

# Growth on Hold? Questioning the Logic of Prolonged Stabilisation

## Balancing short-term macroeconomic control with the long-term need for structural investment

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## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 The Central Question

*“Stabilization without growth is treating symptoms while the disease progresses.”*

Pakistan stands at a critical juncture in its economic history. After achieving remarkable macroeconomic stabilization in 2025—with inflation dropping from 29.2% to under 5% and the current account moving into surplus—the fundamental question emerges: **Can Pakistan afford to keep growth on hold indefinitely?**

#### 1.1.1 Three Critical Questions Frame Our Analysis

##### 1. What is Pakistan stabilising from?

Pakistan’s stabilization efforts of 2024-2025 addressed severe macroeconomic imbalances: - **Twin deficits** (fiscal and current account) - **Debt sustainability concerns** with total debt reaching 75% of GDP - **Hyperinflationary spiral** peaking at 29.2% - **Currency instability** and foreign exchange shortages

##### 2. Who bears the cost of prolonged stabilisation?

The burden of extended stabilization falls disproportionately on: - **Youth**: Limited job creation in an economy where 64% of population is under 30 - **SMEs**: Credit rationing and high interest rates stifling business expansion - **Informal workers**: Reduced economic activity affecting 73% of workforce - **Provinces**: Reduced development allocations affecting regional growth

##### 3. Can we afford to delay growth?

The risks of prolonged stabilization include: - **Lost decade scenario**: Similar to Japan’s experience in the 1990s - **Social unrest**: Rising inequality and limited opportunities - **Structural stagnation**: Delayed investments in productivity-enhancing sectors - **Regional competitiveness**: Falling behind South Asian peers in growth trajectory

This presentation argues for a **dual-track approach**: maintaining macroeconomic discipline while strategically investing in growth foundations, rather than viewing stabilization and growth as mutually exclusive objectives.

## 2 Economic Performance Analysis

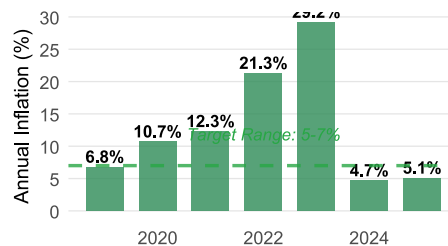
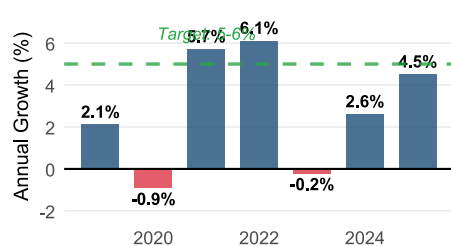
### 2.1 Pakistan’s Macroeconomic Transformation (2019-2025)

The data reveals a story of remarkable stabilization success alongside persistent growth challenges. Pakistan’s economic journey over the past six years demonstrates both the effectiveness of orthodox stabilization policies and their limitations in generating sustainable growth.

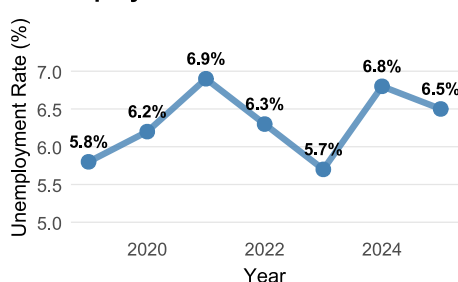
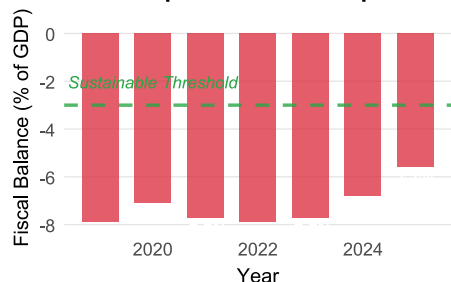
## Pakistan's Macroeconomic Journey: Success and Challenges

Stabilization achieved, but growth momentum remains elusive (2019-2025)

### GDP Growth: Seeking Sustainable Momentum Inflation: Dramatic Stabilization Success



### Fiscal Discipline: Gradual Improvement Unemployment: The Persistent Challenge



Sources: State Bank of Pakistan, Ministry of Finance, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics  
Note: 2025 figures include projections

Figure 1: Pakistan's Macroeconomic Indicators: Stabilization Achieved, Growth Elusive

#### 2.1.1 Key Performance Insights

**Stabilization Successes:** 1. **Inflation Control:** Perhaps the most dramatic achievement—inflation fell from 29.2% in 2024 to 4.7% in 2025, representing one of the fastest disinflation episodes globally 2. **Current Account Rebalancing:** Moved from -3.2% deficit in 2023 to 0.7% surplus in 2025 3. **Fiscal Improvement:** Primary surplus achieved, overall deficit narrowing to -5.6% of GDP

**Persistent Challenges:** 1. **Growth Stagnation:** Average growth of 3.1% over 2019-2025, well below the 5-6% needed for demographic dividend 2. **Employment Crisis:** Unemployment stuck above 6%, with youth unemployment likely much higher 3. **Investment Deficit:** Low productivity growth reflecting inadequate investment in infrastructure and human capital

## 2.2 External Debt Dynamics

### Pakistan's Government Debt Profile

Total debt and external debt composition (2009-2024)

Year (as of June)	Total Government Debt (% of GDP)	External Debt Share (%)
2009	52.6	51.2
2019	68.8	33.8
2021	71.4	31.2
2022	68.8	34.0
2023	74.9	35.0
2024	67.5	30.5

Source: State Bank of Pakistan (SBP)

The debt profile reveals Pakistan's vulnerability to external shocks, with external debt comprising over 30% of total debt. While debt-to-GDP ratios have stabilized, the composition raises concerns about sustainability during global financial stress.

### 3 Budget Analysis: Resource Allocation Priorities

#### 3.1 Budget 2025: A Critical Assessment

Pakistan's Budget 2025 reveals the harsh realities of fiscal consolidation, but also highlights concerning trade-offs between short-term stability and long-term growth potential.

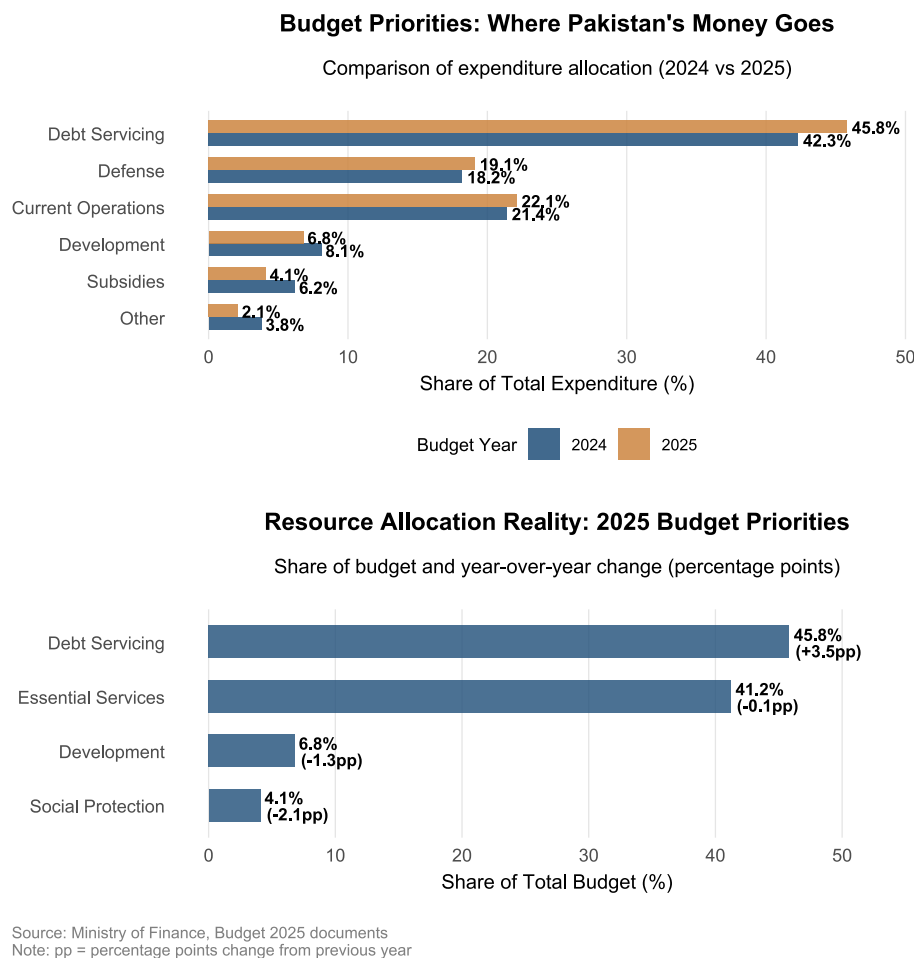


Figure 2: Budget Allocation Analysis: Priorities and Trade-offs

##### 3.1.1 The Budget's Stark Message

**What the Budget Emphasizes:** - **Debt Servicing Dominance:** 45.8% of total expenditure—the highest proportion in Pakistan's history - **IMF Compliance:** Meeting fiscal targets takes precedence over development needs - **Short-term Stability:** Focus on avoiding immediate crisis rather than building long-term capacity

**What the Budget Marginalizes:** - **Development Investment:** PSDP allocation reduced from 8.1% to 6.8% precisely when counter-cyclical investment is needed - **Job Creation Programs:** Limited allocation for employment-generating activities - **Productivity Enhancement:** Minimal funding for technology, innovation, and competitiveness initiatives

**What the Budget Reveals:** This is fundamentally a **budget for survival, not transformation**. While achieving fiscal targets, it perpetuates a low-growth equilibrium by starving the economy of productivity-enhancing investments.

##### 3.1.2 International Context

Successful emerging economies typically allocate 15-20% of budgets to development during transformation phases. Pakistan's 6.8% allocation resembles crisis management rather than a growth strategy, raising questions about the sustainability of this approach for a country with Pakistan's demographic profile and development needs.

## 4 The Austerity Trap: When Fiscal Medicine Becomes Poison

### 4.1 Krugman's Warning Applied to Pakistan

*"Austerity in a depression is a trap — the more you cut, the weaker your economy becomes."* — Paul Krugman

Nobel laureate Paul Krugman's insight about austerity's self-defeating nature during economic downturns provides a crucial lens for evaluating Pakistan's current policy trajectory. The fundamental issue is not whether Pakistan needed stabilization—it clearly did—but whether the composition and duration of austerity measures optimize long-term fiscal health.

#### 4.1.1 The Austerity Paradox in Pakistan's Context

**Traditional Austerity Logic:** 1. Cut government spending → Reduce fiscal deficit 2. Lower fiscal deficit → Restore investor confidence

3. Higher confidence → Increased private investment 4. More investment → Economic growth returns 5. Growth → Higher tax revenues and sustainable debt dynamics

**Pakistani Reality Check:** 1. Cut government spending → Reduced aggregate demand 2. Lower demand → Business contraction and unemployment 3. Business contraction → Lower tax collection 4. Revenue shortfall → Pressure for additional cuts 5. Deeper cuts → Further economic contraction

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#### 4.1.2 Breaking the Austerity Trap: The Multiplier Evidence

The critical insight is that not all fiscal adjustments are created equal. The composition of spending cuts matters enormously for their ultimate fiscal impact.

### 4.2 Fiscal Multipliers: The Mathematics of Policy Choice

Understanding fiscal multipliers is crucial for designing effective stabilization policies. Research shows that multipliers vary significantly across spending categories and economic conditions, with important implications for Pakistan's policy mix.

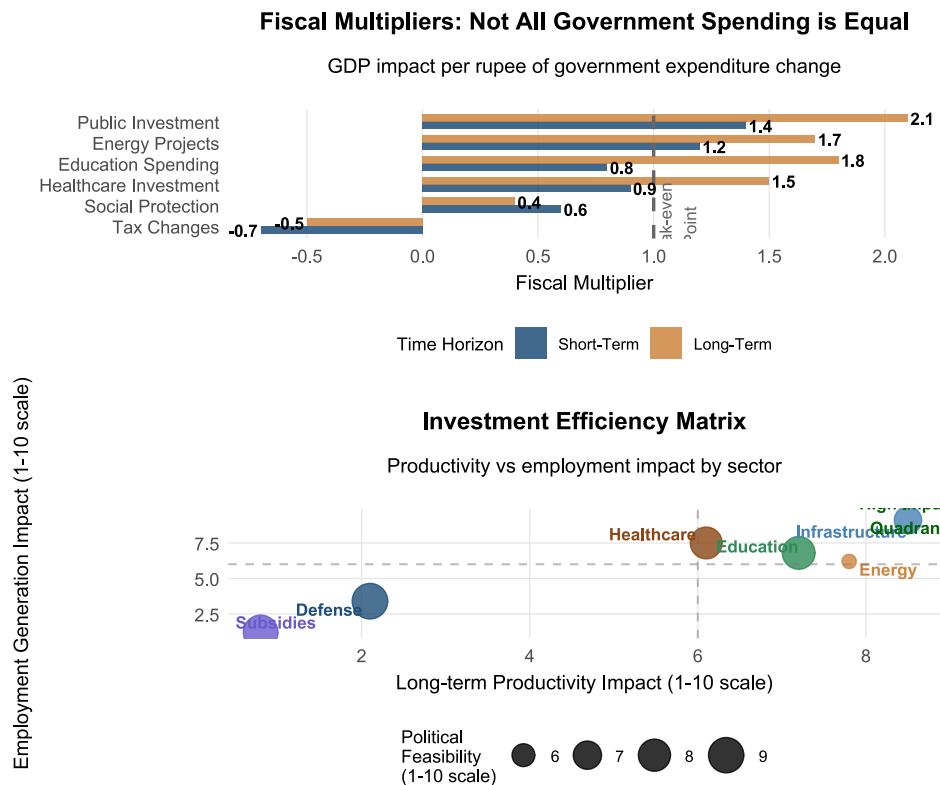


Figure 3: Fiscal Multipliers by Expenditure Type: Strategic Implications for Policy Design

#### 4.2.1 Strategic Implications for Pakistan

**High-Multiplier Activities (Priority for Protection):** - **Public Investment** (2.1x long-term): Infrastructure, technology, and productive capacity - **Education Spending** (1.8x long-term): Human capital development and skills training - **Healthcare Investment** (1.5x long-term): Improving workforce productivity and reducing poverty

**Low-Multiplier Activities (Priority for Rationalization):** - **Untargeted Subsidies** (-0.5x): Often regressive and economically distortive - **Tax Increases** (-0.5x): Particularly harmful during economic downturns - **Non-productive Current Spending**: Administrative expenses with limited economic impact

**The Pakistan-Specific Context:** - **Higher multipliers during recessions**: When unemployment is high and private demand weak - **Larger employment effects**: Due to significant informal sector and underutilized labor - **Infrastructure bottlenecks**: Energy and transport constraints amplify infrastructure multipliers

#### 4.2.2 Policy Recommendation: Smart Fiscal Consolidation

Rather than across-the-board cuts, Pakistan should pursue **composition-based fiscal adjustment**: 1. **Protect high-multiplier spending**: Infrastructure, education, healthcare 2. **Rationalize low-multiplier expenditures**: Untargeted subsidies, administrative expenses 3. **Improve revenue quality**: Focus on progressive taxation and closing loopholes 4. **Sequence implementation**: Phase adjustments to minimize disruption

## 5 International Lessons: Learning from Success and Failure

### 5.1 Comparative Analysis of Stabilization Strategies

Pakistan's stabilization experience can be better understood through comparative analysis with countries facing similar challenges. The evidence shows that successful stabilization requires more than just achieving macroeconomic targets—it requires maintaining the foundations for subsequent growth.

## Learning from Regional Experiences: Pakistan in Comparative Perspective

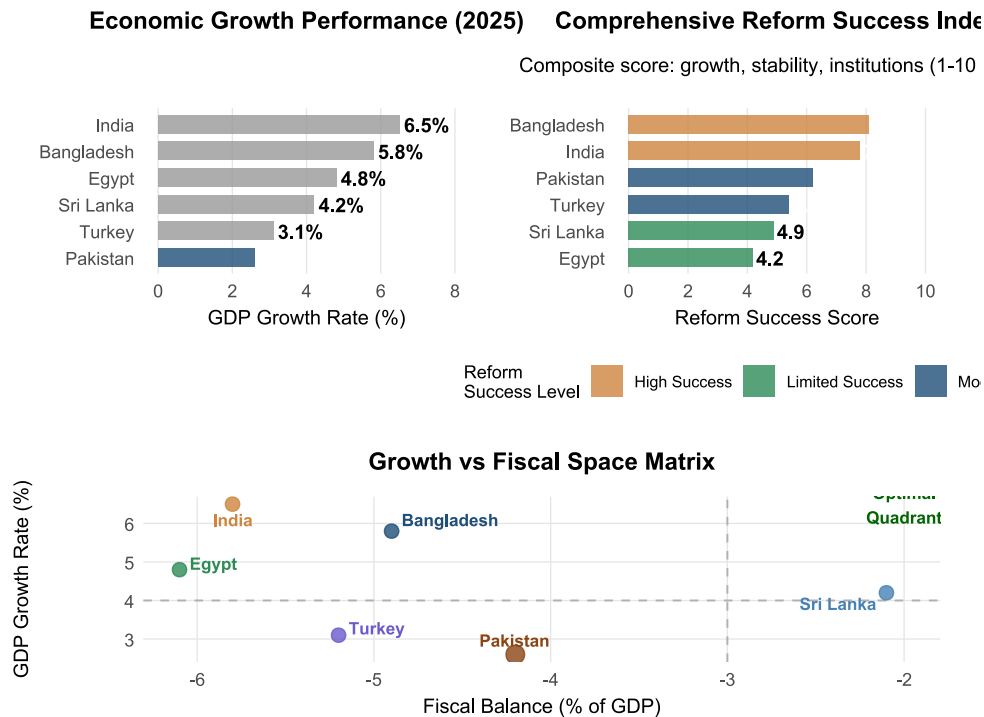


Figure 4: Regional Stabilization Experiences: Growth and Reform Outcomes

### 5.1.1 Case Study Analysis: Success Factors and Pitfalls

#### BD Bangladesh: The Pragmatic Sequencing Model

**Key Success Factors:** - **Sectoral Focus:** Maintained export incentives for ready-made garments during stabilization - **Social Protection:** Protected spending on health and education (human capital preservation) - **Gradual Liberalization:** Avoided shock therapy, implemented reforms sequentially - **Political Continuity:** Sustained policy direction across electoral cycles

**Outcome:** Over 6% annual growth for more than a decade, significant poverty reduction

**Lessons for Pakistan:** Identify and protect key export sectors, maintain minimum social spending floors

#### EG Egypt: The Austerity Trap Realized

**Policy Approach:** - **Deep Fiscal Cuts:** Aggressive subsidy removal and public investment cuts - **Rapid Currency Adjustment:** Large devaluation to restore competitiveness - **Orthodox IMF Program:** Strict adherence to traditional stabilization prescriptions

**Outcome:** Achieved macroeconomic stability but generated jobless growth, social unrest

**Lessons for Pakistan:** Macroeconomic stability without inclusive growth is politically unsustainable

#### TR Turkey: The Stop-Go Cycle Trap

**Policy Pattern:** - **Electoral Pressures:** Repeatedly chose short-term growth over long-term stability - **Policy Inconsistency:** Frequent reversals undermined credibility - **External Vulnerability:** High dependence on volatile capital flows

**Outcome:** Chronic inflation, recurring currency crises, lost competitiveness

**Lessons for Pakistan:** Policy credibility requires both discipline and strategic patience

#### LK Sri Lanka: The Cost of Delayed Adjustment

*Critical Mistakes:* - **Delayed Recognition:** Postponed necessary reforms until crisis became unavoidable - **Policy Inconsistency:** Mixed signals to markets and international partners - **Social Contract Breakdown:** Failed to build consensus for necessary adjustments

*Outcome:* Economic collapse, extreme austerity with severe social costs

*Lessons for Pakistan:* Early action is less costly than crisis-driven adjustment

### 5.1.2 Synthesis: What Makes Stabilization Sustainable?

**Common Success Factors:** 1. **Sequencing Strategy:** Protect growth-enhancing expenditures during initial stabilization 2. **Social Consensus:** Maintain minimum social protection to preserve political support 3. **Sectoral Focus:** Identify and nurture competitive advantages 4. **Institution Building:** Strengthen capacity for policy implementation 5. **External Support:** Maintain credible partnerships with international community

**Pakistan's Strategic Positioning:** - **Advantages:** Strong institutional capacity, diverse economy, geostrategic importance - **Challenges:** Political volatility, social inequality, external dependence - **Opportunity:** Current stabilization success creates platform for strategic transformation

## 6 The Human Cost: Distributional Impact of Prolonged Stabilization

### 6.1 Who Bears the Burden of Adjustment?

Economic stabilization is never distributionally neutral. Understanding who pays the costs—and who receives the benefits—of prolonged austerity is essential for assessing its political sustainability and designing more effective policies.

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#### 6.1.1 The Distributional Reality

**Most Affected Groups:** 1. **Urban Youth (-8.2 impact score, 35.2M people):** Limited job opportunities in formal sector, delayed economic independence, emigration pressures 2. **Rural Poor (-7.1 impact score, 89.4M people):** Reduced agricultural subsidies, limited access to credit, vulnerable to commodity price shocks 3. **SME Owners (-6.8 impact score, 12.7M people):** Credit rationing due to high policy rates, reduced consumer demand, regulatory burden

**Regional Inequalities:** The data reveals a troubling inverse relationship between poverty rates and development budget allocation. Balochistan, with the highest poverty rate (47.2%), receives only 4.8% of development spending, while Punjab, with lower poverty (22.1%), captures 48.2% of allocations.

**Gender and Age Dimensions:** - **Women:** Face both direct (-6.9) and indirect (-7.8) negative impacts due to reduced social services and informal sector concentration - **Youth:** Most severely affected group, facing limited employment opportunities and delayed life transitions - **Children:** Significant indirect impacts (-7.2) through reduced education and health spending

#### 6.1.2 Ethical and Political Economy Implications

**Intergenerational Equity Crisis:** Current stabilization policies essentially ask today's youth to pay for previous generations' fiscal mistakes while limiting their own economic opportunities. This raises fundamental questions about fairness and social sustainability.

**Political Sustainability Concerns:** History shows that stabilization programs without attention to distribution generate political backlash that ultimately undermines reform effectiveness. Egypt's experience demonstrates how technically successful stabilization can fail politically.

**Regional Cohesion Risks:** Exacerbating regional inequalities during stabilization periods can fuel separatist sentiments and undermine national unity, as seen in various federal systems globally.

# 7 A Growth-Compatible Framework: The Dual-Track Approach

## 7.1 Rethinking the Stabilization-Growth Trade-off

The conventional wisdom that countries must choose between stabilization and growth reflects a false dichotomy. While this trade-off may exist in the very short term, successful economic management requires moving beyond either-or thinking toward a more nuanced, sequential approach.

### Dual-Track Strategy: Beyond the Stabilization-Growth False Dichotomy

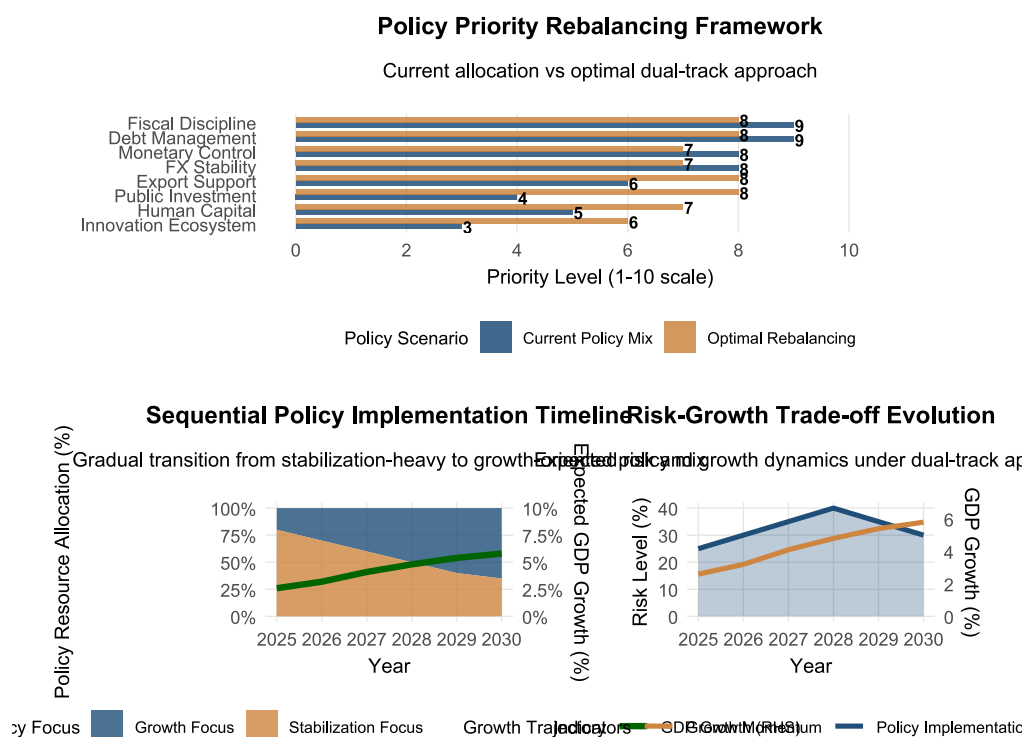


Figure 5: Dual-Track Strategy: Balancing Stability and Growth Imperatives

### 7.1.1 The Dual-Track Philosophy

**Track 1: Stabilization Foundation - Maintain Macro Credibility:** Continue fiscal discipline and debt sustainability measures - **Preserve Institutional Trust:** Honor commitments to international partners and markets - **Ensure Financial Stability:** Keep monetary policy focused on inflation control

### Track 2: Growth Enablers

- **Strategic Public Investment:** Focus on high-multiplier, productivity-enhancing sectors - **Human Capital Protection:** Maintain education and health spending during adjustment - **Export Competitiveness:** Support sectors with comparative advantage potential

**Integration Principle: Sequential Implementation** Rather than simultaneous pursuit, the dual-track approach involves carefully sequenced policy rebalancing: - **Years 1-2:** Stabilization-heavy (80-70% resource allocation) while protecting key growth investments - **Years 3-4:** Balanced approach (50-50%) as fiscal space increases - **Years 5-6:** Growth-oriented (65% growth focus) leveraging established stability

### 7.1.2 Implementation Mechanisms

**Institutional Coordination:** - **National Economic Coordination Committee:** High-level body to oversee dual-track implementation - **Quarterly Review Process:** Regular assessment of balance between tracks - **Performance Indicators:** Clear metrics for both stabilization and growth objectives

**Financing Strategy:** - **Phase 1:** Reallocate within existing envelope, prioritize high-impact investments - **Phase 2:** Mobilize concessional financing for infrastructure and human capital - **Phase 3:** Leverage improved creditworthiness for development bonds



**Risk Management:** - **Trigger Mechanisms:** Automatic rebalancing if stabilization indicators deteriorate - **Circuit Breakers:** Protections against complete abandonment of either track - **International Support:** Coordination with IMF/ World Bank for program flexibility

7.2 Smart Public Investment Strategy

7.2.1 Investment Efficiency Matrix: Where to Focus Limited Resources

Given Pakistan’s fiscal constraints, every rupee of public investment must be optimized for maximum economic impact. The following analysis identifies priority sectors based on GDP multipliers, employment generation, and implementation feasibility.

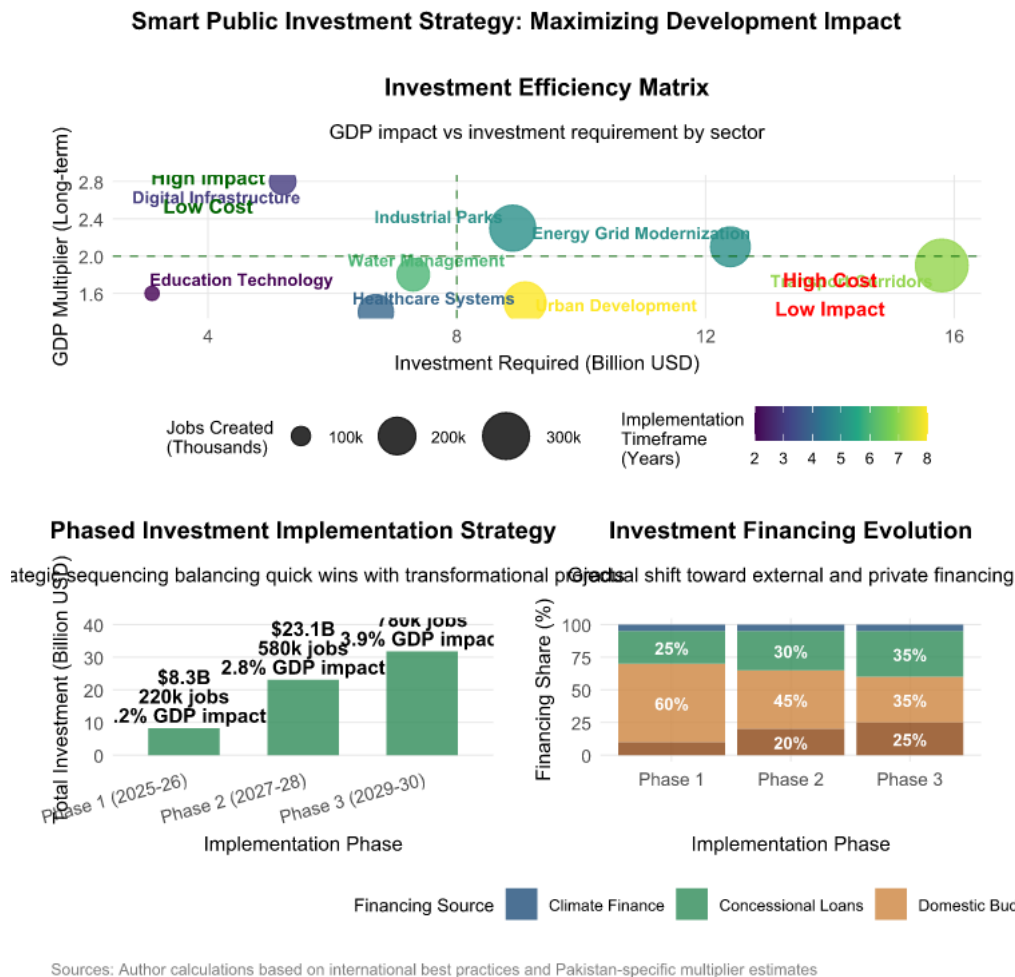


Figure 6: Strategic Investment Prioritization: Maximizing Impact with Limited Resources

7.2.2 Investment Strategy Principles

**High-Impact, Quick-Win Priorities (Phase 1):** - **Digital Infrastructure** (\$5.2B): 5G networks, fiber optic expansion, digital government services - **Education Technology** (\$3.1B): Digital learning platforms, teacher training, rural connectivity

**Strategic Foundation Building (Phase 2):** - **Energy Grid Modernization** (\$12.4B): Smart grid technology, renewable integration, efficiency improvements - **Industrial Parks** (\$8.9B): Export-oriented manufacturing clusters, SEZ development

**Transformational Infrastructure (Phase 3):** - **Transport Corridors** (\$15.8B): CPEC integration, regional connectivity, urban mass transit - **Water Management** (\$7.3B): Climate resilience, agricultural productivity, urban supply

7.2.3 Financing Innovation

**Blended Finance Approach:** - **Phase 1:** Maximize domestic resources, demonstrate implementation capacity - **Phase 2:** Leverage improved creditworthiness for concessional financing - **Phase 3:** Attract private investment through proven track record

**Climate Finance Integration:** Pakistan can access substantial climate financing (potentially \$40B+ over decade) by embedding climate resilience in infrastructure investments.

## 8 Risk Assessment and Management Framework

### 8.1 Comprehensive Risk Analysis

No economic strategy can succeed without robust risk management. Pakistan's dual-track approach must account for various internal and external vulnerabilities while building resilience into policy design.

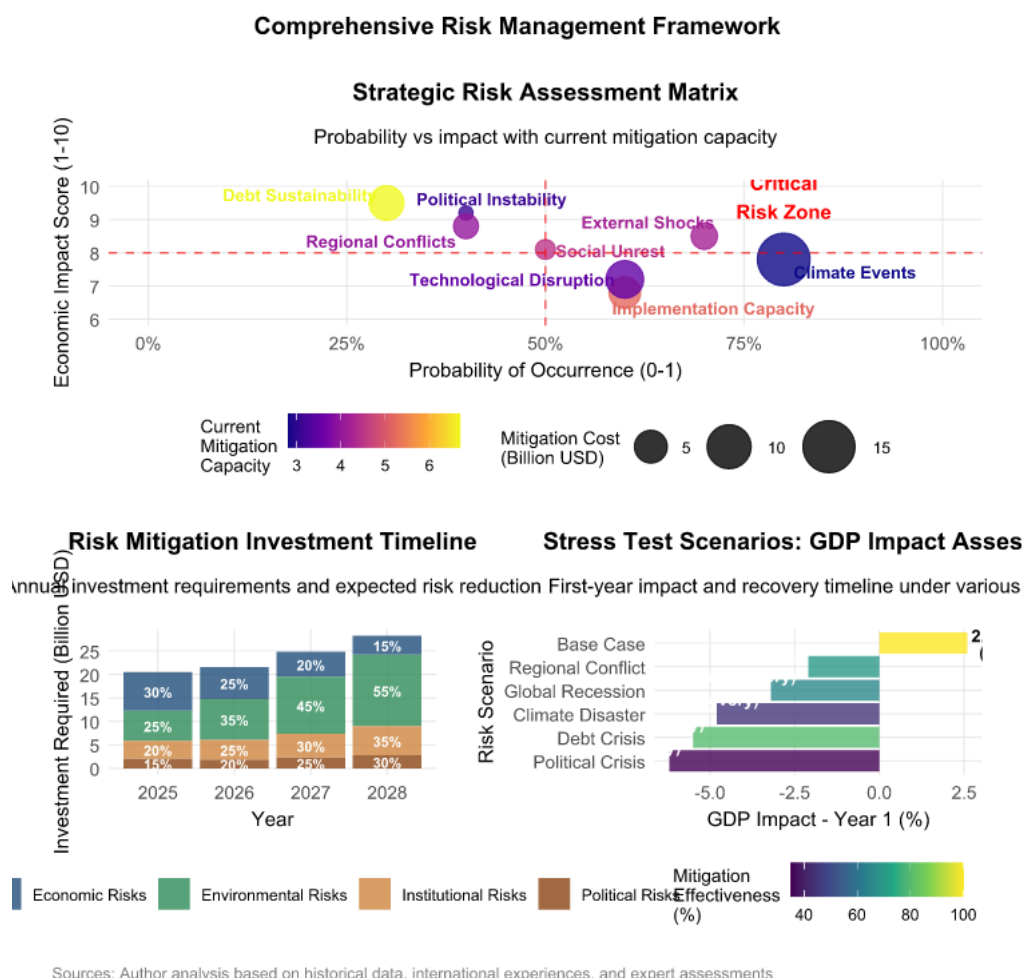


Figure 7: Strategic Risk Assessment: Threats and Mitigation Strategies

#### 8.1.1 Critical Risk Categories and Mitigation Strategies

##### High Probability, High Impact Risks:

**1. Climate Events (80% probability, 7.8 impact) - Current Gap:** Weakest mitigation capacity (2.8/10) - **Investment Need:** \$15.4B over 4 years - **Strategy:** Climate-resilient infrastructure, early warning systems, disaster response capacity - **Co-benefits:** Attracts international climate finance, improves agricultural productivity

##### 2. External Shocks (70% probability, 8.5 impact)

- **Sources:** Global commodity price volatility, financial market stress, trade disruptions - **Mitigation:** Diversify trade partners, build FX reserves, flexible exchange rate management - **Buffer Requirements:** 4+ months import cover, contingency financing arrangements

##### Medium Probability, High Impact Risks:

**3. Political Instability (40% probability, 9.2 impact) - Current Gap:** Low mitigation capacity (3.1/10) - **Strategy:** Build broad consensus on economic reforms, strengthen institutions, improve federal-provincial coordination - **Investment:** \$1.8B in institutional capacity building

**4. Social Unrest (50% probability, 8.1 impact) - Triggers:** Rising inequality, unemployment, regional disparities - **Mitigation:** Targeted social protection, visible employment programs, equitable development allocation

### 8.1.2 Stress Testing Results

**Most Vulnerable Scenarios:** 1. **Political Crisis:** Longest recovery (4 years), lowest mitigation effectiveness (35%) 2. **Debt Crisis:** Highest immediate impact (-5.5% GDP), but good recovery potential with proper management 3. **Climate Disaster:** Medium-term impact (-2.1% in Year 3), highlighting adaptation importance

**Policy Implications:** - **Diversification Priority:** Reduce dependence on single sectors, markets, or financing sources - **Institutional Investment:** Political and institutional risks require patient, sustained investment - **International Cooperation:** Many risks require regional or global solutions

## 9 Policy Recommendations: A Comprehensive Roadmap

### 9.1 Immediate Actions (2025-2026): Building Momentum

#### 9.1.1 Fiscal Policy Rebalancing

**1. Protect High-Multiplier Expenditures - PSDP Allocation:** Maintain 8% minimum share for development spending - **Sectoral Focus:** Prioritize digital infrastructure, education technology, energy efficiency - **Implementation:** Create ring-fenced development fund with quarterly release mechanisms

**2. Rationalize Low-Impact Spending - Subsidy Reform:** Target subsidies based on income levels, eliminate regressive energy subsidies - **Administrative Efficiency:** Reduce non-essential current expenditure by 10% - **Revenue Enhancement:** Implement progressive taxation, expand tax base through digitization

**3. Debt Management Optimization - Maturity Extension:** Negotiate longer repayment periods for bilateral debt - **Cost Reduction:** Refinance high-cost commercial debt with concessional financing - **Sustainability Metrics:** Implement debt sustainability framework with automatic stabilizers

#### 9.1.2 Monetary Policy Coordination

**1. Gradual Policy Rate Normalization - Timeline:** Reduce policy rate by 200-300 basis points over 18 months as inflation stabilizes - **Conditionality:** Link rate cuts to achievement of inflation targets (5-7% range) - **Transmission:** Strengthen monetary transmission through banking sector reforms

**2. SME Credit Enhancement - Credit Guarantee Scheme:** Launch \$2B SME credit guarantee program - **Interest Rate Subsidies:** Provide 3-5% interest rate subsidies for productive investments - **Digital Lending:** Support fintech solutions for SME credit access

**3. Financial Market Development - Capital Market:** Develop corporate bond market for infrastructure financing - **Islamic Finance:** Expand Sukuk issuance for Shariah-compliant investment - **Regulatory Framework:** Strengthen prudential supervision while supporting innovation

#### 9.1.3 Structural Reform Acceleration

**1. Energy Sector Transformation - Circular Debt Resolution:** Fast-track restructuring plan with timeline commitments - **Renewable Energy:** Accelerate solar/wind capacity addition (5GW target by 2027) - **Grid Modernization:** Invest in smart grid technology and transmission capacity

**2. Business Environment Enhancement - Digital Government:** Complete online business registration and licensing systems - **Regulatory Simplification:** Reduce approval timeframes by 50% for investment projects - **One-Stop Shops:** Establish integrated service centers in major cities

**3. Export Diversification - Incentive Package:** Launch comprehensive export promotion program - **Market Access:** Negotiate preferential trade agreements with emerging markets - **Quality Standards:** Invest in testing and certification infrastructure

## 9.2 Medium-term Transformation (2027-2029): Scaling Impact

### 9.2.1 Investment Climate Revolution

**1. Technology Parks and Innovation Hubs - National Program:** Establish 10 technology parks across major cities - **Public-Private Partnership:** Leverage private investment through competitive bidding - **International Linkages:** Partner with leading global technology centers

**2. Human Capital Excellence - Skills Development:** Launch national reskilling program targeting 2 million workers - **Higher Education:** Strengthen university-industry linkages, research capacity - **Digital Literacy:** Achieve 80% digital literacy rate through nationwide program

**3. Infrastructure Modernization - Transport Connectivity:** Complete CPEC Phase-II projects, urban mass transit systems - **Water Security:** Implement integrated water management across major river basins - **Urban Development:** Launch smart city initiatives in Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad

### 9.2.2 Regional Integration Strategy

**1. Trade Facilitation - Cross-Border Infrastructure:** Modernize border crossings with Afghanistan, Iran, India - **Transit Trade:** Develop Pakistan as regional trade and logistics hub - **Customs Automation:** Implement electronic customs clearance systems

**2. Investment Promotion - Regional Investment:** Attract FDI from Gulf, China, Turkey for manufacturing - **Joint Ventures:** Facilitate technology transfer through international partnerships - **Special Economic Zones:** Develop sector-specific SEZs with international standards

## 9.3 Long-term Vision (2030 and Beyond): Transformation Consolidation

### 9.3.1 Economic Structure Transformation

**1. Manufacturing Renaissance - Value Addition:** Move up value chains in textiles, agriculture, minerals - **New Industries:** Develop pharmaceuticals, automotive, electronics sectors - **Global Integration:** Integrate into global value chains as reliable supplier

**2. Services Sector Excellence - IT Services:** Achieve \$10B IT exports target through talent development - **Financial Services:** Develop Pakistan as regional financial center - **Tourism:** Realize tourism potential through infrastructure and marketing

**3. Innovation Economy - R&D Investment:** Achieve 1% of GDP R&D spending target - **Start-up Ecosystem:** Support 1000+ technology start-ups with venture capital - **Intellectual Property:** Strengthen IP protection and commercialization

### 9.3.2 Social Transformation Goals

**1. Inclusive Growth Achievement - Poverty Reduction:** Achieve single-digit poverty rates across all provinces - **Regional Balance:** Reduce inter-provincial income disparities by 50% - **Gender Equity:** Achieve 50% female labor force participation

**2. Human Development Excellence - Education:** Achieve universal primary education, 90% literacy rate - **Health:** Reach middle-income country health indicators - **Social Protection:** Implement universal basic income pilot program

### 9.3.3 Governance and Institutional Strengthening

**1. State Capacity Enhancement - Civil Service:** Modernize civil service through merit-based recruitment and training - **Digital Government:** Achieve fully digital government service delivery - **Transparency:** Implement blockchain-based public procurement and benefit delivery

**2. Federal-Provincial Coordination - Fiscal Federalism:** Optimize resource allocation between federal and provincial governments - **Development Coordination:** Establish integrated planning mechanisms - **Performance Management:** Link transfers to performance indicators

# 10 Conclusions: From Stabilization to Transformation

## 10.1 Synthesis of Key Findings

This analysis has demonstrated that Pakistan stands at a critical juncture where continuing the current stabilization-focused approach risks creating a permanent low-growth equilibrium. While the achievements in macroeconomic stabilization—particularly the dramatic reduction in inflation from 29.2% to under 5%—deserve recognition, the sustainability of this approach without complementary growth initiatives is questionable.

### 10.1.1 The Central Argument Revisited

**Pakistan has proven it can stabilize quickly when necessary.** The data clearly shows that orthodox stabilization policies can achieve rapid results when implemented with political commitment. The current account surplus, inflation control, and fiscal consolidation demonstrate Pakistan's capacity for effective crisis management.

**But stabilization without growth is ultimately unsustainable.** The analysis reveals mounting social costs, regional disparities, and opportunity costs that create their own risks to macroeconomic stability. The budget allocation of 45.8% to debt servicing while reducing development spending to 6.8% illustrates the trap of prolonged austerity.

**The solution lies in smart sequencing, not either-or choices.** The dual-track approach offers a framework for maintaining macroeconomic discipline while strategically investing in growth foundations. International experience shows that successful countries protect high-multiplier expenditures during stabilization periods.

**Success requires redefining the economic development model.** Moving from crisis management to strategic transformation demands new metrics of success, new institutional arrangements, and a new social contract that prioritizes inclusive growth alongside fiscal discipline.

### 10.1.2 The Evidence Base

**Fiscal Multiplier Analysis** shows that public investment generates 2.1x long-term GDP impact, education spending 1.8x, and healthcare 1.5x, while tax increases and subsidy cuts have negative multipliers. This suggests that the composition of fiscal adjustment matters more than its magnitude.

**International Comparisons** reveal that Bangladesh's pragmatic sequencing achieved sustained 6%+ growth, while Egypt's orthodox austerity led to jobless growth despite macroeconomic stability. Pakistan's current trajectory resembles the latter more than the former.

**Distributional Analysis** demonstrates that prolonged stabilization disproportionately affects urban youth (-8.2 impact score), rural poor (-7.1), and SME owners (-6.8), creating political economy pressures that ultimately threaten reform sustainability.

**Risk Assessment** indicates that climate events (80% probability) and external shocks (70% probability) pose the greatest threats to Pakistan's development trajectory, requiring proactive investment in resilience rather than reactive crisis management.

### 10.1.3 The Implementation Challenge

The transition from stabilization to transformation is not merely a technical exercise but a political economy challenge requiring:

- 1. Building Consensus** - Creating broad-based support for patient capital investment - Managing expectations about the timeline for results - Maintaining international partner confidence during policy rebalancing
- 2. Institutional Capacity** - Developing state capacity for complex policy coordination - Strengthening implementation mechanisms across federal and provincial levels - Building monitoring and evaluation systems for evidence-based adjustment
- 3. Resource Mobilization** - Optimizing existing fiscal resources through better allocation - Accessing concessional financing for development priorities - Leveraging private investment through improved business climate
- 4. Managing Risks** - Maintaining automatic stabilizers to prevent backsliding - Building buffers against external shocks - Developing contingency plans for various risk scenarios

## 10.2 The Choice Before Pakistan

Pakistan fundamentally faces a choice between two development pathways:

**Path 1: Perpetual Stabilization** - Continue current approach of austerity-focused policies - Achieve fiscal targets while economic structure stagnates - Risk social unrest, brain drain, and political instability - Remain vulnerable to external shocks with limited resilience

**Path 2: Strategic Transformation** - Implement dual-track approach balancing stability and growth - Invest in productivity-enhancing infrastructure and human capital - Build economic resilience through diversification and innovation - Create inclusive growth that sustains political support for reforms

The analysis strongly suggests that Path 2 offers better prospects for sustainable development, even though it requires more sophisticated policy management and carries some implementation risks.

### 10.2.1 Beyond Economics: The Social Contract Dimension

The ultimate success of any economic strategy depends on its social sustainability. Pakistan's current approach, while technically sound, risks creating a social contract that asks the current generation—particularly youth—to sacrifice their economic opportunities to pay for past fiscal mistakes.

A more sustainable approach would: - **Distribute adjustment costs** more equitably across society - **Invest in future opportunities** while managing current constraints

- **Build regional balance** rather than exacerbating disparities - **Create pathways for advancement** rather than blocking them

This requires moving beyond narrow technocratic solutions toward a broader vision of economic development that serves all Pakistanis, not just those with access to global markets or government connections.

## 10.3 Final Reflections

The question posed in this presentation's title—"Growth on Hold?"—can now be answered definitively: **Yes, growth has been on hold, but it doesn't have to remain so.**

Pakistan possesses the institutional capacity, human resources, and strategic location to become a significant economic power in South Asia. The current stabilization success creates a platform for transformation, but only if policymakers have the vision and courage to move beyond crisis management toward strategic development.

The international environment, with its focus on supply chain diversification, climate finance, and digital transformation, offers unprecedented opportunities for countries that can position themselves effectively. Pakistan's window for leveraging these opportunities is open but may not remain so indefinitely.

The choice is ultimately political: Will Pakistan's leaders choose the difficult but rewarding path of transformation, or will they settle for the apparent safety of perpetual stabilization? The evidence suggests that the former offers better prospects for the Pakistani people and their future generations.

*"When a country cuts back on investment in people and progress to meet a short-term fiscal target, it mortgages its future."* The challenge now is to unmortgage Pakistan's future while maintaining the hard-won macroeconomic stability that makes such a transformation possible.

### 10.3.1 Call to Action

This analysis calls for urgent action on multiple fronts:

**For Policymakers:** - Begin immediate rebalancing of budget priorities within existing fiscal envelope - Develop institutional mechanisms for dual-track policy coordination - Engage stakeholders in building consensus for sustained reform program

**For the Academic Community:** - Conduct Pakistan-specific research on fiscal multipliers and optimal reform sequencing - Bridge the gap between academic knowledge and policy implementation - Contribute to public discourse on development alternatives

**For Civil Society:** - Hold government accountable for both stabilization and growth outcomes - Advocate for policies that protect vulnerable populations during adjustment - Support evidence-based policy making over populist shortcuts

**For International Partners:** - Provide flexible support for Pakistan's transformation efforts - Recognize that growth and stability are complementary, not competing objectives - Support innovation in program design that moves beyond traditional conditionality

The stakes could not be higher. Pakistan's success or failure in managing this transition will influence not only its own trajectory but also regional stability and global development patterns. The time for action is now, while the stabilization platform remains strong and policy options remain open.

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*This document represents the author's analysis and policy recommendations based on available data and international experience. The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the positions of any institution or organization.*