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The Islamia University of Bahawalpur

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Effectiveness of Xi's Anti-Corruption Campaign in China: A Preliminary Study

Mehwish Muzaffar¹

Article Information	Abstract
Received: October 11, 2021 Revised: June 26, 2023 Accepted: June 29, 2023	Corruption is considered a phenomenon which can be seen in every country and region. It is a curse and a cancer for the economy of the country. It is unethical and unacceptable behavior and the use of power for individual and personal gain. The objectives of this research are to analyze the level of corruption in China and the efforts to curb the corruption. The anti-corruption campaign of China is popular among the scholars and analysts not only in China but also internationally. Xi Jinping came into power in 2012 and started crackdowns upon tigers and flies. Xi gives importance to the party discipline and behavior of party cadres. The Communist Party of China set strict rules and regulations to curb the corruption. This research is based on qualitative methods and data was collected by secondary sources which provide better understanding of Chinese anti-corruption efforts. This research provides the history and present situation of corruption in China.
Keywords <i>China</i> <i>Corruption</i> <i>Anti-corruption Policies</i> <i>Marxist-Leninist ideology</i> <i>Party Discipline</i>	

1. Introduction

Corruption is defined as “use of public offices for private gain” (Asencio, 2019; Philp, 2017) and “an unacceptable behavior committed by public officials for the private gain and damage of public interest intentionally or unintentionally at the expense of public” (Ko & Weng, 2011). Corruption is a challenge which is not limited to one country, rather it is a highlighted problem for all the countries whether they are developed or underdeveloped.

Corruption increases with economic growth. It is important for every country to make plans to control corruption when it plans to grow the economy. China's economy has rapid growth since last few decades and corruption has also arisen as a big challenge because government officials were entrusted with more powers and lack of supervision lead towards more chances of corruption (Kwok, 2018). It is somehow using the public offices and funds for the private gain. It can be seen as a largest barrier to the economic growth of the country.

Corruption is one of the big challenges faced by the Communist Party of China while dealing with the poverty and inequality. This hurdle arises with the economic reforms in 1970s and opening era. Therefore, war against corruption and crackdowns is important for China to continue its economic growth. Xi Jinping has managed his power and enjoyed his power by managing the corruption in the country, especially by the crackdowns and other strict measures.

In recent years the corruption situation has become better in the country. Perhaps it is the public trust upon the government and rule of law by the nation. The anti-corruption campaign by Xi Jinping is also providing him with big support from the public. It is also important for Communist Party of China to manage his power for the stability of single-party state.

General Secretary of CPC has made dramatic changes in the system of China, but the most popular effort is to curb the corruption. The Chinese anti-corruption campaign under the leadership of Xi Jinping is not only popular into China but it has also attracted the other countries and international

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media. Xi assured to deal with the corruption in Chinese government which includes all high officials not only the lower rank officials. Xi's strategy to fight against Tigers and flies won the heart of the people (Fisher, 2015).

The Chinese sense of corruption is different and unique especially when it comes to the causes of corruption. The research identifies that one party system is one of the reasons for high degree of corruption and the second reason is guanxi network which is based on mutual connections. The concept that one party system is weak to control or reduce the corruption shows that single party has complete control in China and majority of corruption cases are reported from party cadres.

The others who believe guanxi is a reason of corruption say that corruption in China is historical and deep rooted. As they see that Chinese traditional politics was based on nepotism. Historically the Chinese politics was practiced through ruling class and their children. Corruption in China does not include only illegal activities but also includes the moral and questionable behavior (Fisher, 2015).

2. Research Questions

- i. Has the corruption situation improved with the passage of time and with new policies in China?
- ii. How does the CPC meet with the corruption challenge?

3. Research Design and Methodology

This study is based on qualitative methods and data collected from secondary sources which are published online by different scholars and institutions. This published data helps to investigate the research questions related to the effectiveness of Xi Jinping anti-corruption campaign and CPC's efforts to curb the corruption in China.

The Corruption Perception Index (CPI) also helps to evaluate the corruption situation in China. The secondary data includes the published books, journals, newspapers, and governments reports. This research covers the corruption issue in China, anti-corruption campaign in China and hurdles to eliminate the corruption. Discussing the corruption and its elimination is important for every state to grow its economy because it causes many other problems in the country. This research provides the analysis of anti-corruption efforts in China.

4. Findings and Discussion

3.1 Marxism-Leninism Ideology

Ideology is very important for the China as it belongs to the history of a nation and party especially when we talk about the Communist Party of China. The party has strong bases of ideology during the Mao era and post-Mao era. During and after the reform and opening up era the Marxist-Leninist thoughts were dominated and still matters today. With the second largest economy, China has managed its attitudes towards ideology. Although the Chinese system is complicated and diverse today and created spaces between the general public and political elite. China is in the era of growth and development and it arises the question how the Communist Party of China will manage the faith of people and ideology (Brown, 2018b).

The Communist Party of China is based on Marxist-Leninist principles and it was clearly declared in 1959 at 8th party congress. Later, in 1969 at the 9th congress Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thoughts were adopted as a guiding principle of party and ideology (Mar, 2019). This revision and universal principles were adopted in the context of revolution and to accomplish the tasks successfully. In 1997 there was addition of Deng Xiaoping theory with the Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong (Wang, 2021). These changes and new requirements arose and a powerful weapon for self-promotion and party building and also the development of China. When Xi Jinping took the charge in 2012 party added new standers as party ideology. Under this guiding ideology the party will

follow the 20th party congress. Whenever the revisions are made it affected the power and policy. The Chinese ideology Marxism-Leninism is the struggle against the reactionary classes and imperialism (Thorton, 2015). The Communist Party of China is the party of working class and it works for the interests of people. The leadership works are representing the development of China and defines that communism is the ideal and highest goal for the party.

3.2 History of Anti-Corruption Campaigns in China

Corruption and anti-corruption efforts in China always remained important and serious challenge for the leadership. China has its own domestic norm, unique culture and political heritage which are different from the world. It has found its own way and roadmap to curb the corruption. China has history of anti-corruption campaigns and the first campaign was started to target economic crimes in 1982 in which thousands of cases were investigate and many of them surrendered because they violated the party discipline and they were also engaged in corrupt activities. In 1988 the third anti-corruption campaign begun and hundreds of officials were convicted because they were involved in different crimes like bribery and grafts. During the third campaign 20,794 persons were arrested (Dai, 2013) and almost 482 million Yuan were recovered during this campaign. Another anti-corruption campaign was started in 1993 with the objectives of strengthening the investigation and self-regulations of officials. After 1995 the Transparency International reported positive effects of these anti-corruption efforts. But the situation remained alarming for the anti-corruption agencies (Dai, 2013).

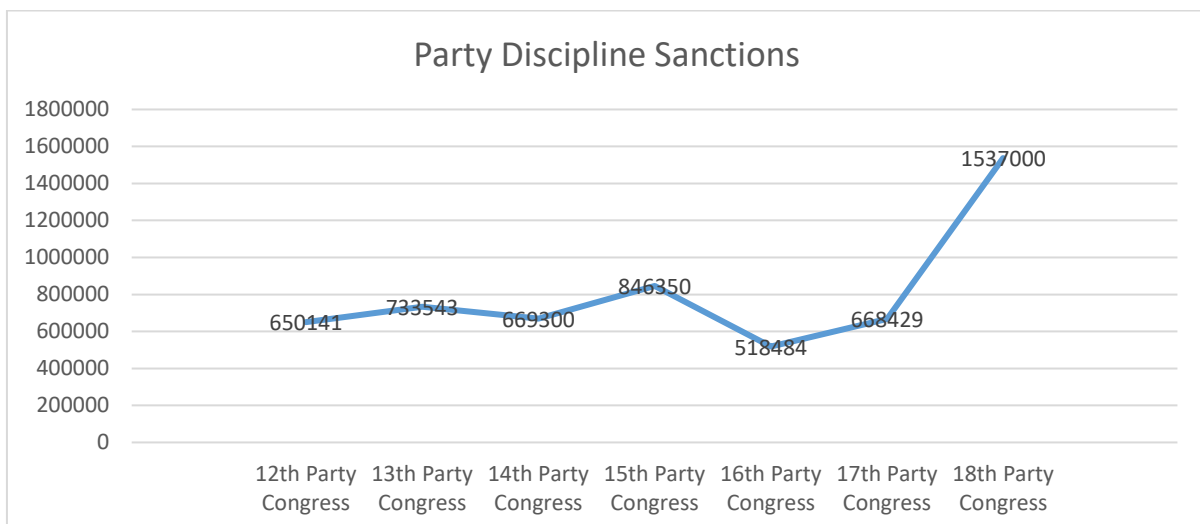


Figure 1: Party Discipline Sanctions (L. Li, 2019)

The presented graph shows that party discipline sanctions were imposed in every era but these numbers were less before the Xi era. The data presented here is from 1980s to 2012 when Xi took the charge. In 12th Party Congress 650,141 discipline sanctions were imposed and these numbers were little high in 13th party congress which was 733,543. During 14th and 15th party congress these numbers were 669,300 and 846,350. There were decline in party sanctions during 16th and 17th party congress as the numbers were 518,484 and 668,429. But we can see that in 18th party congress number of sanctions were increased as the total number were 1,537,000 which is high than all previous party congresses. Chinese Communist Party always tries to focus on party discipline and sanctions to improve the party system and cadres.

3.3 Xi’s Anti-Corruption Efforts

As it is mentioned earlier that China has long history of anti-corruption campaigns but Xi's campaign is most popular among the public and other countries. Xi took the charge in November 2012 in 18th party congress and started a new fight against the corruption. Xi stated many times that corruption will destroy the party and state. His statement clearly shows that he is much concerned about the corruption phenomena. He did not only state that but practically many senior officials were charged during his power. The ordinary public, all officials and analysts take his statement seriously because just after two years of assuming power Xi showed serious crackdown on not only junior officials but it also includes high profile officials. Xi's anti-corruption campaign has investigated provincial and minister level officials and one highlighted case is Zhou Yongkang who was the member of politburo and until his fall it was commonly believed that it is hard to investigate him as a criminal (Wu, 2015). It was claimed by Chinese and international media that Xi's campaign is for real and corrupt officials were the first who sensed its seriousness. These officials were running to hide their corrupt properties and money (S. Li, 2017). Xi is more confident than his predecessors that he can eliminate the corruption from the country. His priority is to clean the party from corruption that the party will be able to rule the market economy forever under the absolute power. However, it is believed that he is well aware that corruption is unescapable phenomena under single-party leadership so he should bear reasonable corruption in the country. But it is true that the current level of corruption is not reasonable and cannot be tolerated by the leadership.

Some scholars believe that in a single party rule the corruption is high because party cadres are corrupt, if cadre A grabbed then the cadre B does it the double. So, these practices should be punished as Xi did. It is important for Xi to maintain the supervision and protect the party at every cost. Party discipline is also important for the leadership as the case of Bo Xilai who challenged the top leadership and violated the party discipline (Bulman & Jaros, 2020). Bo was rising star and he was also involved in corruption but the reason of his fall was not corruption rather his challenge to the top leaders who were campaigning. Xi's anti-corruption campaign is also a political movement; he is earning public support by this campaign. The anti-corruption campaign is popular among the ordinary people who want corrupt officials to be investigated. Xi's this move can increase his popularity among the public because there is anger for corrupt officials. The Communist Party of China has set up rules and regulations to curb the corruption in party. This campaign is a strong battle to fight against the corruption and has received remarkable results. It is important for the leadership to curb the root cause of the corruption. Currently they are focusing on symptoms of corruption to get some time to eliminate the root causes of corruption (S. Li, 2017).

The new campaign is working fast and effectively as 100,000 officials were charged within four years from 2012 to 2016 and there was a 9 percent increase annually in 2013 for the economic crimes. The most important is that senior officials were targeted and there was a 46 percent increase in 2015 seems that no one is immune (Brown, 2018a). Xi's anti-corruption campaign is different from his predecessors in terms of its size, idea, model and seriousness. Those officials who were caught during the period of 2012-2015 were transferred to the prosecution and majority of the cases are concluded with the prosecution and conviction (Deng, 2018). The recent anti-corruption campaign focuses upon the institutional reform and pushing the anti-corruption agencies to work forward. Xi's statements about this campaign show that it is a large scale plan of reforms. This campaign is making the officials afraid from corruption and also making them unable to be corrupt. It was decided to establish the supervision commission and according to this plan the previous dual track system of investigation would become the single-track investigation system. The new institutional reforms help to reduce the interference in the investigation system and strengthen the capacity of the system. This new system intended to reduce the repetition in the investigation process and to curb the corruption more effectively. Although China has a strong system of anti-corruption but still it is concerned for the supervision. Making policies and implementing is important but supervision of the system is always more important. The new anti-corruption system is decided when China is going through many changes. At every stage of the development China faces different challenges. This phenomenon of corruption has also been changed with the passage of time.

During the era of Xi, the Central Committee of China suggested to increase the investigation of the corruption cases and to deter the corruption effectively. It was decided in the session of Central Commission for Discipline Inspection in 2013 (Blancke, 2018), that focus should be given to both the flies and the tigers. Xi made it clear that there is no exception regarding the state law and party discipline no matter what is the status or power of the person. Every person would be investigated who violates the party discipline or state law. In November 2012, since the 18th National congress of CCP the anti-corruption agencies have increased the strength (Gong & Tu, 2022) of the investigation. Many senior officials were removed from their posts and they were from the provincial and ministerial level. Practically the Central Commission for Discipline Inspections has investigated all level of officials called flies and tigers. Such a large-scaled anti-corruption campaign has deep impact on CPC. There is strong message given by the anti-corruption campaign that to eliminate the corruption from all level is the top priority of the leadership. This serious attitude toward the anti-corruption policies shows that party has adopted zero tolerance policy (Guo & Li, 2015).

China's system had many loopholes in the period of economic transition which were increasing the chances and opportunities for corruption. Currently, the large-scaled anti-corruption campaign and in-depth measures are adopted to curb the corruption. China's growing economy is creating opportunity for corruption but the economic reforms are also playing role to reduce the corruption. China has also improved its administrative system. As it is mentioned that China has adopted zero-tolerance attitude for corruption and to investigate the social elite and general public corruption, it has divided corruption into different categories black corruption, gray and white corruption. In black corruption category, they include types of gift, fraud and bribery etc. while in gray corruption they include misuse of government vehicle, foreign tour with public fund etc. and in the white corruption category is defined as strict sense which does not include the corruption by general public. Some categories or types of corruption are reasonable to accept socially but strict sensed corruption may not be accepted and cannot be avoided.

The CPC has strong commitment to combat the corruption and to improve the party working style. CPC has introduced many rules and regulations for self-discipline and to improve the behavior of party cadres. The CCDI has suggested the idea to construct the party style this "three style construction" includes work, life and style of thoughts. Party believes that improving the moral behavior among the cadres can reduce the corruption in Party. China has achieved remarkable success to reduce the corruption in last few years but still it faces many challenges. The system has improved its strength to handle the cases. With the passage of time and with the progress of Xi's anti-corruption campaign Xi had achieved success to remove his rivals who were involved in anti-corruption and violation of discipline. At the end of Xi's first term there was a clear decline in the number of Tigers and flies. The reforms are introduced and system is working to deter the corruption. Before these reforms the system was working (CDI) as dual track system as one by the party institution called Commission for Discipline Inspection and the other by state institute named procurator ate.

The relationship between the campaign and institution are dynamics and mutual. Most of the cases were from the party cadres which were investigated by CDI who enjoyed their high ranks and status. The Commission for Discipline Inspection transferred the cases to procurator for prosecution. Therefore, before the reforms the procurator had task of prosecution and also its own investigation with the evidences provided by the CDI. After the reform, the system turns into single tracked which means that it would significantly reduce the resources and investigation time. There was great concern after the reform's announcement regarding the legal framework. The was concern about the use of power for party advantages as the system would be single track it means that party can use this institution and evidences as abuse of power because investigation process would be more concentrated by one institution which is headed by the party.

The debate was started that these reforms will increase the Xi's power upon the party as no one had achieved this power before. Xi's campaign including ideological and disciplinary are interlinked. It provides the political outlook and disciplinary framework to the party. The anti-corruption campaign

becomes more intensified in term of enforcement of political discipline. Another important point is Xi’s campaign has impact on cadres and they have sensed the seriousness of campaign. The party cadres know that they should not to be corrupt otherwise they will have great consequences. Xi’s campaign is complete guideline as for party discipline and moral education of party cadres. The anti-corruption campaign has increased the trust of public for Xi and also increased the party loyalty (L. Li, 2019).

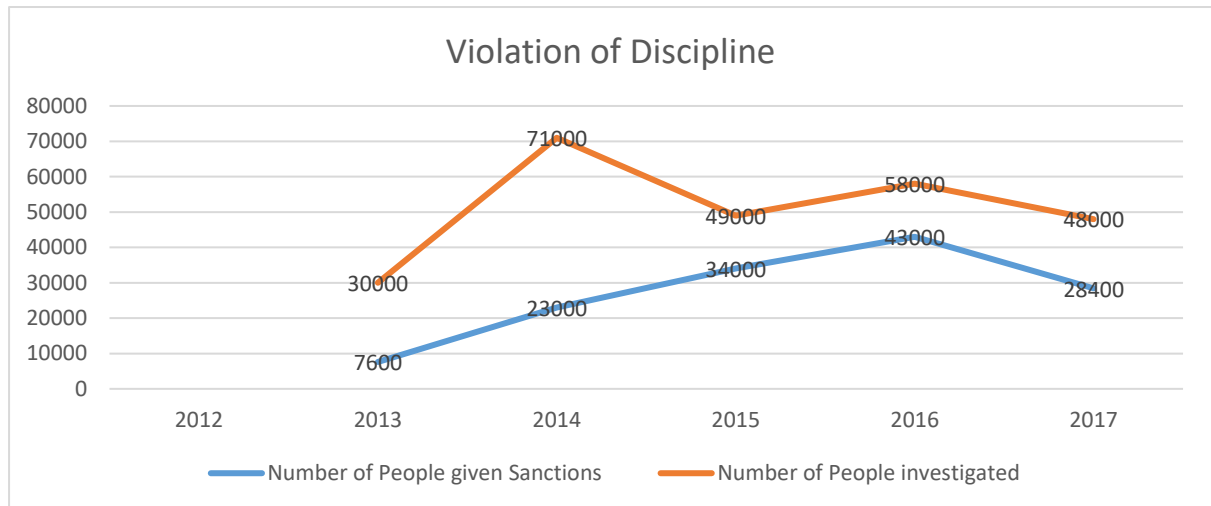


Figure 2: Violation of Party Discipline (L. Li, 2019)

This figure shows that during the era of Xi Jinping from 2012 to 2017 a large number of people were investigated who violated the party discipline. Almost 30,000 people were investigated in 2013 who and 7600 were given the sanctions. In 2014 almost 71000 cases were investigated and 2300 people were punished.

In 2015, the graph shows that 49000 cases were investigated and 34000 were given the sanctions. In 2016, total number of investigated cases were 58000 and 43000 people were punished. In 2017, almost 48000 cases were investigated and 28400 were given the punishment. These investigated cases were at spike in 2014 and then a clear decline of reported cases can be seen in the given data. To investigate Violation of the discipline is also important to curb the corruption because party gives importance to the ethics and moral values which educated the party cadres.

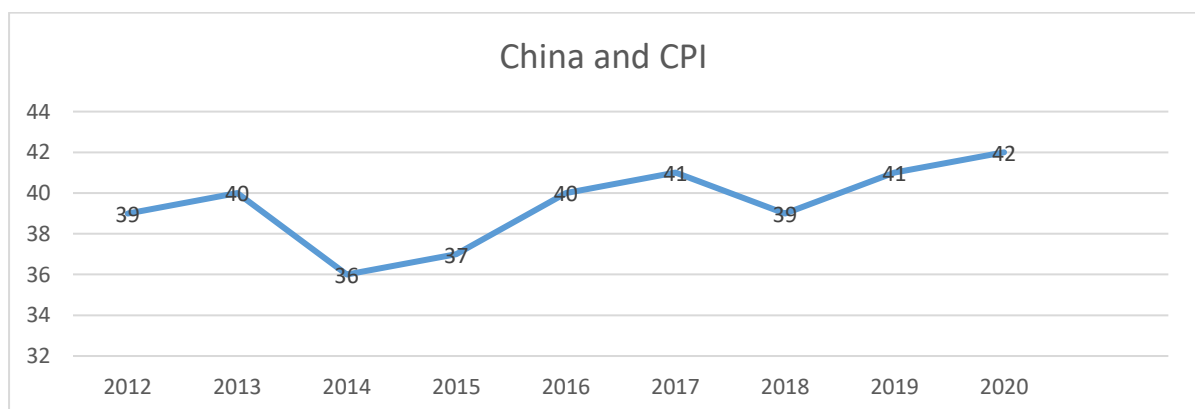


Figure 3: China and Corruption Perception Index (CPI)
 (<https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2020/table/chn#>)

The above-mentioned data is taken from transparency international. There were total 180 countries by their level of perceived corruption. The scale for the perceived level of corruption is from 0-100 and zero represents highly corrupt country and hundred represents the country is clean from corruption. The presented graph shows that in 2012 when Xi came into power China was ranked at 39 and after one year it improved by one number and ranked at 40. Later in 2014 the corruption situation was worse and China was ranked at 36 and in 2015 it was ranked at 37. With the improvement in the system and different strategies China improved the situation and ranked 40 in 2016 and 41 in 2017. There was decline in the position in 2018 as it was ranked at 39. But with the reforms and strict party policies the corruption situation improved in China and it was ranked at 41 in 2019 and 42 in 2020.

5. Conclusion

Corruption is a disease which eats the roots and economy of a country and destabilizes the state. Corruption is not limited to steal the funds rather it is base of many other problems in the country. Corruption also causes the poverty and restlessness. China is facing the challenge of corruption with the economic growth and this is the reality that every state which is growing its economy has the same challenge. In the history of China there were many reforms and efforts to curb the corruption but Xi Jinping took bold and strict step to reduce the level of corruption in the country. This research gives the analyses of anti-corruption efforts during the different time periods and it clearly shows that Xi's strategies are more successful than his predecessors. When Xi took the charge of the country it was ranked at 39 by corruption index and with his efforts now China has ranked at 42 by CPI. With the party discipline and anti-corruption reforms which have change the dual track system into single track system helps to improve the investigation process in China. China has increased its investigations and many high-level officials were sanctioned by Xi's anti-corruption campaign. Xi has clearly mentioned that all tigers and flies will be investigated and no one is allowed to steal the public fund. The basic purpose of this campaign was to make a pressure on party cadres that they would think not to be corrupt. Although China has improved the corruption in the country but still it needs to work on it as the study shows that it has reduced the corruption but still it is in the average by CPI scale.

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Policy on SMEs in Pakistan: Relationship between Entrepreneurial Orientation, Firm Performance, and Ownership Structure

Adeel Akhtar¹, Muhammad Shaukat Malik², Fahad Abbas Khan³

Article Information	Abstract
Received: June 02, 2022 Revised: June 27, 2023 Accepted: June 29, 2023	To strengthen the growth of SMEs in Pakistan, it is important for the policy makers to understand some significant variables. For instance, Entrepreneurial Orientation (EO) is one such variable that can affect the performance of any business substantially; however, it is debatable if some of its dimensions do not affect the firm performance. This research investigates the relationship between the EO dimensions, firms' performance, and ownership structure. In this study, the collection of data was done by using a self-administered questionnaire survey using a 5-point Likert scale. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 24 was used for data analysis. The findings of this study has revealed that EO has a statistically significant effect on firms' performance and when checked individually for each dimension of the EO, it was clear that results for innovation were statistically insignificant, because innovation needs certain time and specific environmental conditions to yield significant results, whereas results for risk-seeking, proactive approach, autonomy, aggressive attitude, and competitive spirit were statistically significant and positively linked with the firms' performance. The findings of this research reveal that ownership structure does play a significant moderating role in the relationship between the performance of the firm and EO dimensions (Innovativeness, Proactiveness, and competitive Energy) while Ownership structure doesn't play any significant moderating role between firm performance and few other EO dimensions (risk-attitude, autonomy, and aggressiveness).
Keywords <i>Public Policy</i> <i>Entrepreneurial Orientation</i> <i>Firm Performance</i> <i>Ownership Structure</i> <i>Small & Medium Enterprises (SMEs)</i>	

1. Introduction

Small and Medium Enterprises in Pakistan are approximately 90% of total business organizations and contribute 40% of GDP (Zou et al., 2021). SMEs, therefore, can be considered an important part of public policy on economic development. To strengthen the growth of SMEs in Pakistan, it is important for the policy makers to understand some significant variables such as Entrepreneurial Orientation, Firm Performance, and Ownership Structure. Entrepreneurial Orientation (EO) is a must ingredient for the growth of any business because it's a firm-level theory (Chen, Du, & Chen, 2011). The concept of EO came into existence back in 1755 when Cantillon described entrepreneurs as risk

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seekers who take certain risks while pursuing an uncertain and unseen future. In the late 19th & early 20th centuries, entrepreneurs were broadly looked upon from the perspective of economic progress (Hamilton & Harper, 1994). The idea of entrepreneurship is primarily associated with “new entry” hence it must be applicable at various levels such as individuals, groups, or organizations (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996).

Entrepreneurial Orientation is the result of the current progress made in the strategic managerial literature (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996). As discussed earlier, in the success of any business and ultimately the overall growth of the economy of the country, EO plays an essential role. Findings of both experimental and speculative studies demonstrate that the EO of the organization is positively linked to organizational performance and economic growth. However, excessive entrepreneurship or being far away from the margin could be damaging to a firm’s financial performance. Lumpkin and Dess (1996) concluded 5 factors that made-up the EO of a business which includes: innovative ideas, proactiveness, risk-seeking, competitive aggressive approach, and autonomy. It is clear from past studies that, not all characteristics of EO have constructive consequences on business growth but they differ from one geographical region to another (Chen, Puumalainen, & Saarenketo, 2018).

This study establishes the link between EO and business performance of small to medium firms (SMEs) in Pakistan as there has been rarely any studies conducted before in this domain. Researchers have neglected the fact that SMEs of Pakistan contribute significantly to its GDP. Entrepreneurship is on the rise because of unemployment. The youth of Pakistan is left with no choice, but to create a job rather than finding one. Therefore, there is a need to find the moderating effect of ownership structure on the connection between EO and the firm performance (Zain & Kassim, 2012). Based on above, the research objectives of the current study are as follows:

1. To examine EO dimensions which have a positive impact on SMEs performance in Pakistan.
2. To examine the moderating effect of ownership structure on the connection between EO and SMEs growth.
3. To help SMEs owners formulate the right strategy for the improvement of their firm performance.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Entrepreneurial Orientation

Morris et al. (2002) defined EO as organizational acceptance to unearth and adopt new technologies and also taking charge to affect change. According to the findings of the study conducted by Rauch and Frese (2009), those firm-level strategic decisions which businesses take to form a competitive advantage has best describes the EO. Rauch and Frese (2009) concluded that as stated in the preceding entrepreneurship theories, Entrepreneurial Orientation is not connected to just individual-level variables but instead, is linked to operations-level processes (Eisenhardt & Schoonhoven, 1990), particularly warned that in chasing strategic orientations with finite managerial and limited financial resources the new businesses must remain vigilant. Barringer & Bluedorn (1999); Zahra & Garvis (2000); and Ireland et al. (2003) have found that EO can prove to be very helpful in discovering and exploiting opportunities in the markets which could prove game-changing for the firm growth. An entrepreneurial firm is one that offers new services and products and enters a new market. There is an excellent link between EO and SME performance (Arabeche et al., 2022). In the most recent studies, the EO is seen as a multidimensional concept because EO consists of independent variables (Lumpkin and Dess, 1996; Kreiser et al., 2002; Rauch et al., 2009). It was Miller (1983) who comprehended EO in 3 parts which include: innovativeness, risk-seeking, and proactiveness. Later, Lumpkin and Dess (1996) included aggressive approach, competitiveness, and decision autonomy in Miller’s 3 categories of EO.

2.2 EO Dimensions

Innovativeness defines as “readiness to support creativity and experimentation in launching new products or services, & innovation, technological leadership and research and development (R&D) in mounting new processes” (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996). Another scholar named Schumpeter, for the 1st time, stressed the significance of innovativeness in entrepreneurial processes. Schumpeter’s definition of innovativeness is doing existing things in completely different ways or trying new things (Schumpeter, 1947). (Drucker, 1985) claimed that innovativeness is undoubtedly the most essential aspect of entrepreneurship.

Risk attitude: Covin and Slevin (1991) stated that risk attitude can be simply explained as the firm's threshold level for taking risky business decisions comfortably. Lumpkin and Dess (1996) stated that the risk-attitude of a business can be calculated by its activities which could include taking a huge amount of loans to secure opportunities or making large capital investments in the hope of bigger profits. Morris and Kuratko (2002) claimed that a risk attitude differentiates an Entrepreneur from ordinary businessmen because there are uncertainties which have to be faced that’s why it’s an essential factor. However, besides which opportunity is pursued, risk-seeking is the behavioral characteristic of EO (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996).

Venkatraman (1989) wrote **Proactiveness** is actively looking for new business avenues and income streams in the existing market therefore proactive firms always have an advantage of first-movers, they can anticipate new challenges, and market trends to be better prepared to market-send their new products before anyone else which could result in the creation of emerging industries they can lead eventually that's the reason. Hughes and Morgan (2007) stated that the ability of proactive firms to respond to market promptly is directed related to their higher profitability and growth because they take the lion-share of the market while their competitors take their leftovers (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996).

Autonomy relates to the independence of decision-making as entrepreneurs need to take quick decisions, formulate strategy, and implement it for the best results (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996). Mintzberg and Waters (1985) stated that business owners must have complete autonomy over decision-making as powerful leaders take strong decisions. Freedom of decision-making is important because in the uncertain agile environment entrepreneurs can't afford to wait for approval from others (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996).

The aggressiveness of a business could be measured by the extent to which it's ready to go head-to-head against its rival businesses for sake of achieving specified market objectives (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996) It shows its tendency to kill the competition by simply doing anything it had to.

Competitive energy shows the length to which a company's actions are directly in response to its competition. The 2 major characteristics of competitive spirit are combative attitude and hostility in responding to the competition's moves. (Felício et al., 2012) concluded that the competitive spirit of a firm has a positive impact on the business growth.

2.3 Ownership Structure

The characteristics and number of owners can greatly vary for each business. Interestingly, the owner of a business can be an individual or even another business. Furthermore, the rights of an owner to the business can be divided into economic and management rights. Management rights involve the ability to influence the appointment of officers, while economic rights encompass the entitlement to receive dividends and profits from the business. Many businesses also possess ownership in other businesses (EQVISTA, 2023).

To clarify, there are essentially three levels of ownership within a share ownership structure: parents, affiliates, and subsidiaries. Parent companies own subsidiaries, with the extent of ownership interest

ranging from a fraction to 100%. Additionally, an affiliate is a legal entity that shares a common parent with another business entity. This ownership structure encompasses various scenarios, including publicly-traded firms, closely-held companies, outside investors, and joint ventures. An ownership structure pertains to the internal organization of a business entity and defines the rights and responsibilities of individuals who hold an equitable or legal interest in that business. For example, a shareholder who is also the owner of a corporation possesses specific rights that are distinct from those of members in a limited liability company. Additionally, within a corporation, a holder of preferred stock may have different rights compared to a holder of common stock (EQVISTA, 2023).

The impact of ownership structures (OS) on firms' performance has been questioned widely both in hypothetical and experimental writings. The ownership structure is one of the primary corporate management tools impacting the extent of an organization's operating cost (Worlu, Evioghene, Ajagbe, & Okoye, 2015). The ownership structure is referred to as the direct stakeholders of the business; it could be an individual or group of people, hence it's the foundation of the management (Dahor et al., 2015). It also includes the general behavior, and respective stakes of the shareholders varying from their skills and responsibilities (Abu-Tapanjah, 2006).

2.4 Firm Performance

In this era, the business world put great emphasis on firm performance. Though, there are different perimeters used in research and analyzing the firm performance. The financial and operational indicators can measure the firm performance (Venkatraman & Ramanujam, 1986). The financial indices are stitched to economic aspects such as volumes in the sales and profitability (for instance, return on assets, investment, and sales) and day-to-day operating business activities are linked to descriptive achievement perimeters like market-share, product quality, customer retention, the initial market response of innovative products or services. The performance data can be categorized into 2 dimensions i.e. primary and secondary data. The latter is gathered directly from the organizations and publicly accessible sources. Another way to measure business performance can be classified into both subjective and objective measures. Objective measures are connected to quantified signs that are usually financial numbers and can be taken from within the organizations. Alternatively, a subjective measure is based on perceptive evaluations of research responders and these parameters include both numeric and non-financial measures (Gonzalez-Benito, & Gonzalez-Benito, 2005). Taking into account the very nature of this study, only subjective measures were used.

2.5 Hypotheses Formulation

In past literature, the association between these two variables EO & firm performance has remained the primary focus of discussion. The firms adopting EO perform better in comparison to the businesses that run on conventional wisdom (Rauch, Wiklund, Lumpkin, & Frese, 2009). At first, we could question the significance of EO for the growth of SMEs. Therefore, earlier studies illustrated that EO could substantially enhance business growth (Covinn & Slevin, 1991; Lumpkin & Dess, 1996; Wiklund & Shepherrd, 2005; Coviin & Slevin 1989; Lumpkin & Dess, 2001). It has been proved that EO plays a constructive impact on business performance which is confirmed by numerous past researches (Coulthard, Chow, 2006; 2007; Wiklund, 1999; Wiklund & Shepherd, 2003, 2005; Zahra & Covin, 1995; Madsen, 2007; Keh, Nguyen & Ng, 2007; Puumalainen, Jantunn, Saarnketo, & Kylaheiko, 2005). Conversely, there are researches that showed that EO doesn't have a positive effect on firm performance (Hart, 1992; Morgan & Strong, 2003; Smart & Conant 1994). That's why, the researcher agrees with some studies done on different situations, depending on different environments, EO will have an indirect or direct impact on the firm performance (Zahra, 2008). After reviewing the summary of these studies, the following hypotheses were proposed:

H1: Greater the entrepreneur's EO, the greater the firm's performance.

H1a: Greater the entrepreneur's innovativeness, the greater the performance of SMEs.

H1b: Greater the entrepreneur's risk-taking behavior, the greater the performance of SMEs.

H1c: Greater the entrepreneur's pro-activeness, the greater the performance of SMEs.

- H1d:** Greater the entrepreneur’s autonomy, the greater the performance of SMEs.
- H1e:** Greater the entrepreneur’s aggressiveness, the greater the performance of SMEs.
- H1f:** Greater the entrepreneur’s competitive energy, the greater the performance of SMEs.
- H2:** Ownership Structure has a moderating role between the entrepreneur’s innovativeness and the firm’s performance.
- H2a:** Ownership Structure has a moderating role between the entrepreneur’s innovativeness and firm performance.
- H2b:** Ownership Structure has a moderating role between the entrepreneur’s risk-seeking behavior and firm performance.
- H2c:** Ownership Structure has a moderating role between the entrepreneur’s pro-activeness and firm performance.
- H2d:** Ownership Structure act as a moderator between the entrepreneur’s autonomy and firm performance.
- H2e:** Ownership Structure plays a moderating role between the entrepreneur’s aggressiveness and firm performance.
- H2f:** Ownership Structure has a moderating role between an entrepreneur’s competitive energy and business performance.

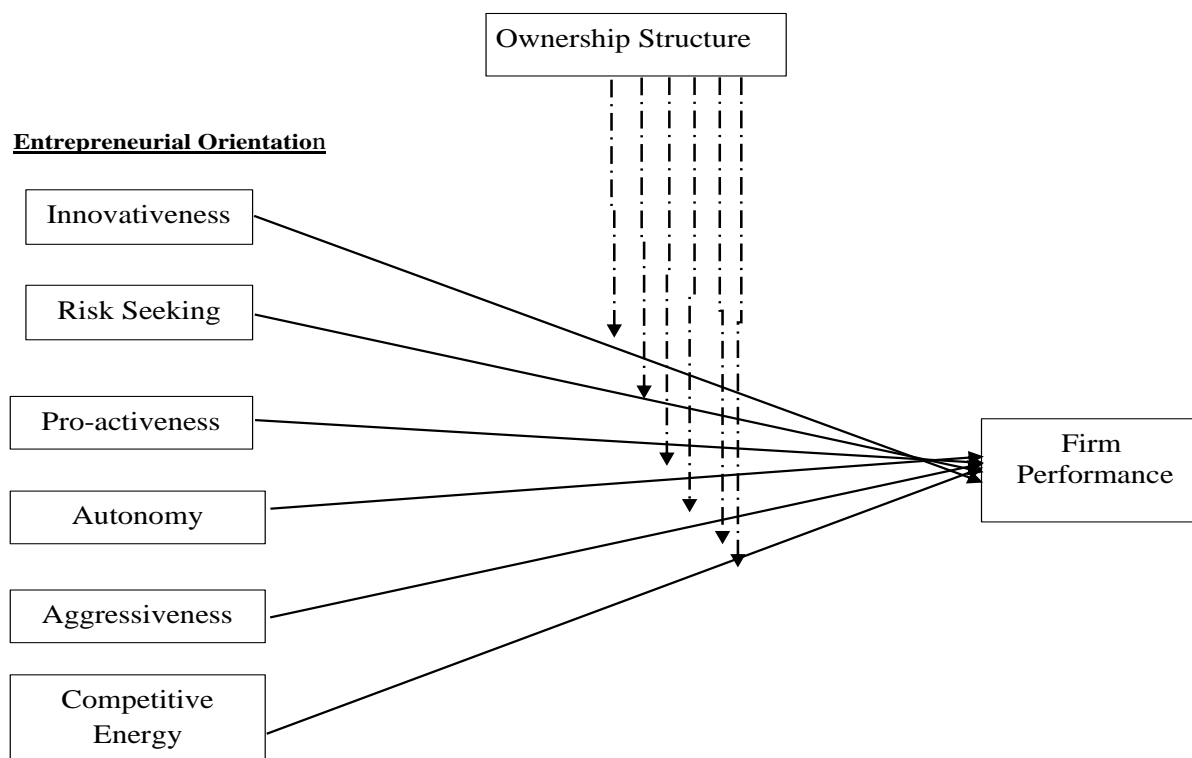


Figure 1: Research Model

Figure 1: highlights the study framework of the current investigation where dimensions of EO are chosen to act as independent variables, business performance is considered as the dependent variable and ownership structure is taken as a moderating variable.

3. Methodology

This research study elaborates on the link between the characteristics of EO and SMEs performance moderated through the ownership structure of the business entity. The data analyzed in this study were gathered from 300 SMEs with the help of a questionnaire, out of which 241 were complete and were used for data analysis. Non-probability, convenience sampling method was opted for the selection of respondents. The data were entered in SPSS Version 24.0 with respondents vertically in

the very left column and Questions horizontally in the rows. Then the data for each variable was transformed and converted into a Nominal scale and finally, simple linear regression was run to calculate the relation between independent and dependent variables. Moderation analysis was done by multiplying each independent variable with the moderator individually and making a separate column for each one and when all the six independent variables were multiplied by the moderator, regression was again run to get the results.

4. Findings and Discussions

Demographic statistics of this study are illustrated in Table 1.

Table1: Demographic Statistics

		Numbers	%age
Gender	Male	241	(100.0%)
Marital Status	Single	46	(19.1%)
	Married	195	(80.9%)
Age	Below 25Years	30	(12.4%)
	26-30 Years	42	(17.4%)
	31-35 Years	81	(33.6%)
	36-40 Years	63	(26.1%)
	40 Years	25	(10.4%)
Qualification	Below Matric	19	(7.9%)
	Matric	64	(26.6%)
	Intermediate	79	(32.8%)
	Bachelor	48	(19.9%)
	Master	26	(10.8%)
	MPhil	05	(2.1%)
Business Experience	Less than 1 Year	03	(1.2%)
	2-3 Years	23	(9.5%)
	4-5 Years	71	(29.5%)
	6-10 Years	77	(32%)
	Above 10 Years	67	(27.8%)
Business Type	Medical Store	48	(19.9%)
	General Store	18	(7.5%)
	Bakery	13	(5.4%)
	Mobiles	53	(22%)
	Pesticide	03	(1.2%)
	Fertilizer	01	(0.4%)
	Cloth merchant	15	(6.2%)
	Ready-made garments	16	(6.6%)
	Restaurants	01	(0.4%)
	Book Center	09	(3.7%)
	Electronics	27	(11.2%)
	Others	37	(37%)
Number of Employees	1-2	21	(8.7%)
	3-4	57	(23.7%)
	5-6	71	(29.5%)
	7-8	69	(28.6%)
	9-10	22	(9.1%)
	Above 10	01	(0.4%)
Business Assets	2 million rupees	57	(23.7%)
	2-4 million rupees	29	(12%)
	4-6 million rupees	34	(14.1%)
	6-8 million rupees	47	(19.5%)
	8-10 million rupees	74	(30.7%)

Table 2: Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.565 ^a	.319	.301	.32283

Predictors: (Constant), Competitive Energy, Pro-activeness, Autonomy, Innovativeness, Aggressiveness, Risk Attitude

Table 3: ANOVA

ANOVA ^a						
Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	
1	Regression	11.373	6	1.896	18.187	.000 ^b
	Residual	24.284	233	.104		
	Total	35.657	239			

a. Dependent Variable: Firm Performance

b. Predictors: (Constant), Competitive Energy, Pro-activeness, Autonomy, Innovativeness, Aggressiveness, Risk Attitude

Table 4: Coefficients

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Innovativeness	.128	.085	.098	1.517	.131
Risk Attitude	.152	.037	.256	4.090	.000
Pro-activeness	.406	.070	.351	5.778	.000
Autonomy	.256	.047	.335	5.491	.000
Aggressiveness	.109	.025	.270	4.322	.000
Competitive Energy	.274	.040	.403	6.800	.000

Dependent Variable: Firm Performance

The linear regression method was used to evaluate the relationship between the EO dimensions and the firm performance. The results of linear regression on the six dimensions of EO with firm performance are shown in table 2, 3, and 4. The R-square value is 0.319 and the overall results are significant ($P < 0.05$); hence, it can be concluded that EO has a statistically significant effect on firm performance. Therefore, overall, our H1 is supported. Table 4 illustrates which dimensions, among the six dimensions of EO, greatly affect the firm performance. The standardized coefficients Beta values depict that the highest number in this column is for Competitive Energy Beta = 0.403 which is significant ($P < 0.05$). Proactiveness was ranked 2nd with Beta = 0.351 which is significant ($P < 0.05$), followed by autonomy with Beta = 0.335 which is significant ($P < 0.05$), aggressiveness Beta = 0.270, which is significant ($P < 0.05$) and Risk Attitude Beta = 0.256 which is significant ($P < 0.05$). All these five dimensions of EO directly affect the performance of SMEs. Therefore, study hypotheses H1b, H1c, H1d, H1e, and H1f are supported, whereas innovativeness Beta = .098, which is insignificant ($P > 0.05$) therefore, H1a is rejected.

Table 5: Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.453 ^a	.205	.185	.34869

Predictors: (Constant), Competitive_Energy*OS, Aggressiveness*OS, Autonomy*OS, Risk_Attitude*OS, Pro-activeness*OS, Innovativeness*OS

Table 6: ANOVA

ANOVA ^a						
Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	7.327	6	1.221	10.044	.000 ^b
	Residual	28.330	233	.122		
	Total	35.657	239			

Dependent Variable: Firm Performance

b. Predictors: (Constant), Competitive Energy*OS, Aggressiveness*OS, Autonomy*OS, Risk Attitude*OS, Pro-activeness*OS, Innovativeness*OS.

Table 7: Coefficients

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t-value	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Innovativeness*OS	-.057	.017	-.421	-3.235	.001
Risk Attitude*OS	.002	.010	.016	.160	.873
Pro-activeness*OS	.039	.016	.285	2.492	.013
Autonomy*OS	.020	.011	.176	1.841	.067
Aggressiveness*OS	.008	.006	.094	1.298	.196
Competitive Energy*OS	.032	.011	.307	3.000	.003

Dependent Variable: Firm Performance

The ownership structure is taken as a moderator after calculating its effect on each variable, simple linear regression was run on moderated values of independent variables against the dependent variable (Table 6) Overall results are significant (P < 0.05). Therefore, overall, our H2 is supported and it is inferred that ownership structure acts as a moderator in the connection between EO and firm performance. Table 7 shows that Innovation, Proactive approach, and Competitive Energy have a significant effect and they play a moderating role in the connection between EO and business performance (P < 0.05) so H2a, H2c, and H2f are supported. However, risk attitude, autonomy, and aggressiveness were found to have an insignificant effect (P > 0.05) so they do not act as a moderator in the link between EO and the performance of the firm. Hence, H2b, H2d, and H2e are rejected.

5. Conclusion

Results indicate that EO has a statistically unquestionable effect on firms' activities. Risk seeking, autonomy, aggressiveness, competitive energy, and pro-activeness also have a statistically significant effect on the SMEs performance in Pakistan. After going through the previous literature, it is clear from the beginning that a vast majority of past research support the concept that EO has a positive effect on business operations, because many successful businesses have a better understanding of entrepreneurship; however, not all the dimensions have a positive effect (Callaghan & Venter, 2011). In the current study, it was established that innovativeness doesn't incur a statistically noticeable impact on the firms' performance. The effect of innovativeness depends on the environment, so, its effect varies from one geographical region to another and from one organization to another. The results of this study are consistent with the study results of Auger et al. (2003) and Smart & Conant (2011). Only 2% of startups succeed, because they come up with new ideas. Therefore, they need certain environmental conditions, dedication, and performance levels to succeed. Our study results revealed that EO, overall, has a constructive positive effect on the performance of SMEs in Pakistan. However, innovation has statistically insignificant effect on the SMEs performance, because new ideas take time and need a specific environment to succeed. Therefore, in Pakistan, this study is helpful for policymakers. Overall, ownership structure was found to have a considerable moderating role in the connection between EO and the performance of the firm. However, ownership structure was particularly proven to act as a moderator in the relationship between three EO dimensions (Innovativeness, Proactive approach, and Competitive energy) and performance of SMEs, whereas ownership structure was found to have an insignificant moderating effect on three EO dimensions (risk-attitude, autonomy, and aggressiveness) in the connection between EO and performance of SMEs. SMEs usually have almost the same ownership structure either they are sole-proprietorship based or on the partnership, in most cases, only a single person is actively running the businesses, while other partners are inactive or just sleeping partners, which might be a possible reason for insignificant moderation effect for three EO dimensions. Study results will help the entrepreneurs for better policy making which may result in the improved performance of SMEs.

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Critical Analysis of the Parliamentary Democracy: Challenges and Strengths in Pakistan (2002-2018)

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Article Information	Abstract
Received: February 16, 2021 Revised: June 27, 2023 Accepted: June 29, 2023	Democracy is the political system that is most universally accepted as being the best, most practicable and just in the modern world. First and foremost, democracy requires a parliament, which is a powerful institution in its own right, since it represents the people. The Parliament is the supreme legislative body in the country. Nations that have instituted an effective democratic system and respect their parliament are running successfully all over the world. The three pillars of democracy are a parliament, an independent judiciary and efficient executive and these three institutions should function within their purview and according to the constitution. Free and fair elections, political liberty and freedom of the press are also necessary adjuncts to the system. Indeed, unrigged elections are the very basis for ensuring proper representation of the people. Democracy secures the welfare of people in the legislative process. Pakistan espoused the system of democracy in the country. The Pakistani public and its politicians have played an important role in the process of democratization. In the constitutional history of Pakistan many military and civilian dictators have disrupted the evolution of the state's democratic and parliamentary culture. In fact, the mainstream has always welcomed military rule and military always interrupts the progress of the civilian government. This paper throws light on a comprehensive performance review of Pakistan parliament to strengthen the democracy from 2002-2018. This article discussed the role of democracy and analyzes those factors of weaknesses that affected the true spirit of democracy in Pakistan and also give some key suggestions to strengthen parliamentary democracy in Pakistan.
Keywords	
<i>Democracy</i> <i>Parliament</i> <i>Challenges and Strengths</i> <i>Power and struggle</i> <i>free and fair elections</i>	

1. Introduction

Democracy often necessitates positions of power and prestige to negotiate and form alliances to be elected into office and also to run it. The learned Professor Dahl of Yale University outlined the scheme of democratization; he writes, "Since (in my view) no large system in the real-world is fully democratized, I prefer to call real world systems (high on the scales of liberalization and inclusiveness) polyarchies." Some years later he noted that, "So far, no country has transcended polyarchy to the higher stage of democracy" (Oldenburg, 2011). In actual fact, the essence of the democratization process and democracy lies in the right of free speech and in elections. The most

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important feature of the democratic process is elections. Thus, on a broader spectrum it can be said that elections are the manifestation of a democratic system (Haynes, 2012).

Democracy has always been intensely flawed in Pakistan due to lack of adhering to a constitutional framework in word and spirit and not respecting the electoral mandate. Regarding periods when there were ostensibly political governments these continuously faced the use of over-riding powers by the bureaucracy and military till 1958 including an autocratic rule as governor general by a serviceman from 1951 to 1955. Thereafter, democracy faced instability and controversial misuse of executive powers from 1972-77. From 1988-99 the authority of the military operated from behind the scenes. Then after another period of dictatorship, a civilian government came to power in 2008 and managed to complete its five-year tenure. There a chance for democracy to flourish after the free and fair elections of 1970 in Pakistan, but provincial alienation resulted in a civil war; country lost its eastern wing and that became a separate, independent country called Bangladesh. The violent crushing of the electoral verdict caused the loss of this chance. It was hoped that the elections of 1977 would make democracy stronger, but unfortunately rigging unleashed civil unrest which gave the opportunity for the military to take over again. 'The decade after 1977 have seen the entrenching of the Pakistan military not only in government, as it played king-maker when not directly in power, in the dozen years, when there were elected governments, but also in the country and society. Pakistan on the other hand has been more volatile with regime changes in 1988 and 1999 and again in 2008' (Baqal, 2010). Neither civil society nor any party has any real standing in the power structure of the country and thereby be able to present any serious challenge to the military. However, for a country to run efficiently it is important that it establish a suitable political system, acceptable to the people and this system be allowed to run continuously in order that it take root, become strong and give proper direction to the nation and its institutions. No country can progress if the political system is interrupted again and again (Khan, 2009). The system should be allowed to sort out its own mistakes; that are invariably there in any system. Parliamentary democracy is the recognized best system that represents the will of the people in the modern world and the system that this country repeatedly falls back on and demands. So, it raised the hopes of the country when after another long period of dictatorship, in 2008 elections were held and a civilian government was installed and what is more, this government was able to complete its five-year tenure successfully.

2. Research Questions

- What are the factors that affected the true spirit of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan?
- How parliaments create opportunities and then capitalize it to strengthen democracy?
- How do the parliaments make use of their strengths to increase parliamentary democracy from 2002-2018? Or
- How general elections in 2002, 2008 and 2013 strengthened democracy in Pakistan?

3. Parliamentary Democracy and Challenges on its Road

The Preamble to the constitution of 1973 begins:

“Whereas sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone, and the authority to be exercised by the people of Pakistan within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust; And whereas it is the will of the people of Pakistan to establish an order: Wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people; Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed;”

This is the document that has become the cornerstone of our democracy and appears to have established strong roots. All members of the legislature and senior-most positions of the government have to swear allegiance to it.

It can be said that the first democratic government were held in 2008 because they heralded the end of take-overs by military dictators in Pakistan. For the first time in its political history Pakistan ushered in what then appeared to be a sovereign democracy that subsequently successfully completed its five years term. But like other previous elected parliaments, this one also had to face many obstacles, threats and political interference against its sovereignty (Oldenburg, 2011). Some key challenges are summarized briefly:

3.1 Lack of Real Democratic Norms

It is a general fact, that whenever a country faced by dictators then all political parties get together for the renovation of democracy. Though, actual norms of democracy could not prevail in Pakistan by dint of some factors including conflicts between governments which remained common in the politics of Pakistan. Hence, the major problem is undemocratic and contradictory behavior of political elites within the road of true democracy (Zaka M. R., 2018). Therefore, PPP and PML-N have ruled from 1988-99 and 2008-13, so, the government was made by PML-N in elections of May 2013. However, both parties (PPP and PML-N) had fought for the restoration of democracy under the leadership of Mian Nawaz Sharif and Benzair Bhutto. Consequently, democratic norms have been encouraged by both at social and political level (Qazi, 2013). Besides, both have paid little bit attention to the common public rights particularly the minorities' rights including rule of law and basic life facilities. So, here's the actual delinquent is not in the lack of democratic norms but in the autocratic arrogance of the leaders and governments, because the governments claimed to restore democracy but these are failed to overcome the common citizens issues.

3.2 Lack of Elections Creditability

No doubt, the real essences of true parliamentary democracy are regular, fair and free elections. But unfortunately, the record of Pakistani elections is poor in this regard. Thus, all defeated parties (after elections) continued to declare elections unfair and kept accusing each other of alleged frauds. Moreover, election results are also manipulated by these parties when these parties came into government, because due to multi-party system, to acquire a clear majority is difficult for a party, so, a coalition government has to be recognized mostly in Pakistan. However, allegations such as election rigging raise serious questions about transparency in political activity (Gauhar, 2008).

3.3 Communication Gaps between General Public and Political Leaders

It is true that almost all political leaders are in favor of true democracy because mostly military leaders have rules in Pakistan. Besides, political leaders to get votes are come in public and when they acquired the power then they try to distance themselves from common citizens (Shah, 2014).

3.4 Weak Political Leadership

Pakistan is a country where development of political has been plagued by self-seeking and weak politicians. Unfortunately, political leaders also tend to erode the institutions of Pakistan by reckless policies. Therefore, the power structure feels it is important to scrutinize the policies and actions of the political leadership and make them aware of the consequences (Hashmi, 2018). In this context, it may be argued that the greatest stumbling block in democratic development has been the contradictory behavior and attitude of Pakistani political leaders and elites (Ahmed, 2014). So, despite restoration of democracy and the struggle to make it strong our political leadership failed to create a pro-democratic environment. Although policy framework development can resolve conflicts by

negotiations, building consensus and making bargains, but political parties tend to foster rivalry between each other and follow divisive policies (Kokhar, 2017).

3.5 Absence of Elite-Consensus

Absence of elite-consensus is another reason for weak democracy. Our elite class and political leaders should work to strengthen democracy. Instead they adopt democratic aspirations only for the sake of gaining power. Once in positions of authority they adopt policies that create uncompromising and authoritarian attitudes rather than promote tolerance of opposition parties. They flout the rule of law and cause further polarization in the population (Mariam Mufti, 2020). ‘The disappointment is not with democracy as a form of government but with the conduct and behavior of parliamentarians and political parties who are expected to make democracy work’ (Sial, 2011).

3.6 Conflicts between Army and Judiciary

The period 2008-2013 ushered in a higher level of conflicts between the institutions of the judiciary and military and the elected government. ‘Along with the interference of the military and security establishments there was continuous interruption in the smooth functioning of the state by a super active judiciary which increasingly meddled in affairs of the state that do not fall within its jurisdiction’ (Kokhar, 2017). ‘Since 2008 the PPP-led Federal Government, the military and security establishment and the judiciary have had a troubled connection accentuated by moments of profound crisis which caused an institutional imbalance in a Parliamentary democracy’ (Kokhar, 2017). The extreme level of confrontation in the civil-judiciary and civil-military relationships was clearly discernible. The judiciary adopted a hyperactive role and used the ‘*suo motu*’ clause as never before to take notice of a lot of issues like corruption charges, civil appointments, economic matters and human rights abuses (Lodhi, 2012). Consequently, the judiciary intervened in the jurisdiction of the parliament administrative institutions and agencies, even going to the extent of ignoring a clear clause of the constitution, this created friction between the courts and other state institutions, overburdened the judiciary and blurred the role of sovereignty of the parliament. Furthermore, ‘even the government appointments to the regulatory bodies were questioned by the court’ (Hashmi, 2018).

3.7 Civil Military Confrontation

The Musharraf regime in Pakistan resulted in a lot of criticism of the army’s role in politics. General Ashfaq Kayani the COAS after Musharraf issued a statement and that there would be no interference in matters of politics by the army. Thus, when President Asif Ali Zardari successfully became the *de facto* head of state (by virtue of the fact of his ascendant position in the party the prime minister and PPP legislatures were his staunch follower) it seemed the political scenario was ripe for a civilian government to have genuine, unfettered power. His position was strong. He had been granted an amnesty by the National Reconciliation Order 2007 for the charges leveled against him. This order was the result of deal between Benazir Bhutto and former General Pervez Musharraf in order to hold elections and allow the two major parties to contest. But this amnesty proved ephemeral. There was great opposition to the NRO afterwards and it was declared null and void *ab initio*. ‘Quite lamentably, the civilian government was unable to work independently due to undue interferences from the military’ (Hashmi, 2018). Repeated confrontations between the civilian government and the army undermined the supremacy of the civilian government. This situation exemplifies the institutional inequality in Pakistan’s parliamentary democracy.

3.8 Role of State Institutions and Political Parties

In the parliamentary democracy, state’s role is to secure the lives and assets of his citizens. Hence, the judiciary and police are also important in this regard. Unfortunately, situation of peace, law and order remained fail by all democratic governments but extremism and terrorism have been increased which disturbed the Pakistan’s image at national and international level. Besides, political parties’ role is

also important for the development and progress of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan because these are the tool of patronage and mass mobilization. Hence, for political leadership the major contest is to modify the “role of political parties to interest representation and advocacy in the legislature” (Lodhi, 2012). Unluckily, authoritarian attitudes and policies are adopted by the politicians rather than promoting and encouraging the democratic tolerance, rule of law, behaviors, policies and values for the parties of opposition (Huntington, 2012).

4. Building Consensus for Restoration of the Parliamentary Democracy

Following are some key norms that will strengthen the parliamentary democracy:

1. **Representative:** Free, fair and transparent elections are the primary requirement of a democratic government to ensure genuine representation of the legislature and reward or rejection by the electorate for the performance of any government. The government should be the representative of the will of the people. This will ensure protection, equal opportunities and political and social representation of the people.
2. **Transparency:** This means that the working and conduct of the government in all public matters be done in a manner that is open and clear and the media be free to comment on it or criticize it.
3. **Accessibility:** This means the involvement of the people including civil society. The work of the parliament should keep in touch with the problems of the people and tend primarily to their welfare. Politicians and government servants should be accessible to the public as far as possible.
4. **Accountability:** The members of the parliament should be accountable to the electorate for their performance in office.
5. **Effective:** Last, but not least, the legislation and functioning of the elected government should be effective. Independent powerful lobbies, foreign powers or the power structure should not override, obfuscate or dictate terms to the elected representatives. The institutions should remain in their limits. The judiciary and executive should follow the legislation of the parliament. Business and the government should function according to democratic norms and values.

5. Implications of Pakistan’s Parliamentary System to Strengthen Democracy

Parliament is the symbol of the will of people, custodian of citizen rights, and writer of the pluralistic constitution (Ahmed, 2014). It plays a vital and major role through legislation and socio-economic transformation of society.

5.1 Twelfth Parliament of Pakistan (2002-2008)

The Constitution, enacted at the time of the October 1999 uprising was enacted in 1973. The 1st amendment was introduced in this constitution in 1974 while 14th amendment of it was introduced in 1997 most of the part of it was suspended in 1977 and then restored in December 1985. However, after the military coup of 1999, the military government again suspended it while it was restored partially after the parliamentary elections in November 2002. Similarly, General Pervez Musharraf who was the Army Chief of Staff at that time, he dissolved the parliament as well as four Provincial legislatures in June 2001, which had led a military government since October 1999. In all these circumstances President Rafiq Tarar resigned from his post, and then General Musharraf became the President of the country, and in April 2002 a referendum was held in which General Musharraf was confirmed a President of the country for the five years of term. In October, 2002, a hung parliament

was created by the elections of the National Assembly. PPPP (Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians) won 63 and PML (Q) took 77 seats which was backed Pervaiz Musharraf. However, the group of Commonwealth observers said that on Election Day it was a credible election, but that in the light of the various steps taken through the government, we do not agree with the overall fairness of the process. Mir Zafar ullah Khan Jamali (who was from PML-Q) was elected as the Prime minister of Pakistan and Chaudhary Amir Hussain (from PML-Q) was elected as Speaker in the National Assembly. The legal framework order created political deadlock or conflict between the opposition parties and the General Musharraf and in particular the ongoing dispute over his authority to dissolution the Parliament and dismissal of the Prime minister, and General Musharraf's own position as Chief of Army Staff as well as President of Pakistan has led to political stalemate. The parliament was not functioning in such a case, and the government ruled through decree. The MMA (Muttahidda Majlis-e-Amal) emerged against the Legal Framework Order as a leader. An alliance was made against the government between the PML-N, PPPP and several other smaller parties to restore the democracy. But this alliance was weakened by dint of absence of exiled leader Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto and later by the death of Benzair Bhutto (Leader PPPP). However, General Musharraf won a vote of confidence in January 2004, in both Houses of parliament as well as the four provincial assemblies. CMAG readmitted Pakistan to Commonwealth Council in 2004 in view of progress towards democracy. The Prime Minister resigned in June 2004 and until July was replaced by the Chaudhary Shujaat Hussain, when he won a seat in assembly, paving the way for Shaukat Aziz who was the Finance Minister. However, it was announced by the General Musharraf in December 2004 that when the elections were held he would remain Chief of Army Staff as well as president of country until 2007. Therefore, Pervaiz Mussharraf was declared the unofficial winner of the October 2007 presidential elections, awaiting the important decision on his eligibility for the presidency while holding the post Chief of Army Staff by the Supreme Court. After the presidential elections in October 2007, Benzair Bhutto, exiled leader of PPPP returned to Pakistan. A suicide bomber struck her convoy on her way to Karachi from the airport. She survived to this attack but hundreds were injured and killed by bomb attack.

Due to national concerns, a state of emergency was declared in November 2007 by General Musharraf to effectively suspend the constitution of the country through a temporary constitutional decree. Protesters, political opponents and journalists were arrested in Musharraf's case, news blackouts were forced on major private television stations, eight Judges of Supreme Court were put under house arrest, banned and dismissed including Chief Justice of Supreme Court Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary whose did not recognize the PCO. However, the international pressure was increasing day by day to restore the constitution of the country and abide by the timetable for fair and free parliamentary elections. In 22 November 2007, CMAG convened Pervaiz Musharraf in Kampala, and suspended the Pakistan from the commonwealth Councils awaiting rule of law and restoration of democracy in the country. However, Mian Muhammad Soomro was appointed as a caretaker Prime Minister and a new Chief Justice by the Musharraf. In December 2007, the state of emergency was lifted and General Mushraff took an oath for five years of term as a President and resigned as a Chief of Army Staff. Exiled PML-N leader Nawaz Sharif was allowed to return in country in the second attempt of the same year. Both the Benzair Bhutto and the Nawaz Sharif had registered to take part in the following parliamentary election by the end November 2007. However, Benzair Bhutto was assassinated in Rawalpindi on 27th December 2007 when she was leaving an election rally, and violence erupted across the country. Hence, Bilawal Bhutto was the eventual successor of Benzair Bhutto and until Bilawal had completed his education, Mr. Zardari husband of Benzair Bhutto, as co-chair was lead to the PPPP and the country's January elections were postponed.

In February 2008, the parliamentary elections were held and the turnout was forty-four percent in elections. Most of the seats were won by the opposition parties but no any party had an absolute and clear majority like PML-N won 91 seats and PPPP 125, ANP 13 while MQM won 25 seats. The PML-Q (party of Musharraf supporting) achieved only 53 seats and suffered huge lose with the loss of seats of many ministers. However, a coalition government was formed by the PPPP Prime minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani with JUI-F. The CMAG met in London on 12 May 2008 and agreed to this

as its last meeting was in 2007. The government of Pakistan took positive steps to fulfill its responsibilities in accordance with the core principles and values of the Commonwealth. According to him, Pakistan as a full member of the Commonwealth was restored. Musharraf announced his resignation from the presidency in August 2008 in the wake of warnings from the PML-N and PPPP leadership of impeachment through parliament. Mr. Zardari Co-chair of PPPP replaced President Musharraf in September 2008 and was elected as the president of Pakistan in the ensuing presidential elections. Zardari got 481 votes from Electoral College and defeated Saeed-uz-Zaman Siddique (PML-N candidate) who won 153 votes and Mushahid Hussain Syed (PML-Q) candidate who won 44 votes. As the result of the election, the PML-N left the governing coalition which included the PPPP, MQM, JUI-F, and ANP.

After the presidential elections, 9 PML-N ministers resigned shortly, and citing some of the PPPP's lack of interest in reinstating the first dismissed judges during the state of emergency in 2007. However, dominated coalition government of PML-N and PPPP was ended by this move effectively and ushered in a new government consisting of the PPPP, MQM, JUI-F, and ANP. The Supreme Court of Pakistan upheld the disqualification of Nawaz Sharif and Shahbaz Sharif by assuming office in late February 2009. Following this decision, the Governor's rule was imposed in Province of Punjab where Nawaz Sharif had associated himself with the lawyer movement and Shahbaz Sharif had taken over as Chief Minister. The lawyer movement was campaigning for the Chief Justice reinstatement. Faced with the possibility of widespread unrest, the government announced in March 2009 the reinstatement of deposed Chief Justice and demanded a review of the decision of the Supreme Court about the Sharif's disqualification from holding their elected offices. Therefore, the decision was reversed by the Supreme Court in May 2009 and reinstated Mr. Shahbaz Sharif as the CM of the province of Punjab. "In July 2009, the Supreme Court quashed Nawaz Sharif's convictions of hijacking and terrorism (brought against him following the military coup of October 1999)" (Adeney, 2012).

The Supreme Court quashed the "National Proclamation Ordinance" of October 2007 in November 2009, which was passed on to officials and politicians accused of corruption and other crimes. The ordinance revocation revitalized the charges of corruption against a lot of its beneficiaries. The Supreme Court found Prime Minister Gillani guilty of contempt of court on 26th April 2012 after his refusal, to ask the Swiss authorities to reopen the money laundering case against President Zardari. Therefore, the Prime Minister Gillani was disqualified on 19th June 2012 from office. However, the Parliament elected Raja Pervaiz Ashraf as Prime Minister on 22 June. National and Provincial elections were called on May 11, 2013, after the five years of term of the National Assembly ended in March 2013, and Mir Hazar Khan Khosa was took an oath as a caretaker Prime Minister of Pakistan. When the turnout was 54% in the elections, the PML-N won 184 seats out of 323 under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif which was the 32.4% of the total votes, PPPP won 42 votes which was the 15.2%, PTI won 30 seats which was 16.9% of total votes under the leadership of Imran Khan, JUI-F won 12 seats which was 3.2%, MQM won 23 seats which was 5.4%, and independent candidates were 8 which was the 13.0% of the total votes. Nawaz Sharif was elected as the Prime Minister by the parliamentarians on 5 June 2013, he gains 244 votes while Makhdoom Amin Fahim of PPPP who was his closet rivals got 42 seats and PTI candidate Kahhdoon Javaid Hashmi got 31 seats. Therefore, Momnoon Hussain candidate of PML-N became the President after winning the presidential elections on July 30, 2013, and got 432 votes and defeated PTI candidate Wajihuddin Ahmed who gain 77 votes of Electoral College. Hence, not any candidate was field by the PPPP.

The elections 2013 and their outcome noticeable the first-ever change from one chosen government to another, 40 years after the 1973 constitution recognized a national legislative democracy. While the earlier assembly neglected several chances for alteration, it however conceded main legislature to refurbish elected authority. It also signified a period of bilateral collaboration. However, the 14th National Assembly of Pakistan has accomplished numerous landmark initiatives including significant legislation during his five years term which are following in the Table 1 given below:

Table 1: Landmark Initiatives During 2002-2008

Indicator	2006-2007	2005-2006	2004-2005	2003-2004	2002-2003
Regular Sessions	09	08	09	09	10
Joint Sessions	02	03	09	10	11
Assembly Sittings	41	32	32	40	56
Total Working Days	136	122	132	101	112
Resolution Presented	35	61	44	45	71
Questions asked	1,234	840	515	602	1,345
Lack of Quorum	47 times	12 times	43 times	21 times	11 times
Point of Order raised	410	232	230	132	148
Calling Attention Notices	302	420	100	32	122
Adjournment Motion	104	101	133	104	176
Privilege Motions	40	33	22	13	41
Government Bills	11	03	03	08	02
Private Member Bills	10	10	23	12	21

Source: (<https://fafen.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/Compendium-National-Assembly-Elections-1970-2008-Pakistan.pdf>; <https://newslab.tribune.com.pk/legislative-output-over-the-years/>)

5.2 General Elections and 13th Parliament of Pakistan (2008-2013)

Elections are essential prerequisites for the process to strengthen democracy. However, these have almost always remained controversial in Pakistan. As mentioned before the elections of 2008 brought in a civilian democratic government. However, in Pakistan it cannot be said that all general elections have strengthened democracy. Four acknowledged dubious elections were held during the period 1988 to 1995 when the presidents, who were under the influence of the army, had the power to dissolve the assemblies (this power was later rescinded by the 18th amendment in 2010) and they used this power three times (the fourth government was ousted by General Musharraf). These elections because of their controversial results and keeping the parliament in a tenuous position can be considered to be definitely detrimental to the democratic process. However, the general elections of 2008 and those subsequently can be considered as strengthening parliamentary democracy in Pakistan, notwithstanding reservations even in regard to these. As for the 2008 elections, 'They strengthened parliamentary democracy by (sounding the death knell) of autocratic military rule. Further, they instilled the true spirit of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan's political parties, and in the traditional mainstream allowing healthy election campaigns' (Kronstadt, 2008).

Ever since the birth of Pakistan democracy has been a dream of this nation. Though it had the support of the overwhelming majority but this dream has been elusive. After the 2008 elections many analysts predicted that the newly elected government will not be able to complete its five-year term. The PPP government moved from one crisis another. However, it went a long way in establishing some well-

cherished norms of democracy in the country and a spirit of compromise. The general elections of 2008 themselves strengthened parliamentary democracy in Pakistan through providing a good political environment to people and introducing a better electoral procedure. Consequently, ‘these elections brought the practice of peaceful transition of power from one government to another in a constitutional way thus discarding all the unconstitutional practices of the past years’ (Fruman, 2011).

Since the last 37 years of the constitutional history of Pakistan, the period under review (2008 to 2013) brought the first hope for democracy and strengthening of the parliamentary system. Several landmark amendments in the constitution were enacted by the assemblies in this time, including the game-changing 18th amendment. 18th amendment is the greatest accomplishment of the 13th National Assembly of Pakistan. The amendment consisted of 100 provisions and 97 articles incorporated into the constitution of Pakistan. As mentioned above the supremacy of parliament was restored and provincial autonomy was also provided by this amendment that was as originally envisaged in the 1973 constitution. To promote provincial harmony the 18th Amendment eliminated the concurrent list and also gives more autonomy to the provinces. In the concurrent list, both the parliament and the provincial assemblies can make legislation. Each provincial assembly will be accountable for drafting its laws on the issues of bankruptcy, contracts, environmental pollution, laws governing marriages, educational curriculum, firearms possession, and 40 other diverse areas, except the criminal law, evidence and the criminal procedure on that both parliament and provincial assembly can legislate. In the education sector this amendment introduced the many reforms such as the state will provide free and compulsory for children from five to 16 years of age and was considered the best chance for enhancing the possibilities socioeconomic development. Under the 18th Amendment a Higher Education Commission (HEC) was established in each province and the standard of education, curriculum, policy, planning and the centers of excellence given under the control of provinces. Another important provision was to rename the NWFP province as Khyber Pakhtoonkhawa which was a demand of the province to recognize its ethnic identity. The amendment increased the fundamental rights of people in many ways as well. This amendment enlarges the scope of CCI (Council of Common Interest) and it became a powerful constitutional body. This amendment also partially restricted the personal discretion of the executive. Further it introduced ‘intra political party elections’, but the procedure adopted favors the senior leadership of the political parties. It is significant that the amendment was passed unanimously in the national assembly on 8th April 2010 by 292 votes. The senate also passed the bill unanimously on 15th April 2010 with 90 votes. Previously there had been many moves to repeal the 17th amendment and also correct the changes in the constitution by Musharraf that were made to suit dictatorship. However, because of inter-party rivalry it was never taken up. Thus, for the first time a statesmanlike spirit of compromise and cooperation was introduced into politics which is the true spirit of democracy. Maqsood Hasan, in his thesis ‘Eighteenth Amendment Revised’ (Policy Research Institute Islamabad, 2009) writes, ‘This amendment has transferred key presidential powers to the parliament and established its supremacy. The president’s discretionary powers to dissolve the national assembly or to refer a question to a referendum have been removed.’

Besides senator Raza Rabbani presented a report as the chairman of parliamentary committee constitutional reforms with the draft of the 19th Amendment bill on 21st December 2010. The national assembly passed the 19th Constitutional Amendment on 22nd December 2010 and the Senate on 30th December 2010 then on 1st January 2011 the President of Pakistan approved it. In this amendment, tribal areas including Tank and Laki Marwat were confirmed as part of FATA, However, subsequently in 2019 the FCR has been abolished from FATA and the territory has been amalgamated into the Pakhtoon Khawa Province, though a proper judicial, administrative and legislative system has yet to be drafted for it. More, importantly this amendment took away the powers of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court from appointing *ad hoc* judges. This power was given to the Judicial Commission. The number of judges on this commission was increased from two to four senior-most judges. The judges the commission nominated would be confirmed or rejected by a special parliamentary committee. But the parliamentary committee would have to provide reason for the rejection of any nominee. In case of rejection of a nominee the commission will have to designate a

new nominee. The Judicial Commission would be responsible for the nomination of High Court Judges. This amendment further renamed the High court of Islamabad as the Islamabad High Court.

20th Constitutional amendment passed on 14th February 2012 is another step toward the development to strengthen democracy. It ensured an independent and neutral Election Commission. It raised the dignity of democracy and the parliament (Wadho, 2012). The passing of the bill was an historic occasion and an occasion for the democratic government. The National Assembly approved it unanimously with 247 votes. Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani congratulated the assembly and the whole nation on this achievement. It was said that through the 18th, 19th and 20th constitutional reforms, the government of PPP has ensured the autonomy of the provinces and restored true parliamentary democracy. The amendment provided independent powers to the Election Commission. There would be neutral interim governments to conduct elections. An eight-member committee will obtain consensus to appoint a caretaker prime minister in the centre and chief minister in each of the provinces. In case no agreement is reached the case would be sent to the Chief Election Commissioner for decision. ‘Through the 20th amendment, as in the case with High Court Judges, the government would choose one member from each province for five years and follow the same procedure for their removal. Both the chief minister and prime minister until their replacement by any other would continue to hold their offices (Wadho, 2012).

Table 2: Landmark Initiatives During 2008-2013

Indicator	2012-2013	2011-2012	2010-2011	2009-2010	2008-2009
Regular Sessions	09	10	10	08	11
Joint Sessions	01	02	02	04	02
Assembly Sittings	57	103	109	107	100
Joint Sittings	01	02	02	04	02
Total Working Days	144	144	140	136	132
Total Working Hours	1.88	2.02	3.07	3.49	2.09
Actual Numbers of Hours the House met	184 hours 34 minutes	228 hours 06 minutes	300 hours 35 minutes	355 hours 20 minutes	277 hour 15 minutes
Budget debate Sittings	10	17	22	14	19
Total Working Hours of the Budget Sessions	80 hours and 20 minutes	88 hours and 35 minutes	76 hours and 2 minutes	83 hours and 22 minutes	73 hours and 35 minutes
Resolution Presented	110	48	51	57	70
Resolutions passed	08	13	23	14	15
Questions asked	1,821	2,544	3,127	4,238	3,483
Questions Replies	1,290	1,918	2,494	3,477	2,911
Lack of Quorum	51 times	41 times	26 times	18 times	21 times
Point of Order raised	587	1275	1228	957	683

Calling Attention Notices	95	122	114	105	108
Adjournment Motion received	97	213	409	402	367
Total Privilege Motion received	46	23	76	60	50
Government Bills passed	46	28	24	29	03
Private Member Bills Introduced	45	40	17	64	39
Private Member Bills Passed	02	03	01	03	01
Total No. of Passed Bills	17	30	31	32	05

Source: (PILDAT, 2013, Bildook, 2012, Muhammad Rashid Mafzool Zaka, 2015, Warraich, 2019, Hussain, 2011, Rizvi D. H., 2013, Abbasi A. A., 2018, Kari Palonen, 2016).

5.3 General Elections and 14th Parliament of Pakistan (2013-2018)

After general elections 2013, the 14th National Assembly inaugurated its working and successfully completed its five years of the term on 31st May 2018 (PILDAT, 2018). After won 163 seats in general election, PML-N became the single largest party. On 1st June 2013, members of the 14th National assembly took an oath; Mr. Nawaz Sharif for the 3rd time became the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Syed Khursheed Ahmed Shah became opposition leader, Mr. Ayaz Sadiq became the Speaker and Nisar Ali Khan as the deputy Speaker of 14th National Assembly, and “marked the constitutional transition of power from one democratically-elected government to another for the first time in the history of Pakistan” (PILDAT, 2013). However, the 14th National Assembly of Pakistan has accomplished numerous landmark initiatives including significant legislation during his five years term which are following in the Table 3 given below:

Table 3: Landmark Initiatives During 2013-2018

Indicator	2017-2018	2016-2017	2015-2016	2014-2015	2013-2014
Total Sessions	14	11	10	11	11
Assembly Sittings	108	97	99	92	103
Joint Sittings	02	05	04	17	01
Working Hours per Sittings	3Hours 5 minutes	3 hours 58 minutes	3 Hours 10 minutes	3 hours 3 minutes	3 hour and 7 minutes
Total Working Days	148	133	135	127	130
Total Working Hours	293 Hours	363 hours and 7 minutes	394 Hours	281 hours and 25 minutes	322 hours
Average attendance per sitting	189	205	208	194	222

Ordinances Laid	00	05	00	10	12
No. of Sittings attended by the Leader of the House	29	31	11	33	07
Total Working days of the Budget Sessions	20	20	15	14	17
Total Working Hours of the Budget Sessions	80 hours and 20 minutes	88 hours and 35 minutes	76 hours and 2 minutes	83 hours and 22 minutes	73 hours and 35 minutes
Resolution on Agenda	86	90	100	72	116
Resolutions passed	36	40	44	33	56
Starred Questions	1321	1839	1987	1681	1890
Unstarred Questions	568	541	1021	980	2084
Submitted Questions	1,889s	7,802	3,008	6,331	8,660
Quorum Identification	65	42	26	07	19
Lack of Quorum	51 times	41 times	26 times	18 times	21 times
Calling Attention Notices on Agenda	98	89	127	91	128
Calling Attention Notices taken up	69	74	111	70	104
Adjournment Motion received	139	131	145	104	256
Privilege Motion received	56	70	71	45	65
Government Bills passed	46	50	59	08	11
Private Member Bills Introduced	45	68	44	35	45
Private Member Bills Passed	14	09	00	00	00
Total No.of Passed Bills	55	46	16	08	11
Presidential Address to Parliament	01	01	01	01	01
Number of Active Members	306	270	295	260	304

Source: (Abbasi A. A., 2018, Warraich, 2019, Sahar Shafqat, 2020)

6. Conclusion

According to the results of a cursory review of parliamentary performances from 2002 to 2018, the 13th and 14th assemblies point more toward the executive trying to consolidate power, while the nation experiences semblance of democracy. As, democracy recognizes the rule of the majority and demands respect for all. In a democracy, political parties vie to gain power to implement and pursue their specific policies for public welfare. Democracy flourishes with fair play, competition and recognition of merit. It is important to have nation-building in developing countries with diverse populations, and rule of law, equality, respect for procedures and justice are all basic principles that strengthen and built a true parliamentary democracy, irrespective of religion, caste, status and creed. Notwithstanding these high-minded factors, the ‘spoils system’ is an integral aspect of democratization for which allowance has to be made for the sake of winning parties. The ‘spoils system’ means the patronage a political party bestows on its supporters in the distribution of power, favors or rewards. Unfortunately, the democratic history of Pakistan has been ruled by several military and civilian dictators that have put barriers in the evolution of a democratic parliamentary culture. Due to political ambitions of some military generals and an unbalanced institutional development in the country, parliamentary democracy collapsed four times. Like some other developing countries, Pakistan is has had to suffer prolonged military rule and it is a mixture of primarily weak political parties, strong military rulers and pro-democracy groups whose aspirations for an egalitarian system is increasing. But, it can be said that the parliament of 2008-2013 performed better as compared to the previous one of (2002-2007). The 2008-13 Parliament of Pakistan achieved major and very important landmarks in egalitarian and democratic legislation, such as the Domestic Violence Act, Transplantation of Human Organs and Tissues Act, Anti-Money Laundering Act, protection against Women Harassment Act, right to Free and Compulsory Education Act, Anti-Terrorism Act and 18th, 19th and 20th Constitutional Amendments. The 18th Amendment is particularly important because it undid the amendment introduced by Zia-ul-Haq’s non-party assembly that incorporated article 51 (2)b, through the Eighth Amendment in 1985 whereby the president was given absolute powers to dissolve the assembly and had literally transformed the constitution from a parliamentary into an establishment controlled quasi-presidential system. Also, the 18th Amendment removed all the clauses favoring dictatorship that Musharraf introduced with the 17th Amendment in 2007. Thus the 18th Amendment reinstated the sovereignty of the parliament. It also promoted provincial autonomy (Ekins, 2014). This parliament worked in a cooperative spirit among its members to conduct legislation (Fruman, 2011). During 2008-13 the assembly introduced and passed many government and private member bills that was 78% improvement from the previous assembly of Pakistan. Also during this period women participation in many spheres of society remained active and was appreciated in the assembly. Further for the first time in Pakistan a woman (Dr. Fahmida Mirza) was elected the speaker of national assembly. Hence the supremacy of Parliament remained in maintained situation from 2013-2018. Besides, the 14th National Assembly of Pakistan had performed their work more efficiently as well and tries to create the environment of mutual understandings with opposition parties. During five-years of term, the 14th National Assembly of Pakistan passed 205 legislative bills, including 182 government bills and 23 private member bills. The 14th National Assembly Committees have hold several regular meetings and worked with full spirit. The 14th National Assembly’s Standing Committees, on average have held 8.32 meetings in each year of his tenure, and through different Standing Committees total 19 reports have been equipped, out of them 10 reports have been equipped by the 14th National Assembly. Hence, the basics of parliamentary democracy depend upon the rule of law aided by the civil society. In Pakistan, the democracy is at a crossroad. But in future it needs to expand a positive vision just like 13th and 14th parliament and build a consensus in the nation. The various requirements for this are itemized below:

- Continuity of free and fair elections
- An agenda for bipartisan consensus on social and economic policies

- Rights of the political opposition to operate without restrictions by curtailing the arbitrary powers of the state especially through extra-judicial killings, torture under detention, etc
- Independent judiciary to check powers of the state
- Security of life of citizens and promote such conditions that improve the quality of individual
- Protection of civil liberties and minorities

But it is clear, that there is no short-cut to easily strengthen the process of democracy and institute democracy in the state. If we want to develop a true parliamentary democracy, we have to move faster in the right direction. People should also play their role positively to vote for their representatives during elections.

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Urbanization: A Tool in Bringing Social and Political Change in Pakistan

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Article Information	Abstract
Received: June 07, 2022 Revised: June 27, 2023 Accepted: June 29, 2023	Urbanization is an important phenomenon which is happening all over the world. Never ever before in history, there were such high levels of urban population. Pakistan is no exception, and it is the most urbanized country in South Asia. The studies related to urbanization in Pakistan is limited to understanding demographic and population changes, rural-urban migration, and economic and environmental implications. This research study has focused on the role of urbanization in bringing social change in Pakistan in the last few years. A descriptive and analytical approach is applied in contemplating the impact of urbanization on changing social structures, roles, values, and processes as well as on political culture, educated youth, social, ethnic and group conflict and prospects for national integration. The study of such impacts is essential because Pakistan has a huge young population, and it is witnessing high rates of population growth and urbanization which is important in setting the nation's economic and political trajectory as well as changing the national social outlook in a few years.
Keywords <i>Urbanization</i> <i>Social Change</i> <i>Political Culture</i> <i>Conflict</i> <i>Integration</i>	

1. Introduction

“Pakistan has the highest rate of urbanization in South Asia. According to the 2017 Population Census, 36.4 percent of the population lives in urban areas.” (UNDP, 2019). The high levels of urbanization in Pakistan are explained by three factors i.e., rural-urban migration, high population growth, and the rural urbanization. Urban life is quite different from rural life having contrasting characteristics. The standards of living, social and gendered division of labour, economic opportunities and diversity, social and local political system, social structure, their composition, and function, etc. are all different in both rural and urban systems.

At the time of independence, a high proportion of population of Pakistan was living in rural areas and Pakistan was largely an agrarian society. The processes of industrialization, modernization along with technological changes, economic opportunities in urban areas and other forces unleashed the waves of rural-urban migration. This also relieved pressure from agricultural land having a large but not full time, underutilized labour force. High population growth also exacerbated the situation. Similarly, rural urbanization is another simultaneous phenomenon.

All of this is contributing to a high level of social, political, and cultural changes in Pakistani landscape. People are adopting urban social values. Individualism, a product of modernization is

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slowly but continuously replacing the traditional system and its core values of community life and hierarchical setup. This individualism is also responsible for economic growth as it unleashes a person from the clutches of social authoritative forces and inculcates the virtues of innovation and creativity. Constituency based politics, while a reality in rural areas is being transformed into participant politics because young and educated people and a new vibrant urban middle class is more oriented towards service delivery by politicians and the ruling elite. This new class is not influenced or motivated by caste, and *Baradri*-based politics.

Social movements are a more prominent feature in dense urban areas. Urbanization also has its drawbacks because rural-urban migration brings people from different ethnic backgrounds which can be the source of social tensions and conflict and even political violence, though the prospects of integration and new diverse heterogeneous and multicultural society cannot be ignored. Even so, there are problems of slums, class-based, race-based, and *Baradri*-base neighbourhoods even in urban or semi-urban areas and lack of urban facilities and pressures on existing infrastructure.

2. Literature Review

Phillips (1964) investigated the process of urbanization in different provinces and other units of Pakistan during the period 1951-61. The number of urban centres in Pakistan increased during this period. West Pakistan was more urbanized as compared to East Pakistan. Furthermore, the size of large urban centres increased. The author also finds that urban centres had a high male-to-female sex ratio. This is explained by forces of internal redistribution of population causing rapid urbanization with its own problems and prospects. Mustafa and Sawas (2013) argued that only that narrative would be successful in Pakistan's political landscape in future which would at its core focus on social justice and economic growth. They work on studying the impact of urbanization on electoral politics. They contend that the rise of urban middle class is more focused on service delivery than patronage and constituency-based politics in rural as well as in urban areas. This is also evident with the increment of youth especially educated ones in total population.

Belokrenitsky (1974) wrote on the functional nature of the cities and categorizes the urban centers as poly-functional, uni-functional and those performing local functions. These functions vary from political to industrial and trade and transport to cultural and educational functions. Each of them has different social structures. Service sector is more prominent in urban centres and majority of city dwellers are paid or salaried employees performing in non-agricultural sectors in contrast to rural areas where unpaid family workers are a considerable proportion of employment.

Gurung (2004) contrasted the processes of urbanization in developing and developed countries. Urbanization in Europe and North American was driven by industrialization while European colonies underwent different type of urbanization to meet demands of the colonizers. The writer studies the materialistic aspect of urbanization mainly pattern of land use in urban areas in both developing and developed countries. Urbanization in developed countries is marked by local shift of commercial activities, sub-urban areas, racial, status and colour segregated neighbourhoods while there is caste, religious and voluntary segregation, slum areas, mixed residential and commercial usage of urban areas in developing countries.

Mughal (2019) worked on the changing patterns of land use in rural areas of Pakistan which are undergoing urbanization in contrast to rural-urban migration. Due to inheritance laws, the size of land per family is becoming smaller unsuitable for profitable and commercial agriculture. Therefore, small landowners are selling their lands to factories owners or commercial traders. Educated rural population is also attracted to various other occupations. Feudal landowners are interested in industrialization because of high profits. The author also notes that this is bringing a change in socio-economic status of the rural population where *Baradri* and patron-client relationships are being replaced by individualism and a cash-based market-oriented economy and social relations.

Belokrenitsky (2017) analyzed the history of urbanization in Pakistan by dividing it into two periods. The first one was driven by industrialization and the second by agglomeration of overcrowding of the urban centres. Moreover, he underwent the socio-economic problems that Pakistan urban centres are facing in the contemporary times like high levels of poverty and unemployment, lack of basic urban facilities and a big role of informal sector in providing jobs in cities. Furthermore, the study conducted by Abdul and Yu (2020) covered many themes related to urbanization processes in Pakistan including the challenges its presents, the development of national urban resilience models to tackle with such challenges and a comparative analysis with the global models.

Kasarda and Crenshaw (1991) have concentrated their efforts on the study of urbanization processes in the developing countries. They make a short comparative analysis of the historical and contemporary trends of urbanization, various dimensions of urbanization in many academic disciplines, various major theories and the factors and determinants of urbanization process in the third world countries.

Jabeen, Farwa, and Jadoon (2017) have adopted a developmental approach of presenting a case of urbanization in Pakistan. The author describes the developmental approaches adopted in Pakistan and worldwide in tackling high rates of globalization in the preceding decades. The author calls for a concept of urban governance to be adopted by policy makers in tackling the emergent socio-economic changes and problems with increasing urbanization.

3. Conceptual Framework

Pakistan is one of the fastest urbanizing countries in the world, especially in the region. High rates of urbanization create swift social changes and together with a high population growth rate of almost 2% those social changes can have profound facts on other aspects of life (World Bank, 2022)

This present study has tried to analyze the impacts of urbanization and consequent social changes in Pakistan. Karl Marx's Conflict theory of social change shall be the underpinning theory of this paper. Marx held that there is a constant conflict among different economics classes and this class struggle is the driving force for social change. Later, many theorists extended Karl Marx's conflict theory to other identity groups in society beyond the concept of economic classes e.g., ethno-linguistic, sectarian, religious and racial groups etc. Multilinear theory of evolution of social change as opposed to uni-linear theory of evolution propounded by sociologists and anthropologists and Modernization theory of social change (Talcott Parsons, Gabriel Almond, Lipset etc.) shall also be applied to some limited extent. Further, this study has focused on how greater levels of urbanization are weakening the basis of centuries old traditional values based upon hierarchy setup and patron-client relationship. The old social structures are now crumbling and are being replaced by new ones. New social divisions of labour are emerging replacing caste, *Baradri* social divisions with class based and professional social division.

Urbanization is also replacing joint and community-based system with nuclear family system and values of individualism. This is evident by the rise of a young, educated elite having a college and university degree education and higher levels of consciousness than their preceding generations. Furthermore, this study has also analyzed that how such social and culture changes are bringing significant impacts on the political culture of the country with more focus of national level politics and welfare system. This is also contributing to coming of different ethno-linguistic groups in major urban centres causing social tensions and conflicts as well as mixing of these diverse populations setting up the grounds for national integration. The problems of urbanization like slums, scarcity of land and other resources, etc. will also covered.

4. Research Methodology

This research paper employs secondary and tertiary sources of information using e-books, e-journals, online research papers, data compiled by government and international bodies and organizations in the form of reports. A descriptive and analytical approach is combined in explaining and comprehending the role of urbanization in bringing social changes in Pakistan as well as social problems and impacts on the political system, processes, and values.

5. Significance of the Research

There are a lot of studies on the causes of urbanization in Pakistan and its effects on the environment, economy and living standards of people. However, there is less focus on the role of urbanization in changing the values, processes, structures, and functions of Pakistani society (societies). A common reader from all age groups will find this study quite fruitful in comprehending the rapid social and cultural changes happening in Pakistan in the last few years and grasp the changing realities as well as the underlying factors responsible for this change.

This research has tempted researchers from other academic disciplines to work on this area in the contemporary age and employing other theories for explaining the urbanization phenomenon and accompanying changes in social life of common Pakistani citizens. Furthermore, an increase in research in urbanization along this dimension will prove helpful for policy makers to devise better policies for urbanization and incorporating stakeholders from academic social science disciplines to innovate solutions for the emergent social problems of urbanization including group conflict and lack of urban facilities.

6. Urbanization and Social Changes in Pakistan

As urbanization is creating a lot of social changes in Pakistan, there is a detailed explanation of many of them below under different headings.

6.1 Urbanization and New Social Structures

There is no doubt that the social structures in Pakistan are either undergoing rapid transformation or the old ones are being replaced by new ones. The rural village life which is dominated by traditional values, attitudes based upon kinship and clans, hierarchical order and vertical relationship is in sharp contrast with urban city life having different social values focused on equality, meritocracy, and professionalism. Urbanization is creating a conflict between these different social structures.

Karl Marx's Conflict theory of social change is very prominent in explaining the origin of social change. It posits those different social structures which are at odds with each other, and conflict creates social change. Conflict theory suggest that there is constant competition among various groups where those who are dominant and wealthy employ societal, economic, political, and cultural instruments to maintain the status quo.

Conflict theory is very helpful in explaining the cause of social change which lies in a conflict between the old and new social structures. However, it does not adequately explain the origin of those new social structures. Modernization theory is somewhat useful in this regard which borrows some of its theoretical basis from evolutionary theory. Modernization theory emerged in the 1950s and 1960s after World War II. Major proponents of Modernization theory are Talcott Parsons, Gabriel Almond, Lucian Pye and Lipset etc. Modernization theory holds that industrialization transforms a society from a premodern, agrarian, and traditional society to a modern and industrialized society. An industrialized society has different modes of production and a new set of division of labour. Technological change is responsible for the emergence of an industrial society.

Industrialization is responsible for structural differentiation of a society. Most of the functions in a traditional society are performed by a single social unit. Traditional societies are not that much complex. However, industrial activities require high levels of specialization, and it creates a sharp division of labour. A small single social unit is not compatible to perform multiple functions of a complex, large industrial society. Therefore, structural differentiation occurs and a breakdown of traditional social systems (Strasser & Randall, 1974).

Evolutionary theory explains that societies evolve from simple forms of social life to complex and advanced forms of social life. Auguste Comte provided the uni-linear theory of evolution that society evolve and progress only in one direction. Other notable figures are Herbert Spencer and Emile Durkheim. However, multiline theory of evolution states that the path of social transformation is not something direct, continuous, or uni-linear but each society with its our history, cultural values can take multiple paths in its evolutionary development (Mondal, 2021).

The emergence of new social structures will imply that their roles and functions are different from the old ones as well as social processes and values help by its members individually and whole.

6.2 Patron-Client Relationship between Equal and Competitive Relationships

In rural areas based of traditional social systems, there is a predominance of a patron client relationship. An inscriptive criterion is embedded in every facet of life. One's social position defines one's economic, political, cultural, and even religious roles and this social relationship is pre-determined. One's social position in a social order is fixed and decided at birth (Hagen, 1964).

Elders are respected not only because of any of their achievements but also of their gained experiences in old age. Such types of relationships are a necessity in agrarian setup because of survival considerations where there are not surplus resources and one's position in a tribe or a clan can give one access to resources. One must respect higher authority or develop an authoritative attitude to get valuable resources.

In urban life, this is not the case where the process of structural differentiation has replaced a single social structure by multiple structures performing various roles. (Strasser & Randall, 1974). These structures values efficiency and output. This is only possible by focusing on achievement criteria and adoption of universalist attitude and values including meritocracy. Every person has an equality of opportunity in a modern social setup of an urban life and people compete to get a place (role) in different structures of urban society.

With increasing levels of urbanization in Pakistan, there are now low levels of deference for older people in village setups and even age-old patrons because they no longer control the material resources which are essential for survival. Such an understanding can also explain social perspectives of rural-urban migration and economic perspectives of more jobs in urban areas.

6.3 Urbanization and Emergence of New Social Values

As new structures come into existence and new social relationships are formed, new social values emerge. As already mentioned, achievement criteria are preferred over inscriptive norms and universalistic ideals are preferred over particularistic ideals (Coleman, 1971). As rigid hierarchical relationships decline, individualism emerges. Individualism is very important because it creates ambitions for one to self-improve and are vital for creativity and innovation in a technological advanced industrial society (Hagen, 1964). Individualism is complemented by a concept of human rights.

Individualism creates a new sense of higher consciousness which then transforms into demand of political and civil rights as well economic and social rights. New social groups also emerge like

labour and workers groups and associations, entrepreneurs, industrialists, and professional classes. There is a change from clan, kinship, tribal, *Baradri* based relationship to class and professional based relationship. A new social division occurs. These new groups: class and professional groups find commonality between them, and mutual interests and a new type of competitive relationship emerges among these new groups of a modern industrial society. These new groups form associations and unions and compete in the social as well as in the political arena. The individual rights are then supplemented by group rights in the modern urban setup.

Interestingly, the forces of urbanization along with modernization and industrialization changes the gendered social relations, roles, and values. Traditional agrarian societies are patriarchal in nature where the head of a family or a social unit is a patriarch. As rigid social structures are absenting in urban areas, the concept of patriarchy begins to disintegrate. Universalistic, and achievement norms have no regards for patriarchy, and it does not matter if women are participating in dominating and important societal, political, and economic roles as long as they are competitive and efficient.

All these developments are visible in a rapidly urbanizing and emerging Pakistan where women, while still behind men considerably in all aspects of social life, are climbing the ladders of liberation and empowerment and contributing to every facet of national life. More and more women are getting education in Pakistan, and many are coming from far-flung rural areas to urban educational centres to get professional and college degree education.

Pakistanis are also opting for individual lifestyle as well as nuclear family setup and small families. Urban people have more consciousness about their rights as compared to rural areas and have more access to courts and information via social media and e-media platforms. Formal, modern education is also playing a key role in all of this.

6.4 Urbanization and the Emergence of an Educated Youth

Educational facilities especially qualitatively better higher education centres and universities in Pakistan are present in urban centres. Urban youth have more opportunities of access to quality and higher education. Formal higher education inculcates values and culture which are different from mainstream traditional culture and societal values. No doubt, universities in Pakistan have been the agents of social as well as political change in its history. Educational centres are also platforms of socialization where one gets a change to engage with diverse pool of people from different ethnic, linguistic, social, religious, sectarian, and national backgrounds. This broadens the outlook of an incumbent who has only socialized before with a limited number of people i.e., families or peers (Evans, 1964).

An educated vigorous youth is always an agent of social transformation and social and political movements are successful when the youth of a country are active participants of it. This results in a generational shift. A concept of post materialism (Hague & Haropp, 2013) is employed in this case. Pakistani older parents and the preceding generation may have faced economic hardships just to provide good education and life for their children. These children then having not faced the same hardships as their parents had demand for more than economic opportunities. They may denounce economic inequality as well as corruption in the national political landscape, nepotism, patriarchy, violation of human rights and make demands on the political elites and political system.

The access to these educational centres is not only accessible for people of urban areas. Young people come from far-flung rural areas to get quality education. This new educated youth acquiring new ideas, attitudes and values go back to their hometowns and villages and contribute as a source of social change.

6.5 Urbanization and Political Culture

Political systems and social systems are overlapping. Any social change is in correspondence with a political change and vice versa. Hence, one can establish a relationship between urbanization and political change. Urbanization establishes new social structures and values and leads to a decline in traditional hierarchical relationship. Patron-client relationships are a fact in Pakistani politics too.

People tend to vote along *Baradri*, caste, and tribal lines in different provinces and regions of Pakistan (Ahmed, 2009). Pakistan's political culture can aptly be described as parochial-subject culture in rural areas (Almond & Powell, 1966). There is less focus on national level politics and more on local and constituency-based politics. This can be attributed to low levels of political and national consciousness, low access to information and media and mainly a hierarchical structure present in backward rural areas which is basis of the distribution of resources.

In urban areas, though constituency-based politics exist in some form, it is overshadowed by national level politics. Urban areas are composed of people from various backgrounds and relationships and communication can be established across ethnic, linguistic, and religious lines in Pakistan. People are more focus on service delivery, urban life facilities and welfare services. Thus, voting behaviour and patterns are different in rural and urban areas. Urbanization may also change the landscape of Pakistan's politics and especially its political culture becoming more participant or even civic culture with the emergence of civil society and a strong urban middle class which will form the majority of the total population.

6.6 Urbanization, Social Conflicts and National Integration

Rural-urban migration in Pakistan brings people from different regions having different ethnic backgrounds. This is a source of social conflict which can transform into violence. This can even become worse if there is lack of social capital or trust among different communities and low or non-existent levels of communication. Sindhi-Muhajir conflict is a vivid example in the political and social history of Pakistan. Muhajirs from Northern India came to Pakistan after the Partition of 1947, and many shifted to Karachi and other urban areas of Sindh. This changed the ethno-linguistic demography of urban Sindh and Muhajirs becoming a majority. The social tensions between all these years and violence that ensued in the 1980s and 1990s is an example of demerits of rapid and unplanned urbanization. A civil society has not emerged in Karachi so far for now (Khan, 2014).

Rapid and unplanned urbanization may also create slums (Fazal & Hotez, 2020) Rural-urban migration is mainly due to economic and social factors. People want better economic opportunities, but cities in Pakistan offer limited jobs and infrastructure. This leads to crowded, poorly build and unhygienic slums. Slums are associated with also poor psychological development (Sclar, Garau, & Carolini, 2005). Slum's areas are also a manifestation of class divisions in a society where rich live in well-planned gated societies having all urban facilities. The focus on development of suburban areas against the development of proper housing facilities for people living in slums is a vivid example of economic inequality. Urbanization which should be process of increasing standard of living and providing a high cultured life for citizens is now creating new forms of unequal social structures. Similarly, in both slums and suburban areas, caste, ethnic, tribe and religious based neighbourhoods can also emerge which is determinate for social cohesion and development of a vibrant heterogeneous and multicultural society. Examples like Youhanabad and Rana Town in Lahore and many communities like remote neighbourhoods in Karachi are some of the examples.

Despite all the odds, urbanization has the potential to bring a revolutionary social change in Pakistan by assimilating all the ethnic, linguistic, and religious, sectarian groups into one nation (Ahmed, 1996). There has been a lot more effort on state building in Pakistan than nation building. Even the national building efforts were artificial and imposed. Policy makers made the mistake of treating official Pakistan nationalism at odds with sub-nationalisms. An organic development of national consciousness is only possible by the emergency of a civil society whose members are the educated urban middle class. Pakistan's new educated urban youth from different backgrounds has high levels of national consciousness and are a voice of social and political change.

7. Conclusion

There is an urgent need to understand the implications of urbanization upon societal change by everyone in Pakistan. Urbanization in Pakistan is merely understood by policymakers and all other stakeholders as a demographic phenomenon having economic and environmental implications. There is very little focus on social and political impacts of urbanization in Pakistan. Research in this area is made by few and decades ago and there is a need of revival in understanding social change.

This research has focused on the impacts of urbanization on existing social structures, their deterioration, and replacement by new ones. The new social structures are defining new societal values and processes and allocating new roles. It is even defining new gender roles because an urban economy focuses on economic output, efficiency, and competitiveness. It does not respect hierarchy and traditional mores. Urban centres are the venues for social and political movements and as social structures and roles are redefined, so is the level and nature of consciousness of urban folks. The new urban society does not identify strongly with old castes, *Baradri* and tribal affiliations. It is more focused on high standard of living, modern lifestyle, and materialistic outlook.

Similarly, politics and political culture is different in urban areas where people vote based on performance and not based on loyalty to family, clan, *Baradri* and tribal ties. The young, educated elite is the binding strong force or urban social systems in Pakistan which has a different outlook of society and politics from their parents.

Finally, urbanization in Pakistan can be a source of ethnic, linguistic, religious, and sectarian conflict. However, mitigation of these conflicts is possible by efforts to establish a civil society having a civic culture. This can enhance the efforts of national integration and strengthen the narrative of official Pakistani nationalism. There is also a need to tackle urban poverty, poor infrastructure, and slums in cities.

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Indo-USA 123 Deal and Nuclear Cooperation Agreement Feature and Reasons: Perspective of China and Pakistan

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Article Information	Abstract
Received: February 09, 2021 Revised: June 30, 2023 Accepted: June 30, 2023	India and United States have led to a strategic partnership due to mutual interests in global politics such as promoting democracy and fighting terrorism. After that, they extend their collaboration across the economy, technology and atomic energy. After 1998 nuclear tests United States imposed sanctions on both India and Pakistan and stopped any kind of aid and assistance to them. But after the incident of September, 11 USA changed her strategies toward both countries and started Global war on terrorism (GWOT). In the South Asian security environment, the United States of America (USA) and India have a strong bond of strategic partnership due to the power struggle between the regional powers. India and USA started nuclear deal on 2005 which was completed on 2006. Behind this deal, both states increase their influence in this region. After this USA took steps toward India and signed the deal with it because in this region USA has only one watch dog in the shape of India. China is emerging as global power that is threatening situation for United States of America. In response of Indo-USA nuclear deal, arms race between India and Pakistan added risk of accidental use of nuclear technology due to unsophisticated command and control system.
Keywords <i>Minimum deterrence</i> <i>China</i> <i>GWOT</i> <i>Nuclear deal</i> <i>section 123</i>	

1. Introduction

USA-India consensual relations and 123 deals for transformations of new technology is the corner stone in the strategic partnership of both states due to mutual interests in global politics such as promoting democracy and fighting terrorism. After that, they extend their collaboration across the economy, technology and atomic energy which related to peaceful uses of nuclear energy that began after a long and uncertain journey. For the period of time, “United States congressman was openly meeting with Dr. Singh, the existence to the 123 agreement that had to sign because United States hoped that India would buy 126 fighter jets from it” (Mian, Nayyar, Rajaraman, & Ramana, 2006). But other parties refused that argument and said that this agreement would be the key element to enable the both states to cooperate and start open door to long term strategic partnership. This deal got final approval on 1 October 2008 in which USA facilitating nuclear technology to India (Sharma, 2008). Due to the deal revitalization, USA sanctions on India finished which had been imposed on India after 1992 explosion and restart the nuclear trade with each other. India got USA civilian nuclear energy assistance by deal and enlarged cooperation in fields of energy and satellite tools.

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2. Contextual Analysis

Here focus on region's politics rather than on global politics and also assess the Indo-USA relationship and Pakistan security in the realist paradigm. The situation between Pakistan and India are understandable by structural realist theory. The purpose behind the Indo-USA deal is not easy to understand without USA's strategic goals. These goals achieve by the system of alliances in which all rival states also included like Old Europe, Russian federation or China. The reason behind this USA relationship was and is India's important location in south Asia, western Asia and Southeast Asia. The result of Indo-USA cooperation especially in nuclear and space arenas disturbs the status quo among Pakistan and India. USA griped the lot of political, economic and strategic benefits in global arena. Developing states have different problems like insecurity but they balancing the stronger states rather than adopted their policies and influence. America adopted the unilateral approach that was criticized on many forums (Jaspal D. Z., 2007).

3. United States Section 123

123 agreements based on the name of United States section 123 Atomic Energy Act that requires the specific agreement for transfers of material based on nuclear technology to other countries. This section based on the principles of nonproliferation advance tools by USA. Under this agreement all type of cooperation like technical, scientific research and safeguard issues taken by all member states. All signatory states with USA must be follow the rules that made by superpower which related to transformation of nuclear technology. It is also called Hyde act. The Hyde Act was passed by U.S.A to make immunity for India, to permit transfer of technology for civil nuclear energy. Hence this agreement gave a lot benefits to India to make strong its position in the region (jangir, 2012). Through this deal UPA that is the Indian National Congress which sought to build relation with the United States and cooperation was just one part of the across border alliance. USA wants expand their democracy around the world; therefore it was trying to enhance its relations with that region's state (Mohan, 2016).

Twentieth century seemed remarkable transformation in trade, security and also dramatic economic, strategic and political changes which continue to influence international relations. India changed its policies towards United States after the disintegration of USSR and USA declared as a world single powerful state. The unilateral approach, opted under the Bush administration has not seen successful gaining its objectives, in which USA changed its policies on nuclear nonproliferation matter, regime change policy in Middle East (Ali, 2013). Even both states were familiar with that without resolving clashes on non-proliferation which had poisoned from 1970s (Bokhari, 2011). There could not be actual partnership. The reason behind deal was simple that USA would demand from India to pack up its nuclear weapons program. USA was also trying to change India's domestic law and push international rules to provide civil cooperation with India. India would detach its nuclear and civil programs and support the non-proliferation regime (Müller, 2009).

India's nuclear deal with USA arose in the context of growing requirements of India to sufficient and reasonable energy provisions to endure its technological skills and economic growth. After 1962 war of India and China, India decided to start its Atoms for peace program. Through this program India entered in 123 Agreement with USA and also started its bilateral relations in mid-1950 and initiated its policy of Atom for Peace. In this agreement, USA supply heavy water to India and India was met the terms with the USA government. India had first time entered in a deal with United States in 1963 which directly based on civil uses of nuclear technology. Under this agreement USA supplied uranium ore technology related to Tarapur nuclear power plant. This agreement would be just a mechanism to introduce the new law that was signed between USA and India (Shourie, 2006).

Furthermore, the 123 Agreement is essential to include terms that are covered by the new Act. Under this act India will export nuclear reactors, nuclear material, technology and fuel. There is no need to contain the many sections of law for the reason that agreement is not put to comprise them and as it also have been legislated in other law just as Hyde act. Under section 123, there are round about 23

agreements in operation, though, all are varying from each other. The 123 agreements are in process under section 123 and all of these different from each other. In 1963, United States signed the 123 agreement with India according to Brahma Chellaney record. That agreement comprised the different kinds of requirements with the aim what would be faced (Mistry, 2014). In result, by that agreement India would get fuel for Tarapur from United States.

USA supported India to gaining a status of great power in twenty first century in the world especially in South Asia. For this purpose, both states worked on strategic partnership. In future, India as global player is likely to change the regional geopolitical scene (Kronstadt, 2007).

4. Indo-US Nuclear Cooperation

The joint statement of July 2005 between India and USA highlighted in which both states expanded their cooperation in energy and economic fields and enabled India to get latest nuclear technology from nuclear supplier group. After this deal India has a large improvement in their nuclear arsenals which is dangerous for Pakistan, for China and also dangerous for whole region. The proponent of Indo-USA nuclear initiative argued that the main purpose of this deal was to increase its civilian nuclear energy due to increasing electricity needs of India. On one side United States made possible steps to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapon but other side she helped and is helping India to enhance their weapons capabilities on the name of peaceful purpose (Sultan, 2006).

The deal has main two parts, the first part covers nuclear cooperation and the second part covers space cooperation. The deal provided USA facilitated India for two-sided space activities. United States also allowed India to develop nuclear and civilian reactors under this deal. After a long time, USA congress permitted to changes in USA law by legislation and gave permission to export civilian nuclear technology and fuel to India in December 2006. This changes in USA law granted that India and USA nuclear deal conclude under IAEA safeguard and nuclear agreement was approved by Nuclear Suppliers Group and provided an opportunity to India to access to international markets. India and USA has close relationship in space exploration, satellite navigation and commercial space fields. Moreover, both states are working on civil space cooperation for their own interests (Kimball, McGoldrick, & Scheinman, 2008).

On October 2008 USA gave approval to the Indo- USA deal to facilitate the India the field of nuclear technology. Due to this deal thirty years of USA suspension on nuclear trade lifted from India. This deal provided assistance to Indian civil energy program. After this deal India and USA expanded their cooperation in energy and satellite technology. However, “this deal proved unprecedented for India. It can be look at the three countries outside the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)-Israel, India, and Pakistan, but this stands to be a unique deal” (Bajoria & Pan, 2010). But through this agreement USA broke long-standing policies toward India and recognized India as a legitimate nuclear state after 30 years. On the other hand, USA reviewed its strategic policies toward Pakistan which were increased through proper consultation and lifting sanction. Maintenance of strategic relations with both Pakistan and India by United States offers an important test of balancing theory (Jaspal D. Z., 2007).

The last government of India Bharatiya junta Party and other members of government took some changes in India’s foreign policies that were developed by Nehru based on realism. Both are share common objectives for India to gain the status of major power of region. For this status, India increased arms and armed force. Congress government maintaining Indo-USA relations same as Bharatiya junta Party and got more benefits from sole superpower because of China’s relation with Pakistan and Myanmar. India also interested to work with USA multinational military operation that is not under the United Nation. India voted in right of USA in different matters like to sending its troops in Iraq and also supported USA against Iran at forum of international Atomic Energy commission. In Defense Policy Group meeting in 2003, both states agreed sign different agreements like special training programs of both countries armed forces including air training, multinational

planning exercise to establish operating method with the help of USA. It also includes development of defense supply relationship and government to government military sales program. Both states expertise are conducts dialogue on defense plans and policies. By this deal, India got more access to develop the nuclear technology (Jaspal D. Z., 2007).

India opened 14 of its 22 reactors as civilian purposes and other eight reactors are used for military purposes. But India's past record indicates that India violated the agreement and policy that was signed with IAEA (Squassoni, 2006). The Canadian supplied CIRUSA reactor was difficult to resolve the problem when it use for military purpose rather than civilian and peaceful use (Mustafa A. , 2013). India had refused to accept this deal with new amendments. This deal has helpful for India to increasing its weapons but it has many impacts on non-proliferation regime and South Asia.

5. Features and Reasons behind Signing the Agreement

There are many features of this agreement under section 123 that were given by India. The main reason behind this agreement could be to fulfill their energy requirements. For India it is critical to maintain its current economic growth rate of 8 to 10 per cent per annum if that goal is to achieve then eliminates poverty from India. Shortage of energy supply is one of the primary limitations on India's development in many fields. This Agreement places India in a special category as a State which possessing advanced nuclear technology that is transfers from United States. The Agreement provides for the development of a strategic preservation of nuclear fuel to guard against any disturbance of supply of India's reactors. The transfer of all these material and equipment are under this agreement through the IAEA safeguard.

After this deal India has a large improvement in their nuclear arsenals which is threat for Pakistan, for china and also dangerous for whole region. However, India is trying to becoming militarily stronger than Pakistan. According to USA, the purpose of this is only to increase the status of India in this region and make possible steps to remove disputes between Pakistan and India but on the other hand due to this cooperation rivalry increased between them. India and Pakistan weapons capability and strategic self-sufficiency secured by their jealousy factor. Both states try to increase their arsenal. Both states rejected the UN resolution 1172 that pressurize both states to sign the NPT and CTBT (Council, 1998). India's status as nuclear state not accepted by other nuclear states but India after that deal supposed as powerful state. This situation is beneficial for India because India transfer nuclear technology from USA and NSG. Different scholars suggest that nuclear weapons ensure greater peace in conflicts of the many states and regions. Both nuclear states were a sign of region stability. Remarkably India had not been purchased any single USA atomic power reactor since 2008. USA defense corporation expected that after signing the deal, military sales have risen but there are no remarkable sales by India. There is core objective of India behind the deal is to an end of India-USA distancing just because of a giant Asia state as population wise.

6. Perspectives of China on Deal

United States adopted dual policy, on one side encouraging India to move toward China and other side USA was using China to balance the Soviet Union. Additional, military, missile technology and nuclear relationship had begun between China and Pakistan that was to replace United States (Cohen, 2000).

China is pursuing a two-pronged strategy of silence according to the point of Indian analysts. India into complacency with greater economic interaction while taking steps to encircle India and undermine its security. China strengthens its ties with Pakistan and gaining power with other South Asian states. China in order to protect sea ways and make sure uninterrupted energy supplies to develop strategic port for this purpose in Burma, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

Pakistan and China have long-standing strategic ties. China is Pakistan's largest defense supplier and enhancing Pakistan's position in South Asia. Pakistan gained equipment and technology for nuclear weapons and ballistic missile program from China (Curtis, 2008). China provides a major support to Pakistan in the terms of missile technology. The momentous development in Pakistan and china cooperation can be seen in the field of military in 90s. China transferred short range ballistic missiles M-11 and M-9 to Pakistan's National development complex. Moreover, China helped Pakistan in the development of Shaheen-I and also signed the agreement to provide four submarines for Pakistan's Navy (Sakhuja, 2010).

China is a classic balance of power by supporting Pakistan in a relationship that mirrors the relationship between the U.S. and Israel. United States support India for the development of its nuclear program, on the other side; Pakistan got help from China to build nuclear reactors in the area of Chashma. China is continuously supporting nuclear program of Pakistan in the region. Although there has been sever condemnation due to affairs of A. Q. Khan. According to media reports, Pakistan signed the nuclear energy cooperation agreement with China, when Chinese President visited Pakistan in 2006. However, China also provided supported to the nuclear program of Pakistan. China also helped Pakistan to construct new nuclear power plants at Chashma when Asif Ali Zardari, the president of Pakistan visited Beijing in 2008. While it did not agree to sign the nuclear deal with Pakistan which would similar to Indo-USA civil nuclear deal.

However, China is helping to establish deep-sea port at Gwadar in Baluchistanon Arabian Sea. China is doing help to build this port because it has also its own interest. Because by this route, China would supply oil and gas from Persian Gulf and to gain control in Indian Ocean. Pakistan got 80% of \$250 million from China for the accomplishment of the first phase of this project. (Curtis, 2008). China extends her communication via string of pearls to Port Sudan from mainland of China. However, the sea route has many vital block points just as the Strait of Malacca, the Strait of Mandeb, the Lombok Strait and Hormuz Strait. China has also other naval centers in Somalia, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Pakistan. Through this china increases its geopolitical influence over the access to ports and airfields. Therefore, china establishes its relations with other countries in the region that is the weakness for India.

China was ruled by warlords and its culture has been described as peaceful and aggressive. All these circumferences shaped the China's economic, strategic and cultural thought. China is an important state in South Asia, main part of regional security arena and now rising as a superpower due to its economic stability. India is the only state in this region that works for USA. Therefore, USA plays an important role to develop and transfer nuclear technology to India. South Asia, three counties have the nuclear weapons and capabilities, is emerging as the world's new center of gravity and would be great competitor of USA. USA supported India because India is single state in south Asia which helps United States to contain the China. USA policy in South Asia is the China Centric like India, because Pakistan is the closest partner of China, which cannot fit in this triangle. The western suspicion diverted toward military expenditure of India to enhance because of China factor instead of genuine security concerns, just as Prime Minister of India stated after nuclear explosion of 1998 that India should be treated as other five states when India had become the six nuclear weapon state.

In 18 July 2005, China's first comment on Indo-USA nuclear deal which criticizes the United States nuclear collaboration with India. Chinese newspaper People's Daily 27 October wrote that United states always calling itself a guard for prevention of nuclear weapons and condemns other counties for illegal transfers of technology but break the rule by itself and sign the deal with India. This deal will bring negative impacts on the world's environment because United States always takes actions against the other states that work for the nuclear development. In 2006 Sun Yuxi, Chinese ambassador, said that China understood the India's energy needs and closer relations with USA just because China wanted better ties with USA (Kumar & Kalis, 2014-2015). China does not consider threat from India but international community act responsibly. Due to indo-USA nuclear deal Pakistan move towards China and both states made a strategic shift in their relations. Indian government relieved that the purpose of this nuclear deal was not increased their arsenals. Before the Manmohan Singh's visit to

America, Pakistan and China had met on the matters relating to armament, disarmament and arms control.

Then, the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) announced plans for the development of 13 new nuclear power plants in the next 25 years with the assistance of China. Pakistan also demanded such type of deal with USA but United States did not respond actively. But this deal reveals that agreement India and USA is a dangerous policy that could burn arms race in region.

7. Pakistan Perspective towards Indo-USA deal

The primary objective of Pakistan's security has been to safeguard its prestige and territorial integrity against any external aggression. Pakistan is not the member of NATO but it has been faced danger from Indo-USA nuclear cooperation, therefore, Pakistan also demands same agreement for itself but USA did not pay any attention on this idea. From the beginning of Pakistan's independence, Pakistan adopts the Indian centric policy after the British rule (Bukhari., 2011). According to minister of foreign affairs of Pakistan, Sartaj Aziz, "The operationalization of Indo-USA nuclear deal for political and economic expediencies would have a detrimental impact on deterrence stability in South Asia"(Kumar & Kalis, 2016).

Pre-dominance ambition of India for the regional power will be only fulfilled due to partnership with USA. This will have negative impacts on weaker states in region. Pakistan's nuclear program suffered technical hurdles due to western states monopoly on nuclear technology and rigorous settings set by western countries during its early times. Moreover, international community started to propagate negative conditions just to stop the Pakistan for the development of nuclear weapons.

According to Pakistan's point of view to International Atomic Energy Agency that if IAEA approved the safeguard agreement for India and provide access for nuclear fuel, then it will lead to new arm race between India and Pakistan. On other hand, India works for the safeguard agreement with IAEA. However, Pakistan has to balance it out in accordance with its strategy of minimum deterrence whenever an imbalance is created in the region. Nuclear and space fields, conventional and nonconventional, balance of power would disturb by the India and USA cooperation between India and Pakistan. Moreover, this deal enhances the India's ability to have pre-emptive strike against Pakistan. Due this Indo-USA deal, India got a green signal to increasing its status from illegal to legitimize nuclear state.

India pushed the region towards perpetual instability by increasing its conventional defense expenditures. In this regard, Cold start doctrine developed to be used against Pakistan in case of war which gives India to increase the level of arms race in South Asia. Cold start doctrine is a bombardment inspired military strategy developed by Indian Military Command especially for Pakistan. It is latest form of Sundaji doctrine which developed and failed in 2001-2002. In cold start doctrine, under 72 hours India invade and defeat Pakistan by using Mobilized Armored Units and Integrated Battles Groups without going to nuclear war (Khan, 2015).

This deal will increase the level of minimum deterrence stability in the region. Dr. Pervez Iqbal Cheema said that Pakistan has also motivated to increase the capability of nuclear deterrent because Pakistan has severe threat on its eastern side border. However, the major powers adopted discriminatory and biased policies which associated with nuclear cooperation, that situation created sever insecurity for Pakistan. It also increased the arms race in the region. (Kumar & Kalis, 2015)

In recent times, many states are reducing their stockpiles but Asia is seeing a buildup. According the recent report, Pakistan has the fastest developing nuclear program on world. On the council of international relations American think tank, it may be round about 200 nuclear devices if Pakistan continues in 2020. South Asia is denoted as most dangerous to collapse the balance and stability due to the explosive nuclear weapons and growing territorial conflicts. According to the Pakistan point of

view on the development of nuclear weapons is that we have enough to be able to deter India because without nuclear ability our national interest will be in jeopardy which cannot affordable. In response of deal, Pakistan had explored the options that would work for the security concerns to deter the indo-USA partnership in the region. The primary concern for acquisition of weapon was to counter force ability by India because India converts its civilian nuclear program into nuclear arms which have solemn implication for Pakistan.

India and Pakistan have declared that their nuclear weapons are for deterrence and security of their states. Nuclearization increased conflict between India and Pakistan and increased militarism in South Asia. There are two military balances in south Asia. First is conventional and second is nuclear. Both states have large and skill forces and have to demonstrate their ability to integrate conventional technology in battlefield management. India's army, navy and air force are twice or three times greater than Pakistan in terms of manpower. In other words, India holds aircrafts more than Pakistan and also enjoys qualitative superiority as well. On the other hand, Pakistan also has the capability to launching an attacking and could capture some India territory.

In the terms of nuclear balance, the size of both states nuclear arsenal remains fully protected and quantity are not known. Both have a satisfactory number of delivery system like India's Prithvi and Pakistani Hatf cover the heartland of both countries. Moreover, they are working on the development of missiles with long range. The India's Agni 2 and Medium range ballistic missile covers china, middle east and central Asia whereas in response of this Pakistan's Shaheen-2 covers the whole India. This deal will force Pakistan to adopt the qualitative approach to increase its deterrence stability and offensive and defensive technological improvements. That's why Pakistan follows the minimum deterrence in nuclear and conventional fields. Pakistan always tries to balance the minimum deterrence strategy whenever strategic balance is disturbed in the region.

This relationship facilitates India to manipulate USA influence on Pakistan in its favor on the subject of different conflicts between India and Pakistan. Due to Indo-USA relationship, Pakistan lost its importance in foreign policy preferences of USA. Every state has its own security challenges and troubles but the development of nuclear weapons is conducted in order to secure and safeguard national interests and territorial borders. Pakistan has many security challenges like terrorism, sectarianism, economy and political instability vis-à-vis traditional rivalry with India. That's why, Pakistan will compel seek such type of deal with other countries like China and Russia due to massive USA assistance to India in latest nuclear technology.

According to Pakistan, that action would be dangerous for the Pakistan defense and security. This deal compelled Pakistan to follow the qualitative approach to enhance the ability and stability of deterrence, which improved its defensive and offensive capabilities technologically. Though, a minimum deterrence strategy is followed by Pakistan in nuclear and conventional fields according to threat situation. Moreover, Pakistan is trying to balance the situation in region according to minimum deterrence strategy when strategic balance is disturbed. Through quantitative increase in war heads and systems of delivery, further, Pakistan tries and attempts to robust the capability of second strike.

8. Conclusion

The USA policy in South Asia is that wanted to maintain its hegemony by solving the world affairs directly and prevent major powers to challenge its power. But most of countries dislike the USA strategies by which it solved the problems like European Union has continued a secure way to develop its own policies and solve their affairs by itself. The basic reason behind this deal that United States has an interest in balancing China's expansion in Asia so nuclear deal with India is one of the best step takes by USA to balance the china in this region. China's increases its national power by improving their military capabilities that is a big challenge for single superpower. This is the way in which states challenge to the status quo in international power structure. USA and China have economic ties but there many strategic and political issues that have weakened their old relationship.

According to the Christensen, China's new strategies and weapons can pose a problem for American interest and these problems increase India's importance in strategic matters of United States. Same as India has been secure USA support for maintaining its position in South Asia and Indian Ocean. USA considered India as friend in South Asian region for its own interest to maintain super power status. India and USA have same objectives against China's growing power and influence in region and also world affairs. India considered China as strategic adversary and USA considered as a strategic competitor. Therefore, India's position within the region would grow with USA support. If USA decides to step back from South Asia in future, it would leave India as watch dog in the region.

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