019).

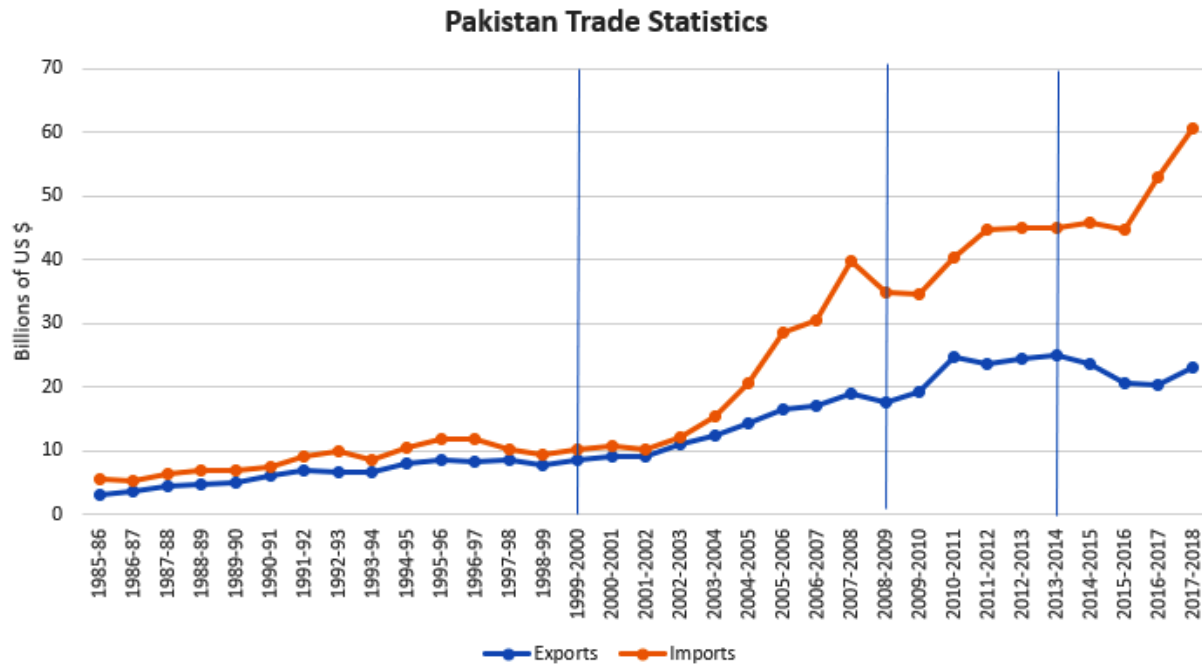
4 Macroeconomic Stability in the country was a challenge for the PML-N government. But the government does not facilitate such a policy to make sustainable macroeconomic development. The budget was repeated and increased yearly while the Prime Minister Office expenditure is higher than budget. It showed the failure of the current office to improve macroeconomic policy of the nation²².

5 Social development around the country is also a big challenge and key goal of PML-N current manifesto. The government claimed to cooperate with the units to enhance the amount allocation of 1percent GDP into 2percent of GDP in 2018, spending on non-pension social protection. But these social developments were mostly financed by Benazir Income Support Program, Social Development Goals and Pakistan Bait-Ul-Mall. What the government claimed in its manifesto the spending amount is much less than one-third of the government claims. Pakistan allocates the lowest amount on social development in South Asia according to World Social Development 2017 report, while Pakistan remained 147 on rank around the world on Human Development Index (Khan, 2019).

The Economic Condition of Pakistan Since 2000 to 2018

The economic and trade import and export is given below and shows the three main leading government tenure that how much they improved the economy of Pakistan? Because everyone government prioritized their efforts on the trade and economy of the country. The following graph shows the import red line and export blue line and vertical line shows the tenure of the government. It also acknowledges the trade deficit with the passage of time in a given time (Haider, 2019).

²² Pakistan Economic Survey



Source: <http://www.pbs.gov.pk>

Analyzing Democratic Values in Pakistan

The study elaborates the democratic development in Pakistan since 1999 to 2018. Such as democracy indices of free and fair election, governance, human rights, civil society, press and media, corruption, the involvement of army in judiciary and government institutions and women empowerment. These are explained in short detail below (Laura Maxwell, 2019).

The key findings improvement is encouraged since 2008 civilian and elected government. It shows a considerable development in democracy in Pakistan. The civilian government not initiated only but also ended the military regime of President Musharaf and carried out the Charter of Democracy. Under this charter the two parties cooperated and acknowledged the respect of the basic rules of democracy²³.the values of human rights, freedom of expression and association were improved. It is also assessors with liberalization originated during Musharaf era but also controlled (Laura Maxwell, 2019).

The 2008 election was considered free and fair and elaborated civilian government. Contrary to this, the 2013 election was declared by the new political Party PTI suspects as vote-rigging election and continued protest the PML-N elected government while the international observers recognized it as fair and clear election in Pakistan. Similarly, to that the Election Commission of Pakistan has flaw in the management of election results. There is still military involvement in state affairs. For instance, military interference has seen pre-election condition, hold over civil societies, ban on media and control over judiciary in Pakistan in the year of 2014 to 2016. While the political parties also lobbying

²³Text of the Charter can be found at <https://www.dawn.com/news/192460>

undemocratically for their party or self-interest instead of the development of democratic institutions (Laura Maxwell, 2019).

Fragility also found in the people's confidence in political organizations, the capabilities of electorates in Pakistan's democratic process. However, the election of 2018 is optimized and recognition of Prime Minister Imran Khan 57 percent according to International Republican Institute's (IRI) Centre for Insights in Survey Research²⁴. The election of 2018 and triumph of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf PTI is also showing positive struggle for democratization while ending the two major parties PML-N and PPP monopolies over political sphere in the country (Laura Maxwell, 2019). Yet democratic development in Pakistan faces some of the challenges such as country's fragile economic condition, corruption, suppression of civil rights and continuation of military involvement in government civilian institutions (Laura Maxwell, 2019).

Accountability and Rule of Law

The political stakeholders in Pakistan are always in struggle between the institutions such as military, bureaucracy and elected institutions such as legislature and judiciary. The constitution of Pakistan divides the state authority amongst the legislature, executive and judiciary. The national Assembly is elected through election campaign while remains the weak institution while the military keeps strong holds and position. While the judiciary keep an eye to challenge the role of both institutions. Since 2008, the check and balance improved between the organizations while rule of law is remained low in positions. This means that law is not enforced consistently and clearly. One of the key reasons is that the legislative body members are partly involved and not interested while not present in majority of them in the Assembly sessions. Similarly, the citizens are in doubt of their representative's responsibility²⁵.

Another reason of the weak position of the legislature is the family and heredity base politics via religious holders in the parliament which are self-interested not policy oriented (Laura Maxwell, 2019). Military interference has also influenced the Supreme Court of Pakistan validating military coup in 1999 and further the suspend of chiefs of SC and High courts Judges, empowering the president to dissolve the National Assembly under article 58-2b during Musharaf rule (Naazer, 2017). Similarly, the establishment in 2016-17 secretly disqualifying PM of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif and the approval of Military Courts after Peshawar School attacks in 2014 and the approval of 21st amendment in constitution. While still military steering the policy of countries. Exclusively the military has no showed interference in civilian government but secretly the establishment involved in pre-election 2018 campaign threatens the elected leaders and media who pinioned against the military and give press coverage to Nawaz Sharif (Laura Maxwell, 2019).

Human Rights and Liberty of Civil Society

In the time of military regime human rights and civil liberties were controlled. Freedom of speech, gathering and association were also banned. Even in the time of presidential campaign the

²⁴<https://www.dawn.com/news/1470150>

²⁵ 9 Both Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan gained reputations as absentee legislators during their tenures as members of national assembly.

military government curtailed mass media until the approval of president Musharraf decree for re-election of presidency across the country by the SCP (Sughra Alam, 2020). Since the PPP government in 2008, the situation of Human Rights improved, but the political rights were also controlled under civilian government since 2015. While still the freedom of expression and association face blow in Pakistan even in civilian government (Laura Maxwell, 2019).

The citizens are free to discuss any issue; however, the legislature is doing to diminish freedom of association over any critical speech on the military and the ideology of Pakistan. Similarly, the lack of civil rights are showed in the 2016 Amnesty International Report as “detailing that legislation such as the Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act of 2016 have been used to “intimidate, harass and arbitrarily detain human rights defenders for online comments” as well as “used to carry out a number of arrests throughout the 2018 pre-election period. This includes the June arrest of journalist Zafarullah Achakzai, a reporter for the newspaper Daily Qudrat. Furthermore, supporters of different political parties were arrested for social media posts critical of the authorities” (Amnesty International 2018).

The suppression over freedom of expression and association are also acknowledged in the two personality's assassination. In 2015 the murder of human rights activists, Sabeen Mahmud who criticized the military against Baluchistan freedom struggle openly. And the second one is in 2016 media activist Qandeel Baloch who criticized the elite/political and religious class as insincerity and prejudice in Pakistan. Pakistan has ranked -3 and 143 out of 180 states in 2019, while reached at 145 in the 2020 World Press Freedom Index (Ghani, 2020). Media has great role interacting on the views and influencing and beading between the public and the government, but in Pakistan, it is verily acknowledged that media is controlled by the elite class, politicians, military and bureaucrats via judicial officers (Eijaz, 2003). According to another report 90 incidents of “attacks and violations” against the media were found. The same information also explained that 7 journalists were killed in last year, 2 abducted, 9 arrested and considered Islamabad is the most dangerous place for journalist and more than 34percent violence cases against journalists happened (Ghani, 2020).

Women Empowerment

Women in Pakistan have faced several challenges besides religious, political and family constrains. However, under local government Act 2001, the military government provided an opportunity for women interacting in field of politics having 33percent quota in local elections, but they are criticized by different religious authorities and political leaders due to their political influence (Ali, 2018). In socio-economic field the ratio of women are 25 percent according to dawn newspaper 2018 (Hoodbhoy, 2019). According to BBC report 2017, 173 women are running for 272 parliamentary seats in Pakistan, amongst one of them is Ali Begum as a first woman to stand male dominated tribal areas (Pakistan's election five things to know, 2017). In 2018 election, the participation of women is almost 45percent as compared to male gender. Recently women are participating in social activities and politics but still they are feared and took off their identities due to family and friends' social pressure (Laura Maxwell, 2019).

Hindrances into Democratization in Pakistan

The process of democratization is originated with the arrival of British Imperial power in the region of South Asia. The desire of British Colonial power was to establish legislature, executive and judiciary according to western modal of democracy, based on secular values. So, the practice of democracy is rested to the region of South Asia and especially to Pakistan as legacy of the British Empire (Fatima, 2013). However, there are some issues that face the demarcation in Pakistan. These are mention in short details below.

The religious Fundamentalism

Since independence of Pakistan the traditionalist religious scholars prioritize the government structure on the base of Sharia law and Divine Rules²⁶. So, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan declared that the state must be based on Islamic society values. The ideology of Pakistan is one of the key challenges for the western democratic model to implement in Pakistan. Basically, the ideology of Pakistan is based on Islamic values and the objective resolution as introduced by Liaqat Ali Khan the prime Minister of Pakistan. it is contradictory to the western model of democracy, while there is no such a way to compromise on it besides the Islamic scholars. The charter of Objective resolution also forwarded into the 1973 constitution of Pakistan and declared as the integral part of the constitution. This trend further create hurdle for the minorities and non-Muslim communities curtailed some of their basic rights. So, it is an issue of democratization in Pakistan²⁷. At the time of Zia Ul-Haq a Sharia council made to exercise the state affairs according to Sharia laws. So, theocracy is utilized, and civil military was supported in the time of Zia and even President Musharaf (Fatima, 2013).Minority groups also face discriminatory laws in Pakistan in which religion is central identity to numerous majorities of Pakistan (Minorities' plight, 2020).

Military and Bureaucratic Interruption is another issue in democratization in Pakistan. After the demise of the founder of Pakistan, the bureaucracy started intervention in state civilian institutions. By the time, political parties are also unable to handle the institutions even Pakistan Muslim League party split because of party disunity. Governor Raj started in the country, especially in Sindh and Punjab. General Ghulam Muhammad resigned the premier Nazimuddeen²⁸. So, non-democratic interference started in Pakistan and gradually the establishment led coup with the help of bureaucracy or by military as the coup of 1958, 1977 and of 1999 by military general Parvez Musharaf. Still this intervention is existed in the civilian institutions of the government (Fatima, 2013). The interference is existed in different areas of the civilian institution while threatened the media and political candidates during pre-2018 election (Laura Maxwell, 2019).

The US Aid and the Development of Democracy in Pakistan

Since World War II, the notion of democracy promotion is the milestone of the US foreign policy. Many of the US leaders claimed to spread the democracy and safer the world, such as President

²⁶ The daily Dawn, Karachi: January 14, 1948.

²⁷For details, Hamid Ali Khan, The Political and Constitutional History of Pakistan (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011).

²⁸ Keith Callard, Pakistan: A Political Study (Oxford: Allen & Unwin, 1968), 137.

Reagan, G. Bush, Clinton and Barrack Obama (Fozia, 2018). In case of Pakistan, the US support democratization in Pakistan through US Aid while pressurized the country after nuclear explosions and military takeover in 1999 the country faced severe democratic sanctions. But this situation changed after the 9/11 tragedy, the US prioritized her security and strategic interests and democracy the second one. The US focused on military assistance as compared to human rights, economic and democratic funds to Pakistan. the US ignored democratic institutions and democratization across the country (Hussain, 2005).

Since 2002 to 2009, Pakistan received only 30 percent US Aid in the form of economic aid and from 2010 to 2014 this aid increased to 41 percent, while the remaining 70 percent and 59 percent offered to security assistance. While, there is on and off situation and suspension and irregularities, providing aid to Pakistan (Pakistan: US Development Strategy, 2013). According to 2018 Survey, 86 percent people believe that the country is going into wrong direction. 72 percent opined that their economy is collapsed (US Aid to Pakistan by the Numbers, 2008).

According to International Crisis Group Asia report 2012, “ the US has lopsided focus on the security concern which has entrenched the military’s control over state institutions and policy, delaying reforms and aggravating Pakistani public perceptions that the US only interested in investing in a security client” (Rabbani, 2014).

Corruption

Corruption is also one the major defect in the development of democracy in Pakistan. the PML-N and PPP was already accused in misgoverning scandals. The judiciary and executive are also misconduct by bribes and unfiled amount due to individually gaining or in public places for their own favour (Laura Maxwell, 2019). According to Dawn news report 2021, Pakistan ranked 120 out of 180 countries on the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) which was on rank of 117 number in 2018 (Pakistan falls three spots on corruption perception index, 2020). Minority groups also face discriminatory laws in Pakistan in which religion is central identity to numerous majorities of Pakistan (Minorities' plight, 2020).

Conclusion and Recommendations

To sum up, it is concluded that foreign aid is considered as any kind of help or resources. Be it as in shape of amount, commodities, humanitarian, project aid technical or military assistance. It could be bilateral and transferring from the donor nation to a recipient state directly or it could be multilateral in shape provided to a needy state or states by the international organizations or non-governmental organizations. Sometimes, the aid could be linked with provisions or sometimes without provisions. Mostly, humanitarian assistance is not linked with provisions because of emergency relief. Nevertheless, bilateral aid is probably linked with the conditions besides the donor nation to carry out those conditions by the recipients or third world countries.

Amongst the conditions to carry on certain reforms, one of them is the development of democracy besides the donor interests. It is the government elected by the people directly or indirectly which represents the basic human rights of the citizen in the country or across the country.

It has two forms such as presidential form of democracy and parliamentary form of democracy or representative form of democracy.

The debate on the relationship between foreign aid and democracy development is controversial amongst the scholars. Many considered and favored that foreign aid promote democratic values, while some of them examined that aid has no impact on democracy while several say that the aid has negative impact on democratization. However, there are many areas and examples that foreign aid improved the economic conditions and democratic reforms in third world countries. For instance, the economic conditions, health, education, women empowerment and so on are improved and reformed in Bangladesh a third world country with foreign assistance.

In case of Pakistan, democratization seems adverse relationship with the US Aid. The United States provided aid to Pakistan since 1950s. However, since 1999 to 2020, the democratic reforms are not improved in Pakistan. Instead of reforms, the country steering by military government till 2008 and continue till do date covertly or overtly the influence in civil institutions of the government. The judiciary was controlled in times of the dictatorship. Civil rights, freedom of association, gathering and mass media were curtailed to some extent or channelized in favor of military regime. Civil institutions were directed by the military officers. And political leaders were threatened and exiled. Instead of democratic reforms, the country faced authoritarian experiences and violations of human rights while the United States remained pro-supportive.

In the civilian government of PPP and PML-N certain reforms are highlighted. Such as human rights, women empowerment, civil society, freedom of speech, frees mass media and so on. But the country ranked in high-profile corruption and explicitly military interference including such cases of murder of social activists and curbing such journalists. Women are still facing some of the challenges besides religious groups and politicians' critique via societal inclinations.

There are some of the key reasons that hinder the democratic reforms in Pakistan. The first one is military interference in the governance affairs and civil institutions. The second one is some of the religious groups never compromise on certain minorities rights and women empowerment due to Islamic beliefs and as an Islamic state necessary. The third one is the US considered democracy as secondary to her geo-strategic and security interest in the region. while undermined the democratic reforms and offered mostly military assistance. the elite class also prioritize their own narrow self-interest or party agendas and politicize it while undermined democratic reforms. Their attitudes are mostly autocratic and struggle for holding state authority.

The state has face with corruption in civil and public sphere in the country. so, the country status of democracy is succumbed by the internal as well as external powers. And that is the reasons of the failures of democratization that not only the US has failed to restore the democracy in Pakistan, but the country's authority and leaders also failed to establish real democracy in the country.

Though democracy is not suppressed in all the shape as it is, but certain changes are needed to be reforms. The foremost adopting way is to de-militarize the state politics. State civil institutions are free and should be independent from all the internal and external pressure to work smoothly and

adopt democratic norms. The state elected leaders should focus on the reforms as needed for the real democratization of Pakistan and quit their narrow minded and short-sided politics. Create long-term policies and respect human rights. Quit the corruption and use of bribery including black stock-filing.

The US also should forward the way to real democracy and project of democratic aid to improve the civilian institutions under the conditional mechanism not to on and off interaction with Pakistan for only strategic and security interest.

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