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

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#### **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







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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







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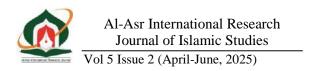
years. Political parties are important types of political institutions that exist and persist to strengthen democratic societies. According to Hussain (2011) two political parties were dominant in the Constituent Assembly of United India. One party i.e. Pakistan Muslim League (PML) represented majority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







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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).







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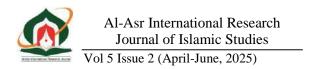
Political parties design political policies that will be helpful in ideological development and pursuance of political agenda. Political parties shape them in such a way that they should gain power through lawful parliamentary endeavors and avoid extra-parliamentary means. Structure and form of political 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







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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

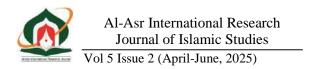
## 3.1 Role of political parties

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







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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.

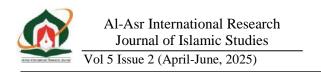
According to Jupp (1968) political parties are considered as a group of people come together to achieve certain common objectives. In a political party people are organized in a group having similar opinion and common purpose of participating in the process of nation building. Political parties in different 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







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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).

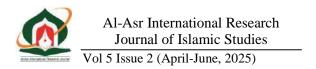
In countries where political parties are weak, they "emerge and disappear, coalesce and splinter; legislators frequently move from one parliamentary faction to another; many candidates (including incumbents) switch parties from one election to another; a significant number of candidates run – and win – 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







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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).







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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.

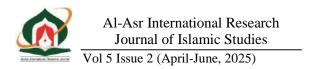
Political parties use manifesto as a weapon to gain power through elections. Manifestos of political parties provide direction for thinking and road-map for the country. If the manifestoes are mandated in election, then political parties constitute programs to fulfill their promises. Manifestoes influence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







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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.

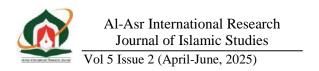
### 4. Methodology

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.







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### **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.





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**Table 1: Social issues** 

PN	IL-N	PTI	PP	P
a)	A National Manpower Plan will be prepared to create balance in market.	a) Social safety will be provided to employees.	a)	Jobs will be provided to 1 million Pakistanis
b)	Employment opportunities will be created for people of Pakistan in public and private sector.	b) Friendly economic policy will be introduced for industrial growth.	b)	each year.  Incentives will be
c)	Big and small scale industrialization will be promoted in the urban and rural areas to absorb unemployed	c) Skills of students will be enhanced to match students and jobs. Skills	c)	provided to new businessmen.  Provide tax break
٦/ ١	labor.	will be developed for manpower exports.		to young entrepreneur.
d)	Rural development programs will be used to provide employment opportunities in rural areas to prevent migration.		d)	News jobs will be created.
e)	Reforms in taxation system will be introduced to achieve ambitious		e)	Invest further in vocational training.
f)	revenue targets.  Technical skills and technical		f)	Standard of higher education will be improved.
	trainings will be implemented.			ппрточец.
g)	Para-medical trainings in DHQ's and THQ's will be initiated.			





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## **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** 

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





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### **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** 

a) National defense will be first a) I	D.C. 1.1	
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) C	Defense budget will be accountable in parliament.  Balance will be ensured between all state institutions and supremacy of civilian authority.  Political solution will be insured for Baluchistan rather than military.  Counter Terrorism Authority will be made more efficient.	<ul> <li>a) Armed forces will be made on professional standard.</li> <li>b) Close working relationship will be made between defense and parliamentary institution for cooperation.</li> <li>c) Budget of Military will be accountable</li> </ul>





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## **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** 

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





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## **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** 

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





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## 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

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





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### **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** 

PM	IL-N	PT	PTI		PP		
a)	Anti-terrorism laws will be introduced and strengthened.	a)	Security will be provided to all citizens.	a)	National Security Plan will be developed and National Counter Terrorism authority		
b)	Protection of judges and prosecution will be insured.	b)	Dialogue table should be initiated to convince militants.	b)	2012 will be pursued.  Information sharing		
c)	Important steps will be taking to maintain peace	c)	Extricate from the US led war on terror.	0)	system between local, provincial and federal level will be established		
	and prosperity in the country.	d)	Deweaponization across the country.		by reforming intelligent agencies.		
d)	Cooperation with intelligence agencies	e)	NACTA will be made effective.	c)	Fundamentalism and militant rhetoric will be counter through strong		







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## 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.





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## **Table 8: Agriculture**

PM	IL-N	PT	ľ	PP	PP
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.  Livestock sector will be developed	b)	Laws on agriculture will be updated.	b)	Cooperatives of farmers will be run by formers own.
(c) (d)	Agri-services will be provided to rural areas.	c)	Land records will be computerized.	c)	Roads will be constructed for trade.
e)	Small scale economy converted into large scale.	d)	Usage of water and energy for farms will be	d)	Main focus will be on domestic
f)	Water accord with India will be solved.	e)	enhanced.  Market roads will	e)	manufacturing.  Water distribution
g)	Dams will be constructed and wastage of water will be reduced.		be constructed.		will be fare and controlled.
h)	Forestry and ecological problems will be solved.			f)	Subsidies will be provided to agriculture products.
i)	Crop insurance will be provided with the help of private insurance companies.			g)	Agriculture policy will be announced every year.
j)	Research and education on agriculture sector will be promoted.			h)	Property rights will be addressed.
k)	Incentives will be provided to				







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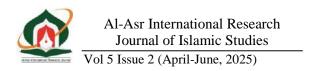
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	formers to adopt social forestry on commercial scale.	
1)	Diseases caused by water and sanitation will be overcome.	

#### 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







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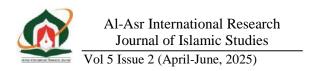
for laborers in the parliament, create province of South Punjab and develop low cost housing schemes for the poor.

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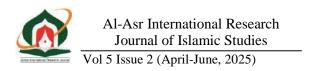
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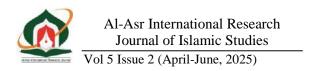
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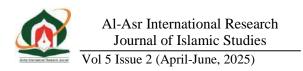
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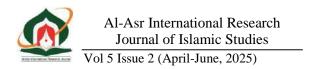
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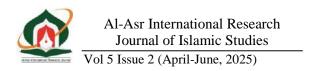
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