

Comparison of Election Manifestoes of PPP, PML-N and PTI

Muhammad Inayat,

Assistant Professor

Government Graduate College Pindi Bhattian

Email: gcb.pindibhattian@gmail.com

Mobile No. 03004424149

ABSTRACT

Political parties are very important for modern political systems and their absence shows that system is weak and is governed by personalities. Manifestoes are important documents that help political parties to earn the loyalty and support of the citizens of that country. Manifestoes are considered as goals, policies and future plans with which a political party wins the support of masses by convincing the electorate. This study compared manifestos of three political parties in Pakistan including PPP, PML-N and PTI during election 2013. Qualitative approach was adopted to make a critical comparison of manifestoes through content analysis. All three political parties have given complete details of programs about terrorism, employment, energy issues etc. in their manifestoes. PML-N promised to end load shedding by generating electricity. In order to give people hope, restore national pride, and resurrect Pakistan as a successful and progressive country, all parties pledged to support an agenda for national

Published:
June 19, 2025

regeneration and genuine transformation. In order to implement efficient administration, the PML-N said that it will establish the provinces of Hazara, South Punjab, and Bahawalpur. All sides pledged to boost GDP growth, lower the budget deficit, lessen the nation's reliance on foreign aid and loans, restructure state-owned businesses, and lower tax rates.

Keywords: Political parties, Pakistan, Manifestoes, PPP, PML-N, PTI

1. Introduction

Institutions are established to achieve certain goals and objectives in any country are very important for the growth and development of people and nation. Political parties are important institution in political arena and their absence indicates that the political system is governed by few influential individuals, family or groups. This trend is not consistent with modern world political traditions. Presence of political parties is necessary for modern political systems to elicit loyalty and support of the voters. Political parties are the direct outcome of social conditions and historical circumstances. The basic purpose behind the creation of political party is to influence or control the political institutions of society (1968).

In the initial years, Pakistan had a dominance of one political party which played its dominant role for the creation of Pakistan. The growth of political institutions in Pakistan is the direct outcome of the British Parliamentary System in India because Pakistan remained under the dominance of Britain for several

Published:
June 19, 2025

years. Political parties are important types of political institutions that exist and persist to strengthen democratic societies. According to Hussain (2011) two political parties were dominant in the Constituent Assembly of United India. One party i.e. Pakistan Muslim League (PML) represented majority of the Muslims while the Congress Party represented majority of Hindu and few nationalist Muslims.

But afterwards, regional and linguistic-based political parties were formed. In addition to this, non-democratic forces also exerted their influence and dictatorial regimes took control of governing institutions in Pakistan. Political parties in Pakistan were not organized properly with respect to their inner structure, lack of continuity of elections within the parties and domination of party by a family, or linguistic or ethnic groups. All these factors decreased the trust of voters on parties which resulted in the loss of national character among people (Memon, Shaikh & Memon (2011).

Political history of Pakistan is replete with four army interventions and lack of accountability of top office bearers. First Martial law was imposed by General Muhammad Ayub Khan who interrupted the already weak political culture of Pakistan. This dictatorial regime converted the constitution into presidential form. Due to the turmoil at the end of this period, this dictatorial regime was replaced by another martial law. This period of governance was characterized by political victimization of opponents. Due to the deprivation of masses and alienation with the national politics, Pakistan was dismembered in

Published:
June 19, 2025

1971 and Bangladesh was created from the East Pakistan.

Restrictions imposed on political mobilization and the exclusion of political parties favored the feudal and tribal elites to emerge as victorious in different polls of Pakistan. This political development hindered the growth of political parties in Pakistan (Kamran, 2009).

After these dictatorial regimes, Pakistan got a consensus constitution but once again in spite of severe punishment for dictators again martial law was imposed in 1977 and continued till 1988. These ten years were again a ordeal period for political leadership to prove its existence as an important instrument of governance. Ten years civil rule under the leadership of Muhammad Nawaz Shareef and Benazir Bhutto was discontinued by the martial of General Pervez Musharraf in 1999. Pakistan again witnessed civil rule in 2007 and once again this government completed its tenure in 2013 and general elections were held for smooth transfer of power at the end of the term.

An axis of political party is the safeguard of national interest of the country. It articulates different opinions into one stream and aggregates them for cohesive assimilation. Political parties participate in electoral integrity within a democratic order to protect the democratic and constitutional norms. Lack of efforts will affect governance structure, economic development and political efficacy (Diamond, 1999).

Published:
June 19, 2025

Political parties design political policies that will be helpful in ideological development and pursuance of political agenda. Political parties shape them in such a way that they should gain power through lawful parliamentary endeavors and avoid extra-parliamentary means. Structure and form of political parties is very important for the development of dynamic culture in a country but political parties in Pakistan are not dynamic enough to achieve the goal of development. The exclusion of parties from the political arena has played havoc with the politics in Pakistan. Elections are important tools in the hands of electorates which can hold accountable the politicians for their performance as a ruler (Przeworski, 1999).

A manifesto is an instrument in the hands of political parties to show their political agendas to masses for launching their programs in order to reduce difficulties and problems of the people. A manifesto may be considered as the published document or verbal declaration that expresses the intentions, motives or views of political party created to attract people towards them to attain power. Political parties use manifesto as a weapon to gain power through elections. Manifestos of political parties provide direction for thinking and road-map for the country. If the manifestoes are mandated in election, then political parties constitute programs to fulfill their promises. Manifestoes influence the support of electors towards political parties.

Keeping the aforementioned factors in view, this study has been designed to study the nature of manifestoes adopted by political parties in Pakistan. The current

Published:
June 19, 2025

research made a comparison of manifestoes created by three major political parties in Pakistan. The findings of which will be useful for political parties to make them more responsive to the needs of modern and dynamic political system.

2. Objectives of the Study

This study is designed to achieve following objectives:

- Evaluation and comparison of the manifestoes of three political parties in Pakistan which were prepared and shared with masses to get their support.

3. Literature Review

3.1 Role of political parties

Duverger (1963) has studies party institution and their place in state. He argued that organization of political parties depends on unwritten practice and habits and constitution and rules only partially govern political parties. Lickbach (1984) discussed the optimal electoral strategies adopted by social democrats. Two strategies were adopted by Socialist to increase their support by using middle class and working class by representing them on different forums.

Afzal (1987) investigated the development of political parties in Ayub Khan Era in historical and political framework. He has discussed the state political parties under dictatorial rule and policies of regime and regulative and

Published:
June 19, 2025

restrictive measure applied to contain politicians. This study has highlighted the response of politicians to this new situation and for the revival of political parties. He has further elaborated the features of major party politics and formation of alliances among different parties in Pakistan.

According to Jupp (1968) political parties are considered as a group of people come together to achieve certain common objectives. In a political party people are organized in a group having similar opinion and common purpose of participating in the process of nation building. Political parties in different parts of the world are formed on national, regional, linguistics and ethnic lines. Elias, Szocsik E and Zuber (2015) said that some parties adopt one dimensional strategy and position themselves and give resilience to core issues. But some parties use salient positions simultaneously along the primary and secondary dimensions of competition and it is the two-dimensional strategy.

Myerson (2014) stated that political parties supply services to public and parties should offer their constituents better public services. Without power political parties cannot be able to serve masses. It was suggested that a flexible system of political parties at national level and democratic leadership should be supplied deeply at provincial and local level.

“Rational choice theorists identify three different objectives as the goals of political parties; namely, vote, office and policy” and winning of seats is foremost important for parties because without seats, “parties would have neither access to office nor power to influence

Published:
June 19, 2025

policy” (Nishikawa, 2012, p. 625).

There are many kinds and profiles of political parties in the world such as liberal democrats, labour parties, linguistic and regional based parties. Political parties may be fluid or undeveloped and stable depending on the continuity and stability of the democratic system. Different authors have asserted that party system in Ukrain is undeveloped and fluid (Birch, 2000; Diuk & Gongadze, 2002; Hesli, William & Arthur, 1998).

In countries where political parties are weak, they “emerge and disappear, coalesce and splinter; legislators frequently move from one parliamentary faction to another; many candidates (including incumbents) switch parties from one election to another; a significant number of candidates run – and win – as independents” (Slomczynski, Shabad & Zielinski, 2008, p. 93). Konitzer (2006) also argued that weak political parties allow candidates to abuse electoral rules and procedures. Myerson (2014) asserted that political parties need reputation to ensure fairness in elections but weak parties cannot do it.

Wills-Otero (2016) divided the political parties into two types on the basis of the nature of organizational structure of political parties. It was further asserted that features of political parties also influence their electoral outcomes. Political parties:

“which rely on vertical structures, where a few leaders at the central level concentrate power and control the party’s direction, are more

Published:
June 19, 2025

likely to lose their political power in changing situations than parties which rely on structures which are less hierarchical, where power is distributed among different leaders and where leadership mobility is more likely to occur” (p.759). Some studies investigated the impact of contextual factors on performance of parties and impact of organization structures on their ability to adapt (Katz & Mair, 1992; Kitschelt, 1994; Koelble, 1991).

3.2 Manifestoes of political parties

“A manifesto is an outline of intentions, promises and line of action, usually declared by political parties during the time of elections” (PILDAT, 2012). It is used to tackle the issues related to policy framework about different sectors like economy. Manifesto is an important document that can be used by voters for supporting any political party and bringing it to power.

Due to importance of manifestoes, “political parties tend to set ambitious and optimistic targets in the manifestos which are understandable for they have to lure voters and set themselves apart from other parties”. Strong ambitions of political parties may enhance their efforts for completion of high levels goals but moderate goals can create satisfaction or complacency among parties. “At the same time, however, the claims made in the manifestos should not be overly ambitious so that they become mere wish lists” (PILDAT, 2012).

Published:
June 19, 2025

A manifesto is an instrument in the hands of political parties to show their political agendas to masses for launching their programs in order to reduce difficulties and problems of the people. A manifesto may be considered as the published document or verbal declaration that expresses the intentions, motives or views of political party created to attract people towards them to attain power.

Political parties use manifesto as a weapon to gain power through elections. Manifestos of political parties provide direction for thinking and road-map for the country. If the manifestoes are mandated in election, then political parties constitute programs to fulfill their promises. Manifestoes influence the support of electors towards political parties.

Manifestos are a valuable source of information about the future intentions of political parties that may be taken to uplift the nation and its people. Manifestos are representative documents of ideologies of political parties (Gemenis, 2013). These are reasonably accurate statements of the positions that the political parties take on issues of national and international importance. These documents are used in the parties' election campaigns in the domestic political arena and are shared with Pakistani citizens to secure their support in general elections.

Pakistani media has also highlighted or pointed out the inconsistencies between the commitments made by political parties with masses. Parties compete against each other by emphasizing different policy issues rather than taking opposing positions on the same issues. According to Adeney (2008) personalities

Published:
June 19, 2025

and manifestoes were considered as two key important issues for voters in many constituencies. Both these issues played important role in shaping the opinion of voter towards a particular political party.

4. Methodology

The aim of the study was to know nature of manifestoes of three political parties including the PPP, PML-N and PTI. This aim was achieved through content analysis of manifestoes of political parties. Current study used qualitative approach and manifestoes of political parties were collected. These documents were perused and analyzed to ascertain the nature of manifestoes by the political parties. Current study is comparative in nature. On basis of nature of investigation current study is non-experimental as researcher just analyzed the phenomena by content analysis of manifestoes.

The current research first compared the manifestoes prepared by three political parties for attracting masses towards their programs. These manifestoes were analyzed and compared to identify the nature of steps that political parties are supposed to adopt to solve the problems of people. Three political parties those has secured maximum votes during the general elections in Pakistan were selected for this study.

5. Results: Comparison of manifestoes

The content analysis of the manifestos data was used to evaluate how the parties differentiate themselves from each other. Result show that the political parties have differences on some issues but have consensus on some issues. The manifestos data reveal that the parties have differentiated themselves on some major policy issues and took positions that were distinct and consistent with these ideological positions. Consequently, to make comparison of commitments made through these manifestoes, the results of content analysis will help masses to bring to the task to political parties on their commitments with the masses.

5.1 Social issues

Issues relating to social life of citizens are also paid attention by political parties in their manifestoes. Political parties have promised different strategies to create employments for the masses. PML-N has developed more developed programs to increase employment opportunities. This party promised to focus on the creation of national action plan, development of rural areas, enhancement of skills, and reformation in taxation system and encouragement of private sector. PTI focused on social safety, training for manpower exports and development of industrial policy for industrial growth. PPP offered incentives for young entrepreneurs and businessmen for creating employment opportunities.

Table 1: Social issues

PML-N	PTI	PPP
<p>a) A National Manpower Plan will be prepared to create balance in market.</p> <p>b) Employment opportunities will be created for people of Pakistan in public and private sector.</p> <p>c) Big and small scale industrialization will be promoted in the urban and rural areas to absorb unemployed labor.</p> <p>d) Rural development programs will be used to provide employment opportunities in rural areas to prevent migration.</p> <p>e) Reforms in taxation system will be introduced to achieve ambitious revenue targets.</p> <p>f) Technical skills and technical trainings will be implemented.</p> <p>g) Para-medical trainings in DHQ's and THQ's will be initiated.</p>	<p>a) Social safety will be provided to employees.</p> <p>b) Friendly economic policy will be introduced for industrial growth.</p> <p>c) Skills of students will be enhanced to match students and jobs. Skills will be developed for manpower exports.</p>	<p>a) Jobs will be provided to 1 million Pakistanis each year.</p> <p>b) Incentives will be provided to new businessmen.</p> <p>c) Provide tax break to young entrepreneur.</p> <p>d) News jobs will be created.</p> <p>e) Invest further in vocational training.</p> <p>f) Standard of higher education will be improved.</p>

5.2 Poverty alleviation

PML-N focused on developing infrastructure, creation of funds for the poor and creation of jobs at community level. PTI promised to increase professional skills, direct funding to the poor villagers and devolution of power at grass root level to root out poverty. PPP offered help to the poor through BISP, health security and monthly payments.

Table 2: Poverty Alleviation

PML-N	PTI	PPP
<p>a) All infrastructure projects to entail compulsory job creation.</p> <p>b) Poverty Alleviation Fund, Micro Financing Institutions will be created.</p> <p>c) Incentive will be provided to the private sector in the country.</p> <p>d) Efforts will be made to generate jobs at the community level.</p>	<p>a) Enable professionals to work in the government.</p> <p>b) Direct funding for villages to generate local jobs.</p> <p>c) Political powers will be divided across the grassroots levels.</p>	<p>a) Benazir income support program will be continue and enhanced.</p> <p>b) Health security also will be added into the program.</p> <p>c) Payments BISP beneficiaries will be increased.</p>

5.3 Governance

The promises made by three different political parties with regards to improving governance in the country are given below. Supremacy of civilian authority, a balance between political and civil institutions, and discussion of defense budget in the parliament were major areas addressed by all three political parties to ensure balanced relationship between army and political forces.

Table 3: Civil-Military Relations and National Security

PML-N	PTI	PPP
a) National defense will be first priority with the cooperation of armed forces under all circumstances. b) Nation's foreign policy and relation with military will be strengthened.. c) All defensive institution will be under the constitution. d) National security issues will be managed by competent experts and diplomats.	a) Defense budget will be accountable in parliament. b) Balance will be ensured between all state institutions and supremacy of civilian authority. c) Political solution will be insured for Baluchistan rather than military. d) Counter Terrorism Authority will be made more efficient.	a) Armed forces will be made on professional standard. b) Close working relationship will be made between defense and parliamentary institution for cooperation. c) Budget of Military will be accountable to parliament.

5.4 Local government

PPP and PML-N have merely mentioned about the conduct of local body elections. But PTI gave complete detail of the nature of local government system to be introduced. Village councils were promised by PTI to devolve authorities, responsibilities and resources at local level.

Table 4: Local Government issues

PML-N	PTI	PPP
<p>a) Local body elections will be held after six month of general elections.</p> <p>b) Local body election will be made more secure according to Article 140-A.</p> <p>c) News laws will be insured for local body system.</p> <p>d) Seats were given to women in local body elections.</p>	<p>a) Local government system will be insured more effective and efficient and powers will be devolved.</p> <p>b) Participation of people in local government will be insured.</p> <p>c) Powers will be distributed to grass root level.</p> <p>d) Villages will be managed by village council.</p> <p>e) All governance factions in the towns and cities will be managed or governed municipality</p>	<p>a) Local body election will be made more secure according to Article 140-A.</p> <p>b) Local body election will be held under the Election Commission of Pakistan.</p> <p>.</p>

5.5 Status of FATA

All three political parties promised to bring FATA into mainstream. Development of infrastructure and economic development of region were major areas mentioned in manifestoes. PML-N offered to establish schools and reform the education system and improved or better health facilities. PTI promised to abolish drone policy

Table 5: Status of FATA

PML-N	PTI	PPP
<p>a) FATA to be brought into the mainstream of the country's political, economic and cultural life.</p> <p>b) Schools and technical centers will be insured.</p> <p>c) Free health and education programs will be insured.</p> <p>d) Small industries will be inaugurated.</p>	<p>a) FATA will be brought into mainstream.</p> <p>b) FCR will be finished.</p> <p>c) Drone policy will be abolished.</p> <p>d) FATA's governance will be given to local people.</p> <p>e) Infrastructure development will be initiated.</p>	<p>a) Constitutional clause defining separately from the rest of country should be removed.</p> <p>b) FATA will be brought into mainstream.</p> <p>c) Natural resources of FATA will be brought into parliament for protection.</p>

5.6 Energy

Pakistan is facing shortage of electricity, so all three political parties have focused on solving the energy crises. All three parties offered similar solution for overcoming the energy crises. Abolition of circular debt, reformation of NEPRA, Oil and Gas Regulatory Authority (OGRA) and distribution companies and minimizing of load shedding were major issues addressed by political parties.

Table 6: Energy

PML-N	PTI	PPP
a) Ministry of energy will be created. b) NEPRA and Distribution companies will be reformed. c) Electricity will be produced and reforms will be introduced. d) Circular debt will be permanently abolished. e) International level policy will be introduced and resources will be utilized to produce energy.	a) Circular debt will be resolved. b) Energy will be maximized by multiple resources. c) Load shedding will be made manageable. d) Cost of energy and line losses will be reduced.	a) Foreign investment will be encouraged in the country. b) Hydro power generation plants will be initiated and transmission losses will be minimized. NEPRA & OGRA will be more professional. c) Gas will be supplied to the new areas.

5.7 Terrorism

Pakistan is facing terrorism during the entire period during current millennium. Previous governments were fighting against terrorism, so how to fight against terrorism was very important for the people of Pakistan. All parties have promised to establish national security policy to abolish terrorism from the country. PTI and PML-N offered to initiate dialogue with the terrorists while PPP resolved to pursue anti-terror campaign against militant groups. Deweaponization was promised by PTI and improving the intelligence network and security of judges and witnesses were focused by all parties.

Table 7: Terrorism

PML-N	PTI	PPP
a) Anti-terrorism laws will be introduced and strengthened. b) Protection of judges and prosecution will be insured. c) Important steps will be taking to maintain peace and prosperity in the country. d) Cooperation with intelligence agencies	a) Security will be provided to all citizens. b) Dialogue table should be initiated to convince militants. c) Extricate from the US led war on terror. d) Deweaponization across the country. e) NACTA will be made effective.	a) National Security Plan will be developed and National Counter Terrorism authority 2012 will be pursued. b) Information sharing system between local, provincial and federal level will be established by reforming intelligent agencies . c) Fundamentalism and militant rhetoric will be counter through strong

will be insured.	<p>f) Criminal Justice system will be improved and anti-terrorism legislation will be under taken.</p> <p>g) Protection of witnesses and Judges will be ensured through an act.</p>	<p>communication.</p> <p>d) Comprehensive security strategy will be insured to prevent attacks on big urban centers through targeted military operatio</p>
------------------	---	--

5.8 Agriculture

More focus is made by PML-N on the improvement of agriculture. Incentives for small farmers, livestock sector, and construction of dams, agricultural education and research, forestry enhancements were major instruments incorporated in manifesto to improve agriculture. PTI offered to give agriculture a status of industry, land records will be automated, laws will be updated and market roads will be constructed to facilitate transportation of agriculture products to city markets. PPP promised to award property rights, flat rates for electricity, introduction of cooperative farming and provision of subsidies on agricultural products.

Table 8: Agriculture

PML-N	PTI	PPP
a) Policy about economic growth will be updated and economic industry will be converted into fully viable.	a) Agriculture will be treated just like industry.	a) Flat rate Electricity bills will be introduced.
b) More focus will be on small farmers.	b) Laws on agriculture will be updated.	b) Cooperatives of farmers will be run by farmers own.
c) Livestock sector will be developed	c) Land records will be computerized.	c) Roads will be constructed for trade.
d) Agri-services will be provided to rural areas.	d) Usage of water and energy for farms will be enhanced.	d) Main focus will be on domestic manufacturing.
e) Small scale economy converted into large scale.	e) Market roads will be constructed.	e) Water distribution will be fare and controlled.
f) Water accord with India will be solved.		f) Subsidies will be provided to agriculture products.
g) Dams will be constructed and wastage of water will be reduced.		g) Agriculture policy will be announced every year.
h) Forestry and ecological problems will be solved.		h) Property rights will be addressed.
i) Crop insurance will be provided with the help of private insurance companies.		
j) Research and education on agriculture sector will be promoted.		
k) Incentives will be provided to		

Published:
June 19, 2025

formers to adopt social forestry on commercial scale.		
1) Diseases caused by water and sanitation will be overcome.		

Conclusion

Three parties formulated attractive manifestoes in respect of employment, poverty alleviation, energy issues, civil military relations, local government, terrorism and reforms in Fata. All parties promised to embrace an agenda for national renewal and real change to revive the confidence of people by instilling hope, restoring national dignity and resurrecting Pakistan as a progressive and prosperous nation. PML-N announced to create Hazara, South Punjab and Bahawalpur provinces for carrying out effective administration. All parties announced to increase the GDP growth, reduce budget deficit, reduce country's dependence on foreign loans and assistance, revamp State enterprises and decrease tax rates. Women and minorities will be given their due share to make them part of national development. Voting rights for overseas Pakistanis was promised by PTI and PML-N. Independence of judiciary and strengthening of NAB were affirmed by all parties. PML-N and PPP vowed to implement Charter of Democracy in letter and spirit. In addition to these measures PTI vowed to come out of the war against terrorism, minimize ministries and change big building and offices into public parks and libraries. PPP promised to create seats

Published:
June 19, 2025

for laborers in the parliament, create province of South Punjab and develop low cost housing schemes for the poor.

Bibliography

- Adeney, K. (2009). The federal elections in Pakistan, February 2008: Notes on recent elections, *Electoral Studies*, 28, 143-171.
- Afzal, M. R. (1987), Political parties in Pakistan 1958-1969, *National institute of Historical and Cultural Research Center of Excellence* Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad.
- Ahmad, M. S., Memon, A., & Rabbi, F. (2014). Electoral Politics in the North West Frontier Province of Colonial India 1946-47. *History and Sociology of South Asia*, 8(1), 1-19. David Robertson, *The Penguin Dictionary of Politics* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), 88.
- Alfa, P.I. (2012). Political parties and democratic consolidation in Nigeria (2007-2011) *Journal of Policy and Development Studies* 5(2) 149-160.
- Alonso, S., Cabeza, L., & Gomez, B. (2015). Parties' electoral strategies in a two-dimensional political space Evidence from Spain and Great Britain. *Party Politics*, 21(6), 851-865.
- Basu, A. (2005). *Women, Political Parties and Social Movements in South Asia*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Beck, P. A., Dalton, R. J., Greene, S., & Huckfeldt, R. (2002). The social calculus of voting: Interpersonal, media, and organizational influences on presidential choices. *American Political Science Review*, 96(1), 57-73.
- Birch, S. (1998). Electoral systems, campaign strategies, and vote choice in the Ukrainian parliamentary and presidential elections of 1994. *Political Studies*, 46(1), 96-114.

Published:
June 19, 2025

- Birch, S. (2003). The Parliamentary Elections in Ukraine, March 2002. *Electoral Studies* 22, 503–39.
- Bochsler, D. (2012). A quasi-proportional electoral system" only for honest men"? The hidden potential for manipulating mixed compensatory electoral systems. *International Political Science Review*, 33 (4), 401-420.
- Boix, C. (1999). Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies', *American Political Science Review* 93, 609–24.
- Bokhari, Alaa M. (2001). The Constitution of Pakistan Issues: Challenges and Options, *Journal of Political Studies*, 15-25.
- Brown, A. R., & Jacobson, G. C. (2008). Party, performance, and strategic politicians: The dynamics of elections for senator and governor in 2006. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, 8(4), 384-409.
- Case, W. (2011). Electoral authoritarianism and backlash: Hardening Malaysia, oscillating Thailand. *International Political Science Review*, 32(4), 438-457.
- Casero-Ripollés, A., Feenstra, R. A., & Tormey, S. (2016). Old and New Media Logics in an Electoral Campaign: The Case of Podemos and the Two-Way Street Mediatization of Politics. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 1940161216645340.
- Caton, S., Hall, M., & Weinhardt, C. (2015). How do politicians use Facebook? An applied Social Observatory. *Big Data & Society*, 2(2), 2053951715612822.
- Chhibber, P., & Nooruddin, I. (2004). Do party systems count? The number of parties and government performance in the Indian states. *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(2), 152-187.

Published:
June 19, 2025

- Criado, H. (2011). Bullets and votes: Public opinion and terrorist strategies. *Journal of Peace Research*, 48(4), 497-508.
- Dalton R.J. (2008) Citizenship norms and the expansion of political participation. *Political Studies* 56 (1), 76–98.
- Dawson P.A. and Zinser J.E. (1976). Political finance and participation in congressional elections. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Sociological Science* 425, 59–73.
- Denver, D., G. Hands and I. MacAllister (2004) ‘The Electoral Impact of Constituency Campaigning in Britain, 1992–2001’, *Political Studies* 52, 289–306.
- Denver, D., G. Hands, J. Fisher & I. MacAllister (2002). The Impact of Constituency Campaigning in the 2001 General Election, *British Elections and Parties Review* 12, 80–94.
- Diuk, N. & Myroslava G. (2002). Post-election Blues in Ukraine. *Journal of Democracy*, 13, 157–66.
- Divurger, M. (1963) Political Parties: their activity and organization in the modern state, translated by Barbara and Rebert North, Wiley.
- Dunning (2012) Fighting and Voting: Violent Conflict and Electoral Politics, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(3) 327-339.
- Eijaz, A. (2013). Impact of New Media on Dynamics of Pakistan Politics, *Journal of Political Studies*, 20 (1), 113-130.
- Elias A, Szoćsik E and Zuber CI (2015). Position, selective emphasis and framing: How parties deal with a second dimension in competition. *Party Politics* 21(6), 839–850.
- Fisher, J., Denver, D., & Hands, G. (2006). Party Membership and Campaign Activity in Britain

Published:
June 19, 2025

The Impact of Electoral Performance. *Party Politics*, 12(4), 505-519.

Fisher, J., Denver, D., & Hands, G. (2006). Party Membership and Campaign Activity in Britain
The Impact of Electoral Performance. *Party Politics*, 12(4), 505-519.

Geys B (2006) Explaining voter turnout: a review of aggregate level research. *Electoral Studies*
25(4), 637–663.

Gupta, D. K. (2008) Understanding Terrorism and Political Violence. London: Routledge

Gutiérrez-Romero, R. (2014). An inquiry into the use of illegal electoral practices and effects of
political violence and vote-buying. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 58(8), 1500-1527.

Hall, T. E., Monson, J. Q., & Patterson, K. D. (2009). The Human Dimension of Elections How
Poll Workers Shape Public Confidence in Elections. *Political Research Quarterly*, 62(3),
507-522.

Hartlyn, J., McCoy, J., & Mustillo, T. M. (2008). Electoral Governance Matters Explaining the
Quality of Elections in Contemporary Latin America. *Comparative Political
Studies*, 41(1), 73-98.

Hasnain, Z. (2008). The politics of service delivery in Pakistan: Political parties and the incentives
for patronage, 1988-1999. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 129-151.

Hesli, V. L., William M. R. & Arthur H. M. (1998). Political Party Development in Divided
Societies: The Case of Ukraine. *Electoral Studies* 17, 235–56.

Horowitz, J. (2015). The Ethnic Logic of Campaign Strategy in Diverse Societies Theory and
Evidence From Kenya. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49 (3), 324-356.

Hussain, M. (2011) Institution of Parliament in Pakistan: Evolution and Building Process (1947-

Published:
June 19, 2025

1970), *Journal of Political Studies*, 18 (2), 77-99.

Jupp, J. (1968). *Political parties*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, New York: Humanities Press.

Kalsnes, B. (2016). The Social Media Paradox Explained: Comparing Political Parties' Facebook Strategy Versus Practice. *Social Media+ Society*, 2(2), 2056305116644616.

Kamran, Tahir (2009), Politics of Elections and Autocracy in Pakistan: Apprising the Electoral, Process during Zia ul Haq's Regime, *Journal of Political Studies*, 15, 25-39.

Karlsen, R. (2010) Fear of the Political Consultant: Campaign Professionals and New Technology in Norwegian Electoral Politics, *Party Politics*, 16 (2), 193–214

Karp J.A., Banducci S.A. & Bowler S. (2008). Getting out the vote: party mobilization in a comparative perspective. *British Journal of Political Science* 38(1): 91–11

Katz, R. S. (1992). *Party organizations: a data handbook on party organizations in western democracies, 1960-90* (Vol. 1). Sage Publications Ltd.

Kern, M. (2001). Disadvantage Al Gore in election 2000: Coverage of issue and candidate attributes, including the candidate as campaigner on newspaper and television news Web sites. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 44(12), 2125-2139.

Kitschelt H (1994) *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Koelble, T. A. (1991) *The Left Unraveled: Social Democracy and the New Left Challenge*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Koev, D. (2015). Interactive party effects on electoral performance How ethnic minority parties aid the populist right in Central and Eastern Europe. *Party Politics*, 21 (4), 649-659.

Published:
June 19, 2025

- Konitzer, A. (2005). *Voting for Russia's governors: regional elections and accountability under Yeltsin and Putin*. Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Kovalov, M. (2014). Electoral Manipulations and Fraud in Parliamentary Elections: The Case of Ukraine. *East European Politics & Societies*, 28(4), 781-807.
- Kreuzer, M. (2000). Electoral Mechanisms and Electioneering Incentives Vote-Getting Strategies of Japanese, French, British, German and Austrian Conservatives. *Party Politics*, 6(4), 487-504.
- Kuzio, Taras (2005) Regime Type and Politics in Ukraine under Kuchma', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 38: 167–90.
- Lehoucq, F. E. (2002). Can parties police themselves? Electoral governance and democratization. *International Political Science Review*, 23(1), 29-46.
- Libbrecht, L., Maddens, B. & Swenden, W (2011). Party competition in regional elections: The strategies of state-wide parties in Spain and the United Kingdom, *Party Politics*, 19(4) 624–640.
- Lin, J. W. (2011). The endogenous change in electoral systems: The case of SNTV. *Party Politics*, 17(3), 365-384.
- Lust-Okar, E. (2006). Elections under authoritarianism. *Democratization* 13:456-71.
- Mahmood S. (2000), Pakistan: Political roots and development (1947-99), Oxford,
- Manin, Bernard, Adam Przeworski & Susan C. Stokes (1999). Elections and Representation', in Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes and Bernard Manin (eds) *Democracy, Accountability and Representation*, pp.29–54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Memon A. P., Memon K.S., Shaikh,S. & , Memon, F. (2010) Political Instability: A case study of

Published:
June 19, 2025

Pakistan, *Journal of Political Studies*, 18 (1), 31-43.

Mitchell, P. (2000). Voters and Their Representatives: Electoral Institutions and Delegation in Parliamentary Democracies, *European Journal of Political Research* 37(3), 335–351.

Mozaffar, S. & Richard V. (2002). A “whole systems” approach to the choice of electoral rules in democratizing countries. *Electoral Studies* 21, 601-16.

Murray, R. (2008). The Power of Sex and Incumbency: A Longitudinal Study of Electoral Performance in France, *Party Politics* 14 (5), 539–554.

Myerson, R. (2014). Constitutional structures of a strong democracy: Considerations on the Govt of Pakistan, *World Development*, 53, 46-54.

Newman, W. L. (2007). Social Research, Qualitative and quantitative approach. Boston: Pearson

Nishikawa M. (2012). Electoral and party system effects on ruling party durability, *Party Politics*, 18(5) 633–652.

Norris, P. (2004). Electoral engineering. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

O'Neill, D. C. (2013). Electoral Rules and the Democratic Progressive Party's Performance in the 2004 and 2008 Legislative Elections in Taiwan. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 48(2), 161-179.

Okoye, J.C., Egboh, E.A. & Chukwuemeka, E.E.O (2012). Changing Perspectives of Nigeria Political Development: From militarism to incumbency and godfatherism, *Journal of Political Studies*, 19 (1), 01-17.

O'Neill, K. (2003). Decentralization as an electoral strategy. *Comparative Political Studies*, 36(9), 1068-1091.

Published:
June 19, 2025

Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE)

<http://www.pide.org.pk/pdf/Manifestos%20Assessment%20.pdf>

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf <http://www.insaf.org.pk/>

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf <http://www.insaf.pk/about-us/know-pti/ideology>

Pattie, C. J., R. J. Johnston and E. A. Fieldhouse (1995) 'Winning the Local Vote: The Effectiveness of Constituency Campaign Spending in Great Britain, 1983–1992', *American Political Science Review* 89: 969–83.

PILDA(2012)

http://www.pildat.org/publications/publication/elections/StateofElectoralReformsinPakistan_CitizensMonitoringReport2ndQtrMarch2012.pdf

Pitkin, Hanna F. (1967). *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Plescica, C. (2017). The Effect of Pre-Electoral Party Coordination on Vote Choice: Evidence from the Italian Regional Elections. *Political Studies*, 65 (1), 144-160.

Posusney, M. P. (2002). Multi-party elections in the Arab world. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36 (4), 34-62.

Powell, Bingham. 2000. *Elections as instruments of democracy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Protsyk, O., & Garaz, S. (2013). Politicization of ethnicity in party manifestos. *Party Politics*, 19(2), 296-318.

Przeworski, A., Susan C.S. & Bernard M. (1999). *Democracy, Accountability and Representation*.

Published:
June 19, 2025

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Resnick, D. (2013). Do electoral coalitions facilitate democratic consolidation in Africa?. *Party Politics*, 19(5), 735-757.
- Saeed, A. (2013) Governance System of Pakistan: Continuation of Colonial Policies, *Journal of Political Studies*, 20 (1), 199-218
- Seyd, P. & P. Whiteley (2002). New Labour's Grassroots. Basingstoke: Palgrave. Whiteley, P. and P. Seyd (1994), Local Party Campaigning and Voting Behaviour in Britain, *Journal of Politics* 56, 242–51.
- Slomczynski, K. M., Shabad, G., & Zielinski, J. (2008). Fluid Party Systems, Electoral Rules and Accountability of Legislators in Emerging Democracies The Case of Ukraine. *Party Politics*, 14(1), 91-112.
- Slomczynski, K. M., Shabad, G., & Zielinski, J. (2008). Fluid Party Systems, Electoral Rules and Accountability of Legislators in Emerging Democracies: The Case of Ukraine. *Party Politics*, 14(1), 91-112.
- Stefan, Dercon, & Gutie´rrez-Romero, Roxana (2012) Triggers and Characteristics of the 2007 Kenyan Electoral Violence. *World Development*, 40, 731-44.
- Taagepera, R. & Mathew S. S. (1989). Seats and votes. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Tillman, E. R. (2015). Pre-electoral coalitions and voter turnout. *Party Politics*, 21(5), 726-737.
- Trumm, S., & Sudulich, L. (2016). What does it take to make it to the polling station? The effects of campaign activities on electoral participation. *Party Politics*, 1354068816647209.
- Wang, Y., & Peng, M. (2015). Party Unity after Elections: A Study of the Roll-Call Votes in Hong

Published:
June 19, 2025

Kong's Legislative Council. *Politics*, 1467-9256.

Waseem, M. (2006). Democratization in Pakistan. A study of 2002 Elections, Oxford University Press Karachi.

Way, Lucan A. (2005) 'Rapacious Individualism and Political Competition in Ukraine, 1992–2004', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 38, 191–205.

Wilder, A (1999). A Pakistani voter: Electoral politics and the voting behaviour in the Punjab. Oxford University Press Karachi.

Wills-Otero, L. (2016). The electoral performance of Latin American traditional parties, 1978–2006 Does the internal structure matter?. *Party Politics*, 22 (6), 758-778.