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ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN
AGGREGATING PUBLIC INTERESTS,
AND THE IMPORTANCE OF
INCLUSIVE & ISSUE-BASED
POLITICAL PARTIES

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1. Introduction to Political Parties

Political parties can be termed as associations formed by citizens that enable individuals to have influence on government affairs and processes. Political parties therefore provide effective means through which individuals express themselves and make decisions on appropriate system of government.

Political parties nominate candidates to participate in elections and get elected for a political office as their representatives.¹ They articulate and aggregate public interests and mobilize people for power taking so that they can implement their proposed policies and programs. They are built on the assumption that people with similar views and ideas tend to form groups together. These groups or parties are a vital part of our existing political system, which

guarantees rights (and responsibilities) through a national constitution.

What is democracy?

We can think of democracy as a system of government with four key elements:

1. **A political system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections.**
2. **The active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life.**
3. **Protection of the human rights of all citizens.**
4. **A rule of law, in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens.**

Source: <http://www.stanford.edu/~ldiamond/iraq/WhaIsDemocracy012004.htm>

[Lary Diamond, The Spirit of Democracy: Hoover Institution]

However, it is noteworthy to mention that the political parties are not solely the product of democracies or a phenomenon of countries which conduct elections. In communist countries and even in existing kingdoms you can find political parties. Their presence, recruitment and open competition has a special role to legitimacy to the democracy.

The emergence of political parties started back in seventeenth century in England. At that time, the sole purpose of political parties was to articulate different political philosophies which can help to bring ideas for policy making process. Later, with the passage of time political parties realized the inherent benefits of operating on a mass scale which in turn increases their chances of electoral success including the mobilizing the masses, recruiting and socializing political leaders, maintaining national organization.

¹ Wilhelm Hofmeister and Karsten Grabow. Political parties: Functions and Organization in Democratic Societies: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. 2011. P. 16. Accessed online from: http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_7671-1442-2-30.pdf?120920114650. Date of access: May 22, 2018.

In 1963, a study conducted by Sidney Verba changed the dynamics of political parties and shifted the limelight towards comparative politics. It was held in that period to expand the understanding of politics from constitutional and static factors of politics towards the interplay and dynamics of politics to comprehend a more interactive negotiation and decision-making process in the political sphere.

1.2.1 How political parties work

The primary and critical role of the political parties is to act as a mobilizing agency in the broader environment of democratic activism. According to Pippa Norris (2002), political parties stand at the meso-level (medium level), as explained in the theoretical framework of democratic activism (attached as hand out 1).² Norris (2002) has also synthesized these four major explanations/schools of thought to determine the level of political and democratic activism (attached as handout).³ According to her model, the political parties link to the macro and micro levels. They accentuate the process of modernization in a given state structure and generate democratic activism through resources and motivation for individuals.

Political parties occupy many important roles in a society. For example, they act as means for directing political power, aggregating public interests, and providing the public with a choice. However, despite whatever functions they may fulfil in the political system, their primary goal remains the acquisition of power. Thus, they must have access to substantial financial resources to improve their chances of electoral success; such funding may come from the fees of party members, bribes and kickbacks, interest group donations, public finances, donations, and so on. The party platform, the party's statement of what it stands for and what its objectives are, is another important tool parties use to increase the party identification, degree to which people identify with it, that it receives among members of society.

Political parties are not vertical hierarchies like traditional bureaucracies (with defined procedures), rather a core of resourceful people and groups are informally linked with a CHIEF PERSONALITY/ FAMILY. There is tension between those who hold votebanks on territorial bases and those who represent different interest groups.

1.2.2 Types of political parties

There are several types of political parties and each has specific defining characteristics.⁴ For example, **Mass parties** recruit across class lines to obtain the largest possible membership, whereas, cadre parties recruit only from the politically active elite. Then there are **Broker political parties** popularly known as King's parties. **Cartel parties**, on the other hand, mediate between diverse interests and as the parties of non-democratic regimes which are designed to oversee the machinery of government and ensure that the party is not ousted out by opposition forces. There is a lot of

²Norris, Pippa. "Theories of Political Activism" Chapter 2 in Democratic Phoenix, New York: 2002. Cambridge University Press.

³Ibid.

⁴For detailed discussions, see: Weissenbach, Kristina. 'Political parties and party types - Conceptual approaches to the institutionalization of political parties in transitional states: the case of the Philippines,' Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Manila:2010.Hofmeister, Wilhelm&Grabow, Karsten. 'Political Parties: functions and organisation in democratic societies,' Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Singapore: 2011.Krouwel, Andre. 'The catch-all party in Western Europe 1945-1990.a study in arrested development: A study in arrested development.' PhD dissertation, VrijeUniversiteit Amsterdam, Netherlands: 1999.

debate over the outreach of such parties and/or how fast and deep is the influence of these parties faded over times.

A **Doctrinaire party**, on the other hand, seeks to promote a particular ideology for instance, Jamaat-e-Islami (JI). A devotee party, on the other hand, is different from all the other parties as it is build up around a single, charismatic leader. Theoretically, of the more radical parties, there are also the **revolutionary parties** which seek to undermine the existing political system. In terms of ideological positions, the parties are also categorised as right, middle and left parties and the degree of their subsequent tilts towards both sides. However, the positions of Right and the Left are directly conditional to the incumbent regimes in different countries. The Right and Far Right parties in India, for example, would tell of their loyalty towards Indian/Hindu nationalism while in Pakistan it would signify their placing in narratives of nationalistic/Islamic statehood. In substantive terms, the Indian and Pakistani political parties of the Right planks are radically opposed to each other, but in nature and procedural outlooks they are inherently similar.

Moreover, there are nationalist parties in Pakistan based on ethnic identities. Not all political parties contest elections, some of them are able to influence or sometimes disrupt policy or decision making using their street power as pressure groups Following political parties had the significant representation in the parliament until May 2018:

Key political parties in Pakistan						
#	Name	Abbreviation	Symbol	Inception year	Current leader(s)	Type of Party
1	Pakistan Muslim League (N)	PML(N)	Lion	1988	Shahbaz Sharif	Mass / Catch-all
2	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf	PTI	Bat	1996	Imran Khan	Mass/ Catch-all
3	Pakistan Peoples Party	PPP	Arrow	1967	Bilawal Bhutto Zardari	Mass/ Catch-all
4	Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam	JUI-F	Book	1988	Maulana Fazl-ur-Rehman	doctrinaire
5	Awami National Parry	ANP	Lantern	1986	Asfaandiyar	Nationalist

					Wali	
6	Jamaat-e-Islami	JI	Scale of Justice	1941	Sirajul Haq	Doctrinaire
7	Pakistan Muslim League – Quaid-e-Azam	PML-Q	Bicycle	2002	Shujaat Hussain	Broker Party / Centre
8	Muttahida Qaumi Movement	MQM	Kite	1984	Farooq Sattar	Doctrinaire / Left-wing
9	National Party	NP	Saw	2003	Hasil Bizenjo	Social democratic / Centre-Left
10	Qaumi Watan Party	QWP	Chiragh (Lamp)	2012	Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao	Social Democratic / Centre-Left
11	Pakistan Muslim League – Functional	PML-F	Rose	1985	Syed Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi III	National Conservatism / Center - Right
13	Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party	PkMAP	Tree	1973	Mahmood Khan Achakzai	Nationalist / Left-wing

1.2.3 Need for political parties in a functioning democracy

A democratic government allows political parties to interact with citizens, discuss issues and determine priorities within each community without creating any bias. Processes like referenda, initiatives, and community meetings have a very limited scope when it comes to determining policy for and governing mass societies. Moreover, size of a state also determines the choice given to a citizen.⁵

⁵ Norris, Pippa. 'Political parties and Democracy in theoretical and practical perspectives: Developments in Party communications,' National democratic institute for international affairs, Washington DC - USA: 2005.

Political parties perform multiple functions in a democracy. They help create strong coalitions of citizens' bodies and interest groups; help develop coherent policy programs; facilitate trainings of legislative candidates and political leaders; allow voters choices to choose among governing teams and policies; and, organize the government and make themselves accountable for their actions. A representative democracy thrives in a multiparty competition.

- 1) Integration and mobilization of citizens;
- 2) Articulation and aggregation of interests;
- 3) Formulation of public policy;
- 4) Recruitment of political leaders; and
- 5) Organization of parliament and government.
- 6) Oversight of the policy implementation

1.2.4 Types and structure of political parties

Political parties are classified by different types which are formulated on the basis of various characteristics i.e. structure of party members and constituency, social origins of constituency, the party's organizational structure, the goals of the party, political and ideological alignment, the attitude towards the political system and party's claim to power, etc.

Cadre parties: The cadre party targets trained and professional party members, that have high political commitment and doctrinal discipline and is very particular about ideological clarity, e.g. socialist parties.

Mass-based party: It is an alliance of like-minded people who work together to win elections and control of the government. They typically come from the core of a certain socio-political strata and intend to extend their base to other sections of the society.

The mass party places more emphasis on broadening membership and constructing a wide electoral base, e.g. liberal and conservative parties. Mass parties focus more on recruitment, mobilization and organization than on ideology and political conviction.⁶

Catch-all party: A Catch-all Party is relatively a new concept that aims to attract people with diverse political viewpoints, appealing to a large amount of the electorate. Modern-day mass parties also tend to be catch-all parties that are de-idolized, emphasizing leadership, unity and pragmatism. This party centralizes towards leadership, and diminishing the role of individual party members. They often aim to build broad coalitions of support rather than relying on a particular social class or societal grouping.

⁶As cited in RTUC's Blog. 'THE CONCEPT OF A MASS PARTY,' Posted on February 25, 2010.
<https://rtuc.wordpress.com/2010/02/25/the-concept-of-a-mass-party/>
Accessed April 6, 2018.

POLITICAL PARTY MODEL	TIME OF FORMATION	MAIN FINANCING RESOURCES
Cadre party	Beginning of 19th century	Candidates personal assets
Mass party	1880	Membership fees and contributions
Catch all party	1945	Membership fees, contributions from various resources, public subventions
Cartel party	1970	Public subventions

1.2.5 The importance of party manifestos

The manifestoes of political parties are those plans, programmes and broad policy directions of a political party where they commit to implement them in order to get the votes to get into power during general elections.

The manifestos are released during the election year in Pakistan. It is a benchmark document that would eventually provide a basis for evaluating the party's performance in the government. The electorates in democratic politics naturally expect a political party would present its manifesto to the people because they would like to look at the future programmes and policies, that the party plans to implement if it is voted into power. People need to look into a formal plan and commitment through which they can look into for voting and which is not rhetoric but based on a formal commitment that a manifesto can bring. The way it is articulated by a manifesto committee of a political party and presented as a formal document would grant it status of a party document that the party presents as its elections pledges.⁷

The manifestos are important in six ways:⁸

- It specifies ideological direction
- It helps to educate people about service deliverance and commitment to address public issues
- It is a measurement tool to evaluate the performance of a political party
- It facilitates party members about the programme directions
- It helps to attract people to the party
- It dictates the aims and objectives of the party
- It promotes a programme specific relationship between parties and their constituents/electorates and discourages personality oriented bond between the two

Citizens' Political Rights under International Law

⁷ Copies of election manifestos of Pakistani political parties (2013) are available online at the dedicated election website (<https://www.pakvoter.org>) of NGO Centre for Peace and Development Initiatives- CPDA (<http://www.cpdi-pakistan.org/>) and Centre Strengthening Participatory Organization – SPO (www.spopk.org). Various, mainly sectoral, reviews are also available on-line. For full texts of individual party manifestos, also see websites of Pakistan Muslim League-N (<http://pmln.org/>), Pakistan Peoples Party (<https://www.ppp.org.pk/>), Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf (www.insaf.pk/), and MuttahidaQaumi Movement (www.mqm.org/), etc.

⁸Summarized from posting of Chester Morton, 1 March 2017.

<http://www.virtuallkollage.com/2017/03/the-importance-of-political-party-manifesto.html>
Accessed: April 6, 2018.

- The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections, which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures (Universal Declaration of Human Rights).
- Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights).
- The right of peaceful assembly shall be recognized. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those imposed in conformity with the law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order, the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights).
- Everyone shall have the right to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights).
- Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions: (a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives; (b) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors; (c) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights).

1.3. Laws regulating political parties in Pakistan

Pakistan's new election law (Elections Act, 2017) was passed during early October 2017 which introduced a number of key reforms⁹ since first direct elections in 1970. Key highlights of this legislation are:

⁹ For detailed discussions, see: Democracy Reporting International (DRI). 'From legislation to action: Next Steps for implementation of electoral reforms in Pakistan,' Briefing Paper 88, Islamabad: Feb 2018. Pran, Vladimir Pran&Mirbahar, Hassan Nasir. 'From Law to Action: Election Reforms in Pakistan': March 2018. Available at: <http://democracy-reporting.org/from-law-to-action-election-reforms-in-pakistan/>. Full text of the Elections Act 2017 with amendments is available online at website of the National Assembly (www.na.gov.pk). Accessed: April 6, 2018.

Article: 17 Freedom of Association

Freedom of association.

1. Every citizen shall have the right to form associations or unions, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan, public order or morality.
2. Every citizen, not being in the service of Pakistan, shall have the right to form or be a member of a political party, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan and such law shall provide that where the Federal Government declares that any political party has been formed or is operating in a manner prejudicial to the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan, the Federal Government shall, within fifteen days of such declaration, refer the matter to the Supreme Court whose decision on such reference shall be final.
3. Every political party shall account for the source of its funds in accordance with law.

Empowerment of the ECP and more financial autonomy: It has given the ECP powers equal to those of a High Court in the matter of contempt only. As regards financial autonomy, the Chief Election “Commissioner shall have full financial powers to sanction and incur expenditure within the approved budgetary allocation...”

Improved accountability and results transparency: The Act introduces key measures to keep ECP accountable, through which the institution is obliged to share its rule available for public comment and its responsibility to prepare and submit annual reports for review by the federal and provincial legislatures. The ECP is also required to prepare a plan for the conduct of elections four months before the General Election is due to be held on expiry of the term of an Assembly and to take measures to enhance the transparency of the results process through:

- 1) Establish a transparent results management system and proactively publishing of results at polling stations and on the Commission’s website;
- 2) Introduce a results transmission system through which presiding officers at the polling station level can send snapshots of result forms via smart phones directly to the Returning Officer and ECP.

Participation of women and simplified voter registration: The ECP is now empowered to declare polling at one or more polling stations or election in the whole constituency where women’s turnout is less than 10% of the total votes polled in a constituency, and may order filing of complaint before a court of competent jurisdiction against persons who entered into the agreements that forcibly ban women from casting their vote. Political parties while making the selection of candidates shall ensure at least five percent representation of women candidates on general seats for National Assembly and Provincial Assembly elections. The ECP is further required to make special efforts to facilitate the registration and participation of women, as well as religious minorities and persons with disabilities.

Complaints: The Act provides any person aggrieved by any decision or action taken or direction issued by an authority subordinate to the Commission or any action of a political party or a candidate in violation of the Code of Conduct may, within fifteen days of such decision or action, file a complaint with the ECP pertaining to matters other than relating to election disputes falling under Article 225 of the Constitution. **Caretaker setup:** The Elections Act has further made strides in defining the functions and limitations of a caretaker government.

Local Government Elections: The Elections Act sets out a legally binding timeline for the ECP to conduct local elections within 120 days after local councils complete their tenure under the applicable local government law and the Rules framed there under as may be applicable to a Province, cantonments, ICT or FATAs..

Citizen observers: For the first time, the under the Elections Act 2017 the ECP on its own motion or upon an application made in this behalf, may allow any domestic or international election observation organization to observe elections in Pakistan.

Scrutiny of Candidates: The Act effectively establishes that the purpose of the scrutiny process is only to examine nomination papers and to address objections raised by the petitioners.

Campaign Finances: The candidates must use a dedicated bank account for the management of campaign finances under the new law. The law also sets new ceilings for candidate campaign expenditures and introduces reporting requirements for party spending on campaigns.

Intra-party Elections: Parties are also obligated to hold internal elections every five years under the new Act as has been the past stipulation.

1.4. How do political parties ensure public interests?

A range of activities can be adopted by political parties to respond to public interests. In the context of Pakistan, political parties mostly do lobbying. To protect public interests, a number of steps ranging from articulation to implementation need to be involved. This process also refers to interest aggregation, under which the political parties integrate dissimilar viewpoints on a centralized issue. Ray (2004) observes that interest aggregation enables the centralization of ideologies among the specific groupings such as they achieve a coherent integration in regard to political issues within their political system.¹⁰

To ensure public interest, interest aggregation is of great importance to stable the democracies which brings high form of ability to function and being adaptive in nature. In this way, political parties make space to entail the interest of individuals which can combine to formulate an agenda that enables the attainment of certain goals and needs.¹¹

¹⁰As cited in ICAEW. 'Acting in the public interest:a framework for analysis,' London: 2018 (reprint).

¹¹ As cited in Essay, 'Interest Aggregation and Political Parties,' Available at <https://bestwritingservice.com/essays/Political/interest-aggregation-and-political-parties.html> Accessed: April 6, 2018.

Federally Administered Tribal Area's (FATA) mainstreaming

The Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) had promised FATA's mainstreaming and reforms in their 2013 political manifesto. Despite having majority and strong recommendations from all stakeholders, the government was under pressure from its partners such as Awami National Party (ANP) and Jamiat-e Ulema Islam Fazal (JUI-F) which caused delay in required legislation.

However, as the term of PML-N government drew to a close, there was substantial progress on the merger of FATA with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The Thirty First Amendment bill seeking Fata's merger with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was passed by the National Assembly, the Senate and KP Assembly, the President of Pakistan on 31 May, 2018 signed the Constitution (Thirty First) Amendment Bill, 2018, handing over the control of FATA to the KP government.

- Inclusive party politics would imply that the political parties do not overlook women, religious and social excluded groups (minorities, PWDs) and youth when recruiting new members and awarding tickets. Most importantly, the international law as well as the constitution of Pakistan recognizes political rights of women, minorities and persons with disabilities.
- Articles 8 to 28 of the constitution of Pakistan particularly deal with human and fundamental rights of a citizen including political rights. Every citizen of Pakistan is eligible to participate in elections both as a voter as well as a candidate irrespective of his / her sex, ethnicity, caste / creed or disability.
- In 2011, a ruling of the Supreme Court of Pakistan instructed National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) to issue national identity cards (NICs) to unregistered transgender community to allow them to fully participate in politics. According to the final electoral role of 2013 elections, 680 registered voters declared themselves as transgender.¹² All Pakistan Transgender Election Network (APTEN) is collaboration with the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) officially announced that 13 transgender persons will participate in elections this year.¹³
- Article 9 of the new Act allows the commission to declare a poll null and void if the turnout of women voters remains less than 10 percent presuming that they have been purposely restrained from participation in the elections. Similarly, articles 47 and 48 of the act pertain to “special measures for enrolment of women voters” and “enrolment of non-Muslims etc” including persons with disabilities and transgender.¹⁴
- The Article 17 (Freedom of Association) of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973 also allows (1) a person / individual / citizen to form associations or unions; (2) every citizen shall have the

¹² Women, Minorities and Persons with Disabilities: Pakistan Factsheet. International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES). April 26th, 2013. Pp. 1-7. Accessed online from:

https://www.ifes.org/sites/default/files/women_minorities_and_persons_with_disabilities.pdf. Date of access:

¹³ Sehrish Wasif. 13 transgender persons will contest general elections this year: The Express Tribune. May 23, 2018. Accessed online from: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1717448/1/>. Date of access: May 24, 2018.

¹⁴ Election Act, 2017. Pp. 6-17. Accessed online from: http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1506961151_781.pdf. Date of access: May 24, 2018.

right to form or be a member of a political party; (3) Every political party shall account for the source of its funds in accordance with law.¹⁵

1.5. Monitoring the performance of political parties in Pakistan

Political parties need to be institutionalized to achieve a certain degree of consolidation, which ultimately affects other levels of the political system and societal actors (for example, institutions, organizations and associations, political elites and civil society). However, according to Kristina Weissenbach¹⁶, a suitable foundation is necessary for the development of a theoretical dimension for the establishment and institutionalization of parties. This would subsequently also help in monitoring and evaluating the progress and performance of political parties. The seven dimensions are:

- Organization
- Internal Party Democracy
- Programme
- Autonomy
- Roots in Society
- Coherence
- Regional and International Integration

Criteria and indicators on which the political parties can be evaluated is given below:

Indicators of Internal Democracy within the political party:

A political party also needs to focus on internal structures that promote internal democratic goals and objectives as well as functions. The concept of internal democracy plays on the points of equity, fair play, good conscience and premise of due process.

¹⁵ National Assembly of Pakistan. Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. 28th February, 2012. Accessed online from: <file:///C:/Users/User3/Desktop/Constitution%20of%20Pakistan.pdf>. Date of access: 31st May, 2018

¹⁶ Kristina Weissenbach, M.A. Political parties and party types – conceptual approaches to the institutionalization of political parties in transitional state: The case of Philippines. Konard-Adenauer-Stiftung. 2010. Accessed online from: http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_21710-1522-1-30.pdf?110126062. Date of access: April 23, 2018.

A democratic party will:

- Allow members to express their views freely.
- Incorporate the opinion/aspirations of the party members into decision making and policy development to make them inclusive.
- Promote the membership of women, minorities and other socially excluded groups like the persons with disabilities (PWDs) and transgender persons.
- Create enabling environment for the party members belonging to marginalised sections to more fully participate in the discourse and decision making
- Encourage participation by all members.
- Be tolerant of different ideas.
- Abide by agreed upon rules and procedures for decision-making.
- Hold leaders accountable to members and supporters.

2. How to report on Political Parties?

A journalist's primary job is to present facts to its consumers in form of news reports. Over the years, a lot of research has been conducted to devise standard protocols or guidelines of objective reporting. These guidelines help working journalists to improve the quality of their work irrespective of the primary thematic area / beat they are working on.

2.1 Where the news about the political parties come from?

2.1. Objective Reporting

The primary focus of a journalist working on political parties or elections should be objective reporting of whatever subject he or she is seeking to explore. The elements of objective reporting are:

- Fact based and accurate
- Balanced
- Responsibility

2.2. Tools for gathering and verification of facts

Collection and verification of facts before they are presented as a news report is a necessity that every responsible journalist should meet. The tools used for gathering and verifying facts are described below:

a. Data research: The initial task of a journalist is to conduct detailed research prior to writing. Following are three different types of tools used to acquire information:

- Interviews
- Observation
- Research

Interviewing

Key informant Interviews with experts or individuals with first hand information on a certain issue or other individuals that are relevant to the news story. For instance, a journalist reporting on environmental issues can take an interview from the Spokesman of a political party about his party's stance on Climate Change. Another key informant in that case could be the party's advisor on Environment.

Observation

Observation can be done in a number of ways including but not limited to observation of events, attending public events and lectures or by conducting self tests/evaluations. Building on the example given above, a journalist can attend the Manifesto launching event of the given party or can analyse the party's manifesto for their stance on climate change and environment.

Research:

Online Research: Online research refers to research conducted using the internet and search engines. The resources could include online articles, websites, web journals etc. A journalist reporting on climate change and environment can conduct an online research by streaming the given party's website, blogs, and social media pages. The online copy of the party's manifesto could also be researched.

Offline research: Offline research refers to the research done through books and journals and other published or printed material, audio and visual tools. A journalist working on climate change and environment can research through news reports on the measures taken by the given party to improve the environment; similarly, the journalist can also research through any policy papers, magazines, brochures and published material developed by the given party

b. Fact checking: A professional journalist must always double or triple check the acquired information/facts before including them in a report by referring to or citing as many sources of information as possible to support your claim. These sources may include key informant interviews, news reports, research reports, websites or other publications. The editors should also reconfirm that the facts are accurate.¹⁷

2.3. Themes to consider while reporting on political parties

A journalist reporting on political parties must also consider the following themes:

¹⁷Dr. Anthony Curtis. Journalists information gathering tools. Mass Communication Department, University of North Carolina at Pembroke. December 27, 2013. Accessed online from: <http://wp.lps.org/akabour/files/2013/12/How-journalists-gather-information-for-their-stories.pdf>. Date of access: April 26, 2018.

- Ideology of a political party;
- Focus areas as discussed in the Manifesto;
- Scope of the party;
- Ethnic / Sectarian / nationalist or other affiliations;
- Party Elections and membership;
- Party finances and sources;
- Central Executive or similar Committees
- Gender outlook;
- Short-term and Long-term goals.
- What is fact-finding?
- Pitfalls of Fake News
- How to handle the so called “sources”?
- Reporting Election Day Violence
- Reporting about socially excluded groups: How to deal with social stigmas?
- Reporting Violence against Women
- News, Leaks, Rumours and Feeding?
- Sting operations
- Breaking News (especially announcing unofficial results of election on a constituency)
- How to check bias in a given news report?
- Likely consequences of filing incorrect news?

Training Programme

*A one day training programme of the training workshop on political parties is given below;

Training Program	
Stage Setting Session 09:00 am – 09:30 am	Introduction and context setting ➤ Registration ➤ Introductions (Participants) ➤ Setting Ground Rules (Workshop Norms) ➤ Expectations and Fears
Session 1 09:30 am – 10:45 am	Introduction to Political Parties ➤ Clarifying the terms: Democracy, differentials in the Government, State and Society ➤ Why political parties are essential to democracy? ➤ Key functions of political parties ➤ Context of Pakistani political parties ➤ Framework for democratic action and placing of the political parties as mobilizing agencies
Tea Break (10:45 am – 11:00 am)	
Session 2 - a 11:00 am – 11:30 pm	Structure of Political Parties ➤ Presentation on case-study of political party manifestos and the youth in Pakistan (based on Hand-out 5)

	➤ Inclusiveness of gender and religious minorities in political parties (based on Handout 8)
Session 2 - b 11:30 am – 12:00 PM	Manifestos of Political Parties ➤ Importance of party manifestos ➤ What to look for? ➤ Gauging the performance of a political party based on its manifesto
Session 3 12:00 pm – 01:00 pm	ECP laws for political Parties ➤ Salient features of ECP Act 2017 ➤ Implications of the new Act ➤ Key improvements and Challenges
Lunch Break (01:00 pm – 02: 00 pm)	
Session 4 02:00 pm – 03:00 pm	How do political parties ensure public interests? ➤ Identifying practices of Interest aggregation & Public Interest through role play activity ➤ Exercise: Which party represents me? (based on Hand-out 6)
Session 5 03:00 pm – 04:00 pm	Monitoring the performance of political parties in Pakistan ➤ Political party dimensions, criteria and indicators ➤ Group work on monitoring the performance of political parties in Pakistan (with reference to (women, minorities, youth)
Working Tea Break (04:00 pm – 04:15 pm)	
Session 6 04:15 pm – 05:15 pm	How to report on Political parties? Objective Reporting ➤ Tools for gathering and Verification of facts ➤ Things to consider while reporting on political parties
Take Home Assignment: Develop and Publish a news report (according to the standards) on any chosen aspect of any given political party	

Detailed Activities

The activities to be conducted in the aforementioned training programme are detailed below day-wise:

Use an icebreaker to introduce the participants with one another.

Session 1: Introduction to political parties

Objectives:

- To assist participants in comprehending differences between the society, government and the state.

- To introduce framework for democratic action and placement of political parties as mobilizing agencies;
- To introduce types of political parties to participants.

Time required: 60 minutes

Resources needed: Printouts of Hand-out 1, markers, brown sheets

Method:

Step 1: The participants are engaged in a plenary discussion about the concepts of democracy and the significance of State, Government and Society in relation to democratic political system. In addition, the new and evolving relationships between State, Market and Civil Society will also be discussed;

Step 2: Write down whatever key words/phrases they use to attribute to democracy & Sum-up their conclusions about democracy and display on a visible place.

Step 3: The participants are asked then to clarify their concepts on differences among State, Government and the Society. Tell them that before going to the topic of political parties, it is important to know differences and their significances.

Step 4: Referring to the points they raised on democracy, ask them to whom their points were directly related: State, Government or the Society?

Step 5: The participants should clearly realize that their points about democracy related to State, Government or the Society.

Step 6: Then, the participants are given Handout 1.

Step 7: Give a brief about approaches/framework of democratic activism and where the political parties are located and what are the links of mobilizing agencies with macro and micro level of democratic activism.

Step 8: Based on the participants' discussion points the participants are asked to identify other mobilizing agencies.

Session 2 – a: Structure of political parties

Objectives:

- To sensitize the participants on the structure of political parties in Pakistan.

Time Estimated: 65 minutes

Material Needed: Brown sheets, charts, markers, PowerPoint Presentation (based on Annexure I), projector

Method:

Step 1: The facilitator will give a presentation on the structure of political parties in Pakistan.

Step 2: The facilitator will highlight the types of the political parties and their respective structures.).

Step 3: The trainer will generate a plenary in which the participants are encouraged to share their observations about party structures and the presence of women, minority and other marginalized groups in them.

Step 4: The participants will be asked to distinguish between the mainstream political parties, and their types.

Session 2 – b: Importance of Political Manifestos

Objectives:

- To sensitize the participants on the importance of political parties in Pakistan.

Time Estimated: 65 minutes

Material Needed: Brown sheets, charts, markers, PowerPoint Presentation (based on Annexure I), projector

Method:

Step 1: The facilitator will give a presentation on the case-study of comparative political party manifestos and the youth sector in Pakistan (based on Handout 5).

Step 2: The facilitator will highlight the importance of manifestos especially the pledges made for uplift of the marginalised groups i.e. women, religious minorities, farm workers and urban and rural poor via presentation (based on Handout 8).

Step 3: In the plenary participants will be encouraged to share their observations about party manifestos with particular reference to women, minority and other marginalized groups.

Step 4: The participants will be asked to cite examples where agenda items were successfully adopted by the party manifestos.

Session 3: Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) laws for political parties

Objectives:

- Enhance understanding of the Elections Act, 2017.

Time required: 30 minutes

Resources: Presentation

Method:

Step 1: They are briefed by the facilitator about salient features of the Elections Act 2017.

Step 2: The participants will be asked to share the best measures introduced/upheld by the Elections Act, 2017.

Step 3: Clauses on the ECP autonomy and women participation will be especially highlighted.

Step 5: The participants will reflect and discuss in a plenary.

Session 4: How do political parties ensure public interests?

Objectives:

- To evaluate the existing practices and processes of public interest protection by political parties in Pakistan.

Time required: 90 minutes

Resources: Necessary items required to perform a role play

Method:

Step 1: The facilitator will give orientation about interest aggregation roles and inclusive party politics with special reference to women, ethnic and religious minorities, youth and issues faced by other socially excluded groups like persons with disabilities (PWDs) and transgender persons. A plenary discussion on how political parties in Pakistan consult their electorate to gather more information about public issues; the discussion will also take into consideration the various methods used by Pakistani political parties (membership surveys, opinion polls, referenda etc) to gather opinion of their members. The use of modern technology and social media platforms by political parties will also be discussed.

Step 2: The participants will then be asked to highlight best practices through a role play in

- ✓ Interest aggregation roles, and;
- ✓ Inclusive party politics with special reference to women, minorities, youth issues and other socially excluded groups like persons with disabilities (PWDs) and transgender persons.

Step 3: The facilitator will then engage them in a discussion to point out the current issues and existing values in interest aggregation and inclusive party politics.

Session 5: Monitoring the performance of political parties in Pakistan

Objectives:

- To assess the performance (according to the seven dimensions discussed below) of political parties and make recommendations especially as regards to women, minorities and youth issues

and other socially excluded groups like persons with disabilities (PWDs) and transgender persons.

Time required: 80 minutes

Resources: charts, markers

Method:

Step 1: The facilitator will brief the participants about seven dimensions of party institutionalization and corresponding criteria and indicators.

The seven dimensions are:

- ✓ Organization
- ✓ Internal party democracy
- ✓ Programme
- ✓ Autonomy (Dynastic party leadership vs new leadership and issues like land reforms and opposition to the construction of dams by some parties as party policy will also be discussed)
- ✓ Roots in Society
- ✓ Coherence
- ✓ Regional and international integration (special reference to presence of political foundations of political parties of different countries in Pakistan)

Step 2: Reading material will be shared with the participants (Table: Seven Dimensions of Party Institutionalization, pp. 23-24). Hand-out no. 7 will also be shared with the participants as a complementary reading;

Step 3: Participants will be asked to engage in group work in the light of 7 dimensions. The participants will be divided into four groups i.e. (i) women, (ii) minorities (iii) youth and (iv) other marginalized groups including PWDs, transgender persons and other ethnic (e.g. Hazara community) and religious minorities.

Step 4: Participants can also add/delete certain indicators and will highlight problems and make recommendations on the performance of political parties.

Step 5: Group presentations will be made, defended and concluded.

Session 6: How to report on political parties?

Objectives:

- To build the capacity of participants on objective reporting on various aspects of political parties

Time required: 60 minutes

Resources: Brown sheets; cards and markers

Method:

Step 1: The facilitator will brief the participants on objective reporting, tools of gathering and verification of facts and important things to consider while reporting on political parties. (Sample news stories from the leading newspapers will be selected for participants to differentiate between objective and non-objective reporting)

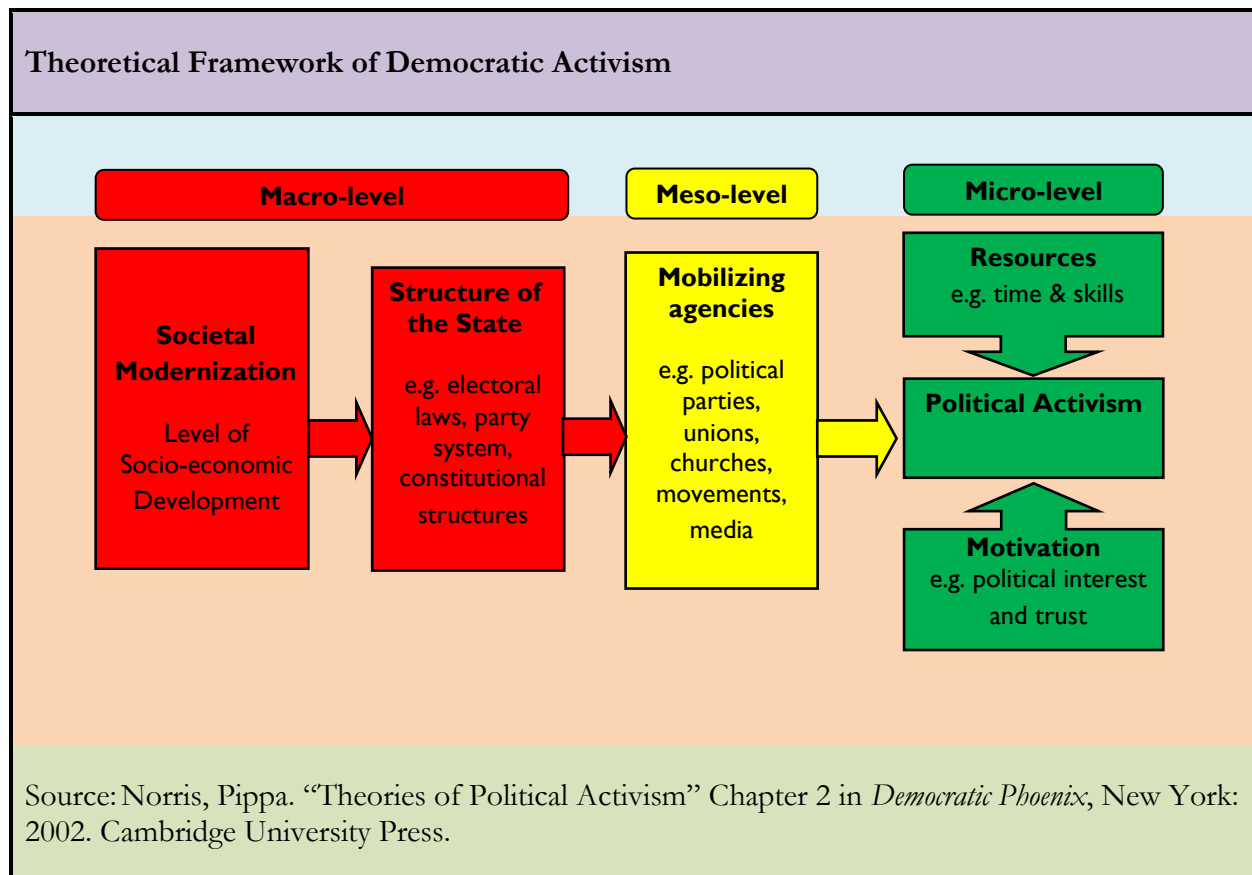
Step 2: The facilitator will divide the participants in two groups. Each group will be given the choice to select a theme from the important things to consider and a political party of their choice.

Step 3: Each group will be given an assignment to develop and publish an objective news report on their chosen theme or aspect of the chosen political party in any mainstream newspaper.

The assignment will be treated as a take home exercise.

Annexure

Hand-out 1: Framework of democratic activism



Modernization Theory asserts that democratic activism is determined by the socio-economic progress of nations. The key factors by this school are (i) Rising standards of living, (ii) the growth of the service sector, (iii) urbanization, and (iv) expanding educational opportunities.

Institutional School of thought gives broader importance to the structure of state that gives opportunities for participation in electoral laws, constitutional frameworks and party systems, expansion of the franchise or reforms in campaign spending laws, etc.

Agency Theory emphasizes upon the role of traditional mobilizing organizations in civic society, notably the way that political parties, trade unions, and religious groups recruit, organize, and engage activists. Proponents of social capital fall in this category of analysis. *Agency, Mobilization* and *Networking* are key words to this theory.

Civic Voluntarism Theory highlights role of social inequalities in *resources* like educational skills and socioeconomic status, and *motivational* factors like political interest, information, and confidence, in explaining who would participate in political activism. This theory is informed by key words like *Social Resources* and *Motivation*.

Annotation by the Consultant, Training Manual

Hand-out 2: A chronology of liberal democracies¹⁸

[Francis] Fukuyama's book, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York, 1992) went into his philosophical conclusions and concerns about the post-Cold War world. In the course of his discussion, he assembled a chronology of liberal democracies, based on an earlier list by Michael Doyle, in "*Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs*," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12 (1983): 205-235. Doyle and Fukuyama both adopted a standard that a "liberal democracy" must have a market economy and representative government, and maintain juridical rights. Countries with populations of under a million were not considered. Fukuyama's list did not take into account any events after 1990.

A number of the countries here identified as "liberal democracies" other people have considered less than democratic. However, the list has the advantage of attempting a snap-shot of the state of the democratic world at a number of points back to the late 18th century. This list reminds us, as the other two in this section of World History of Democracy site do not, that France, Belgium, Norway, and other countries were not under democratic rule during World War II.

¹⁸ Retrieved from: <http://www.nipissingu.ca/departement/history/muhlberger/histdem/fukuyama.htm> Date of Retrieval: May 30, 2018

Countries	1790	1848	1900	1919	1940	1960	1975	1990
United States	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x
Canada			X	x	x	x	x	x
Switzerland	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x
Great Britain		x	X	x	x	x	x	x
France	x		X	x		x	x	x
Belgium		x	X	x		x	x	x
Netherlands		x	X	x		x	x	x
Denmark			X	x		x	x	x
Italy			X	x		x	x	x
Spain								x
Portugal								x
Sweden			X	x	x	x	x	x
Norway				x		x	x	x
Greece			X			x		x

Austria				x		x	x	x
West Germany				x		x	x	x
East Germany				x				x
Poland				x				x
Czechoslovakia				x				x
Hungary								x
Bulgaria								x
Romania								x
Turkey						x	x	x
Latvia								x
Lithuania								x
Estonia				x				x
Finland				x	x	x	x	x
Ireland					x	x	x	x
Countries	1790	1848	1900	1919	1940	1960	1975	1990

Australia				x	x	x	x	x
New Zealand				x	x	x	x	x
Chile			X	x		x		x
Argentina			X	x				x
Brazil						x		x
Uruguay				x	x	x		x
Paraguay								x
Mexico					x	x	x	x
Colombia				x	x	x	x	x
Costa Rica				x	x	x	x	x
Bolivia						x		x
Venezuela						x	x	x
Peru						x		x
Ecuador						x		x
El Salvador						x		x

Nicaragua								X
Honduras								X
Jamaica							X	X
Dominican Rep.							X	X
Trinidad & Tabago						X	X	X
Japan						X	X	X
India						X	X	X
Sri Lanka						X	X	X
Singapore							X	X
S. Korea								X
Thailand								X
Philippines						X		X
Mauritius								X
Senegal							X	X
Botswana								X

Namibia								X
Papua New Guinea								X
Israel						X	X	X
Lebanon						X		
Total	3	5	13	25	13	36	30	61

Hand-out 3: A chronology of major political events in Pakistan

Here is a chronology of major events during the last six decades (14 August 1947 – 2007)¹⁹:

Aug. 14, 1947 - Muslim Pakistan comes into being from the partition of India at the end of British rule.

Sept. 1948 - Pakistan's founder and first governor-general, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, dies.

Oct. 1951 - Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan is shot dead.

Oct. 1958 - Governor-General Iskander Mirza enforces martial law with General Ayub Khan as Chief Martial Law Administrator. Ayub Khan later assumes the presidency and sacks Mirza.

Sept. 1965 - India-Pakistan war over disputed Kashmir region.

March 1969 - General Yahya Khan takes over from Ayub Khan.

Dec. 1970 - Elections are held under which Zulfikar Ali Bhutto wins in West Pakistan but the Awami League wins nearly all seats in East Pakistan, giving it an overall majority. Yahya and Bhutto refuse to allow the Awami League to form a government.

Dec 1971 - India and Pakistan fight war over East Pakistan, which ends in surrender of 90,000 Pakistani troops and leads to the creation of Bangladesh.

Yahya hands power over to Bhutto, who takes over as prime minister in 1973.

1973 – Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan is passed by the parliament.

1977 - Army Chief General Zia-ul-Haq seizes power.

¹⁹<http://www.reuters.com/article/latestCrisis/idUSL14250335>

April 1979 - Bhutto is hanged on disputed conviction for conspiring to commit a political murder.

Aug. 1988 - Zia dies in plane crash.

Nov. - Benazir Bhutto, daughter of Zulfikar, wins elections.

1990 - President GhulamIshaq Khan sacks Bhutto's government, accusing it of corruption and abuse of power. Nawaz Sharif is elected prime minister.

1993 - Ishaq Khan dismisses Sharif's government, accusing it of corruption. Benazir Bhutto becomes prime minister again.

Nov. 1996 - President FarooqLeghari sacks Benazir Bhutto and calls elections, which are won by Sharif.

May 1998 - Pakistan conducts nuclear tests in response to similar tests by India.

Oct. 1999 - Army Chief Pervez Musharraf seizes power in a bloodless coup. He is sworn in as president and head of state in June 2001.

Sept. 2001 - Pakistan withdraws support for Afghanistan's Taliban regime in favour of U.S.-led war on terror after 9/11.

Dec. - India and Pakistan come close to war after New Delhi blames Pakistan-based Kashmiri militants for an attack on the Indian parliament.

April 30, 2002 - Musharraf wins a controversial referendum on extending his rule for five more years.

Nov. 2003 - Pakistan announces ceasefire in Kashmir and India reciprocates.

March 9, 2007 - Musharraf's suspension of Supreme Court Chief Justice IftikharChaudhry on charges of misconduct sets off protests by lawyers and opposition politicians. Chaudhry is reinstated by the top court in July.

July 10 - At least 102 people are killed in a military operation to crush a Taliban style movement at a mosque in Islamabad. A spate of retaliatory suicide attacks follow.

Hand-out 4: Party positions in the National Assembly

The party position in the National Assembly (As of 1st March 2018) is given in the table below?²⁰

(As of 1st March 2018)

No.	Political Party	General Seats	Reserved	Minority	Total
1	PML(N)	148	35	6	190
2	PPPP	38	8	1	47
3	PTI	26	6	1	31
4	MQM	19	4	1	24
5	JUI(F)	9	3	1	13
6	PML(F)	4	1	0	5
7	PMAP	2	1	0	3
8	JI	3	1	0	4
9	NPP	1	1	0	2
10	PML	2	0	0	2
11	ANP	2	0	0	2
12	QWP-S	1	0	0	1
13	PML-Z	1	0	0	1
14	NP	1	0	0	1
15	AML P	1	0	0	1
16	AJIP	1	0	0	1
17	BNP-M	1	0	0	1
18	APML	1	0	0	1
19	IND	10	0	0	10
Total		271	60	10	341
NA-38 (Seat vacant)					

Hand-out 5: Manifestos – A case of political parties and youth

Are manifestoes of political parties contributing to youth's socio-political and economic empowerment?²¹

²⁰Election Commission of Pakistan, 2018

²¹ By Salma Butt, The News on Sunday, October 22, 2017

Pakistan is known to be an Orange country in the world, according to the United Nations that means a country comprising youthful population. The current census has shown 65 per cent of the population is below the age of 29 years and approximately 33 per cent between the age cohorts of 15-29 years which is defined as youth age bracket by the government.

Youth bulge is a global phenomenon at the moment. Youth encompasses largest population — 1.8 billion in the known history of mankind.

The pressing challenge is to convert this bulge into dividend by making progress in largely three domains of youth development and empowerment — economic, social and political empowerment.

Youth development is a cross-cutting theme and requires a holistic approach. Youth is additionally composed of diverse categories, levels and sub fractions of youth population. We cannot define it as uniformed, single facet population.

Do manifestoes of political parties in Pakistan adhere to youth agenda as a holistic approach in their policy and planning or mere verbosity? Are political manifestoes offering youth to connect with socio-political and economic empowerment or just mobilising them to chant slogans for vested political purposes to show street power? As the voter age is reduced to 18 years, it has become an attraction for the political parties to know what they are offering to youth. Why youth should vote for them?

Since youth is a new phenomenon brought to the governance domain after the 18th amendment, they need to have right space within policy framework as the youth pressure is gigantic which can't be ignored any more.

Performance of political parties can only be measured against agendas laid in their manifestoes. We have been witnessing political parties in this country are largely depending upon youth during their rallies, processions, sit-ins and gathering to show voters power and political warmth. Youth is largely at the mercy of political leaders to find their lost beacon of hope, emancipation as well as secured socio-economic lives.

All the main political parties, most of which are governing this country in different regions or have held governments in near past have agendas for youth.

Note: Party names have been replaced with A, B, C and so on to avoid any conflict.

Party A's manifesto of 2013 has given a 7-point agenda on youth; the Party B's manifesto has 9 points; the Party C has 9 points; Party D 6 points and the Party E 6 points. The common election promises the parties have made are skill development, vocational training, entrepreneurship/employment, exchange programmes, scholarships, youth centres and rehabilitation against drug abuse.

All the manifestoes show inclination towards economic empowerment whereas social and political empowerment is largely missing. Youth are limited to only educated or school-going population ignoring other groups of those illiterate, rural, vulnerable youth, domestic workers, youth with special needs, youth from other religions etc. There is an obvious gap on gender equality/equity concept while defining youth. Manifestoes reflect only economic orientation, while perspective of social scientists and practitioners is missing.

It was found that manifestoes seem to be void of defining youth in a holistic manner, addressing youth issues other than economic. There is an obvious disconnect and vacuum between youth chapter of the manifestoes and empirical evidence and youth demography. The allocated half a page is just filled up with generic statements revolving around skills training, exchange programmes, loan schemes, youth centres etc.

Since youth is a new phenomenon brought to the governance domain after the 18th amendment, they need to have right space within policy framework as the youth pressure is gigantic which can't be ignored any more.

Party C has built the case of youth that gives a framework by linking it to the grass roots level networking — entrepreneurship through banking, skills development through a flagship programme — which could be expanded further. Whereas other manifestoes appear to be only wish lists.

The Party B has mobilised youth through a program, which is an efficient way to empower youth. The party has claimed to increase the number of skilled youth from 300,000 to two million.

The Party A had promised special seats reserved for youth at Union Council (UC) and District Council level, which the party fulfilled by translating the promise into an act and allocating one youth seat per UC in Punjab followed by the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government. Party A has also claimed “creating one million positions for apprenticeship in trade and industry, in collaboration with the private sector to ensure at least one job for every low income family.”

Manifestoes are on a giving side trying to create everything within public sector — they are government centred like socialist countries' political agendas. Their approach is government centred rather than creating opportunities by confining to the facilitation role. Consequently, it has become an attitude of the youth on other hand that they want everything to be provided by the government. The demand side is heavily relying on the government for their needs instead of finding avenues for social, political, economic uplift as an independent model without undue involvement of the government.

All the political parties spend millions of rupees on Jalsas (rallies) during election campaign, but their manifestoes sound as wish lists prepared without giving proper time and resources, and lacking coordination with technical youth experts.

Hand-out 6: Which party represents me?

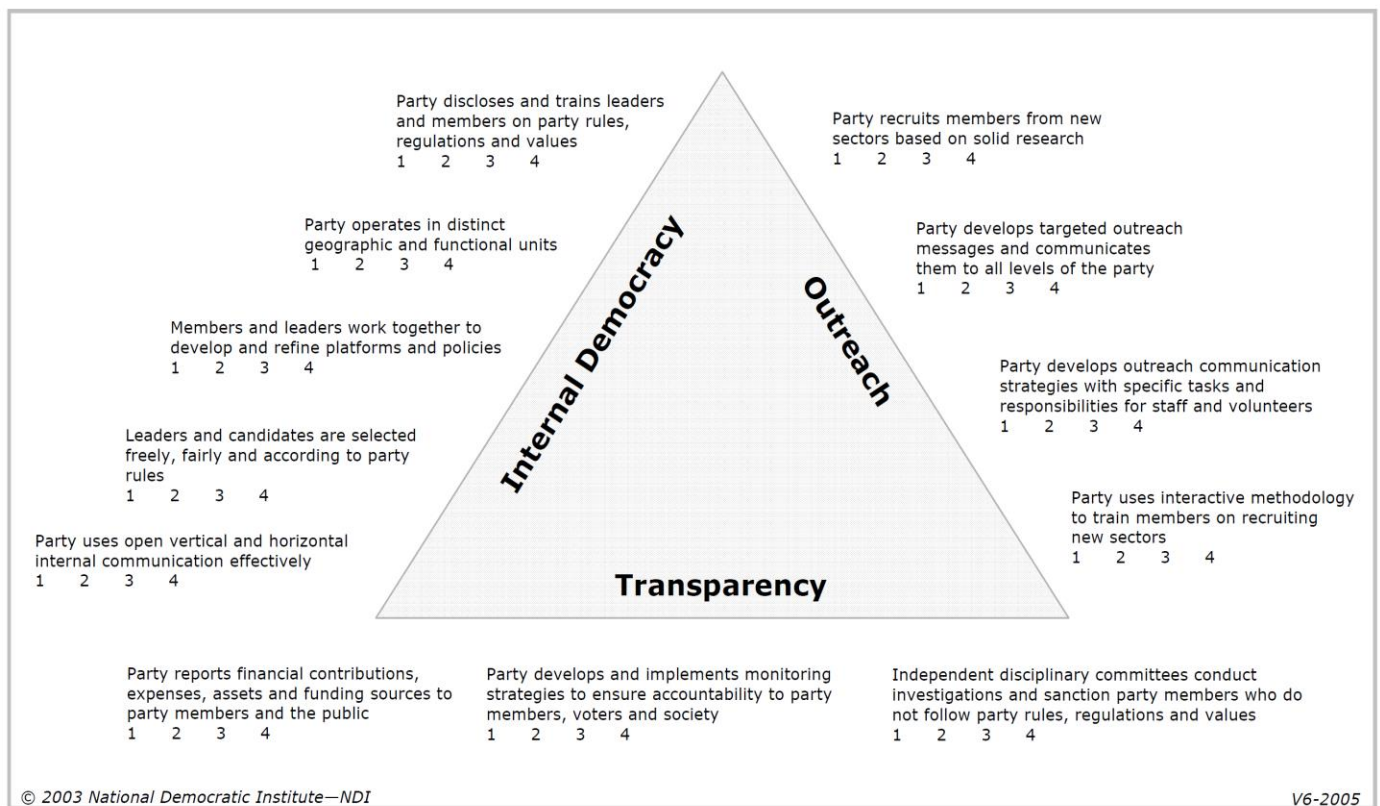
The participants take this exercise during the training workshop that places them on a political continuum.²²

Question 1	Question 2	Question 3	Question 4
Which international issues are most important to me?	Which domestic issues are most important to me?	Which national party platform best supports my stance on political issues?	Research Opportunity How do politicians address issues that are important to me?
Formative Performance Task	Formative Performance Task	Formative Performance Task	Formative Performance Task
Rank international issues from most to least important to you, and write a paragraph explaining that ranking.	Rank domestic issues from most to least important to you, and write a paragraph explaining that ranking.	Chart how different political parties respond to your stances on political issues, and make a claim or series of claims that answers the question.	Research a politician and make a claim that addresses the question.

²²Adopted from: New York State Social Studies Resource Kit; ‘Do Any Political Parties Represent Me?’, 12th Grade Political Party Inquiry, USA, 2015

Hand-out 7: Best practices of effective parties

The diagram is as below:²³



Best Practices of Effective Parties

Rate your party's performance on each best practice above from 1-4 using the following scale:

1. The party does not do this
2. The party does this sometimes
3. The party does this regularly and systematically
4. The party does this regularly, systematically and with consistent improvement

²³NDI. "Political Parties and the Transition to Democracy: A Primer in Democratic Party-Building for Leaders, Organizers & Activists," Washington: p.14.

Hand-out 8: Inclusiveness in Political Parties through Separate Wings for Women and Minority Groups

Organisational Structure²⁴

The inclusiveness trends in the organisational structures of prominent 5 political parties i.e. Awami National Party (ANP), Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz (PML-N), Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaaf (PTI), and Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), are given below:

1. Awami National Party (ANP)

The case of ANP is unique as the party considers it important to mainstream women and minorities in the overall party structure instead of 'ghettoising' them 'by creating silos in the form of separate wings for them'. Following this approach, ANP does not have separate Wings for minorities and women, but ensures their inclusion at every level of the party structure and in every decision-making forum within the party. This approach has produced mixed results, as there is;

- (a) Greater cohesion between these communities and the majority male membership, and
- (b) Comparatively lesser representation of minorities and women at different levels of the party structure.

The party organisation in urban centres of provinces other than Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has little to no representation of women and minorities. Moreover, data show that women from minority communities are not represented anywhere throughout the range of party platforms. In fact, this seems to be correct for all the parties being studied, including those that have long-established Minorities' Wings. The representation of women of minority communities is negligible in the decision-making forums of political parties. The new constitution of ANP (not yet public), which was under constant review during the finalisation of this report, is said to have incorporated a clause that makes women's representation mandatory in every structure of the party at all levels (national, provincial, district and local). Party members who were interviewed did not mention any such provision for minority members.

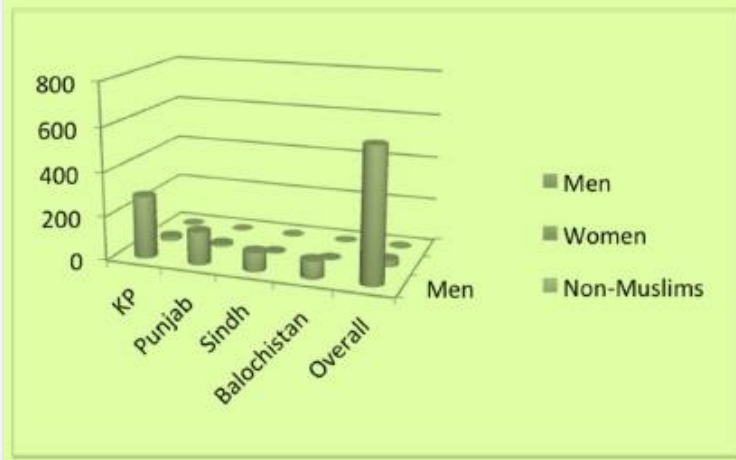
The policy and programme of a political party is usually demonstrated by its manifesto. ANP has two kinds of manifestoes: one is for the purpose of elections at the beginning of every election cycle, while the other is a general manifesto that gives key ideological guidelines. A Manifesto Committee is usually established by the party leader in consultation with the Central Working Committee (CWC) for drafting the manifesto. Currently, the CWC has 8.8% women members and no minority representative. It has the power to amend and abrogate the party's constitution and manifesto with two-thirds majority. For the Election Manifesto 2013, the Committee had 20% representation of women while no representation from minorities.

²⁴ AAWAZ Programme, "Women and Excluded Groups in Political Parties and Legislative Bodies", 2017

Table 1: ANP General Council Membership by Gender and Religion

#	General Council	Muslim men	Muslim Women	Non-Muslims		Total
				Men	Women	
1	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	284	17	1	0	302
2	Punjab	150	11	0	0	161
	i. Central	77	7	0	0	84
	ii. South	73	4	0	0	77
3	Sindh	87	0	0	0	87
4	Balochistan	80	0	0	0	80
Total		601	28	1	0	630
In %age		95.39%	4.4%	0.1%	0	100

Figure 1: General Council, ANP



2. Pakistan People's Party (PPP)

The PPP somewhat agrees with the argument for mainstreaming as opposed to silos, but it also considers it important to have separate spaces for minorities and women where they can be empowered to organize themselves, discuss their concerns and priorities, and make decisions about their course of action as distinct but integrated communities. Although the PPP members interviewed and contacted during the study were not able to present documents and primary data of their party membership, the rough idea they gave was that the party has ample representation of women at all levels, including its Central Executive Committee (CEC).

The CEC is the supreme body for setting out the party's strategy and policy. It is chaired by the party Chairman, who is assisted by the Co-Chairman, Additional Vice Chairmen, and all other office bearers. The party has a well-established organisational structure at provincial and district levels. There are Provincial Coordination Committees in all provinces, assisted by the Provincial Presidents, Vice Presidents and other office bearers. Parallel to this structure is a Women's Wing that has its

organisation at all levels too. This brings many women to the political process, but there appears to be a glass ceiling that does not allow women leaders to be at the helm as overall office bearers. For example, there was no woman amongst the Provincial or District Presidents, only one woman among the Vice-Presidents, and few in positions of office bearers as per the available information. Moreover, none of the Provincial Coordination or Organising Committees had women members except in Sindh.

3. Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz (PML-N)

PMLN has a well-established structure of Women's and Minorities' Wings with presence at all levels of party organisation. However, their share in decision-making and leadership at the party's center stage is limited to token representation. The Wings have, it seems, become glass ceilings in the sense that they seem to have created complacency within the party leadership about the inclusiveness of women and minorities. This complacency rests on a 'feel-good' factor about inclusiveness owing to somewhat decent numbers of women and minority members who populate these special 'Wings'. But the structure remains under-utilised and offers little avenue for career progression to members of these Wings. In this sense, the Wings are only useful to fill the corners well, but are insufficient and in some cases, hinder women and minorities from being represented and heard in the mainstream.

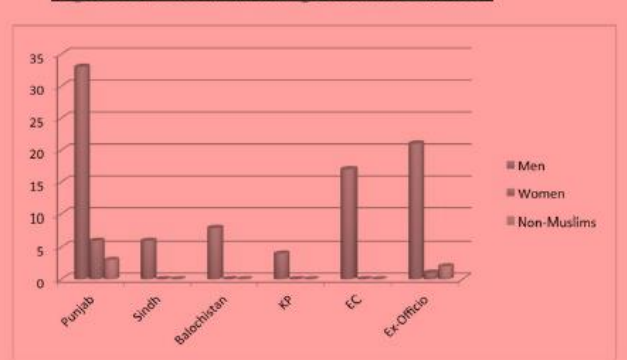
This is reflected in the key office holders, who are all Muslim males.²⁴ Moreover, no women and minority members hold leadership positions at provincial (Provincial Presidents) and district (District Presidents) levels, except one woman who is District President in Punjab. Also, the handful of women who get powerful positions within their parties and in parliament due to other factors (their family influence, their social class influence, etc), keep themselves at distance from these structures as well as other collectives like Women's Parliamentary Caucus etc.

The party constitution does not specify any mandatory inclusion of women or minorities in districts or other lower level organisations, while the representation (unspecified number) of the Women's Wing is mandatory for provincial and national organisations. At the same time, the constitution does not bar the appointment of women and minorities on any position in central decision-making forums of the party at any level. The practice, however, has been to keep them away from key positions (other than those from

Figure 2: The Executive Council, PMLN



Figure 3: Central Working Committee, PMLN



their respective Wings).

4. Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaaf (PTI)

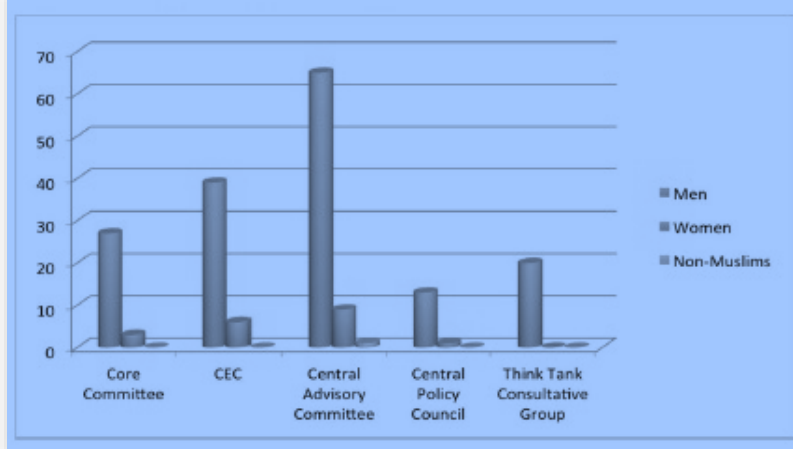
Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaaf, despite being a relatively newer party, has replicated the Women's and Minorities' Wings structure within its organisation at national, provincial and district levels. Initially, all office holders were elected, but because of various internal issues and concerns raised by its members over alleged rigging, intra-party elections for 2016 were postponed indefinitely. Subsequently, the office holders were either extended or in some cases, were replaced with new ones through executive orders by the party's central leadership.

As far as the organisational structure is concerned, PTI's constitution allows women and minorities to be represented at every level. Of the four Vice Presidents in the district, regional, and provincial organisations, two must be women, and one of the two Joint Secretaries should be a woman. In addition, there needs to be mandatory representation from the Women's and Minorities' Wings.

The party's constitution provides for the formation of two structures at the national level: a National Council and a Central Executive Committee. The National Council is to have fifty members from all over the country comprising five women Vice Presidents from all provinces and a Secretary from the Minorities Wing. The President of the Women's Wing is the ex-officio Vice President of the National Council. Although the constitution puts no bar on appointing women on other positions in the National Council, so far the data do not demonstrate a practice of appointing women on positions other than those specified for them.

The second structure on the national level is the Central Executive Committee (CEC) comprising the Central Office bearers and thirty members to be nominated by the Chairman from amongst members of the National Council. These include one member each from Christian, Hindu and Sikh/Parsi/other minority communities. The Presidents of the provinces are the ex-officio members of the CEC.

Figure 4: Key Party Forums. PTI



The constitution of the party also empowers the Chairman to nominate fifteen members out of the CEC to constitute a Core Committee (to be approved by the CEC through a secret ballot). The Secretary General and Provincial Presidents are ex-officio members of the Core Committee. The constitution does not refer to any mandatory representation from the Women's or Minorities' Wings, but in practice the Core Committee almost always has the Women's Wing President as its ex-officio member. The Core Committee, which changes every year, currently does not include any member from a minority community.

5. Jamaati-Islaami (JI)

The structure of JI allows an organisation of women parallel to the main party organisation. That structure replicates itself at all levels with two positions (one held by a female and one by a male member of the party). This structure has religious undertones, and it ensures active participation of women while also safeguarding gender segregation unfailingly. The party's constitution provides for the women's organisation to work under the party's Emir, and not parallel to him. The Emir is at the highest position within the party, followed by the Secretary General. Under these positions (which are strictly for men), there are ten Assistant Secretary Generals of which five are women. In that sense, despite claims of a 'parallel structure' of women, there is no parallel position to the Emir. Moreover, the Emir is mandated by the constitution to appoint and impeach the head of the women's organization (Qayyema) in consultation with women members.

Just like the men's organisation, there is a Majlis-e-Shura (Advisory Council) to assist the Qayyema. There are women's organisational structures at the central, provincial and district levels with their office bearers (all women) and members who are fairly independent in their decision-making and finances. The overall political choices, however, are made by the men's organisation, though it is mandatory to take the input of the women's organisation. Currently, the women's organisation has established many forums for women to participate and engage in the political discourse on all aspects of social and political life as well as on matters of the state. There are women's bodies on subjects like foreign policy, terrorism, counter-extremism, economy, education, development and reforms in addition to women's economic empowerment, women-specific legislation, etc. While a similar parallel structure for minorities is not visible, there is a small Minorities' Wing that works independently of the structures of both the men's and women's organisations while remaining within the party's overall vision and policy. The existence of this Wing could in fact be in conflict with the party's constitution, which makes it mandatory for all the members to hold Islam as their faith.

What do the Manifestos say?²⁵

The manifestoes of the aforementioned political parties give a progressive outlook as compared to their actual organisational culture and participation figures.

²⁵ Ibid.

1. Awami National Party (ANP)

The manifesto states in its Preamble that it is dedicated, inter alia, to the fulfilment of the genuine and legitimate aspirations of all groups and strata of the society, particularly the weak, the disadvantaged, and the dispossessed. Among its main commitments to women under the manifesto of 2013, ANP includes the following:

- ✓ Efforts to increase women's participation in decision-making at all levels to a minimum of 33% representation in political parties, parliament, provincial assemblies, local government, public services, superior judiciary, public commissions, and boards etc.
- ✓ Evolving consensus on direct elections for women to all elected positions including on reserved seats/quota
- ✓ Providing women meaningful and requisite technical and financial support to enable their effective participation in all spheres of life
- ✓ Equal access and opportunities to employment for women, taking effective administrative steps to ensure implementation of the existing 10% quota for women
- ✓ Effective implementation of legislation enacted for women's rights and empowerment
- ✓ Repealing all discriminatory laws and policies that infringe on the equal rights of women and their participation in decision making within the state, family, community and society
- ✓ Promulgation of the pending domestic violence legislation and trafficking of women
- ✓ Complying with existing international conventions/instruments ratified by Pakistan addressing violence against women and ratifying the Optional Protocol of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and other relevant instruments relating to trafficking of women and children and violence against women
- ✓ Ensuring that no laws, regulations, Policies and codes of conduct prescribed and adopted by the state exclude and/or discriminate against women
- ✓ Prohibiting deals between local elders and political parties that bar women from exercising their right to vote and/or contest elections

Additionally, under the rubric of "Minorities Rights" in the manifesto, commitments made with minority communities include:

- ✓ Struggling for a secular democratic and pluralistic Pakistan with equal rights and opportunities for all citizens
- ✓ Repealing amendments made to the 1973 constitution mainly by dictators relegating religious minorities to a secondary status
- ✓ Reviewing and removing all discriminations against religious minorities in the constitution and the law and ensuring affirmative action to integrate religious minorities as equal citizens
- ✓ Strictly prohibiting incitement to violence against citizens of other ethnicities, faiths and religions

2. Pakistan People's Party (PPP)

The PPP constitution opens membership to all citizens of Pakistan who believe in PPP's programme as incorporated in the "Foundation Meeting Document" dated November 30-December 1, 1967. The document however was not available for review. Apparently, it is not accessible to most PPP members. Same is the case with the party constitution, which is out of print and most of the members of the Women, Minorities and Youth Wings as well as members from the general cadres do not have it. The aforementioned details for the purpose of this report have been

taken from the constitution of PPP-USA, which is specific to overseas Pakistanis only. The manifesto of 2013 reiterates the vision of the party's founder i.e., promotion of democratic rights and social justice within the context of "our own cultural and religious identity". The manifesto makes the following commitments with regard to women:

- ✓ Further strengthen the Benazir Income Support Programme by expanding education, vocational training and health services
- ✓ Institute quotas in political parties to increase the participation of women, proposing a law for political parties to commit to an additional 10 per cent quota for women while selecting candidates on general seats
- ✓ A Fair Pay and Fair Job Policy for women, and an Equality Commission that will work to ensure fair pay for women and minorities
- ✓ Ensure no discrimination on the basis of sex, religion or class
- ✓ Increase the job quota for women to 20 per cent
- ✓ Ensure the mandatory representation of women in all private- and public-sector boards
- ✓ Engage the National Commission for Human Development to target one million women for literacy and education programmes
- ✓ Frame progressive legislation and ensure its implementation at all levels to secure women's rights to life, dignity, access to resources, employment, inheritance and justice
- ✓ Legislation for the prevention of acid crimes to safeguard women, and on the rights of home-based women workers and against domestic violence
- ✓ Provision of credit for women entrepreneurs and rural women farmers
- ✓ Training women entrepreneurs to set up or expand SME businesses, district level cottage and craft industries
- ✓ Offer social protection to single women not under the care of parents and families, as well as widows and women with special needs
- ✓ Special programme to ensure that every woman giving birth is provided safe medical support and every child born is entitled to protection, nutrition and vaccination until the age of 5 years
- ✓ Promote women's participation in all fields of work
- ✓ Appointment of women in high-level decision making positions
- ✓ Quota for women judges to make women integral to the judicial process at all levels
- ✓ Protection of women by initiating reforms in law enforcement agencies and banning illegal alternative justice systems that legitimise crimes against women

With regard to minorities, the 2013 manifesto makes following commitments:

- ✓ Create equal opportunities through progressive legislation and policy reform
- ✓ Build consensus for special procedures in the law to prevent forced conversions
- ✓ Incorporate into the primary and high school curriculum the August 11, 1947 speech of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, which provided a roadmap for religious harmony in the country
- ✓ Strengthen interfaith harmony and promote dialogue by involving the best religious scholars of the country
- ✓ Protect religious properties and places of worship with effective security, and refurbish, expand and rebuild them where necessary
- ✓ Acknowledging that violence which takes lives and destroys property can never be fully compensated, make reparations for lost assets, incomes and opportunities

- ✓ Ensure monitoring by the Equality Commission of the implementation of job quotas for minorities, people with disabilities and other communities facing discrimination
- ✓ Add one more seat in parliament for minorities to represent the Islamabad Capital Territory
- ✓ Revive and reconstitute the National Commission on Minorities as a statutory body
- ✓ Seek parliament's advice to review the effects of constitutional clauses that discriminate on the basis of religion
- ✓ Ensure that all educational institutions protect their students from discrimination on the grounds of religion
- ✓ Ensure that a more inclusive curriculum respecting diversity and promoting inclusivity
- ✓ Encourage religious tolerance within society through public information campaigns and by sending a clear, unequivocal message to the institutions of the state that state institutions and actors engaging in bigotry, intolerance, discrimination and abuse will be held accountable
- ✓ Urge media houses to set up mechanisms for monitoring and accountability that discourage irresponsible and inaccurate reporting while taking note of public incitement to violence and hate speech against any segment of society, particularly religious minorities
- ✓ Conduct awareness-raising exercises to train the media on reporting on minority issues

The most significant of these commitments is the one that pledges (although in an enveloped way) to review the constitutional clauses that discriminate on the basis of religion. Many of these clauses were put in the constitution of Pakistan under the first PPP government (1973-77).

3. Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz (PML-N)

The Constitution of PMLN states the membership requirements as open to all citizens who are not members of any other political party, irrespective of caste, creed, ethnicity, gender, religion or sect. The manifesto of PMLN for the General Elections 2013 makes the following commitments towards women while making Islam the sole basis of granting them their rights:

- ✓ Ensure respect, dignity, and protection granted by Islam to women and protect their property rights
- ✓ Promote participation of women in national development and their social, political and economic empowerment by recognising their role as agents of change
- ✓ Give preference to women teachers in primary education
- ✓ Promote female education especially vocational skills training and healthcare programmes to overcome gender gaps
- ✓ Enact or improve legislation on violence against women and child abuse, and eliminate illegal and unjust practices under which women are discriminated against
- ✓ Expand micro credit for female borrowers substantially as a part of the empowerment process, combined with special house building credit facilities for widows
- ✓ Initiate an integrated population welfare programme across Pakistan to mainly improve female literacy
- ✓ Increase women's participation ratios in financial institutions, superior judiciary, health and educational management and law enforcement agencies at the executive level
- ✓ Safeguard the inheritance and property rights of female heirs
- ✓ Enforce institutional mechanisms against harassment of women in the workplace
- ✓ Establish Day Care facilities to support working women
- ✓ Initiate a "Women Entrepreneurship Financing Scheme" to promote women entrepreneurship

For minorities, PMLN makes Islam the basic code for granting them the rights prescribed by Islamic teachings while acknowledging religious minorities as equal citizens having same rights as Muslims. The manifesto acknowledges the minorities' rights to complete freedom of worshipping, and to education and employment in all sectors of the economy. While pledging to address minorities' issues through decisive steps to restore their confidence, the manifesto makes following commitments with religious minorities:

- ✓ National Day for minorities to be celebrated to promote integration
- ✓ Necessary legislative measures to ensure there is no forced conversion of religion in the guise of marriage
- ✓ Increased minority representation in the Evacuee Trust Property Board (ETPB)
- ✓ Introduce special quota for minorities in educational institutions and public sector jobs including diplomatic missions
- ✓ Permission to the Christian community to run their own schools and colleges
- ✓ Doubling the development funds earmarked for minorities
- ✓ Hindu Marriage Bill
- ✓ Official leave and advance salary to celebrate their religious festivals in whichever province they are

4. Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaaf (PTI)

PTI is the only party that carries a chapter with the title “Gender Policy” rather than calling it commitments to women only. However, the contents of the chapter mainly address women rather than dealing with issues through an all-encompassing lens of ‘gender mainstreaming’. The manifesto of 2013 makes the following commitments on gender:

- ✓ Repeal all discriminatory provisions from the constitution of Pakistan
- ✓ Restore federal and provincial Ministries for Women
- ✓ Increase the budget for development under the proposed Ministry of Law, Justice & Human Rights
- ✓ Setting up Insaafgah – one step Women Centers at UC level to provide medical, economic, legal, economic direction, references and aid to women
- ✓ Draft a national policy for women home based workers
- ✓ Provision of training programs, subsidies and monetary incentives to increase opportunities for self employment of women
- ✓ Provision of maternity benefits, flexible timings and transport facilities to working women
- ✓ Minimum 20% job quota for women
- ✓ Mother & Child Health Programme with 24/7 MCH services, as well as reproductive health programs and ensuring women's control over decision of their reproductive health
- ✓ Provision of access, equity and quality in education regardless of gender, incentivising girls' education, and reviewing curricula to remove gender based stereotypes
- ✓ Ensure significant and meaningful participation of women at all levels
- ✓ Zero tolerance for any agreements barring women from voting

On minorities, PTI's manifesto of 2013 bases all its commitments on Jinnah's vision of rights of minorities in Pakistan (as enshrined in his August 11, 1947 speech). The following is committed with regard to minorities:

- ✓ Equal opportunities and protection under the law
- ✓ Freedom to practice religion as defined under the constitution
- ✓ Zero tolerance for any abuse of or threat to or violence against any minority groups
- ✓ Minorities' due representation in all state institutions
- ✓ Access to economic opportunities available to all other Pakistanis
- ✓ Banning of all hate literature and speech

5. Jamaat-i-Islami (JI)

Jamaat-e-Islami's manifesto of 2013 makes specific commitments with women for ensuring their legal, economic and political rights "in accordance with the Islamic Sharia" and acknowledges their right to contribute to the progress and development of the country because they are "fifty percent of our country's population". The Manifesto makes following commitments to women:

- ✓ Ensuring their inheritance and ownership rights as ordained in Islam
- ✓ Elimination of all un-Islamic anti-women practices like dowry, ignoring the marriage rights of widows, marriage with Quran, Vanni, and marriage in exchange, Karo-Kari and killings in the name of honour
- ✓ Separate educational facilities for women from primary to higher education including medical professional education
- ✓ Awareness raising and legislation of Islamic injunctions against three simultaneous divorce calls by men
- ✓ Elimination of violence against women through social and legislative means
- ✓ Facilities for working women
- ✓ Extension in the retirement age of working women especially for the divorced and widows
- ✓ Four months maternity leave for women with full pay while leaves for rearing children on half pay with full job security
- ✓ Steps to ensure that women get admission to their closest medical colleges and universities
- ✓ Encouraging home-based working industries for women, and ensuring that preference is given to women teachers for all primary education

The JI manifesto of 2013 acknowledges religious minorities as "an important part of Pakistan's population" and pledges to provide them complete constitutional and legal protection. The following commitments are made with minorities in the document:

- ✓ Individual issues of religious minorities to be dealt with under their personal laws
- ✓ Ensure their education, employment and other civic rights
- ✓ Respect and protect their worship places to be ensured
- ✓ Discriminatory, unfair and unjust attitudes towards minorities to be addressed
- ✓ Appropriate mechanism to be devised for voting by and election of representatives of the minorities

Handout 9: Theory and Understanding of the Political Parties

1.1. Key Concepts

Political party: “A group of like-minded people who work together as a unit to influence the general public, contest elections to gain control over the government. Under the Constitution, “Every citizen, not being in the service of Pakistan, shall have the right to form or be a member of a political party, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan...”

Absolute Majority: A term used to represent a number of voters constituting more than half of registered voters. It's a concept used in some parliamentary votes where a simple majority of all members present is not enough.

Activist: A person who starts a campaign for social change

Affirmative Action: Legislative programs which aim to create minority equality in employment, university placements, housing and other government beneficial situations even though, most of the time, outright discrimination against so called majorities is not ostensibly advocated.

Authoritarian Government: Political system in which a single power holder monopolizes all political power

Autocracy: A form of government where unlimited power is held by one single individual.

Autonomy: A limited form of independence where, for example, a state or colony can control its own domestic affairs but has no say over its foreign affairs.

Balance of Power: The power held by small groups equally as owned by the larger groups. In case of legislative, one smaller party has the equal right to give or hold back, voting support to a large group.

Ballot: A method of secret voting, normally in a written form.

Bicameral / Unicameral: Government with either two or one house of legislature. Pakistan is bicameral federal legislature that consists of the Senate as upper house and the National Assembly, as lower houses

Bill: This is a proposed legislation, when put forward in houses of parliament to be debated upon for approval. If approved at all stages it then becomes an Act and thus law.

Block Voting: In multi-member electorates, each voter having the same number of votes as the number of vacant seats (must tick off [say] three names). This has the effect of minimizing the chances of minority candidates winning seats.

Campaign Finance Reform: A movement that gained momentum in recent decades by political candidates' increasing dependence on expensive television advertisements, to restrict the amount of money that individuals and interest groups can contribute to political campaigns.

Caucus: A locally held state meeting or a meeting of party members to select candidates or elect delegates; also used to mean a group within a body organized to further a specific interest

Challenger: A person from an opposing party running against the person currently in office, who calls for re-election

Closed Party List: It is a type of proportional representation voting, where the voter has an option to support candidates of a political party, but not through his/her order; as opposed to an “open list” system where voters have the choice of either above-the-line or below-the-line voting where the voter either gives only one tick, or individually indicates his/her particular preferences.

Comparative Advantage: The ability of a party to produce a particular good or service at a lower marginal or opportunity cost than another. If country A can produce both apples and oranges cheaper than country B, with apples significantly cheaper, it is more efficient for it to concentrate on growing and exporting only apples while importing oranges, even though the oranges imported would not be as cheap as those if home grown.

Communitarianism: The concept of collective, rather than individual, ownership of all the nation's assets, as well as the duty by those able, to create and / or manage those assets.

Coat-tail effect: the influence that a popular major candidate for an election typically results in more votes for other members of the party running for election

Concurrent Powers: The powers that are shared by federal system and each that are shared constituent political unit such as state or province.

Constitution: The set of basic rules by which a country or state is governed. Constitution is the supreme law of the land.

Democracy: From the Greek ‘demos’ for the ordinary, common people and ‘kratos’ for power or strength.

Détente: A relaxing or easing of tensions between powers.

Devolution: Transfer of powers from the national or central government to state or local government.

Ideology: An integrated system of ideas about politics, values, and culture. Those who espouse an ideology are sometimes criticized as rigid and narrow-minded.

Lobby: A group seeking to influence an elected official, or the act of doing so. The term originated in the seventeenth century, when people waiting to speak with legislators at the English House of Commons waited in a large atrium outside the legislators' hall, called the lobby.

Nomination: When a political party chooses its official candidate for a particular office

Nominee: The candidate chosen by a political party to run for a particular office

Political Suicide: A vote or action that is likely to be so unpopular with voters as to cause a politician's probable loss in the next election

Poll: A survey used to gauge public opinion concerning issues or to forecast an election

Pundit: A political analyst, commentator, or columnist who usually works for a newspaper or magazine, or in broadcasting. It is derived from a Hindi phrase meaning "learned one."

Swing Vote: The undecided, usually independent, portion of the electorate that can "swing" the outcome of an election one way or the other"

*Adopted by: Glossary of political Terms, Available at:
<http://democracy.org.au/glossary.html> Vocabulary: Political Words, Available at:
<https://www.scholastic.com/teachers/articles/teaching-content/vocabulary-political-words/>
Accessed on 20 May 2018