

INTRA-PARTY DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF POLITICAL PARTIES



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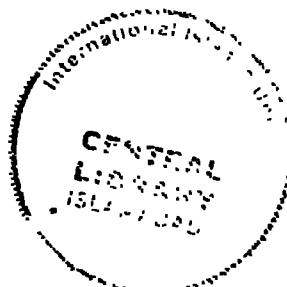
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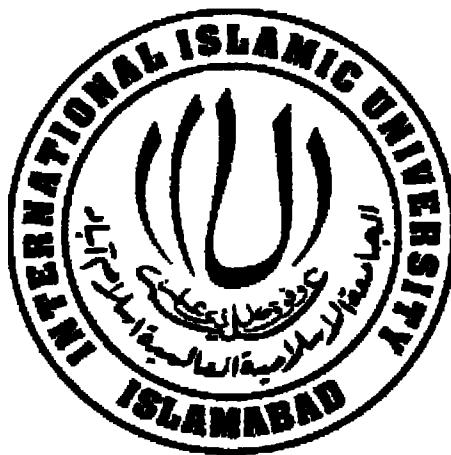
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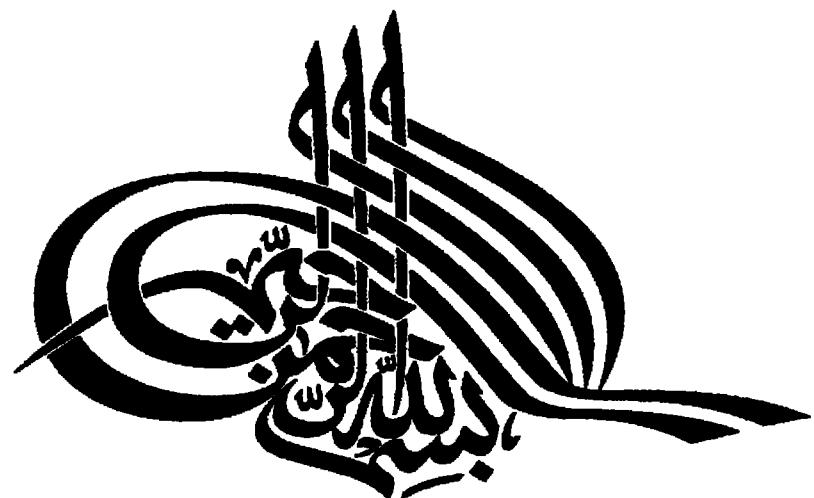
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**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES
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2022



*In the name of Allah, The Most Beneficent.
The most merciful*

DEDICATION

*This work is dedicated
To
My Worthy Parents, My wife
My son-Muhammad Junaid Khan,
My daughters
And
All Those Who love Humanity*

DECLARATION

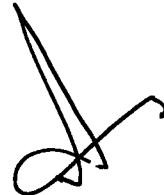
I, Mr. Shaukatullah, hereby declare that this dissertation has been written by me in its entirety on the basis of my research work under the sincere & heartfelt guidance of my Supervisor- Professor Dr. Amna Mahmood and Co-Supervisor- Assistant Professor Dr. Abdul Zahoor Khan at the Department of History & Pakistan Studies -Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University Islamabad. No portion of this Dissertation has been copied from any source. Definitely not any portion of the research, presented in this Dissertation, has been submitted before for any degree or qualification in this or any other university or educational institution.



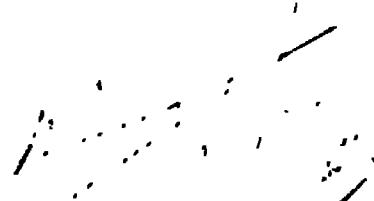
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The Dissertation; titled "*Intra-Party Democracy In Pakitan: A Comparative Study of Political Parties*" put forward by Mr. Shaukatullah, Regd. No. 8-FSS/PHDPS/S15 in partial fulfillment for the award of the Degree of *Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)* in Pakistan Studies, has been successfully completed under our guidance, care and supervision. We are satisfied with the excellence of scholar's research work and he is now allowed to get this Dissertation submitted for the finishing point of go forward course of action so that he may be awarded the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Pakistan Studies as per modus operandi of International Islamic University, Islamabad.



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ABSTRACT

Political parties are the fundamental institutions of democracy, and both are essential for each other. Most important question as that how much political parties are democratic in their internal affairs. Hence, this study is focused to intra-party democracy with reference to the leadership selection in Pakistani political parties. Intra-party democracy is a vast area in the study of political science. It deals with the selection of candidates for parliamentary election as well as for internal position within the party. Furthermore, it deals with the selection of party president, internal policymaking, internal accountability, internal conflict resolution mechanism, and the role of party members in all these processes as well as in all critical decision making. However, this study focuses only on leadership selection in Pakistani political parties. The central theme of this study is to measure the level of intra-party democracy through leadership selection in the selected political parties of Pakistan, i.e. (Pakistan People Party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan). This dissertation followed an inclusive and exclusive method to measure the level of intra-party democracy (as mentioned in page 30). Furthermore, this study evaluated the four dimensions (candidacy, de-centralisation, selectorates and voting and appointment system) through formal rules in the light of parties' statutes. However, the political consequences (participation, representation, competition and responsiveness) of leadership selection are evaluated through informal rules in the light of survey questionnaires and expert views to measure the authentic level of intra-party democracy in the three political parties of Pakistan. The major finding of this dissertation is: the level of intra-party democracy with reference to the selection of party president. Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is more inclusive than both PTI and PPP, while Pakistan Tehreek-Insaf is inclusive than Pakistan People Party.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANP	Awami National Party
APC	All-Party Conference
CCC	Central Consultative Council
CEC	Central Executive Committee
CM	Chief Minister
ECP	Election Commission of Pakistan
IIUI	International Islamic University Islamabad
IPD	Intra-party Democracy
JIP	Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan
JUI	Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam
MNA	Member of National Assembly
MPA	Member of Provincial Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
MQM	Muttahida Qaumi Movement
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NIMD	Netherlands Institute of Multiple Democracy
PILDAT	Pakistan Institute of Legislative Democracy and Transparency
PM	Prime Minister
PMAP	Pashtunkhwa Milli Awami Party
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PPO	Pakistan Political Order
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf

INTRODUCTION

This study is related to intra-party democracy. Pakistani political parties have traditions of dynastic and succession leadership except a few such as Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and National Party of Baluchistan because the top leadership (president) regularly changed in a proper way. Many works have been done on democracy and political parties (Rafique, 1976; Mahmood, 2003), but intra-party democracy has no detailed research study in the Pakistani framework a few scholars such as (Rizwan, et al. 2016; Tariq, et al. 2016) have done some work on intra-party democracy and they have highlighted only intra-party election. The previous Pakistani scholars did not pay a full attention to this area of study; the topic for this dissertation is intra-party democracy in Pakistan: A comparative study of political parties. Pakistan is an emerging democratic country. Nasreen, (2008) argued that the internal party system, such as parties' structures and the internal affairs of Pakistani political parties, are fragile and the party workers avoided in this regard. This part of the study is explaining the overall introduction of this research work. This chapter will set out a short introduction to democracy, which is to define democracy and the concept of intra-party democracy. Furthermore, the advantages and disadvantages of intra-party democracy also explained in this chapter, as well as the research questions, research methodology, and the case I select for this dissertation also outlined in this section.

Pakistan is a multi-party system and there are many political parties. Therefore, this study cannot compare intra-party democracy in all the political parties of Pakistan. However, three political parties (i-e Pakistan People Party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan) have been selected for this research work. The main reason of the selection of these political parties are Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is the new

emergence in Pakistani politics. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf become the third largest political party in the general election 2013. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf introduced first time intra-party election within the party in 2012-13 to select the candidates for general election 2013. However, the reason of the selection of Jamat-e-Islami Pakistan is: JIP has an organized party structure in all over the country from bottom to top level and considering the most internally democratic political party in Pakistan. Furthermore, the top leadershi changed time by time in a poper way through intra-party election. PILDAT presented two reports and JIP obtained the tag of the most internally democratic political party in both reports. Hence, Pakistan People Party become the second largest party in the parliament in general election 2013. Furthermore, the leadership of Pakistan People Party claimed that PPP is the representative political party of depress and poor people. The top leadership of PPP realised that the party should be de-centralized within central and provincial organization of the party and the power may be distributed from bottom to top level. Therefore, this study aimed to analyse that how the grass-roots members acquired a key position in PPP through intra-party election in a proper way. The main objective of this dissertation work is to evaluate and to compare intra-party democracy in the above political Parties of Pakistan. Intra-party democracy is an inclusive term, but this study only focused on leadership (president) selection, through political consequences using in intra-party democracy for leadership selection. However, that how the leaders (president) are selected in political parties of Pakistan. This study would helpful for the responsiveness of party members and civil society to improve and implement Intra-Party democracy. The chances increase that the leadership would select on merit. However, this will be a very positive change in society, for the bright future of Pakistan. Political parties have changed formal rules and laws gradually, therefore, this study data is restricted to 2018.

1. Democracy

The word democracy is a term, the idea created from Greek in the 5th century BC who combined the words *demos* (People) and *keratin* (rule) to produce the term democracy.

The term was formed in Greek history when the city of Athens experimented with procedures of government, where the population, rather than one king or a small assembly of rich men, made the laws. (Hansen, 1991; Robinson, 1997) Democracy is a structure and a system in which people resolve matters as a group. The word democracy indeed used in the framework of a form of government in which all the citizens have the right to vote and where there is freedom of speech, freedom of association, etc.

It is difficult to reach a consensus on the definition of democracy. The Webster New Encyclopaedic Dictionary (1995) defines democracy as a government in which supreme power is invested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through representation. The well-known definition by Abraham Lincoln-president of United States of America (Heywood, 1992) is: government of the people, by the people, for the people. The direct democracy with a legacy of ancient Greek city-states was exchanged with representative democracy, and thus, political elections are now held with parties as active intermediaries to conduct the representation mechanism. The indispensable indication of democracy is that people have the right to regulate who rules them. In maximum cases, they designate the principal and leading administrators and hold them responsible for their actions (Campbell, 2008). Democracies also enforce authorised parameters on the government's authority by assuring individual rights and sovereignty to their inhabitants.

Becker and Raveloson (2008) Argues that in an independent state, all the citizens are equivalent in front of the law. Realised this way, the regulation of law is then

continually originated on the respect of law and constitution. It is a system that holds the government accountable for its acts in front of the citizens, and it also allows management to take a stand and to react according to its acts. In this State ruling order, citizens are entirely free to take part in political life as well.

In 1900 the total numbers of the independent countries were 49, with only six who were democratic according to the values of that period. By the end of the twentieth century, out of the 192 existing sovereign states, 86 could practically be called democratic, according to present-day requirements. Those 86 states represent around half of the world population, and in 22, among these are the wealthiest countries in the world, democracy has had a continuity of at least 50 years (Pardo and Schwartz, 2007).

Democracy documented as the most fruitful political system in which political and socio-economic, human rights esteemed, and conflicts determined in diplomatic conduct. Democracy is a pre-condition for sustainable progress and poverty reduction. It gradually recognised that politics material, financial progress, and good governance are not morally technical problems. Political organisations and the way they function are crucial factors for comprehensive organisation of the economy (NIMD, 2004). Political parties are amid the most imperative players within a democratic system and consequently include an inspiration on the ups and downs of supportable development.

A thriving democracy needs a flexible system of active competitive parties and a plentiful source of candidates who have excellent characters for accountability to community service. The scholar suggests that the election of local councils should be done by a system of open list approximate representation with agreement voting, as a mechanism for making parties to reinforce their base of local elected leaders in all groups. Such local democratic leadership should become a prime source of candidates

who, after first broadly approving their potential at the local level, move democratically into higher positions. Pakistan's federal structure may be its biggest asset for building a stable democracy when reducing the barriers to entry into politics to the provincial and local governments and promoting the delivery of a nation of responsible democratic leadership (Myerson, 2009).

Von dem Berge and colleagues (2013) Stated that the role of political parties in a democratic process explains through illustration attention to their duties in a political system. In modern democracies, political parties are transitional organisations, which do not help to organise large numbers of parliamentarians. However, it also the primary source and mechanism of recruiting and collecting candidates and, besides, they serve a representative function that connects voters with the state.

All political parties that contest elections have organisation outside the legislature. In some cases, this organisation may be very informal and may be underdeveloped always except during elections. Other parties may have highly professional organisations, and besides, they may have reliable networks of local groups that are highly active throughout the electoral cycle (Scarrows, 2005). Internally democratic political parties have a strong and united organisational structure. Where cleavage-based politics dominates, a great deal of political competition may take place within the parties which claim to represent each group, as personalised factions struggle for leadership (Mozaffar and Scarritt, 2005). (Election Resource Centre Zimbabwe (2013) Explain in a report that, the conduct of credible and fair elections inside the realm of political parties sets the bar and precedence for a deep-rooted national democratic culture. The idea of intra-party democracy has gained increasing attention in recent years because

of its apparent potential to promote a link between party members and leaders and with ordinary citizens and government.

2. Intra-Party Democracy

There are many democratic countries in current times that have faced the dilemma of weak democratic political parties. Therefore, these political parties only focus on electoral performance, ignoring intra-party affairs and administration. If a political party is nondemocratic, it is because of more attention given to the party's other goals, such as vote-seeking, policy seeking, and office (Harmel and Janda, 1994). It is so because some parties often ignore essential elements, such as their internal structures (Mersel, 2006). The situation is also present now a day in Pakistan. Mahmood (2003) argues that most Pakistani political parties ignore the internal structure (to organise the party on every level and to focus on internal party policy, selection of candidates and leaders through democratic procedures) and only focus on elections to win more seats at central and provincial levels.

The democratic measures are encouraged and affect the demonstration of information of the voters. It also reinforces the organization, attracts new members, and generates space for the new background (Scarrows, 1999; Wauters, 2009). Teorell (1999) argue that, the internal procedures of democratic value will provide essential and straight linkages between different thinking areas, as well as a similar linkage between competing issues.

2.1. Concept of Intra Party Democracy

The question is what internal democracy is? It is a complete term describing a wide variety of processes for as well as the role of party members directly or indirectly in

intra-party discussions and decision-making. It is democracy inside the party and the scope to which a party contributes to and stands by the fundamental and general democratic values (Scarrows, 2005). There is no general definition of the concept of intra-party democracy, while many scholars (Scarrows, 2005; Mimpens, 2007) approve some fundamental values of selectivity, responsibility, transparency, inclusivity, involvement, and illustration.

Intra-party democracy provides equal involvement to all members and groups in the democratic procedures of the party. It highlights the rank and file support in party strategy, as well as representation in party activities and party organisations. Democratic policymaking incorporates co-operation of policy reform into debates and other platforms, and it decentralises the approval of decision-making to the rank and file of political parties (Salih, 2006). Democracy is all about inclusiveness, and if there is no condition for people's presence in the party, there may be little contribution since one produces the other. Inclusiveness stresses that to widen the circle of party decision-makers (Scarrows, 2005; Chris, et al. 2011). In the most inclusive parties, all party members had given the opportunity to settle on vital issues, such as the selection choice of the party leader or the selection of party candidates.

The central proposition of this perspective is that parties must be democratic in their policies, organisational procedures, and development. The focus is on how political actors conduct themselves in addressing issues relating to intra-party democracy. This perspective revolves around the principles of universal participation, political equality, majority rule, and responsiveness (Scarrows, 2005). The goal is to ensure that party officials do not turn away from the preferences of the majority.

Intra-party democracy is, therefore, the level to which a party contributes to fundamental and universal democratic beliefs. Thus, internal party democracy is assessed based on the degree to which a political party has put in place and follows mechanisms that allow for the party leadership selection, candidate selection, and the role of party members in all internal party affairs through democratic procedures. It means that there is internal contestation or participation of the members in the affairs of the party as well as acceptance and space of opposing views (Chinsinga & Chigona, 2010)

Scholars argued on the assessment of intra-party democracy (Scarrows, 2005; Todi, 2014) that the level of intra-party democracy can measure through these indicators, such as leadership selection, candidate selection, policymaking, internal accountability, free and fair intra-party election, and participation of party members in this whole process. This research also focuses on party leadership selection process and the role of grass-roots party workers in the election of party president in Pakistani political parties. This research aims to evaluate that the leaders are selected democratically or imposed by non-democratic processes. This study will also rest out that, is there are some grass-roots party workers reached to party top positions. Furthermore, or only the dominant leaders and their family's members acquired key position successional and inherently after the retirement or death of their elders in Pakistan. Intra-party democracy contradicts to the succession leadership; it gives equal opportunity to party members and workers to contest election for party position from bottom to top level.

Intra-party democracy means that a political party has objective rules and procedures to avoid the random regulator of internal elections and party functioning by individual leaders or groups. Such rules must also to put into exercises (Wauters, 2009) such as

the explanation of policy positions or the selection of candidates for legislative, cabinet or internal positions. The propositions of the democratic temperament or not of party organisations reach beyond the mere party system. The grass-roots workers would be the leading decision-makers (NIMD, 2004). The efforts made within political parties would indeed benefit the whole society thanks to, for instance, more capable (and more responsive) political leaders and representatives or the development of more responsive policies (Scarrows, 2005) otherwise a party is neither institutionalised nor genuinely democratic.

Hence, intra-party democracy is a process as complementary to opposed voting, interest combination, constitutional rights, or even self-government. Lembani (2006) argue that, it is a process by which opinions formed, policies expressed, and programs developed. Intra-party democracy, therefore defined as the level to which political parties' decision-making structures and processes provide opportunities for members to influence the choices that parties offer to the electorate.

The understanding of intra-party democracy is where decision making preceded and informed by open debate and exchange of arguments among equal, free, and balanced negotiator. The argument is that it is only a professional membership that can be able to hold party leaders accountable. The two critical basics for a deliberative party atmosphere is first that information regarding the status of the party should be available to all members preceding to discussions and second that knowledge of party statutes should not only be limited to the party elites but generally be dispersed among the party membership (Mimpens, 2007).

2.2. Advantages

There are many advantages of intra-party democracy. Intra-party democracy can play a significant role in the overall democracy as indicated above of a country. First, it trains the party workers, for the defence of party policy in every forum. It promotes democratic manners in the party members and the general public. Secondly, intra-party democracy could have a very positive impact on membership performance, and it attracts the civil society to party policy and membership.

Thirdly, Political parties play a vital role in democracy in the promotion of political leadership through intra-party democracy. Scarrow (2005) argue that, it develops a road map for voters and elections. The modern electoral democracy generally faced with conflict and difficulties at a different level in several matters.

Fourth, the idea is that parties should be democratic, not only in their practice but also in their organisational affairs internally. Relations between the parties and the democracies must re-establish the party's respect not only to common objectives and activities but also to the internal democratic structure. Internal democracy goals will lead to democratic, transparent and actual political parties (Mersel, 2006). The fifth one is explained by Mimpem (2007) that, the supporter of intra-party democracy, in practice, argues that the parties used in democratic affairs are more competent and appealing leaders, to choose the most responsible leaders and, consequently, to the praise of most electoral successes.

Sixth, the idea of intra-party democracy has gained growing attention in current years because of its evident ability to promote a decent circle of government-linked citizens. It is promoting the parties that embrace it (Close et al. 2017) and is further contributing

to the stability and authenticity of the democracies in which these political parties struggle for power (Election Resource Centre Zimbabwe, 2013).

Seventh, without deep internal division, however, intra-party democracy can be a two edge-sword for a political party. On the one side, it may help to exchange the passive supporter into actively provided participants in the party contest with other parties both to hold governmental office and to shape public discourse, whether in government or opposition. On the other side, it may help to update political leaders of the requirements of their supporters and the public more broadly (Katz and Cross, 2013). It may further the image of the party as one committed to democratic principle more generally, and as a firmly rooted movement in society.

Eight, this is especially so as elites in control of the candidate selection device can operate the procedure to theirs, and associates' advantage, and regulate the outcome of the processes (NIMD, 2004). It is also broadly recognised that intra-party democracy improves a necessary workable democratic culture within the party as well as society at large.

2.3. Disadvantages

There are many advantages of intra-party democracy, but there are also some disadvantages of intra-party democracy in the political system. Firstly, internally democratic political parties can be costly both for parties and participants. For example, internally organised membership votes for candidates and leadership selection can cost parties many thousands of dollars that often need to rise from private sources (Scarow, 2013). Furthermore, similarly, this contest can be very exclusive for hopeful candidates, both raising the dawn and making it possible for some to compete while forcing those

who do enter the contest to raise a significant amount from donors. These costs allow private donors to gain undue influence in party decision making.

Secondly, it identifies specific challenges in the internal supervision and operation of parties and party systems. These include fair and free intraparty election, candidate selection, leadership selection, internal accountability, policymaking, membership relations, and active roles of grass-roots workers in decision making (Mersel, 2006). All these attitudes have some critical questions. For example, is internal democracy, a trade argument for parties, or does it contain vital dangers for parties regarding internal unity? What are the effects of (more) internal democracy on the external position of the party towards voters?

Third, intra-party democracy may even partially reduce state-wide democracy (Sartori, 1965). According to Rahat (2009), highly participatory party decision making, such as candidates' selection, may lead to -less inclusive legislature. However, the open candidate selection methods may, in some examples, increase the power of small elites (Pennings et al. 2001). Fourth, it acknowledged that intra-party democracy, which it successfully captured during the internal elections and participation, had its weaknesses and advantages (Scarrows, 2005). Too many internal party democracies can argue that divide power and leadership weaken and make it difficult for the party to follow its electoral promises.

Fifth, intra-party democracy frequently stimulated by the decline of party membership and activism. The argument often made that few join political parties because voters increasingly do not see party membership as a valid form of political participation. In this view, parties are overly hierarchical, and grass-roots members have little say in determining their direction (Cross and Katz, 2013). The result is that those interested in

influencing public policy increasingly chose attractive methods of participation such as activism and advocacy group instead of party membership.

3. Analytical Methods

This research work aims to evaluate intra-party democracy through leadership (president) selection in Pakistani political parties. The succession of leadership is significant because democracy and good governance require leaders who are freely and popularly elected and not dominated from the top. The point is that a peaceful change of power is the symbol of effective democratisation. Moreover, only aware and competent members can identify and choose competent leaders (Prasai, 2009). In other words, the establishment, development, and continuity of competent leaders hugely depend on internal party democracy.

This study followed the candidates' selection model of Hazan and Rahat (2010). Therefore, this study is divided into two parts the dimensions and political consequences of leadership selection. The first of the study evaluate candidacy, selectorates, de-centralization and appointment and voting system. However, the second part focuses on political consequences such as participation, representation, competition and responsiveness.

3.1. Dimensions of Leadership Selection

This study is divided into two part owing to its two research questions the first part of the study focues on formal rules in the selection of party president to systematically analysed the dimensions of leadership selection. However, the second part followed informal rules in the selection process of party president to explain the political

conquences. Hence, to compare the level of intra-party democracy through leadership selection.

Candidacy means that who are eligible for the post of party presidents. This study measures the candidacy through two sub indicators such as minimum standard for the post of party president and minimum membership period of candidates for the post of party president. Selectorates means that who select the candidates for the post of party presidents. This study evaluated that the candidates on the consent of party members directly or indirectly. Selectorates short list the candidates for the post of party president. However, they are the representatives of party members or represent a small group or a dynastic family.

Decentralization is the most important dimension of leadership selection. The leadership selection would be decentralized in intra-party democracy. Competition means that the candidates should be selected from the central organization as well as from the province and regional organization of the party. It is the final dimension of leadership selection in intra-party democracy. This study analysed that the party presidents come through appointment or a proper voting system. Hence, appointment means that the party presidents come without election while voting system means that the president elects by party members directly or indirectly.

3.2. Consequences of Leadership Selection

The second part of the study examine political consequences of leadership selection through informal rules to measure the level of intra-party democracy in the selected political parties. However, participation means that who participate in the election of party presidents. The element of participation is an essential dimension of democracy

in a modern representative democracy. In many democracies, candidates and leadership selection methods are becoming more inclusive with the direct participation of party members (Bille, 2001; Hazan, 2002; Scarrow, 2000). In the past, party electorates composed of party delegates standing agencies such as national or local committees and congresses, or special nomination or selection conventions. However, in recent days, more and more parties give rank-and-file members the right to influence candidate and leadership selection (Hazan & Rahat, 2010). This general trend makes analysing the expansion of the electorate, particularly the adoption of the highly inclusive method of party primaries – relevant for virtually all democracies, whether they are moving in a similar direction or if their political actors are contemplating such a shift. The concept of representation is about the multiplicity of its meanings. These meanings are not only different but at times, can even be opposing (Pennock, 1968). This multiplicity described as stemming from different philosophical approaches and the historical evolution of the concept (Manin, 1997). However, (Norris, 2006) argued that, when dealing with representation empirically, rather than theoretically in the context of recruitment and electoral studies, the notion of representation that is used almost universally and uniformly is that of reflecting the demographic composition of society.

The representatives are supposed to be responsive and accountable to their electorate. Representative responsiveness, therefore, suggests that the representatives must be attentive to the interests, needs, and demands of their voters (Hazan & Rahat, 2010). The perception of representation as accountability is probably the most common one nowadays. A system of accountability presumes a system of representation (Fenno, 1996).

Political parties in Pakistan with few exceptions of religious and regional political parties are dominated by the conventional elites that secure votes more based on their family history and social position (Nasreen, 2008). Their leadership patterns do not allow the fresh recruitment of leaders from new social classes.

The term competition means in intra-party democracy that how many candidates compete for the position of party president. We presume that intra-party competition is essential for democracy, especially in those cases where interparty competition is weak, although it cannot serve as a sufficient substitute (Sartori, 1976). (Hazan & Rahat, 2010) argued that, the competition was a situation when a plurality of options presented to the selectors from time to time expected to create responsiveness and accountability. That is officeholders who face competition and who wish to be reselected expected to be responsive to their selectors and to be accountable for their actions. Responsiveness means that the party leaders will be responsive to their electorate. He must be aware of the interests, demands, needs, and as well as accountable to their voters and party members. The voters typically chose a prime minister or president from among the two or three leaders presented by the parties. In the largest parties mostly, the party president becomes the prime minister or president of the country after winning the general election (Cross, 2013). The perception of representation as accountability is probably the most common one nowadays. A system of accountability presumes a system of representation (Fenno, 1996). This accountability model follows the basic principle-agent format, in which the power relations from voters to representatives follow a chain of delegation (Mitchell, 2000). Responsiveness implies a binding demand for relative congruence between the representative and the represented. Party discipline implies a very different type of congruence between party representatives and the dictates of the party leadership (Hazan and Rahat, 2010).

4. Statement of the Problem

Intra-party democracy is a vast area of study; it provides a systematic way for the selection of candidates and party leaders from the bottom to the top level. However, in Pakistani political parties, how the party president elected within the parties and intra-party democracy accountable to him to the party ordinary members. Intra-party democracy implements internal democracy within the party. It defies that the party president dominated to the top from a dynastic family or elected through proper channel from the grass-roots members of the party. This study evaluates the status of the present presidents of the political parties of Pakistan to measure intra-party democracy through the selection procedure of party presidents.

5. Scope and Significance of the Study/Research

Intra-party democracy is not new in Pakistan PILDAT have present two reports on intra-party democracy in the major political parties of Pakistan. However, these reports (PILDAT, reports 215-16) have no detailed study about all the indicators related to intra-party democracy. Furthermore, a few scholars have done work on intra-party democracy in the Pakistani context. However, intra-party democracy is a very wide topic and a few Pakistani scholars such as (Rizwan, et al. 2016; Tariq, et al. 2016) paid attention to this area of study. They only highlighted intra-party election and did not pay full attention to all the indicators of intra-party democracy such as internal policymaking, candidates selection for the internal position as well as for parliamentary elections, selection of party presidents, internal accountability, internal conflict resolution mechanism the role of party members in all critical and leading decisions making. Hence, there are many gaps in this area of study and this dissertation also

cannot fulfil all these gaps, so this study only focuses on leadership selection in Pakistani political parties to measure the level of intra-party democracy.

Intra-Party democracy is significant for overall democracy in a country because if the party president elects through a proper channel in a democratic way within the participation of party members. It trained the workers and prepared them for the general election process. The workers and party members playing their roles in a better way in decision making and internal party affairs, and a single leader cannot dictate any decision. Intra-party democracy produces and promotes leaders from the grass-roots level to top positions. This study is helpful for the awareness of party members, workers, supporters and civil society to improve and implement intra-party democracy. The leadership would elect on merit, which will bring change in society for the bright future of Pakistan. Mostly the Party president becomes the Prime Minister (in case of winning the general election) of the country, and he appoints the minister and cabinet may he select all the cabinet members on merit.

6. The Objectives of the Study

1. To investigate the party statutes and evaluate the selection and election process of parties' presidents in Pakistan.
2. To guesstimate the political consequences of leadership selection using in intra-party democracy.

The first objective analysed the procedure of the selection of party president in the light of party constitution to highlights all the articles which linked directly or indirectly to the procedure of the election of party president. Furthermore, the method of candidates' selection and the election process for the party president. The second objective of this study examine that who participate in the election of party president as well as the party president represent the grass-roots members of the party or represent a dynastic family.

Moreover, the party president comes through a proper competition or nominated by a small group of elites of the party and after acquired the position the party president accountable to the party organization towards party members or not.

7. Research Question

1. By what means party leaders selected, and what is the formal election procedure of party presidents in Pakistani political parties' analysis of party statutes?
2. What are the consequences of intra-party democracy for leadership selection in Pakistani political parties?

Sub-questions of question No. 2

- i. How does intra-party democracy affect political participation within parties in leadership elections?
- ii. How does intra-party democracy affect dynastic representation within parties for leadership selection?
- iii. How does intra-party democracy influence competition to leadership selection within political parties?
- iv. How does intra-party democracy influence party leaders, to respond to their party towards party members?

8. Research Methodology

The traditional historical approach is followed in this study the intra-party democracy among different political parties. Both quantitative and qualitative methods are applied.

8.1. Methods of Data Collection:

The data was collected through two sources which are as follow.

8.1.1. Secondary Data

The secondary data was collected from party statutes and wherever the information related to the selection procedure of party president was not indicated in the party constitutions, the rules books, election manifestos, annual reports and other related documents were utilised. This study also relied on local newspapers, TV talk shows, interviews and speeches of parties' leaders.

8.1.2. Primary Data

Primary data was collected from the party members and non-party members through a sample questionnaires survey. The party members had political affiliation with the said parties and have enough knowledge about party and party constitution. The party members know about the behaviour and the way of leadership selection. They know about the family background and political carrier of his party leaders. However, it is observed in social media in Pakistan, the party members tend to blindly follow the party policies and defend his leadership. Consequently, it was essential for an unbiased picture of intra-party democracy and received answers from non-party members. Therefore, a few questionnaires were distributed among non-party members, who were

educated, skilful and had enough knowledge about party politics. According to party spoke person Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf has over ten million of registered party members. Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan has Thirty-Eight Thousand permanent party members. However, the numbers of party members of Pakistan People Party were not confirmed from party websites and neither from party leaders. Hence, this is a comparative study among three political parties, therefore, the questionnaires were equally distributed among the party members. Eighty per cent questionnaires were distributed among party members and twenty per cent among neutral individuals they were not affiliated with the selected political parties.

8.2. Research Instruments

The questionnaire has been used as a tool for data collection. The questionnaires were circulated among party members and non-party members by hand and the snowball method. Because there are no data and contact details and a list of parties' members are available on the party's web sites, neither information was collected in the offices of the three political parties. However, after confirmations of the party membership through membership cards the questionnaires were handover to the party members and their opinions and views were recorded in a simple form.

8.3. Sampling Technique

Simple systematic Sampling Techniques were used for collecting data. Survey collection would apply to party workers.

8.4. Unit of Analysis

Analyse intra-party democracy within political parties of Pakistan,

8.5. The Population of Study

Base on selected political parties, party members, and party presidents of the selected political parties.

8.6. Data Analysis

The field survey focussed on the members of the selected political parties and non-party members in the form of a Likert scale questionnaire. The responses solicited from as many as 300 individuals. The views of the party's members and non-parties members were recorded, and variables were coded. SPSS was used for the analysis of data. After coding of variables, the variable was converted on SPSS sheet, and all responses were entered. The data analysed descriptively, using simple tables for every question. It is a descriptive statistical analysis of intra-party democracy and, more particularly, of leadership selection in the selected political parties of Pakistan.

8.7. Case Selection

Pakistan created as the rest of the struggle of the political party. Political parties are the necessary institutions and obligatory for the democratic process. Pakistani political parties do not have any organised system of maintaining their organisation to train their members and workers to follow the democratic procedure in party internal and external affairs (Mahmood, 2003). After the death of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the political system of Pakistan was gradually changed into dynastic leadership by a politician. It is an irony that political parties avoid intra-party elections.

The political parties of Pakistan have the traditions of dynastic leadership expect of few. Pakistani political parties have not been able to adopt a democratic culture

successfully in internal party matters in Pakistani political parties. The study aims to compare intra-party democracy within Pakistani political parties and measure the level of internal democracy through the selection process for the party presidential office and the role of grass-roots members in this process.

The political parties in Pakistan have a quite weak intra-party democracy system and structure. The world history reveals that the political and developmental revolutions are brought by those leaders who have promoted from the grass-roots level through a democratic procedure. However, in Pakistan, there is a scarce example of such a leader who has promoted in said way. The non-democratic attitudes in political parties of Pakistan are one of the major causes of unstable democracy in the country. After the death of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, his political descendant failed miserably to make a consensus in politics. The leadership of the second line cannot translate Jinnah's political achievements into a dynamic, moderate and future proportional democratic republic. The politics of sectarianism, provincialism, and sovereignty affected the first decade of independence. Internal dispute of Muslim league leadership was the leading cause of 1958 military intervention. Pakistan had only two Governors-General and one Commander-in-Chief, while seven Prime Ministers collapsed one after the other (Hassan, 2011).

This study highlights intra-party democracy in Pakistan; the focus of this study is only to specify party leadership (president). This study will evaluate the selection process of candidates for the party presidential election. The procedure of election for party president will evaluated in this study, more in particular what is the mechanism of the election of party president and (the most important one) the role of grass-roots members in this all process in the lights of democratic norms of intra-party democracy in

Pakistani political parties. There are many political parties in Pakistan, but a few political parties have a robust internal party structure. This study is analysed intra-party democracy in three political parties of Pakistan. This study selects Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (JIP), and Pakistan People Party (PPP). The main reasons for the selection of these parties are already explained in the beginning of the thesis and the historical detail of the selected and other mainstream political parties of Pakistan highlighted in chapter two the political scenery of Pakistan.

Chapter- 1, *Review of the Literature* comprises on the literature review of this dissertation. This chapter divided into three parts. In the first part of the literature, this study presents a general theoretical framework in the international context. The second part of this chapter highlights a brief history of the political system in Pakistan. In the last of this chapter, I present an overview of parties and party systems in Pakistan as well as the case selection in the light of PILDAT report. **Chapter- 2, *Political Daorama (Circumference) And Scenic View of Pakistan*** explains the brief history of political system of Pakistan, overview of parties and party system as well as major political parties in Pakistan and difference among the three selected political parties for this study. **Chapter- 3, *Worlds Apart and Varying (Whimsical) Differentiations of Investigating Patterns and Research Design*** gives elaboration on the research design of this dissertation. Furthermore, this chapter presents the procedure of data collection as well as the methods of data analysis. **Chapter- 4, *Heights and Elevational Standards In Lieu of the Selection and Determination of the Party President*** explores a descriptive analysis of the selection methods of party presidents in the light of party statutes. Four dimensions of political selection have applied in this chapter.

In chapter- 5, Participational Partaking and Envelopment of the Election of the Party President

President highlights the participation level in the election of party president and the procedure of participation and the participant in the election of the parties' presidents.

In Chapter 6, Representational Portrayal and Delimitation (Marking Out) Of the

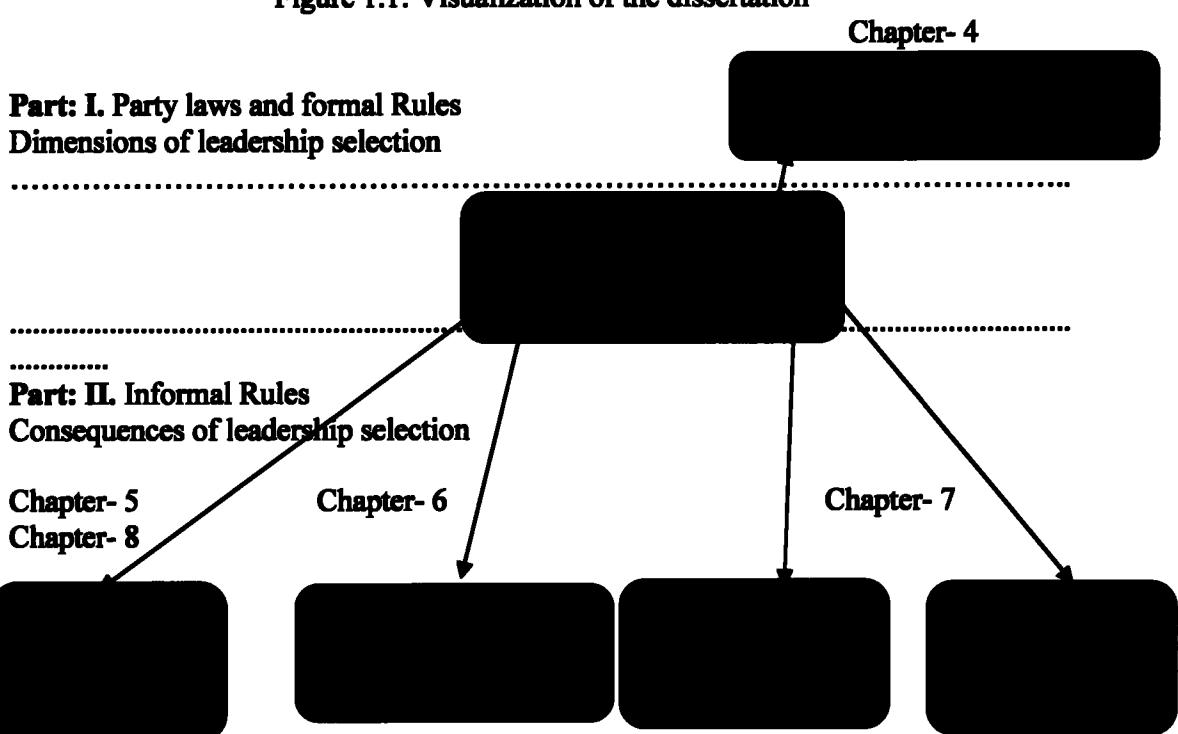
Parties Presidents explores the influence of dynastic leadership in the selection of party presidents in the selected political parties of Pakistan. The party presidents represent a dynastic family or promote from the grass-root level through proper channels. In

Chapter- 7, Competitional Race in the Electioneering (Convassing) and in the

Election of the Party President presents the level of competition in the election of party presidents and the influence of intra-party democracy on the effectiveness of competition in the election of party presidents. In chapter-8, Thoroughfare and Way

Leads to the Accountability (Culpability) Of the Party President evaluates the influence of intra-party democracy in internal accountability of party presidents to party members towards the party.

Figure 1.1: Visualization of the dissertation



As the Figure 1.1 shows, this study focuses on the first part of this dissertation on the selection of Party president through formal laws such as party constitutions, annual reports, election manifesto. This part also focuses on all relevant and legal party documents related to the selection of selected political parties' presidents of Pakistan. The second part of this dissertation focuses on the consequences of leadership selection through informal rules.

CHAPTER- 1

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Intra-Party democracy is a crucial issue in Pakistan in this modern and democratic era. The Election Commission of Pakistan advice to all registered political parties to ensure intra-party elections within political parties (Art. 7, political parties' order 2002). However, only a few political parties have indeed organised internal elections within the parties. The topic, "Intra-party democracy in Pakistan: A comparative study of political parties," is not new area of study but a few scholars such as (Rizwan, et al. 2016; Tariq, et al. 2016) have done work only on intra-party election. However, the previous well known scholars of politics and political parties has been neglected intra-party democracy and they only paid attention to political parties (Rafique, 1976; Mahmood, 2003; Nasreen, 2008; Ahmad, 2004; Kanwal, 2003).

PILDAT has presented two reports in 2014 and 2015 on intra-party democracy in Pakistani political parties, but in these reports, no attention paid to the selection of party leadership and its election procedure. Previous scholars have done much work on democracy and political parties, but there are still some gaps related to intra-party democracy in Pakistan. This study purposes of filling those gaps by focusing on the dimensions of leadership selection, and four different consequences such as participation, representation, competition and responsiveness of intra-party democracy. Given that intra-party democracy is a broad topic, and this study cannot cover the entire subject matter, this dissertation restricted to leadership selection.

This chapter enveloped the overall review of literature of this study. The first part of this chapter keeps in check of a review of the international literature on intra-party

democracy. This part of the study, in particular, focuses on leadership selection and the procedures for the election of party president as well as the consequences of intra-party democracy for the selection of party president. Finally, in the last part, this chapter described the Pakistani context regarding intra-party democracy and the indicators developed by Pakistani scholars to measure intra-party democracy among different political parties. In this part, the study paid particular attention to the PILDAT reports of 2014 and 2015 on intra-party democracy in the major political parties of Pakistan. This study focuses on the leadership selection process among the three selected political parties, which already mentioned in the introduction, and the aim is to analyse parties' statutes and the consequences of intra-party democracy for the selection of the party president.

1.1- General Theoretical Framework

Political parties are the necessary institutions for democracy. This part of the study will describe the function of political parties in a democracy and the role of intra-party democracy. This study will present the definition of intra-party democracy, party laws, and informal rules, as well as the advantages and drawbacks of intra-party democracy. Furthermore, it explains the way of study of intra-party democracy. It also outlines the features and prevalence as well as to develop the consequences of intra-party democracy for leadership selection in political parties.

1.1.1- Functions of Political Parties for Democracy

Political parties are essential organisations in democracy. Political parties fulfil many interrelated functions critical to democratic governance (Diamond & Gunther, 2001). They are the main channel between citizens and political decision-makers. They are

essential for both the development and association of democracies. They created democracy, and modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of parties (Schattsneider, 1942).

Furthermore, in a democratic organisation, the role of political parties is to recruit and train political leaders who can fill elected places at all levels of politics. Political parties are the essential vehicle for education and awareness of democratic organisation and procedures in public, and they are the "schools" of democracy (CMI, 2007). Furthermore, they mobilise electoral support for the programs and candidates they put up. They should thus develop and provide choices for citizens in terms of reliable and feasible policy options (IMD 2005). They also supposed to represent the people and their various interests throughout the election period. They should be responsive, not only as a function of elections but also by presence approachable to their constituencies and voters (Randall and Svasand, 2002; Johnston 2005).

Political parties participate successfully in the political process, contribute to the association of democracy, and demonstrate absolute measurements. They recruit political workers and develop future generations of politicians. They select individuals and present them as candidates for elections. They develop political programs, integrate various interests into a general political project, and convert it into a political program, for which the campaign to receive the consent and support of a majority (NDI, 2008).

Political parties contest elections to achieve its objectives incorporated in their political strategy. The majority party establishing the government seeks to formulate its policies of government based on promises made in the election manifesto. Parties in any system of rule educate, express, and organise public opinion. They provide ordinary people

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with an opportunity to analyse the specialists and frauds of various vital issues (NDI, 2008).

The essential function of any political party is to recruit men of honour, knowledge, skills, and achievement. They encourage leadership from the bottom up and formulate them for upcoming elections because it is the party members who circulate the party ideology among the citizens. They discuss burning problems and hold meetings and press conferences to stimulate public support. These are the leaders who participate in re-election and form the government when elected to power. Leaders are departing from public life expected to recognise the expectations of the general public and to articulate public policies consequently. Political parties permanently gain acceptance and appreciation through their leaders and their team (Ahmad, 2004).

Political parties are one of the crucial organisations that are carriers' democratic principles in any organised society. Thus, there is several 'institutional assurance' that parties have to fulfil. They effectively meet what expected of them in a democracy. One of such institutional requirements is internal democracy. However, this is a significant institutional dimension that is lacking in many political parties, particularly in emerging democracies.

1.1.2- Role of Intra-Party Democracy

However, the focus of power is increasing in the hands of party leaders. Party members became directly responsible for electing leadership. The parties have lost their shape to allocate conceptual inspirations and face greater difficulty in retaining the support of members through material gains. Therefore, they prefer to introduce practical motivations to increase membership and enhance party organisation (Ignazi et al. 2005).

However, the vote of each member is an essential tool for strengthening the relationship between parties and civil society, especially when party organisations are increasingly considered unique and dedicated to the lives of citizens. The destruction of political parties in modern society can explain the image crisis in public opinion. Political parties may consider adopting leadership selection reforms to re-establish their legal status and their assurance in civil society (Russell, and Weldon, 2005; Lisi, 2009).

However, (Bolleyer, 2012) argues that parties develop an alternating participative performance that concern in specific voters concerned by perceptive mobilisation. In this context, direct elections to the party president appear to affect the role of lower-level members inside the party organisations. However, very few studies have explored how to direct selection mechanisms have influenced the role of lower-level members and how they have perceived members themselves.

1.1.3- Defining and Delineating Intra-Party Democracy

Intra-party democracy is still a contested concept both in terms of meaning and operationalisation. However, intra-party democracy is about the internal distribution of power within a political party (Cross and Katz, 2013) and it seems to require at least some element of participation by the 'party on the ground' in the selection of candidates' and leadership for the 'party central office' (Katz, 2014).

The significance of political parties for political systems, especially for democratic systems, is broadly discussed and described by numerous scholars (Scarrows, 2005; Hazan and Rahat, 2010; Cross and Katz, 2013). Besides, the importance of intra-party democracy for various outcomes inside and outside the parties themselves has attracted much scholarly attention (Scarrows, 2005; Cross and Katz, 2013).

The individuals, who highlight the sharing features of democracy, also place the most value on intra-party democracy. They understand parties not principally as intermediaries, but rather as incubators that look after citizen. The political expertise of a party is to perform the democratic norms in internal affairs and party decision making. Scarrow (2005) argued that the organisation and procedures of the parties provide opportunities to individuals to select representatives who offer to the voters. These opportunities will help citizens enhance their public capacities. The whole process can increase the alternatives developed by parties. In this way, party organisations can perform useful and practical work while also moving power to a broader area of society.

Intra-party democracy based on two main features argued by (Scarrow, 2005). The first one refers to those instruments which encourage equal and open participation of party members and workers. In this way, the benefits equally represented are; this practice varies from country to country. The second one is the organisation of free, fair, and regular elections of internal party positions as well as candidates for representative bodies. These features are fundamental for the proper functioning of democracy because they depend on the overall proficiency of the party members and political parties (Mimpen, 2009). These are the abilities such as skills, knowledge, and virtue that political parties follow into their internal party affairs.

Intra-party democracy can best understand by relating it to the modern origins of the concept of democracy. In this regard, democracy defined as a political system. Those who govern are continuously responsive to the choices and objectives of those who governed. Intra-party democracy is, therefore, the level to which a party promises to stand for necessary and collective democratic acceptance (Scarrow, 2005). As a result, internal party democracy evaluated according to the level to which a political party has

put in place and follows the democratic norms and mechanisms. It allows for the party officials to be responsible and accountable to party members. It means that there are an internal contestation and involvement of the members in the party affairs (Chinsinga and Chigona, 2010).

This study aims to examine the selection method of party leaders to measure intra-party democracy in three political parties. This study will explore the first comparative analysis of party statutes to explore the leadership procedure among these political parties. The second one is the consequences using for leadership selection to measure intra-party democracy.

Intra-party democracy within political parties is the recruitment of candidates from bottom to top levels. Furthermore, the leading indicators are the structure of the political party, platform and internal organisation, internal policymaking, candidates, and leadership selection, but who will participate in leadership selection. Sandri and colleagues (2015) explain that to from the exclusive pole of party leader, and these selectorates are then composed of the rather exclusive group of the party elite, followed by the moderately inclusive group of delegates, then the more inclusive mass group of party members.

From exclusive to inclusive is the most democratic way of choosing a party president.

Table 2.1: Leaders selection by the degree of inclusiveness

← →				
Inclusive				Exclusive
Open Primaries	Closed Primaries	Party conferences	Parliamentary party	Party Elite
Any interested voters	All party members	A delegate representing party members	Members of National Legislature	Small-Group

The prime example of this method is Berlusconi in Forza Italia and Winston Peters in New Zealand. However, these parties outlast their founding leader; they are eventually

likely to democratise the leadership selection through the participation of a broader electorate (Cross, 2013).

1.1.4- Party Laws and Informal Rules

It is essential to underline that formal institutions might co-exist with informal procedures. The former may say little about the reality of the leadership election practice (Sindre, 2016). Hence, the focus needs to be on the presence or lack of formal and codified rules in official party documents, like party Statutes and constitutions. The formal rules regulating the leadership election that contained in the party statutes and constitutions before looking at the informal rules (Sindre, 2016; Cappellini, 2016). Cappellini, (2016) furthermore, explain that, a few countries have already introduced this in their national legislation laws. In this regard, political parties who codified rules for intra-party democracy we have to look at in their party statutes about the leadership selection methods as well as leadership election and general functioning.

Political parties rely increasingly on state regulation. In this regard, a degree for exceeding what would generally be acceptable for private association in a liberal society (Katz, 2001). The reference point for the measurement of intra-party democracy is the candidates' selection, party leadership selection, internal policymaking, conflict resolution mechanism, and internal accountability. Its institutionalisation, as measured by the adoption of formal rules for the election of party leaders (Sindre, 2016). Wauters, (2014) argued that, the presence of external incentive does not frequently change the formal rules of the party. Therefore, those inside the party should be aware of the environmental benefits. They must be devoted to the anticipated change and have to believe that this formal change will reply to external challenges.

The way parties select their leader reflects their view on democracy. For example, internally democratic political parties select their leaders through one member one vote procedure. In this regard, it reflects a populist democratic view of equality among members and offers opportunities for widespread participation. Others decide to allow the choice to a party conference by delegates chosen to ensure regional and gender balance. This process is the best respect for democratic values because it shows the inclusiveness, representation and collective decision making (Cross and Katz, 2013). On their face, neither claim is right or wrong. However, each reflects a different understanding of what kind of democracy is required.

The informal rules of the political parties to which they are internally democratic contain the requirements and provisions for being transparent in the decisions of the parties. It tries to put its membership at every level when it comes to defining policies, launching committees, and introducing any new changes in the internal organisation of the party. It also offers the possibilities to resolve all issues, describes the organs of the party and regulates how the modifications of the rules presented. This principle should ensure the proper functioning and development of the parties, and there should be rules and regulations in any sector. It determines how the party works, what is the role of each party member and structure (NIMD, 2015).

Political parties externally show their expression as comprehensive and open, but the reality is different. Party members and grass-roots workers have in practice no active role in decision-making, nor do they have the opportunity to contribute to it — the final decisions made by some other executives, elite, or a single dominant leader. The central office of a political party is the main inspiration and controller of significant methods.

The executive ensures power through centralisation (Katz, 2013). The main procedures are not well-known for grass-roots members.

1.1.5- Contribute to Democracy

In the present era, party change is a notable phenomenon. On the one side, parties thought to be conservative and resistant to change their internal organisational structure (Harmal and Janda, 1994). On the other side, many political parties have recently changed their internal organisation for leadership selection: grass-roots members granted the right to choose their party leaders (Cross and Blais, 2012b; Denham, 2009; Leduc, 2001; Wauters, 2010; Wauters, 2014). This change can prove by a variety of leadership selection methods, the participation of the party members in critical decision making, which classified according to their degree of inclusiveness (Kenig, 2009). Wauters, (2014) argues that, on the one hand, a small elite group decides about the party's chief. On the other hand, all members, or even all (party) voters, can make that decision.

Direct elections of parties' presidents are a regular feature of discussions about parties and their organisational changes. This tool represents a new pattern in the relationship between party members and their supporters. On the one hand, the adoption of direct internal elections helps motivate the internal mobilisation of members who are already entering the party. On the other hand, the open and comprehensive attraction of this tool encourages new types of political participation (Bolleyer, 2012). This procedure, in many cases, does not require regular affiliation with the party.

Intra-party democracy is a part of the connection between state and society. It is an essential principal track of citizen influence. It also understood as a settlement to citizens for their engagement in political parties (Katz and Cross, 2013; Bolin et al.

2017). Besides this, intra-party democracy fulfils several functions. It allows party members to deliberate and form preferences. It realises the aggregation of these preferences within the party. It is a source of legitimacy for major intra-party decisions about recruitment (leaders and candidates) and policy development (Teorell, 1999; Allern and Pedersen, 2007; Bolin et al. 2017).

Intra-party democracy is a part of the full range of democracy. It gives citizens opportunities. In this view, there is an element of sectarian life in the democratic state, and this free experience should fully consider. Intra-party democracy can enhance or depend on the overall democratic experience, depending on how it is structured. The nomination of the most participating candidates can lead to a less inclusive and representative group of candidates (Hazan and Rahat 2010). The general election affects the process of inclusive candidate's selection in more internally democratic political parties.

Intra-party democratic encourages political equality by producing a level playing ground for candidate selection and policy improvement inside the party. It accepted the control of the government by promoting the free standard to party organisations such as transparency and accountability (Gauja, 2006). Furthermore, it promotes the virtue of public discussion by inspiring inclusive and thoughtful observes among the parties.

1.1.6- Drawbacks of Intra-Party Democracy

Intra-party democracy is not a communally viable idea, and there have been numerous views against it. It based on the statement that democratic decision-making is a level of incompetence. Besides, too much intra-party democracy is likely to undermine a political party's ability to compete against its opponents, as is the case in an empirical

investigation on political parties in countries such as Switzerland (Ladner, and Brandle, 1999), the United Kingdom and Australia. Similar results appear to have been drawn about the weak influence of intra-party democracy on political parties, though it has some minor positive effects (Gauja, 2006).

Intra-party democracy delays decision-making within the parties and avoids the parties from selecting candidates and find the constituency most attractive one. They move important political decisions into a small group of activists. Opposition to intra-party democracy, based on the characteristics of Western political parties, suffered a permanent membership decline. However, party elites are taking on the growing central role as a result (Gauja, 2006). The statement states that party members tend to take a more ideological position than party leadership or voters.

Internal opposition increases the risk; intra-party democracy also seen as a falling party organisation. It hinders the party's effectiveness because internal competition only adds to more energy and time, as opposed to focusing on the key to electoral and government success in resolving disputes. It seems likely that the oligarchy is a more attractive choice to present on the united front for both the electoral alliance and the opposition (Wright, 1971). Representative democrats will likely defend the oligarchy as an excellent means of allowing realistic leadership of the party, while they have direct access to voter representation, thus by-passing on party workers.

The opponents of intra-party democracy have stressed the importance of representative linkage. Internally democratic parties are incompatible with the workings of democratic government. This argument (McKenzie, 1982) refers to the control of the legislature and administration by the Parliamentary Party. Teorell, (1999) argued that, the organs are a prominent feature of controlling the political system. It means that for the welfare

of the democratic organisation, oligarchical control by the party leaders of their party organisation is crucial. Democratically organised parties will respond to party leaders with more activists rather than moderate voters. Doing so would violate the democratic principle of representation of equal interest. In this way, democracy within the organisation can be mastered only by ending it inside the parties.

1.1.7- How Can Intra-Party Democracy be studied?

This study will examine intra-party democracy among three political parties in Pakistan (i.e., Pakistan People party, Pakistan Tehreek-Insaf and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan) This study will explore the leadership selection process and the procedure of party leader's election as well as the role of grass-roots party members in this overall process. The whole process will compare these three political parties to measure intra-party democracy in these political parties of Pakistan. This study aims to examine the selection method of party leaders to measure intra-party democracy in three political parties.

1.1.7.1- Reasons to Introduce

Some authors speak about 'specific variants' or 'versions' of intra-party democracy (Young and Cross 2002; Cross and Katz 2013; Berge and Poguntke, 2017). However, the democratic theory offers us a simple, fundamental distinction between two modes of democratic decision-making. That can be fruitfully and useful to apply to intra-party democracy. Democratic decision-making follows two fundamentally different logics, namely direct or representative decision-making (Berge and Poguntke, 2017).

The most critical decisions making is the selection of candidates, selection of party president, and policymaking — this study only focuses on leadership (president)

selection. The post of the party leader (president) is one of the most critical positions in the modern democratic parliamentary system. The method through which a party leader achieves their office from the last two decades in mostly well democratic countries is an intra-party election in internally democratic parties (Kenig, 2009). Arian, (2005) argued that, the party leader is the most crucial figure in modern representative democracies among all party representatives.

The work of political parties suggests several explanations for the adoption of democratic reforms for the selection of leadership, as well as parties' presidents. Generally, party organisational change can occur from both inside and external factors (Harmel and Janda, 1994). These two scholars have argued (Barnea and Hazan, 2007) that the different explanations for intra-party reforms can distinguish between the political system level, the party system level and the party organisation level. Moreover, at the level of the political system, the general principles of political performance are determined. At the party system level, inter-party competition is beginning to reform. The third level discusses the intra-party field. Here, individuals, groups, members of various party organisations, and other potential groups that usually cooperate when they face each other's struggles for power.

1.1.7.2- Features and Prevalence

It has already pointed out that political parties are essential institutions for democracy (Scarrows, 2005). The understanding of intra-party democracy is based on party policies, goals and practices, and applicable view of democracy. The basis for this perspective is that in a democracy, certain principles such as civil rights, freedoms of the minority and provision for basic human needs must humanise in government or party policies.

The democratic candidate selection involving either all party members or all relevant party committees contributes to democracy by ending tendencies of handpicking, favouritism and nepotism. It, among other things, ensures that party members have sufficient opportunity and freedom to express their competence and ability to elect as leaders. Moreover, only informed and competent members can identify and choose competent leaders. In other words, the establishment, development, and continuity of competent leaders hugely depend on internal party democracy (Prasai, 2009). Scarrow, (2005) argued that, the party candidates can either be identified through the ballot by eligible supporters through primaries or nomination by party assembly.

Internally democratic political parties adopt a mechanism for conflict resolution in democratic societies. According to the principle of equality, the conflict solving agencies should have the right to rule upon overall request members, while, including the party leadership whenever their behaviour damages the party image (Poguntke, 2005). Scarrow, (2008) explain that, these backgrounds should contain a sovereign appeals body within the party, where the party members or the party representatives expelled from the party, or the party's parliamentary group.

Hazan and Rahat (2010) describe that there are four dimensions for evaluating the functioning of leadership selection methods, candidacy, selectorate, decentralisation and appointment, and voting system. Candidacy is the most straightforward dimension but the most brutal because it has the potential to eliminate an overwhelming majority of the party. The second dimension is selectorate, who can be selected candidates for leadership competition. The third one is decentralisation. Ranney, (1981) Hazan and Rahat (2010) described that decentralisation is the division of power; the selection method is inclusiveness and finally direct or indirect participation of party members in

the selection of party presidents. Marsh (2000) argued that it could also refer to non-territorial aspects such as gender and minorities. The last one is the appointment and voting system when the selectorates is a single party leader, and then, by definition, we have an appointment system. When the selectorates is more than one person, then we can have either a voting system.

In the modern form of democracy, political parties, leaders, and members will always face new problems. They inquired and took positions because of present-day progress and social revolution. Therefore, the parties must take security measures to prepare their representatives and members for the new challenges, the assumption of responsibility both inside and outside the party, and party affairs (Hofmeister & Grabow 2011).

This study will explore firstly a comparative analysis of party statutes to explore the leadership procedure through four dimensions of leadership selection, such as candidacy, selectorate, decentralisation and voting and appointment system among these political parties.

1.1.7.3- Dimensions of Leadership Selection

Party leaders can be selected in many ways. However, this study focused here on the candidate's selection model of Hazan and Rahat. They initially developed in 2001 and then more developed in 2010. This model is contained of four dimensions and four consequences. In this model both the scholars analysed the most democratic way of candidates' selection for parliamentary election. However, this study followed this model to analyse the level of intra-party democracy through leadership selection in Pakistani political parties. Many scholars such as wauters (2014) Sandri (2016) consider the procedure used in this model is the most democratic way of candidates' selection. This model is contained on four dimensions and four consequences.

1.1.7.3.1- Candidacy

It is the first dimension of leadership selection candidacy means that who can be selected, or who are eligible for the post of party president. This study evaluates the candidacy considering the party constitution. This dissertation measured the candidacy through two sub-indicators such as the minimum standard for the party presidents, which indicated in the party constitution and a minimum membership period for the post of party presidents in the selected political parties. The most democratic candidacy measured in the three selected political parties and evaluated intra-party democracy.

1.1.7.3.2- Selectorates

The second dimension of leadership selection is selectorate, it means that, who selected the candidates for the post of party presidents. This study followed the method of inclusiveness and exclusiveness in the selection process of party presidents. The selection procedure addressed in the dimension that the candidates select in the consent of party members direct or indirect way or select by an elite group of the political parties. This study measured the most democratic selectorate through inclusiveness and exclusiveness in these political parties.

1.1.7.3.3- Decentralisation

The most critical dimension of leadership selection is decentralisation. In intra-party democracy in the leadership election, this study evaluated that the candidates select by the selectorate from the central organisation of the party or also represent the provincial and regional organisation. Furthermore, the selectorates who select the candidates represent the central organisation of the party or also belong to provinces and regions. This study highlighted the decentralisation through the selection of candidates to

measure the general and exclusive decentralisation in the selection of party president in intra-party democracy.

1.1.7.3.4- Appointment and Voting System

The last and the fourth dimension of leadership selection is appointment and voting system in the selection model of candidates of Hazan and Rahat (2010). The appointment means that there is no formal election is held for the position of party president, while voting system means that is a formal voting system and procedure where party members or representatives of party members cast their vote to elect the party president. The most inclusive method for leadership selection is the voting system.

The second one is the consequences using for leadership selection to measure intra-party democracy in the leadership selection process, participation, representation, competition, and responsiveness (Hazan and Rahat, 2010). This study explores these consequences in detail in the next pages of this chapter in a separate heading of political consequences. This study examined the mechanism of party leadership selection through these consequences to measure intra-party democracy among the selected political parties of Pakistan.

1.1.7.4- Consequences for Party Leadership Selection (President/Chairman)

This research aims to explore the methods used by political parties to elect their leaders and to provide a similar picture of the selected political parties. The primary goal is to assess whether political parties have started to engage in organisation reforms. However, towards the improvement of intra-party democracy, to analyse the election way of parties' presidents. To this side, this research dissertation provides a

comprehensive classification of the leadership election procedures adopted by political parties.

Furthermore, this study explores four consequences for assessing the functioning of leader selection methods described by (Hazan and Rahat, 2010) participation, representation, competition, and responsiveness. However, the literature on the political importance of leadership selection procedures is quite wide-ranging and is also highly fragmented. Moreover, the investigation of leader selection methods and other intra-party elections have generally limited to an explanation of the current and previous circumstances. The most critical consequences explained below.

1.1.7.4.1- Participation

The notation of Participation is an activity that involves taking part in social action, sports, or a joint effort with others. Political participation is to participate in the process of government (Birch, 1993). The issue of political participation is primarily a case of large numbers of private citizens (as distinguished from government officials or elected politicians) playing a role in the process by which political leaders choose and formulate government policies and they implemented.

Participation in the leadership election in political parties is a significant consequence of the Hazan and Rahat candidate's selection model. Participation presents in the election of party presidents the numbers of the participant in the election process that how many members participate in the election. This study also highlights that, who are eligible to participate in the election of party presidents.

This research aims to measure intra-party democracy concerning the leadership selection process in political parties. In this process of intra-party elections, every party

member has one vote. The overview of ordinary involvement in the selection of the party leader is rare but gained growing attention in recent years in many countries (Wauters, 2010). Political participation in the intra-party level, the grass-roots members participate in the election process. However, this process of participation depended on a party to party and country to country. The total numbers of voters and the numbers of casted votes in the election of party presidents affect the level of intra-party democracy in political participation.

1.1.7.4.2- Representation

The concept of representation is a reflection of society (Birch, 1993). However, when theoretically dealing with representation in the context of recruitment and electoral studies, the concept of representation that used globally and evenly is to reflect the demographic structure of society (Hazan and Rahat, 2010). Birch, (1993) argued that, in a contemporary political system, the most apparent form of symbolic representation is through the spokespersons of political parties.

This study aims to evaluate the representation of party presidents that they represent the grass-roots members or belong to a dynastic family. This study will highlight the early life as well as the education of present party presidents in the selected political parties. Furthermore, it presents the political career of party presidents that they come from the grass-roots level through intra-party democracy or dominated directly from the top. This study also presents the relation of present presidents to the founder of the party as well as any former presidents of the parties.

A perspective of representation that is relevant for this study is that the representation of ideas versus representation as presence (Hazan and Rahat 2010). The ideas of representation are reflecting the political beliefs of their voters. The representatives of

individuals are responsive to their voters when they support policies that are consistent with the platform on which they elected (Pitkin, 1976). Hazan and Rahat (2006) explained that, to operationalise representation in candidate selection, developed two directories designed to measure the level of representation in parties and compete in the list with electoral systems.

1.1.7.4.3- Competition

The expectation from a democratic system is free competition of political values and identities. Political parties and candidates present themselves as the representatives of these interests, values, and identities. They compete from time to time with each other for the support of the voters (Sartori, 1976). The logic of regular elections, candidate and leadership selection is considered here as a process, where party members cast a vote to influence. Participation is limited to timed influencing attempts that have phrased it, constitute a mechanism for representation (Hazan and Rahat, 2001).

Competition is an essential indicator of democracy; it is the beauty of democracy. This study highlights internal competition in the selection of party presidents. It will present the level of competition in an intra-party election that how the election is competitive as well as the numbers of candidates that how many candidates contest in the election of party presidents. This study evaluates the leadership selection; therefore, it is also necessary to explain the changing of top leadership adequately through this procedure or remain the same person in the selected political parties.

The nature of intra-party democracy in leadership selection competition is fundamental in this contest to measure the degree of inclusiveness of leadership selection (Hazan and Rahat 2010). This competition will measure through informal rules in the light of questionnaires to answers by party members and non-party members and the interviews

of the party expert, especially expert of intra-party democracy. This argument refers to Cross (2013) if there is little competition, it will not be meaningful. It is right in many cases; indifferent that the party elite control access of party members to leadership ballots, in these types of competition whether the party members have a real choice in the selection of the party presidents.

1.1.7.4.4- Responsiveness

The concept of responsiveness linked to representation. They should be obeying party discipline and considered subordinate to following the voters' interests and preferences. The representatives are supposed to be responsive and accountable to their electorate. Representative responsiveness, therefore, suggests that the representatives must be attentive to the interests, needs, and demands of their voters (Hazan and Rahat, 2010). The party leaders and all officeholders would be accountable and responsible to their party members and voters. Intra-party accountability means that parties have reliable procedures for all representatives who represent the party at any level (Scarrows, 2008).

The principal objective of this part of the dissertation is to evaluate the level of internal party accountability that the party presidents are accountable to their parties and parties' members or not. The party members' access to party presidents is the easiest way to investigate the level of accountability to the party members. Fenno (1996) argued that the perception of representation as accountability is probably the most common one nowadays. A system of accountability believes in a system of representation. The people who are responsible for those who are elect them for their representation. The parties' presidents are the representative of the parties' members, and this study evaluates that the party presidents are accountable to their grass-roots members or not.

1.2- PILDAT Reports

The inside life of political parties in Pakistan and even around the world has not much discussed. In current politics, no pure or ideal kind of democracy has found. Similarly, democracy is not the norm for political parties. However, it widely acknowledged that democracy could not do in the absence of political parties. However, the level of their internal democracy and the importance of the structure are more prominent and debatable (PILDAT, 2014).

The internal difficulties of the political party as an organisation need particularly to consider. It is because of what makeup democracy should define in a political party and how the selected political parties are determining comparative strategy with these indicators. It hoped that the administration of the political parties would focus some of its attention on the restoration of internal democracy. Parties and party members, and lower-level party officials will make the question of political parties more sensitive to internal democracy (PILDAT, 2014).

This type of study is highly appropriate to several of the problems facing democracy in Pakistan; such is a weak intra-party democracy in political parties. There is no denying that democracy in Pakistan is still in its rising phases, and its development is obtainable to be a long-term process. However, working towards democratising political parties is a process that is in line with the above. The purpose behind the PILDAT review of intra-party democracy of political parties is to supply to the improved accountability of the state of democracy within Pakistan's political parties. The purpose of this report is not to criticise political parties indiscriminately. The point is to help out them, analyse weak areas and to encourage an active address on the necessity for democratic buildings within political parties. We strongly consider that active, democratic political parties

are the most crucial building blocks of a dynamic democratic organisation and society (PIDAT, 2015).

Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT) prepared and presented these reports on “assessing internal party democracy of major political parties of Pakistan” and “internal democracy of major political parties of Pakistan” was presented respectively in 2014 and 2015. Both reports have the same indicators except the last two indicators, not including in 2015 report. PILDAT measure intra-party democracy in the mainstream political parties of Pakistan through all these indicators based on the question related to these indicators.

- The democratic character of the party constitution
- Regular and competitive party elections
- The efficacy of intra-party structures
- Role of local party chapters in selecting party candidates for legislatures and local governments
- Regular meetings of parliamentary parties
- The tradition of annual general meetings or conventions
- Discouragement of dynastic leadership
- Regular change in party leadership
- A broad funding base and credible party accounts
- Tolerance of dissent within the party
- A democratic decision-making process
- Active participation of women, youth and minorities in the party affairs
- The number of party officials elected versus nominated
- current and comprehensive party website

The indicators as mentioned above were developed by PILDAT to assess the internal democracy of political parties in Pakistan and improved by the steering committee for quantitative evaluation of the parties, and each indicator is converted into a question by PILDAT to allocate a maximum score. Members of the steering committee and other experts recognised by PILDAT have assigned scores to each indicator on a level of 1 to 10.

Intra-party democracy and political affairs continue under-researched and under-analysed. The reports intend to gather some pieces of information, examining the effects of the parties' internal politics and the extent of the political order. The intellectual component is structured in the form of a diagnostic framework, outlining some critical questions. It has arisen in our quest to gauge intra-party democracy. The various parameters are mainly indicative of party involvement, decentralisation, and institutionalisation. The Report section dealing with the Framework's party-wise application provides a brief overview of the indicators for internal democracy and explains how and why they are different from each other.

PILDAT report related to intra-party democracy in Pakistan and measured internal democracy through these indicators. It is a genuine attempt in the area of intra-party democracy. The study has many gaps related to intra-party democracy in the Pakistani context if we compare it to international norms of intra-party democracy. The measurement of intra-party democracy received full attention from international scholars through these indicators, such as the selection of candidates, the selection procedure of party leadership, internal policymaking, internal accountability, internal conflict resolution mechanism, membership, etc. This report includes the decision-making process but not explain in detail who is the chief representative of decision

making. The selection procedure of party leadership is ignored by this study that how the leaders (presidents) select in Pakistani political parties. PILDAT report includes changing of top leadership but ignores the selection methods of party leadership and candidates' selection for this purpose.

This study contributes to evaluate the selection mechanism of party leadership according to international norms of intra-party democracy in Pakistani political parties. Furthermore, this study evaluates the selection method of candidates for the post of party president and the role of party members in this whole procedure. This study presents the leadership selection through four dimensions, such as candidacy, selectorates, decentralisation and appointment, and voting system. Furthermore, this study evaluates the political consequences of leadership selection, such as participation, representation, competition and responsiveness in Pakistani political parties. The main question arises here that who selects candidates for the party president, who selects the party leader, and how can be select. This study has paid a particular reference to the party members that what role played by the grass-roots party members in the selection and election of party president in Pakistani political parties.

CHAPTER- 2

POLITICAL DAORAMA (CIRCUMFERENCE) AND SCENIC VIEW OF PAKISTAN

This chapter encompasses and comprehends the political landscape of Pakistan and its history. Firstly, this chapter takes account of the brief history of the political system in Pakistan. Secondly, this chapter gives the details of the state structure of Pakistan. Thirdly this chapter highlights the overview of political parties and party system in Pakistan. Fourthly it enlightens about the three selected political parties for this study.

2.1- An Overview

The birth of Pakistan was considered a miracle of the 20th century. It was a miracle to survive this test. History has shown that the Radcliffe award has helped sow the seeds of hostility in many communities, leading to bloody and violent divisions. Kashmir was an incomplete program of partition left by the British that always kept India and Pakistan hostile, leading to three great wars and numerous disputes and conflicts (Raja, 2018). From 1947 to this year (2018), Pakistan had a total of 10 governments and 15 prime ministers. No prime minister has completed a five-year constitutional term (Kanwal, 2017). So far, in 1970, there have been ten parliamentary elections, and the losers have complained of rigging after each election. Out of the total period of 71 years of Pakistan's existence, there were four democratic periods (1947-1958; 1972-1977; 1988-1999; 2008 until now). Military rule continued 33 years contain four governments. Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan runs the government from October 1958 to 1969 (Ziring, 1998). General Yahya Khan from March 1969 to December 1971. General Muhammad Zia Ul Haq from September 1978 to August 1988 (Razvi, 1989),

while, General Pervez Musharraf from October 1999 to August 2008, it will discuss in detail at the coming headings of this chapter.

Pakistan is a parliamentary democracy with an elected national assembly and four provincial assemblies. The system based on the latest definition carried out in 2002. There are 342 seats in the national assembly allocated amongst the provinces and other units based on population. Of these, 272 filled by direct elections 60 seats reserved for women and ten seats to religious minorities allocated to political parties on the numbers of members of the National Assembly (Pakistan Constitution, Article 51). Members elected through the direct election with the simple-majority vote for five years (Pakistan Constitution, Article 51(4)). The political party (or coalition) with the popular of seats forms the government and selects one member of the assembly as the Prime Minister (Pakistan Constitution, Article 91(2A)). Each of the four provinces has a provincial government with a provincial assembly that the members elected through adult individuals. There is also an upper house called the Senate, which consists of 104 members. The members of Senate are indirectly elected by members of the national and provincial assemblies for three years.

2.2- Brief History of the Political System in Pakistan

The end of colonial rules in the Indian subcontinent marked the birth of two countries, India and Pakistan. The month of August 1947 marked a momentous change on the world map, with the foundation of two sovereign states, Pakistan and India, on 14 and 15 August 1947 correspondingly. Independence marked the termination of a long British rule that continued for almost a hundred and fifty years (Kaul, 2003). It had decided that the separation between Pakistan and India would ground on the population of Hindu and Muslims majority zones. There were Muslim-majority cities included in

Pakistan and Hindu-majority cities comprised in India. Many Muslim families migrated to Pakistan from the Indian part of the subcontinent (Ali, 2009). The religious violence and hatred between Sikhs, Hindus, and Muslims killed some two million people.

The development of Pakistan's newly formed government 1947-58 was crucial for establishing a model of governance. The function of the state organisation was to makeover the colonial system into an independent political organisation. Pakistan was facing security threats created by India shortly after the give way of the British Empire (Kanwal, 2017). Therefore, at the same time, it faced severe economic, political, and administrative challenges.

Pakistan's architect Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah became the first Governor-General of Pakistan. However, he died in 1948, and he was the most influential person of the party (Muslim League), which had the full support of the people of Pakistan. The death of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah affected Pakistan's politics badly. His successor, Liaquat Ali Khan, became prime minister and tried to fill the gap of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, but he assassinated in October 1951. The Pakistan Muslim League has not reorganised its political vision of the social and economic development of the people (Kanwal, 2017). By implementing one-nation, one-language, and one-party policies in the name of national interest for national solidarity (Razvi, 1987). It severely affected the development of democracy, partisanship, territoriality, and opportunism as a feature of this phase of politics.

The federal government (1947-58) failed to regulate itself to address more severe resource issues. The most imperative, administrative representation, social improvement, and provincial and partnership politics developed. Political parties have

shown no commitment to democratic principles and values to guide the future of the political system. Khawaja Nazimuddin dismissed as Prime Minister in April 1953. Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly dissolved in 1954. They were examples of such behaviour (MacGrath, 1996).

Martial law (Military regime, involving the suspension of ordinary law) was declared in October 1958, revoked the legislative constitution of 1956, and scrapped the political system, which was in its intermediate phase. General Ayub Khan, who received the power on the name of national unity and political stability, he was against the political parties. He considered the democratic system not suitable to the mental power of Pakistani people (Waseem, 1989). He introduced the Basic Democracies (BD)¹ system and a highly centralised presidential system to run the country confidently. He was not prepared to share power with political elites and trusted slowly on the civil bureaucracy in the decision-making procedure. The political, administrative and economic policies and actions of the military regime have improved the class and are differences between East and West Pakistan (Ziring, 1998). His set up political system failed to participate in its policies and function of state institutions to remove the sharp division of the people, particularly of East Pakistan.

In March 1969, Ayub Khan was replaced by another military man, General Yahya Khan, who repealed the 1962 presidential constitution and forced military law in the state. In 1970, this government made the first general election under the adult franchise. However, he could not resist East Pakistan's demands for political power-sharing and

¹BD members have consisted of rural and urban councils directly elected by the people that would be concerned with local governance and would assist in programs of grassroots development, total number of these BD were 80000, from all over the country and these BD, s members were elected the president of Pakistan in Ayub Khan Era.

social and economic equality (Jalal, 1991). As a result of this election, East Pakistan was separated from Pakistan in December 1971 in a military tragedy.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's federal government succeeded in forming a joint constitution of Pakistan in 1973. However, in practice, it cannot change the continuity of the power structure created by its centralised centrality. He also did not believe in the sharing of politics and governance. The Pakistan People's Party stays behind undemocratic in its party structure. It based on sponsorship rather than values. His dealings with opposition parties and socio-economic reforms provide the army with an opportunity to recollect its role in Pakistan's political system. Therefore, an elected PPP government missed the opportunity to solve political, economic, and social issues. Further, the infrastructure for the political institution could not form to maintain the political system (Ziring, 2001).

General Zia-ul-Haq broke up the Bhutto elected government through martial law in July 1977. He also went behind Ayub Khan's view of the non-party system and considered the political parties' role and their functioning contrary to Islam. He struggled to make more efficient the administrative system to stabilise Islamisation and de-politicisation. Political parties launched the Movement for Restoration Democracy (MRD) in 1981 to abolish martial law. They want to bring back the 1973 parliamentary constitution and hold general elections. The military government held general elections in 1985 on a non-party basis (Ziring, 2001). In this regard, an amendment passed in the constitution of 1973 in the same year, the role of Parliament minimised through the presidential form of government in a respective amendment.

Democracy restored in 1988 general election was held, but unfortunately, the use of presidential power under article 58-2-B remained in the same. The President of Pakistan

used this power to unseat the Prime Ministers who were elected three times during the period 1990-1997. In such a scenario, the leaders of the political parties did not prefer to democratise their parties and relied on a network of personal appeals and support to mobilise the party members. Therefore, elected governments of the PPP and PML-N (1988-99) could not execute professionally and successfully to institutionalise the governmental system (Shafqat, 1998).

The army returned to power on October 12, 1999, after the dissolution of the Muslim League-N civilian government. General Pervez Musharraf formed the National Security Council in October 1999 and regulated the constitutional role of the army in the politics of Pakistan as well. Their political system is based on the transfer of power, completely ignoring the provinces. In practice, this system cannot achieve the goals of good governance and tolerant democracy. The state and its economy have militarised, and government organs have been weakened (Kanwal, 2017). Pervez Musharraf held general elections in 2002 to restore democracy in Pakistan. After the general election, his founding political party Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam (PML-Q) formed the government at centre, as well as in Punjab, and Balochistan provinces. Pervez Musharraf once held the positions of President and Army Chief of Pakistan. In this regard, the PML-Q completed its first five-year term in Pakistan's history.

The general election was held in 2008 under the umbrella of military commander president General Pervez Musharraf. It was the common observation that no party would win seats in this election. Therefore, no party can get more seats in the centre and the provinces to form a single government. The Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (JIP), Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) and the Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP)

boycottd polls by General Pervez Musharraf, and as a military ruler and President of Pakistan.

Pakistan People's Party Chairperson Benazir Bhutto was assassinated on December 27, 2007, when she finished her election speech in Liaquat Bagh Park, Rawalpindi. This incident altered the electoral situation in support of the Pakistan People's Party. Benazir's widower, Asif Ali Zardari, turned into co-chairman of the People's Party, and her 16-year-old son, Bilawal Zardari, designated the chairman of the PPP (Talbot, 2012). Pakistan People's Party formed the government in the Centre, Sindh province, and the coalition government in the NWFP, now known as KPK with ANP.

The 2013 election was a big step to continue the arrival of democracy in the country, which began five years ago. Despite the extremist efforts to disrupt the elections, millions of Pakistanis voted to support the democratic process. The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) made the first allocation of power from the democratically elected government. It reported by the election commission of Pakistan that above 46 million individuals cast their votes to nearly 55 per cent of turnout. Elections and the resulting transfer of power have set destinations for upcoming events that can have an incredible impact on the country. It has continued democratic progress with the departure and replacement of indirect presidential elections, the Chief of Army Staff, and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, respectively, all of which planned in 2013 (NDI, 2013).

The general elections of 2013 promoted several positive aspects, including a better legal framework. It improved competitiveness between parties and candidates, higher turnout and voter interests, and more efficient and independent administration of election commission. However, in many areas, continuous electoral reform is needed, as

political aggression has shocked elections in many areas of the country (NDI, 2013). Deficiencies found in election procedures, female political participation, and post-election environment.

2.3- Overview of Parties and Party System in Pakistan

In the beginning, Pakistan was a leading party system; the Muslim League was the main party after the independence in 1947. In comparison, only some small parties existed in the Parliament and outside. However, gradually, it changed into a multi-party system with the related problems of this system. Most of these Pakistani political parties have a fragile organisational structure. There is a substantial tag of the leadership on these parties who run these with a limited number of followers, repeatedly in a modified method (Mahmood, 2003). Politics is dominant everywhere in Pakistan, not just at the State level but at home too. Pakistan is a multi-party democratic system that comprises of numerous small and large political parties. In the present time, there are 352 political parties registered with the election commission of Pakistan (The News, 2017). The primary element is taking part by the active and accepted political parties who take a large vote bank in various locations.

The list of Pakistani Political Parties includes Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf, Pakistan People's Party, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, Awami National Party, Pakistan Muslim League (N), Muttahida Qawmi Movement (MQM) Jamiat Uellma Islam-F and many regional political parties. These political parties have a profound impact on the country's democratic system. They represent the mandate of the more significant part of Pakistan. There the number of minor political parties that represent the mandate of other smaller and larger places in Pakistan. The independent system of government in united India by the British, the role of the Political parties, developed and predictable

for the revolution of the universal will into the political will that signified over state institutions (Khan, 2006). The role of Political parties is crucial in devotions' expression, in gathering and in linking them in the political system.

Political parties and the political system of Pakistan passed through an experimental process from the time of its formation onwards. Political scholars also appreciated that the grade of the progress of a party system helped as a valuable indicator of the relative level of overall political and collective progress. Pakistan is a state until creation had a long experienced of military rule that automatically assisted the Pakistani people by the procedure of co-option and containment. Ayub Khan announced the regulation of EBDO (Elective Bodies Disqualification Order) in 1959. Through this regulation, he tried to hold control over activities of political leaders whom he measured as a danger to his authority (Ziring, 2001).

The reputed political leaders under this law disqualified till the year of 1966, or they had to retire willingly from public life — politicians like Suhrawardy, Qayyum Khan and Ayub Khuro disqualified. Gen. Zia ul Haq disqualified the political parties, and he announced organisational setup was mostly limited only to men of government (Ziring, 2001). The Gen. Zia, principal concern on the political front, looked to be the history of Pakistan's political parties. An Islamic country, he would declare, that no need for political parties.

Political parties use moral and ideological concepts, traditional signs, and ancient positions to produce political responsiveness among the grass-roots members and party workers. The political parties in the democratic system of Pakistan could take part in political development, excluding in the times of military coup. As Ayub Khan expelled

the democracy from 1958 till the time of the declaration of the 2nd constitution of Pakistan, and similarly Zia-ul- Haq did the same from 1977 to 1988 (Khan, 2006).

After the general election in 1988, democracy returned, which took place after the death of President General Zia-ul-Haq. In this election, the Pakistan People Party (PPP) has returned to power. Therefore, its leader, Benazir Bhutto, became the first female Prime Minister of Pakistan as well as the first female head of government in a Muslim-majority country. During this period, which lasted until 1999, the country introduced a parliamentary system and a competitive two-party democracy, with intense competition between right-wing defenders in the Nawaz Sharif-led Center (Alliance in the shape of IJI)² However, the socialists from the left centre, led by Benazir Bhutto (Giri, 2016).

2.3.1- Political Parties in Pakistan

Pakistan is a multi-party system and Political party is a fundamental institution of any democracy and supposed to function democratically for political development. This study main object is to examine intra-party democracy through leadership selection in Pakistani political parties. There are many political parties in Pakistan, we shortly discuss all the major political parties of Pakistan; however, this study cannot evaluate and examine intra-party democracy among these all. Hence, this study has analysed intra-party democracy in three political parties of Pakistan. However, this study has included Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (JIP), and Pakistan People Party (PPP). The main reasons for the selection of these parties are explained below one by one in detail.

²Islam Jamhori Ittihad

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N)

The Pakistan Muslim League is a centre-right party which has also held power on two occasions. The party was founded in 1962 as a successor to the previously disbanded Muslim League,⁴ and gained the (Nawaz) or (N) label in 1993 for its leader, Nawaz Sharif. PML-N is the second biggest party in Parliament. Mian Nawaz Sharif the leader of the party, has been elected Prime Minister on two occasions, but on neither instance was the party able to complete its term. Although the bulk of its support has traditionally been in North and Central Punjab, it also retains support in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and in parts of Sindh.

Pakistan Muslim League (PML-Q)

PML-Q is another centrist political party, and was formed in 2001, when the Pakistan Muslim League split into several factions on the removal of the Nawaz Sharif government by General Musharraf. The party supported former President Pervez Musharraf and was in power, as the lead member of a coalition, from 2002 to 2007. It is the 3rd biggest party in Parliament after the PPP and PML (N). The party is presided by Chaudry Shujaat Hussain former interior minister and former Prime minister. The PML (Q) is in collation with PTI in Federal and in Punjab province.

Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)

The MQM began life as a party formed for the Urdu speaking Mohajir community based in Karachi and Hyderabad. It was founded and is currently led by Altaf Hussain, who has lived in self-imposed exile in London since 1992. The party originated as an ethnic student organisation in 1978 from the University of Karachi. The organisation maintains liberal, progressive and secular stances on many political and social issues.

In 1997, the MQM officially removed the term Mohajir (or refugee, which denotes the party's roots of Urdu-speaking Muslims) from its name and replaced it with Muttahida (meaning "United"), in an attempt to widen its appeal outside urban Sindh. MQM currently holds the fourth highest number of seats in the National Assembly. It is currently a member of the ruling coalition in the federal government as well as in the Sindh government.

Awami National Party (ANP)

The Awami National Party (ANP) is a leftist, secular political party, with a long history in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa under different names. The current leadership are descendants of Pakhtun leaders who were affiliated with the Congress Party in pre-partition India. The party has had a checkered history, marked by conflict. In the present time the party led by Asfandyar wali khan the son of Abdul wali khan the former President of ANP.

Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP)

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto founded Pakistan Peoples Party on November 30, 1967 in Lahore, Pakistan. Pakistan People Party is the largest political party in the country. The party gained much popularity and support prior to Pakistan's split with Bangladesh, winning the bulk of seats in West Pakistan in the elections of 1971 with its pledge of providing "Roti, Kapra Makaan" (food, clothing and shelter) to the people. The Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) is a party formed in 2002 by the PPP for the purpose of complying with electoral rules governing Pakistani parties, which did not allow the original PPP to contest elections. The Pakistan People's Party (PPPP) is a mainstream political party in Pakistan, which was led by Bhutto's daughter Benazir until 2007 when she was assassinated. The Bhutto dynasty continues with Benazir's son Bilawal inheriting' Chairmanship of the party, with his father Asif Ali Zardari as co-chairman

and current President. It is represented in all provinces and has political influence all over the country. But in present time Pakistan People party

According to the PILDAT report, Pakistan people party on the fifth position on intra-party democracy of all major political parties of Pakistan. In the general election, 2013 PPP is becoming the second-largest party in the centre and the ruling party in Sindh Province. The party leadership realised that PPP is the political representative of the poor, middle-class people and depressed community. The principal leaders of the party many times announced that the power divided into different organisations of the party. This study has explored to what extent leader come from grass-roots level to top position in PPP. This study analysed the level of leadership selection and election from bottom to the top level, and the role of party grass-roots workers' in all this process according to international norms of intra-party democracy.

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)

Imran Khan founded Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf on April 25 1996 in Lahore. Former cricketer Imran Khan started a socio-political movement in Pakistan known as Movement for Justice (Urdu: Tehreek-e-Insaf). As the fastest growing political party in Pakistan, PTI is establishing itself as one of the country's mainstream national parties. He is still chairman to date from the day of foundation. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is the new emergence of Pakistani politics in the general election 2013 it became the third-largest party in the centre and the ruling party in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) province. A report presented by PILDAT Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf received 2nd in 2014 and 3rd number in 2015 in internal democracy in Pakistani Political parties. It also opposed to hereditary politics and dynastic leadership. PTI first introduced intra-party election in 2013 on a secret ballot one member one vote in Pakistan. The register members of PTI

use the right to vote for the election of every district, provincial, and central President (Chairman) of the party. This study has evaluated the procedure of the election of party president and the role of party members in this procedure.

Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (JIP)

Jamaat-e-Islami was founded by Syed Abul Ala Maududi on August 26 1941 in Lahore (after the creation of Pakistan Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan divided into Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Jamaat-e-Islami Hind). He abandons from the office of party president in his life and elected a new party president through the intra-party election. Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is the most organised religious, political party in the country owing to its party structure at every level. Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan occupied on top ranking in intra-party democracy in the country, according to PILDAT report 2014-15. After the general election of 2013, JIP becomes a coalition partner in provincial government with PTI in KPK province. The JIP is the only party in Pakistan which changes leadership from bottom to top-level in a proper way. The Intra-party election held in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan for provincial, district heads, including central President through has a secret ballot. However, there are some gaps still present if we compare in the light of international norms of democracy. It has explained in detail in the coming chapters. The study aims to evaluate the way of party presidential election and the role of party members in an overall procedure according to international norms of intra-party democracy. The study evaluated the selection methods of candidates for the leadership election.

CHAPTER- 3

WORLDS APART AND VARYING (WHIMSICAL) DIFFERENTIATIONS OF INVESTIGATING PATTERNS AND RESEARCH DESIGN

In this chapter, this study includes the research design of this dissertation. This dissertation focused on two main research questions. The first question is related to a descriptive analysis of parties' statutes, and the other deal with the consequences of party leadership selection in intra-party democracy. The first part of this chapter explicates the data collection method, as well as the method of data analysis for the first research question. The second part of this chapter is exclusively reserved to the second research question. In this fragment, this study expounds the collection method of primary data for the second research question as well as the contraption of data analysis.

3.1- The Selection of Party Presidents in Pakistan

In the first research question of this dissertation, we focus on the leadership selection process in the three selected political parties. This study applies a multi-method approach to answering this research question by collecting qualitative data. This study is more examining in a descriptive analysis of the statutes of the selected political parties. The parties' statutes can be noted and attached in the last as Annex 1-A, B, and C.

The principal aim of this dissertation is to examine political party leadership concerning the party laws, rules, and results of its selection process in Pakistan. In Pakistan, it is straightforward to identify a party head. The head of a political party is usually the president or chairman of a given party. Hence, the research focuses only on this leadership position. Every time a leader or a leadership position mentioned, it refers to

the chairman or president (Hartlinski, 2014) or Ameer in religious, political parties in Pakistan.

3.1.1- Collection of Secondary Data

The research question one focuses on the dimensions of leadership selection of Hazan and Rahat (2010) candidates' selection model, such as the candidacy, selectorate, decentralisation and appointment, and voting system in the light of formal (statutory) conditions. The selection of party president and the corresponding election procedure evaluated in the light of four dimensions through parties' laws in the selected political parties', i.e. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Pakistan People Party. The post of party leader is one of the essential positions in modern parliamentary democracies (Wauters, 2014). Therefore, the selection methods of the party leader position are an important political institution (Kenig, 2008).

Secondary data was collected from political parties' offices and parties' websites to answer the first research question. The first question can answer by comparing the parties' constitutions. It allows describing the selection process of party leaders (presidents) in the three selected political parties of Pakistan, which already indicated in the overall introduction of this dissertation.

Secondary data for the first research question obtained from the party statutes. If the information related to party president selection procedures not indicated in the party statutes, hence rule books, strategic plans, or election manifestos and annual reports were utilised for this study. Furthermore, this study relied on local newspapers, TV talk shows, and interviews and speeches of parties' leaders for the descriptive analysis. The most influential newspapers in Pakistan are the Daily News, Dawn, and Express

Tribune. The TV channels that considered for data collection are Geo, ARY, SAMA, and Express. The use of different data sources expected to improve the credibility of this study as scholars, prefer using data from multiple sources in qualitative studies (Glaser and Strauss, 2012). This rich source of both qualitative and quantitative data complemented the background information concerning the country context and history of political parties as well as the party systems.

The study examines the leadership selection in Pakistani political parties in comparison to leadership selection and intra-party democracy. The information about other countries originates from books and research articles of well-known international scholars such as Michels, (1962) Harmal and Janda, (1994) Teorell, (1999) Scarrow, (2005) Kenig, (2009) Hazan and Rahat, (2010) Rahat (2007) Sandri, (2012) Cross and Katz, (2013) Hartilinski, (2014) Katz and Mair, (1995) Sandri and Amjahad (2015) Radecki, (2015) Kenig and colleagues (2013) Wauters, (2014) and Annalisa (2016). This data completed with data from reports of different institutions working on political parties and intra-party democracy.

3.1.2- Data Analysis of Secondary Data

Despite some efforts in theory building in this literature (Frieden, 1989), like that on democratisation, the field of political science remained mostly descriptive. First, this study has presented the importance of party president and framework for leadership selection. However, to explain the candidacy that who can select for the post of party president as well as the electorate who is selecting. The third dimension is decentralisation described by Ranney (1981) Hazan and Rahat (2010) division of power directly or indirectly. The last dimension is the procedure of appointment and voting system that the vote casting system on a secret ballot or appointment procedure.

Furthermore, it is crucial to understand the party system and rules for the selection of party presidents. The status of party presidents in political parties in a parliamentary democratic system has also highlighted in this context. It followed by a descriptive analysis of the selected political parties' statutes with a focus on all statements that directly or indirectly linked to the presidents. In doing so, this aims to identify which party has chosen the most democratic mechanism to select its president.

3.2- Consequences of Party Leadership Selection

The most inclusive selection method for party leadership selection identified in the literature on leadership selection by open or closed primaries. Hazan and Rahat, (2010) Cross and Blais (2012) Wauters, (2014) Sandri and Amjahad, (2015) explain that, in open primaries party members, supporters and voters participate in the direct internal elections for party president, whereas in closed primaries only the registered party members can participate in this process. The second research question addressed this in a more detailed way, through informal rules by focusing on four consequences such as participation, representation, competition and responsiveness for party leadership selection that have been identified by Hazan and Rahat (2010) in the existing political science literature. For every consequence, a sub research question developed by this study to address these four sub-questions, one by one, in a separate chapter and its aims to evaluate the consequences of leadership selection in Pakistani political parties.

The primary quantitative data collected through a questionnaire; party members and individuals answered these questionnaires with party affiliation and without party affiliation, respectively. Answers are captured through Likert scales, as can be noted from the research questionnaires in Annex 2 in the last of this dissertation.

3.2.1- Data Collection of Primary Data

The primary data results from a paper-based survey in the form of a research questionnaire. The bulk of data collected from respondents, which are either party members or non-party members. The structured questionnaire developed by the researcher of this dissertation. In order to obtain data from party members, the questionnaire distributed among selected political parties' members through snowball sampling. These members know about internal party affairs, party rules, and the party constitutions. However, most parties' members seem to defend every legal and illegal activity of his/her political parties. It is, therefore, possible that they did not give objective information about intra-party democracy and leadership selection. Therefore, a few questionnaires additionally distributed among non-party members who are educated, skilful and have knowledge about politics, political parties and intra-party democracy within political parties. Eighty per cent of the questionnaires distributed were among party members and twenty per cent among other neutral individuals who not affiliated with the selected political parties.

The party members have political affiliation with the said parties. They have enough education and knowledge about the party, party constitution, and party internal affairs. The party members know about the behaviour of party leaders and the process for leadership selection. They know who participates in the selection of the party president, and they are familiar with the method used for this process. They know about the family background and political career of the party leaders.

Furthermore, they are aware of the selection of candidates for the party presidential election. Finally, they can also report on the responsiveness of the party leaders to their party members. However, it observed in social media in Pakistan, the party members

of each political party, except a few, tend to blindly follow every policy and decision taken by the party decision-making body and defend it. Consequently, in order to get an unbiased picture of intra-party democracy in Pakistan, it is essential also to receive the answer from non-party members.

Therefore, 20 per cent of the questionnaires distributed among non-party members. The non-party members have a good reputation and knowledge about all political parties and party systems of Pakistan. The neutrality of non-party members expected to reveal a clear picture of intra-party democracy and in particular leadership selection in Pakistani political parties. The media gives full attention in this modern democratic era to cover every intra-party election.

Therefore, these non-party experts know about the indicators used in the research questionnaire. The research questionnaire focuses on four consequences of leadership selection. In the first theme questions related to participation, the voters are the participant in the election of party president that who has the right to vote in the intra-party election. The second consequence is related to representation. In this theme, the questions related to the political career of party president as well as the family background that they represent the grass-roots members or a dynastic family. The third indicator focuses on competition; this theme presents the numbers of candidates in the election of party presidents. The last consequence dedicated to the responsiveness, in this theme, the questions asked about the accountability of party presidents, that the party presidents are accountable to the party as well as party members or not. Furthermore, they are aware of party leaders toward party members, because nowadays, it is straightforward to observe every action of a politician through electronics and social media.

The primary data collected from January until March 2018, as mentioned above, the researcher distributed some questionnaire himself among the respondents. Completing the entire questionnaires took 10 to 15 minutes.

The questions reflected in four major themes. They were: participation (for example, who participated in the election of party presidents, i.e. party members, members' representatives' only elite class etc.); representation (the present presidents of the selected political parties represent grass-roots members or belong to a dynastic family) competition (the level of competition, competition between two or more than two candidates); responsiveness (internal accountability of the party president such as the party president accountable to party organisations and party members, and the removal of party presidents through vote of no confidence); For the convenience of the reader, the questionnaire annexed to this thesis. The questionnaire can note and attached as Annex 2 in the last of the dissertation.

This study also conducted interviews with some key figures, including intra-party democracy experts and scholars. The interviews are beneficial for the authentic measurement of political consequences uses in intra-party democracy for leadership selection. Although no sampling technique used to obtain a representative cross-section for an interview, the researcher's knowledge of the actors in the cases under study and a version of 'snowballing' used. Interviewers have known about this area of study. The format of all interviews, formal and informal, was open-ended in approach to bring out expert knowledge and background information. The interviews were taken in January until June 2018, owing to no availability of the expert; the entire interviews took 10 to 15 minutes. The detail of interviews, such as the name of the interviewers' date of interviews, can note and attached Annex 3 in the last of the dissertation.

3.2.2- Data Analysis of Primary Data

This part of the study analysed the collected data of the research questionnaires. The views of party members and non-party members recorded, and variables coded. The responses of both parties and non-party members recorded. The SPSS used for analysing this data. The data analysed descriptively, using simple tables for every question. It is a descriptive statistical analysis of intra-party democracy and, more particularly, of leadership selection in the selected political parties of Pakistan.

The field survey focussed on the members of the selected political parties and non-party members in the form of a Likert scale questionnaire. The responses solicited from as many as 300 individuals. The researcher selected 300 including both party member and non-party member because the total population was unknown. All these respondents were affiliated members of the selected political parties they know about the selection procedures of the party presidents and the non-party members; they also knew political parties and intra-party democracy.

The researcher collected data from 240 party members 80 from each. The researcher fixed 80 from each party as the ratio of party members was high. Similarly, the researcher collected data from 60 non- party members as their number was unknown. This distribution was done after considering and calculating the possible reliable and authentic result. Thus, in this way, the researcher ensured diversity in the target population. Key variables of the target population included age, sex, education, occupation, and political affiliation, such as politicians, social workers, businesspeople, lawyers, and students. All the respondents were literate; the majority of them, graduates. Opinions taken personally and also used the snowball method for the party members, non-party members and experts of intra-party democracy for interviews. The

interviews of experts of intra-party democracy have also analysed the measurement of effective competition in the election of the parties' presidents. The interviews put one by one in related indicators to every consequence of leadership selection.

The second part of this dissertation focused on the political consequences of leadership selection. It already indicated in the introduction and literature of review that the informal rule applied to the second part of this study. The question asked about the political consequences of leadership selection participation, representation, competition, and responsiveness' on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 'strongly agree' 2 'agree' 3 'disagree' 4 'strongly disagree' 5' not at all.' In the data table, data SA used for strongly agree, A for agree, SD for strongly disagree, and NA for not at all. The views of the experts of intra-party democracy in the form of interviews has been analysed descriptively. The collected data is related to the political consequences of leadership selection. The views of experts included to every consequence separately in a separate chapter to measure the level of intra-party democracy and democratic selection of party presidents.

CHAPTER- 4

HEIGHTS AND ELEVATIONAL STANDARDS IN LIEU OF THE SELECTION AND DETERMINATION OF THE PARTY PRESIDENT

This chapter elucidates a descriptive analysis of the constitutions of three political parties for leadership selection. Firstly, this chapter illuminates the importance of the party president in a democratic system. This chapter then familiarizes with four dimensions of leadership selection, such as candidacy, selectorate, decentralisation and appointment, and voting system. This study then weighs the above four dimensions in the light of party laws and formal rules for leadership selection. The candidacy focuses on the eligibility of candidates for the post of party presidents. The selectorate refers to the selection methods of candidates for the post of party presidents, i.e. who selects the candidates for the post of party president in political parties. The third dimension for leadership selection is de-centralisation, and it interprets where the selection takes place and from where the candidates are selected. The appointment and voting system finally highlight the procedures of election of party presidents. Here it is applied the expressed dimensions to three selected political parties in Pakistan.

4.1. The Importance of Party President

A political party's strong point is judged by its infrastructure and on how effective the leadership is at the grass-root level. It is of absolute importance for a political party to conduct its intra-party elections so that elected leaders can become a genuine voice of the ordinary members and workers of a specific region (Rehman, 2016). According to Section-11 of Pakistan Political Parties Order, 2002, it is a legal condition that all political parties hold intra-party elections every four years through a secret ballot based

on a democratic and apparent system. However, now the election reform committee decided that every political party must hold an intra-party election once in every six years instead of four years (Dawn News, 2017).

Party leaders are among the most prominent political figures in the democratic party of the modern representative's system. The party leader is an important and influential player in the field of politics in every democratic country (Kenig, 2009), who is responsible for both the party's internal organisation and outside relations and actions, such as acting as a spokesperson in dialogue. He is also the person appointing ministers in case his party winning the general election and become the Prime Minister (Wauters, 2010). It is also applicable to Pakistan.

According to Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf constitution Article (X), (B) the party head (president) shall be the Chief spokesman of the party. Article (19) (4) (d) of the constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan prescribes that the party head (Ameer) shall be performing all administrative matters of the party. According to the PILDAT report (2015), the administration is the direct responsibility of the Chairman of Pakistan People Party, and he is to sanctify all decisions and presides over the Central Executive Committee (CEC). In Pakistan, the party president has the power as prime minister to nominate all the provincial governors (with consent the president) as well as chief ministers in case of being a majority party of provinces.

In many political parties, the party president becomes the prime minister of the country in case of winning elections. In this way, the party administrative office functions as a gateway to the country's highest political position (Kenig, 2009). The party leader makes decisions through consultation with party consultative organ, but the party president gives the final approval. He is the single and dominant influential personality

to produce party policy and party behaviour. The party president has a significant say in proceeding or delaying the careers of fellow supporters. At the same time, party leaders constitute an essential reason why voters vote for him or against his party (Aarts et al. 2011; Bittner, 2011).

Jedenastik and Muller (2015) argued that party presidents are mortal not only politically but also physically. The party president plays an essential role in the election campaign. Much attention is paid to the interests and demands of voters in his speeches to attract votes. As long as he performs well, he can stay in office. Theories of rational party behaviour propose that policy, office, and votes are the prime goals of political parties (Muller and Strom, 1999; Strom, 1990). In the last two general elections in Pakistan, respectively, in 2013 and 2018, PTI chairman Imran Khan conveys his message in an excellent way to the general public and attract the voters to his party during elections campaigns.

Political parties make those people leaders whom they expect to make the most central contributions to their political performance. Party leaders constitute a unique variety, in public and even among politicians. Most of them have functioned hard politically and struggled their way up for many years. In many countries across the Western world, parties are expanding their leadership selectorates to include rank-and-file members. The party presidents need some powers to run the party and makes decisions for the benefits of the party and party members. The powers of parties' presidents are described below in the light of parties' statutes.

4.2- Power of the Party President

The party head (president) is the most crucial person in the party. He is the most potent officeholder, but his power varies from party to party. In some political parties of Pakistan, the president is the only dominant person, and the entire powers move around to him. This practice mostly seen in hereditary political parties, however, in a few political parties in Pakistan in which the president makes all the decisions with the approval of party decisions making bodies. This study has presented the power of party presidents of the three selected political parties in the light of parties' statutes one by one.

According to the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf constitution Article (X), (B) the party head (president) has the following power. The party chairman is the party's head and central spokesperson, and he exercises all the powers involved in his office. He ensures that the administration will work at all levels under the goals and intention of the party. He has the power to delegate his authority to the Secretary-General or a member of the Central Executive Committee. He has the authority to suspend any official at the national and provincial levels against whom disciplinary action is pending. In the event of removal or suspension of an officer, he may hand over the authority and responsibilities of such an officer to another member of the party. He will have all the other options not explicitly stated, including the power to interpret the party constitution for the organisation's successful work. He may appoint special assistants /advisers at the national or provincial level except for the elected officials if they are satisfied that such appointment needed for the interest of the party. He may, from time to time, appoint special committees approved by the Central Executive Committee. In the event of disqualification due to the chairman's detention or illness, one of the senior vice

presidents will act as the chairman of the party. The Chairman has the authority against any order passed by a Provincial President.

Article (19) of the constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is related to the power of the party president (Ameer). According to this article, the president has the power to choose members of the Central Working Committee (Majlis-e-Amla) from the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura). The president has the power in all crucial matters in emergency circumstances, i.e., when it is not possible to call a meeting of both the Central Consultative Council and the Central Working Committee. He can consult with a few members of both committees to make an immediate decision. The Ameer (president) has the power to nominate vice presidents from Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura). He has the power of all administrative matters and its arrangements as well as the power to enter new members and exemption of members from the party. The president has the supremacy to suspend or dismiss any lower organisation of the party. The party Ameer (President) has the power to nominate, subordinate officeholders, and their dismissal as well as the nomination of General Secretary and his dismissal from the post. The president has the power to spend money from the party fund on any matters and work related to the party. The president influences to call a general assembly of the party. He has the power to delegate his power to any other office barrier. The Ameer of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan exercises all these power on the approval and consultation of the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura).

Article (2) of the constitution of Pakistan People's Party described that the Patron-in-Chief (chairman/president) and Patron of the party might belong to Bhutto family, however, in recognition of the sacrifice of PPP leadership. The power of the chairman

of the Pakistan people party is, as stated in the PILDAT report (2015). The administration is the direct responsibility of the chairman and the secretary-general. The Chairman will preside over all decisions, the Central Executive Committee (CEC) and other relevant meetings of the party as well as appoint members in the CEC and the Federal Council (FC) (now abolished by party top leadership) with the relevant provincial organisations or the Capital Territories, FATA, Northern Territories, AJ&K, Gilgit-Baltistan Party Organizations. The Secretary-General notifies the heads of the various departments of the party (such as the Shadow Cabinet, think tanks, human rights, etc.) with the authorisation of the Chairman. Party elections also held under the chairman's order. He assigns the President and Secretary of the Election Body / Election Monitoring Cell in consultation with the CEC.

The powers exercised by the party presidents under the party constitutions of the three selected political parties of Pakistan now compared. The chairman of PTI exercises many powers under the constitution of PTI, but he is not responsive to CEC. Hence, the president of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan held responsible and accountable by the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) under article (19) (1) and article (19) (2). All decisions and policies made by the party president in consultation with the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura). The chairman of PPP is the sole authority of the party because there is no elected organ in the party, which holds the chairman accountable. The CEC is the decision-making body of the party, and all members select the party chairman. Hence, in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, the power does not move around in a single person like Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and Pakistan People's Party.

The post of party presidents is a vital position within the parties. This study analyses the statutes of selected political parties to describe the way of selection and election of parties' presidents in Pakistani political parties.

4.3- A Framework for Leadership Selection

This chapter focuses on leadership selection, considering the four dimensions of Hazan and Rahat (2010) candidates' selection model. The inclusiveness and exclusiveness method (Scarrows, 2005; Hazan and Rahat, 2010; Wauters, 2014) is used for leadership selection to measure the intra-party democracy through these dimensions. The first dimension is candidacy; it means who can become the party president according to formal party laws. Is there are some requirements, or is every member eligible to present himself as a candidate for the position of party president? The second dimension for leadership selection is the selectorate; it means who selects the candidates for the post of party president. It can do by a small group of elites or a group of member representatives or directly by all party members.

The third one is the most critical and challenging dimension is decentralisation; it means the division of powers. Where does selection take place, and the candidates selected from the central organisation or also from provincial and regional organisations? The fourth and the last dimension is appointment and voting system; it refers to the procedures of the election of the party president. The voting system is referring to a proper election where every party member vote to the candidates presents in the intra-party contest. The appointment system refers to the selection method where a few elites nominate the party president in somewhere the party president announces himself as party president.

4.4- Candidacy

Most political parties do not mention criteria such as citizenship and residency in their candidacy requirements. There are, however, a series of needs that parties impose in addition to those that the state requires of all candidates of party presidents across parties. While minimum standards for leadership candidates in European countries often involve only decisive criteria such as age and citizenship relying on voters to judge whether to elect a candidate who has a criminal record, a few countries, such as France, Germany, Ireland and Spain have recognised rules preventing people from standing for elections based on criminal law principle (Maira, 2012).

The first dimension (candidacy) addresses that who can select as party president. Candidacy means who can present himself or herself for selection in political parties to become the party president and who is eligible to become the party president. The further electorally oriented and catch-all parties might decide to pursue broad candidacy requirements, while the more ideological parties may adopt restricted limitations that ensure a candidate's "socialisation" into the party culture (Hazan and Rahat, 2010). The strictest requirements candidacy may see in the dynastic political parties.

Why would a party take up more inclusive, or more particular, candidacy requirements?
Inclusivity strength is the result of legal regulations, as is the case in the United States. However, it may also be a quality of a party whose primary interest is an electoral success and is, therefore, open to any candidate who could help increase the party share of the vote (Hazan and Rahat, 2010). Where little to no membership requirements exists, such as even a minimal membership period, the resulting candidates could be newcomers to the party. For example, in Canada, among the nonincumbent candidates

elected to parliament in 1988, 14 per cent joined their parties during the year before the elections (Erickson and Carty 1991; Hazan and Rahat, 2010).

Exclusivity, on the other hand, maybe due to an attempt by the party to control the supply side of potential candidates, so that those who fulfil the enhance eligibility requirements and are subsequently both selected and elected will have according to party dictates. In other words, additional requirements cannot only remove those candidates with potential personal problems but also assure specific behavioural patterns once in office (Hazan and Rahat, 2010).

The variations among parties in their candidacy requirements cut along ideological lines, Left-wing parties established more formal candidacy requirements for selection than right-wing parties; that is, left-wing parties are more exclusive (Gallagher, 1988). The consecutive competition is crucial because it expected to keep elected party president responsible and accountable to their party members (voters who elect through intra-party election). The elected representatives know that they must face the public from time to time and thus be accountable for their failures and successes (Cross and Kitz, 2013). Candidacy based on two sub-indicators; the first one is; minimum standard (essential criteria), and the second one is; minimum membership period of the candidates.

4.4.1- The Minimum Standard for Party Presidents

In the developed countries, political parties have set minimum requirements determining who is entitled to run for the office of the party president. These requirements frequently vary according to the type of office (for example, presidents of central and provincial level) and may involve age, citizenship, country of birth,

residence, the minimum level of literacy, political skills, and knowledge, among others (Maira, 2012). The constitutions of the political parties of Pakistan also set some requirements for party presidents. In the constitutions of many political parties, there is no minimum period of membership, age, and level of literacy indicated for the post of party presidents.

Hazan and Rahat (2010) argued that a minimum membership period in the party is one of the most common political candidacy requirements. There are, however, many parties that do not impose a party membership period as a candidacy requirement. Among these are the Swedish Liberals, who even invited people not associated with the party to run as candidates in the 2004 European elections (Aylott, 2005). The party president should be a skilful and well-educated person. The essential requirements and qualities for the party presidents are described below in detail, which is set by the parties in its parties' constitutions in the three selected political parties of Pakistan.

Article (XVII), of the constitution of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, demonstrate the minimum paradigm for election to the party offices. This study is associated with the party president (chairman), but the party constitution does not indicate the necessary qualifications for the party chairman explicitly, but maybe the requirements for every member to any post of party office can be applied. Only registered members of the party who fulfil the following conditions shall entitle to an election to the party offices. That party member, their sources of revenue and wealth, are not based on bribery, whose standard of living is under their leading profits, and they have not acquired plot and authorisation through power and bribery. The party registered members who have not used their influence while received amortisation of debt and did not convict of moral dishonesty. Those party members did not have affiliation with the underworld or collect

money from illegal and anti-social activities. Those party members are ready to pay the income taxes earned along with disclose to his family's assets. Those party members are also eligible; they have not been directly responsible for any unconstitutional movement that violates the sovereignty of the judiciary.

Article (13) of the constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan describes that the following qualities shall keep in view in the election of the Ameer (president) of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan at every level, such as for districts, provinces, and centre. He should neither be the applicant nor the aspirant for the office of the Ameer (president) nor any other position inside the party. He should be the best in the gathering concerning the knowledge of the Qur'an and Sunnah, and he should carry out the following characteristics: piety, sincerity and good judgment, capable of solving problems, determination, power of matters and decision, gentleness and tolerance, familiarity with the spirit of the Islamic Movement and devotion to it, adherence to the JIP constitution, commitment to the path of God and the ability to carry out responsibilities. For provincial Ameer, the candidates will be a permanent member of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, and in case of a district Ameer, the minimum period of party membership is one year.

Article (7) of the constitution of Pakistan People Party explains the procedure of party election. The eligibility criteria for all party offices in Pakistan People's Party are: All party members who have "good rank" and "regulation" and "who follow PPP objectives" are entitled to contest elections for party offices. The similar criteria are relevant to voters at party offices. Voter lists made up of members of a particular geographical area, namely, federal or provincial or district. It means that every party member can contest intra-party election for any office, including party president

(chairman). The post of party president (chairman) is the most decisive position in the party, and throughout history, this post belongs only to the Bhutto family and now to the Zardari family.

The constitutions of the three selected political parties indicate the criteria for candidacy, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf constitution set a minimum standard for candidates to contest the intra-party election for the position of party president, and the candidates should be clear from corruption and every type of crimes. Furthermore, the living standard would be according to his known sources of income. Every candidate would be declared all his assets and his family assets before the contest for the party office. The candidacy standards of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan are fragile in the light of democracy because according to the constitution no one can present himself as a candidate for the post of party president neither aspirant nor desirous to any other office of the party. The question arises here that how to measure that a person is not desirous and not aspirant to the office of the party president and other offices in the party in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. It means that no one can present himself/herself as a candidate for any office within the party. Therefore, we can say that it is a non-democratic practice in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. In the first sub-indicator, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is very exclusive in the minimum standard for party president. It is also opposed to democracy; however, in a democratic system everyone has the right to vote, right of representation to every office of the party, every person is entitled to freedom of expression, and freedom of association, etc. in democracy. Hence, if a person is fulfilling the necessary criteria, which are mentioned in the constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, he should be able to present himself/herself for any office of the party, including party president.

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and Pakistan People Party mostly fulfil the candidacy requirement for party presidents in the minimum standard according to the democratic norms. The most exclusive method used in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan because the article (13) of the constitution indicates that no one can present himself as a candidate for the post of party president neither for any other party officials. However, democracy is a system where every person should have some fundamental political rights. Therefore, if a person is fulfilling the necessary criteria, which are mention in the constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, he should be able to present himself/herself for any office of the party, including party president.

4.4.2- Minimum Membership period

In this study, we measure intra-party democracy in the three political parties. However, Hazan and Rahat (2010) paid much attention to the membership period of candidates for candidacy for the measurement of intra-party democracy. The most crucial indicator, according to democracy, it is stated in the constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is the minimum period of party membership for the presidential candidates. The constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is indicated and set a minimum membership period for all the party offices from bottom to top level. The constitution of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf did not indicate the minimum membership period in candidacy for candidates of the president's office. Pakistan People's Party is inclusive in candidacy for party president because, according to the constitution, every party member can present himself for any office of the party. The constitution of Pakistan Peoples' Party does not mention minimum requirements for party presidents. The constitution indicates that every member is eligible for party offices according to the

party constitution. Members who are devoted to party policies and the aims of the party can contest for any office of the party.

We can say that all three political parties Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Pakistan People Party and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan are inclusive in the first dimension of leadership selection but not more inclusive in candidacy. Because PTI and PPP are inclusive in the minimum standard for the party president and Jamaat-e-Islami, Pakistan is exclusive in this regard. However, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is inclusive in the minimum membership period, while PTI and PPP are exclusive in this regard. Hence, the score of all three political parties is level in candidacy, so we can say that all three political parties produce an inclusive candidacy for the selection of the party presidents.

4.5- Selectorates

The second dimension in the analysis of the selection methods of party presidents is the selectorates: those who select the candidates for the position of party president. These two dimensions are like the foundation and consent sides of candidate and leadership selection. While candidacy constricted the supply of contestants who can be selected, the selectorates will further decrease and shortlist their numbers to those who will finally face the voters in the intra-party election (Hazan and Rahat, 2010). The candidates who select for the post of the party president can face the voters (who elect the party president) in the intra-party election. This study used the inclusive and exclusive method (Scarrows, 2005; Wauters, 2010 and 2014; Sandri and colleagues, 2015) now we define inclusive and exclusive selectorates. If the selectorates belong to the only central organisation, this is the most exclusive selectorates; while the selectorates belong to central, provincial and regional organisations of the party, we can label the most inclusive selectorates. Because the power has divided into different

organs of the party and undoubtedly the most skilful and able candidates may select by the selectores for the post of party president.

The concept of intra-party democracy is gaining increasing attention given its apparent potential to promote an honourable circle able to link ordinary citizens to government and to contribute to the stability and legitimacy of the democracies in which these parties compete for power (Annalisa, 2016).

4.5.1- Importance of Selection

In a typical debate on political parties, the argument sometimes made that making parties internally more democratic may reverse these destructive tendencies (Ware, 1979; Katz 2013). This view holds that the link between elected party leaders and party members should strength by providing party members with inclusive channels of participation. The intra-party election for the party president is an essential process in a modern democracy. In many developed countries, many political parties chose their party leaders through intra-party elections, one member one vote but did not in every political party (Wauters, 2010).

Therefore, first of all, the selection of candidates is essential for every type of election; it provides a competitive environment. Pakistan is an emerging democracy; political parties avoided intra-party elections. However, now it is compulsory in political parties' order 2002 that intra-party election will hold in every political party of Pakistan. The intra-party election is compulsory for the party presidents in the centre, provinces, etc., in every political party of Pakistan. However, some political parties fulfil the criteria of the election commission to contest the general election on its party symbol. The elections of party presidents in the major political parties of Pakistan, such as PML-N,

PPP, ANP, PMAP, and many regional political parties, always elect their party presidents unopposed without competition between two or more than two candidates.

In the political science literature, it is generally believed that members of the party's lower ranks are not empowered to make a decisive decision in turning over the position of party president (Scarborough et al. 2001; Cross and Blais, 2011; Wauters, 2014). This fact can be explained by the fact that modern 'election professionals', (Wauters, 2014) prefer to keep their hands free to respond to the demands of voters (Katz and Mair, 1995). It shows that party members are far less critical of the party's elite, who emphasise attracting voters by running unique campaigns. The famous party refrains from guaranteeing the wishes of the party organised members, who thought to have a strong influence (Mair, 1994).

4.5.2- Institutionalisation

Intra-party democracy in party leadership election can be assessed by looking at the institutionalisation as measured by the adoption of formal rules for the election of party leaders (Sindre, 2016). However, the attention needs to be on the presence or lack of formal and codified rules in official party documents, like party constitutions and other related documents to the selection of party presidents. It is essential to underline that formal institutions might co-exist with informal procedures, and the former may say little about the reality of the leadership election tradition (Annalisa, 2016).

The procedures of the selection of candidates for the post of party president are not indicated in the constitutions of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Pakistan People Party. The central decision-making bodies of these political parties, as indicated by its constitutions are the: central executive committee, Central Consultative

Council (Majlis-e-Shura), and Central Executive Committee (CEC), respectively. The famous "iron law of oligarchy" has long suggested that political parties, formally democratic organisations, are controlled by their leadership, bureaucracies, and establishment (Michels, 1962). Katz and Mair (1995) argued that the isolation of parties and members from each other has to turn out to be not as good as in recent decades, especially in governing parties.

There is no specific article and any sub-article in the constitution of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, which indicates the selections procedure of candidates for the position of party president (Chairmanship). Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf held two intra-party elections in its political history: the first intra-party poll held in 2012 and 2013 it was the most democratic election in the history of Pakistan and the second intra-party election held in 2017. In the last Intra-party poll, there were two panels instead of candidates Insaf panel and Ehtisab (accountability) panel. The Ehtisab panel wants internal accountability as well as to change the trend of dynastic politics in Pakistan. Furthermore, to show the norms of internal democracy within the party, that an ordinary member can present himself to the position of party president. While the sitting chairman and founder of PTI and leader of Insaf Panel also want to compete for the position of party president and introduce a new trend for other political parties of Pakistan. The party chairman Imran Khan-led the Insaf Panel, while Naik Muhammad Khan was the leader of the Ehtisab (accountability) panel. These panels included the chairman, general secretary, regional heads in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and provincial heads in Sindh and Balochistan. The heads of the organisations for the city and district will appoint by the regional heads (Dawn News, 2017).

Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan holds an intra-party election every five years for the selection of the party president (Ameer). The members of the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) usually propose three candidates. From whom the party members choose their party president (Ameer) for a five-year term. The members can also vote for other than three nominees. The nominated candidates for the last presidential election held in 2014 were Syed Munawar Hassan, Liaqat Bloch and Siraj ul Haq (Express Tribune, 2014). All three candidates were in top position in the party during the last intra-party election for the party president. Syed Munawar Hassan was the sitting president, Liaqat Bloch was General Secretary, and Siraj ul Haq, the present president, was the vice president during the intra-party election in 2014.

The constitution of Pakistan People's Party is quiet in the case of the selection of candidates for the election of party chairman (President). The history of Pakistan people's party shows until 2002 that there were no intra-party elections held for the chairman/chairperson. On September 11, 2000, a convention of the Pakistan People's Party held in Lahore, the former Prime Minister and PPP leader, Ms Benazir Bhutto, was elected as the lifetime chairperson of the party through a simple resolution (The Hindu, 2000). The two interconnected factions of people party, Pakistan People Party and Pakistan People Party parliamentarians. The Pakistan People Party had formed a separate entity, Pakistan People Party-Parliamentarian, in August 2002 to meet the requirements of a declaration issued by the military ruler. A law was framed to block Benazir Bhutto from holding a party office and the new political entity was an attempt to avoid the imminent threat of losing the chance of contesting the elections. Therefore, both the parties held the last intra-party poll in 2017 at Bilawal House Karachi, to elect the top leadership, for four years. PPP Parliamentarian elected former president of

Pakistan Mr Asif Ali Zardari as its president, and Mr Bilawal Bhutto Zardari was made the chairman of Pakistan People Party (Dawn News 2017).

The constitution of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is silent in the selection of candidates for party presidential election. The last intra-party election of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf held in 2017 between two panels, but it was essential for the candidates against the Imran Khan panel to have the support of at least 20 per cent of members of parliament (Dawn News, 2017). In the last intra-party election, Naik Muhammad creates his panel and contest election against the party chairman (president). There is no statutory selection body of candidates for the position of party president in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. The Ehtisab panel supports by the 20 per cent of members of the parliament of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. The candidates for leadership election selected the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. The Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is an elected body, and the members of this council are the representative of the party members. The constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan has no specific article for the selection of candidates for intra-party elections. The central executive committee is decision making body in Pakistan People's Party, but the party chairman nominates this committee. In the intra-party election, the chairman of Pakistan People Party always in a single candidate while always electing unopposed.

The constitutions of all the three political parties are silent about selectorates. The candidates' selection for the post of party presidents not indicated in the three political parties' constitutions, who will select candidates for intra-party election for the post of the party presidents. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf used an inclusive method in the second dimension of leadership selection because there was no proper body of selectores to

select candidates for intra-party election for the post of party president. The central consultative council (Majlis-e-Shura) of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is a representative and elected body of the party members, and this organ of the party proposed three candidates always for the post of party president to contest intra-party election for the position of party president. Hence, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan followed a very inclusive method in this regard. However, there is always one candidate for the post of party president as well; no statutory body is present of selectores in Pakistan People Party to select two or three candidates to contest election for the post of party president. The central executive committee is a decision-making body but not the representative body of the party members like the central consultative council (Majlis-e-Shura) of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. Hence, in this regard, Pakistan People Party used a very exclusive method regarding selectores.

4.6- Decentralisation

The leadership selection is indeed one of the main defining functions achieved by political parties. The political party hold intra-party elections and is capable of electing the leadership for different offices through the intra-party election. The role of party members is significant in this overall process (Sartori, 1976). The selection process of candidates and leaders is a strategic process with a necessary consequence on the nature of the party itself as it might reflect its democratic attitude and the importance of grass-roots party workers (Cross and Katz, 2013). Every political party must make decisions openly. Cross (2008) argued in the new era that all the decisions should be open and taken by the participation of grass-roots party members and not be made by exclusively the party elites or a single leader to violate the rights of the party members in this regard.

The decentralised candidates' selection may see in two senses, territorial and social, like the concepts proposed when he put with the division of power in federal and unitary democratic regimes. In decentralisation, territorially the candidates would be selected from both central and provincial organisations of the party for the post of party president. However, socially, the candidates would be skilful and well equipped with political knowledge to run the party and have excellent skills in internal conflict resolution in decision making. Lijphart (1999) argued that a decentralised selection method would be one in which the local level has the authority to decide. The decentralisation referred at the local level in intra-party selection; the party members from all over the country decided and elected candidates from their constituency.

This study focuses on the decentralised election of party president, decentralisation means the division of power, but this study refers decentralisation to the selection of a decentralised representation of candidates' as well decentralised decision-makers of candidates' selection for the post of party president. The question arises here that, from where the candidates may be selected i.e. from the central organisation or the provinces too for the intra-party election. According to this model of the study, the most decentralised method is to select candidates from both the central and provinces' organisation of the party. The candidates for the party presidents' select only from the centre are centralised and exclusive methods in intra-party democracy. The other aspect of this decentralisation is the decision-makers of candidates' selection.

The selectorate belongs to only the central organisation of the party, whereas they also represent the regional or provincial organisations of the party. The most inclusive method of candidates' selection is the selectorates from both the central and regional or provincial organisation. The selectorates only from the central organisation represents

the most exclusive method of candidates' selection for the elections of the party presidents. This study pays attention to the decentralised election of the party president. Decentralisation is the third dimension of leadership selection in this study. However, this study divided decentralisation further into two, sub-indicator such as candidates' representation and decision-makers.

4.6.1- Candidates Representation

Decentralisation is the third dimension of Hazan and Rahat (2010) candidates' selection model. This study focuses on leadership selection. In decentralisation, all the decisions should make through mutual consent of central, provincial, and local organisations in the political parties. In this study, decentralisation refers to selected candidates for party presidential elections. The decentralised candidates' representation means that the candidates may be select from both central and provincial organisations of the party for the post of party president to contest an intra-party election.

The last intra-party poll of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf held for party president (Chairman) in 2017. Article (XVI) (4) of the constitution of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf indicates that the Central Election Commission can frame its own rules for the conduct of elections, which shall be approved by the Central Executive Committee. It already mentioned before that there were two panels instead of candidates: one panel led by party chairman Imran Khan and the second one led by Naik Muhammad Khan. Imran Khan is a national level leader and founding chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, and he represents the national organisation of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. While Naik Muhammad Khan is a provincial leader, but currently, he is a member of the PTI's central executive and core committees (Express Tribune, 2017). Naik Muhammad Khan ran against Imran Khan for the post of the party's president (chairman) while

he was supported by 20 per cent of MPs (members of parliament) because it required for any candidates who are opposed by the party chairman (Dawn News, 2017). Hence, the candidate's representation exists from both the central and provincial organisations, so it was a decentralised candidate.

The last intra-party election of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan held in 2014 for the party president (Ameer). The election was contested among three candidates, while all the three candidates belonged to the national level organisation, in the time of election Syed Munawar Hassan was the sitting president (Ameer) Liaqat Bloch the secretary general and SirajulHaq the vice president (Naib Ameer) (Express Tribune, 2014). This form of candidates represents the centralisation method because the provincial level leaders were not selected as candidates to contest the election for party president.

The last intra-party election of Pakistan Peoples, Party, was held in 2017 for the party chairman (president). The previous chairman Bilawal Bhutto Zardari was once again elected party chairman unopposed in this intra-party election (Daily Dawn, 2017). Article (7) of the constitution of Pakistan People Party explains that there will be an intra-party election to all offices, but the party will adopt the rules from time to time. In the history of Pakistan People Party, the intra-party polls started after the political parties ordered 2002. The chairman of the Pakistan people party always represents the central organisation of the party. Furthermore, the chairman was always elected unopposed without competition. Article (4) of the constitution indicates that Mr Bilawal Bhutto Zardari will be the patron-in-chief of the party.

4.6.2- Decision Makers

The second indicator of decentralisation is the decision-makers, that where the decision takes place for the selection of candidates for the party presidents. The selection bodies consist of both national and provincial organisational members or only represent the central organisation of the party. There is no specific article in the constitution of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf for candidates' selection for the post of party president. In the last intra-party election of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf held in 2017, Imran Khan presented one panel and Naik Muhammad another panel. They could decide themselves on the composition of their panels. Naik Muhammad Said he had informed the party (PTI) chairman and others senior members that he was competing against a person of his age and not against Imran Khan because he wanted to change the old national pattern of our politics in which nobody challenges the party chief (Express Tribune, 2017).

There is no specific article in the constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan for the selection of candidates for the post of party president. While all the critical decision making by the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura). The Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) proposes three candidates for the post of party president to contest elections. The Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) is a national level organisation, but it consists of elected members and equal representation of every province and all regions. Article 12 of the constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan described that the party members elect the members of the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) directly through a secret ballot, and these members of the said organisation are the representatives of the party members in essential decisions making.

There is no indication of the candidates' selection process for the post of party president in the constitution of Pakistan Peoples, Party. The main decision-making body is the

central executive committee, while the party chairman nominates all the members. The party chairman is the most influential decision-maker, and the party chairman takes all the decisions. He presents himself for the post of party president and always elected without competition. In the last intra-party election, the chairman was the single candidate for the post of the party president (Daily Dawn, 2017). In Pakistan People's Party, all the decisions take place at the central level; there is no concept of decentralisation in Pakistan People's Party.

In the third dimension of leadership selection, i.e., the candidates' representation, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf used the most inclusive methods. The contest was between one panel led by the central leader and the other one by a provincial level leader. In the second indicator, PTI was very exclusive because only 20 per cent of the MPs supported the candidate who contested against the party chairman. All the three candidates of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan represent the national level organisation in the last intra-party poll. Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan followed an exclusive method in this regard. However, a representative body decided on the candidates' selection for the post of the party president, and inclusive process used by Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan in this regard. The candidate of Pakistan Peoples, Party represents the national level organisation the previous president (chairman) was elected once again unopposed. The decision-making body is also a nominated body of the party president.

Therefore, in the third dimension, Pakistan People's Party used an exclusive method in the decentralisation of both sub-indicators in the selection of party president. In this dimension of leadership selection, both Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and JIP used an inclusive method not more inclusive because in both sub-indicators, in one indicator, PTI inclusive, while in the second indicator is exclusive. Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is

exclusive in sub-indicator one, while inclusive in sub-indicator two. Therefore, PTI and JIP have an equal position in this regard and used an inclusive method in decentralisation in the selection of party president.

4.7- Appointment and Voting System

The last and final dimension of Hazan and Rahat, (2010) candidates' selection model is appointment and voting system. This dimension is relatively about whether or not a formal vote held; we call it an election. While, if a party leader comes to power without a formal vote, we call it an appointment system. Mostly in the leadership election, especially in the election of party presidents used the voting system in the developed democracies. However, the procedures are different and vary from party to party and country to country. Some political parties use secret ballot systems while some political parties use rising hands for the voters. The system of the secret ballot usually used in those political parties where one member one vote system, while the rising hand used where a small group of elites elects the party president. However, the procedure of the election of party presidents in Pakistani political parties explained below.

4.7.1- The Procedure of Election for Party President

According to clause (2) of section 11, of Pakistan political parties order 2002, Each party member of a political party, subject to the provisions of the Constitution of the party, shall be presented with the same opportunity to compete or participate in any party office, as well as the office of the party president (Political Parties order, 2002). Those political parties which conduct intra-party elections and have a reliable infrastructure of elected leaders can label as the purely internally democratic political party. Furthermore, by having such an infrastructure, a party gets an edge over other

parties as well, and it becomes a valuable reason for their leaders to prove their democratic political approach. The intra-party elections also make it possible for senior-most leadership to judge and execute the flaws within the party, as may be seen in the near past that such kind of problems might become severe threats to a political party in the form of an uprising in Pakistan (Rehman, 2016).

By adopting the term "presidentialisation" of party politics, Poguntke and Webb (2005) argued that party leaders are becoming extraordinary. They suggest that leaders are gathering power and influence in all three stages of party activity, such as legislative, electoral and organisational processes. Article (V) of the constitution of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf linked to the members and officeholders, and it also indicates the election procedure for all officeholders from bottom to the top level. This article of the constitution of PTI and sub-clauses explained that the intra-party elections would conduct on an indirect basis except at the union council level where party members would directly elect the officeholders. These elected representatives will set up electoral colleges for selection of district-level leadership that will select district officials. The elected leadership of a district chooses the regional level leadership; further, they vote for the provincial leadership. The elected provincial representatives will then choose the central leadership. All party members are not entitled to vote directly to the party president.

The Electoral College for the chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf indicated in Article (V) (7) of the constitution. It states that the National Council consists of the presidents of all district's organisations, the presidents of all regional organisations and the officeholders of the provincial organisations. It is an electoral college for the party president (chairman) who is elected by these members. However, there are also thirty-

five members, five each from women, youth, student, labour, and overseas Pakistani organisations, who are nominated by their respective organisations. The party chairman nominates technocrats and professionals from the country, but these may exceed one-fourth of the electoral college of the party president (chairman). The nominated members of the National Council are not entitled to participate in the election of party president while only the elected members of the National Council can vote in the election of the party president.

Article (VIII) of the constitution of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf indicates that the officeholders of the provincial organisations, the presidents of the regional organisations, the presidents of all district organisations to elect the party chairman for four years. The political consequences of most inclusive party leader selection methods, generally in provisions of genuine involvement, is seen as a significant indicator for evaluating the democratic extent of elections, both inside and between parties (Franklin, 2002; Wauters, 2010). Scholarly attention dedicated to participation in internal elections is growing nowadays (Kenig, 2009; Wauters, 2010).

The political parties of modern democracies have undergone significant organisational changes in current decades, especially in the form of internal democracies (Bille, 2001; Kittilson and Scarrow, 2003). Although in most established democracies, the rule of electing leaders through party congresses or national party institutions remains intact, in many European countries, political elites have decided to change the method of leadership selection. According to the article (17) (3) of the constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, every member of the party has the right to vote to elect the party president (Ameer). The members are; however, free to vote for any other eligible member. The party members cannot offer themselves as candidates, and an election

campaign is not allowed. Article 17 (5) allows the election of a new Ameer held before the completion period of the old president (Ameer). The procedure of the election of the president of Jamaat-e-Islami is with a direct vote-based system and one member one vote on a secret ballot.

The procedure of intra-party election not adequately indicated, but in the light of article (17) (3), this procedure is followed by Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan in the election of party president. The election Commissioners appointed at all levels 90 days before the date of the intra-party elections. They may appoint Deputy Election Commissioners as per the condition. These elections conducted by secret ballot. The central election commission is sending ballot papers to every district election commissioner. The district election commissioner has the list of all registered members and distributes the ballot papers among party members through zonal organisations. The members can cast their vote to one of the three nominated candidates and any other members of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan on a secret ballot paper. The ballot paper is put in a sealed envelope and submitted to the district election commissioner. This process is followed all over the country in all districts. The district's election commissioners are then sending all ballots papers to the central election commissioner within the due date. After receiving ballots papers, the central election commission begins the counting of votes and after that announces the result of the winning candidate. The winning candidate takes an oath according to the party constitution and becomes the new Ameer (president) of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan for five years.

The constitution of Pakistan people's party describes the election procedure in Article (6) that the party will prescribe the rules under which the party election is to hold. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto founded the party in November 1967. However, on the one side,

article (4) of Pakistan People's Party constitution explains that Bilawal Bhutto Zardari will be the patron-in-chief of the Pakistan People Party. Owing to the legitimate heir and carrying the inheritance of the founder of his grandfather and his mother, Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto. However, on the other hand, article (7) of the party constitution explains the procedure of election that all members who are devoted to aims of the party are eligible to contest for party offices as well as can vote for the offices of Pakistan People's Party. So, the constitution does not mention the election process of party president (chairman).

Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan used the most inclusive method in this regard. The national council of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is an electoral college for the party president (chairman). It is an elected organ of the party. The members of the national council are the representatives of the party members. The members of the national council elect the party president. The president of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf elected the representatives of the party members indirectly. The president of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is elected by the party members directly. Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan follows one member one vote system in the election of party president (Ameer). The constitution of Pakistan People's Party clearly indicated that every party member has the right to vote in intra-party election and present himself/herself for any internal position within the party. Therefore, Pakistan People Party is also inclusive in voting and appointment system the last dimension of leadership selection.

Table 3.1: Dimensions leadership selection table of Inclusive to Exclusive

Sr. No	Party Name	Dimensions			
		Candidacy	Selectorates	Decentralisation	Appointment and voting system
1	PPP	Inclusive	Exclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive

2	JIP	Inclusive	Inclusive	Inclusive	More Inclusive
3	PTI	Inclusive	Inclusive	Inclusive	Inclusive

Here the figure 3.1 shows the results of four dimensions of leadership selection in the three political parties. If we compare the procedure of leadership selection through the method of exclusive and inclusive, Pakistan People's party is inclusive in two dimensions while exclusive in two dimensions of leadership selection used in intra-party democracy. Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is inclusive in three dimensions, such as candidacy, decentralisation and selectorates as well as more inclusive in one-dimension voting and appointment system, respectively. However, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is inclusive in all dimensions of leadership selection such as candidacy, selectorates, decentralization and appointment and voting system. In the comparisons of three constitutions of the selected political parties related to leadership selection on the base of inclusiveness and exclusiveness Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan on the top Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf in the next while, Pakistan Peoples, Party on the third and last position in this regard.

4.7.2- Term and Tenure of Office

The first concern of the length of a party leader's period is whether there is a fixed length of the known period. Regular elections are accepted as an essential democratic principle for every public office at least every five years (Powell, 1982; Massicotte and Blais, 2000; Cross, 2013).

There is no specific indication for the term and tenure for the party president (chairman), but the article (VIII) of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf constitution relates to the term of offices for all organisations at all levels. The constitution indicates that the term

will be four years for all levels of organisations, officeholders in provinces and the centre including party chairman (president). The chairman, after discussion with the central executive committee, may extend the term of office of any person in the organisation, including his own office in an emergency by a period, not exceeding one year. Article (17) (4) of the constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan describes the term and tenure of the president (Ameer) of the party. The constitution indicates that the central Ameer (president) will be eligible for five years tenure as well as the members can elect the same person for many terms again and again after every five years through intra-party elections.

The tenure of the chairman of Pakistan people's party is five years, but the party chairman could elect for many terms. Pakistan people party has the example that until now, not a single chairman has left the post in his lifetime. The national council of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf elected the party president (president) for four years, and the Ameer of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan elects the party members for five years. However, the chairman of the Pakistan People Party nominates unopposed for five years.

4.7.3- Removal of the Party President

Democracy is a system where all the powers of a selection of a leader are given to the general public as well as that they can remove him from his post through indicated rules in the country constitution directly or indirectly. This study is related to party leaders. The party electorate has the power to elect the party president as well as to remove him from his position according to the rules described by the party constitution.

Article (VI) of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is related to vote of no confidence against any officeholders, including the party chairman. Clause (ii) of the Constitution states that a

vote of no confidence against the Chairman can be approved not less than two-thirds of the total membership of the National Council. A vote of no confidence can be accepted against other office bearers by the majority of the entire membership of the National Council.

Article (30) (2) (b) of the constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan states that two-thirds majority of Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) can remove the Ameer (president) of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan through a vote of no confidence. If the party members re-elect the previous Ameer (president) in the intra-party election, the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) will dissolve, and the party members are elected a new Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) according to the party constitution. There is no article, neither any sub-article indicating the removal process of the chairman of Pakistan people's party in the party constitution.

CHAPTER- 5

PARTICIPATIONAL PARTAKING AND ENVELOPMENT THE ELECTION OF THE PARTY PRESIDENT

This dissertation focuses on leadership selection, and participation is a critical consequence using in intra-party democracy in leadership selection. Firstly, this study has defined the concept of participation, then the possible consequences of internal participation in the election of party president. Furthermore, this chapter focuses on two sub-indicators of participation first participant, and the second one is the number of participants. Firstly, this chapter highlights the participants who participate in the election of party president, i.e. every interested voter, party members, member representatives, members of the parliament, elite class of the party, or a single person elects the party president. Secondly, this chapter presents the number of participants on how many party members participate in the election of party president (turnout percentage).

5.1- The Concept of Participation

Participation is a key and a central dimension of democracy. The new representative democratic system provides the right of a vote for every citizen to participate in the election of their representatives for governance. At the national level, political participation is universally inclusive, but this dissertation is paying attention to intra-party participation. This chapter is to address participation in the intra-party election for the post of party president. Intra-party participation provides a link between party leaders and party members.

Pittman (1970) argued that democracy is a distinguishing feature for the selection of competitive leadership, and it allows us to distinguish the republic in other political ways. By this method, everyone is, in principle, free to take part as a voter in a free and fair election or to contest for a leadership position. Political parties regarded as important actors in educating citizens in the political process, giving democratic quality education and thus acting as a necessity for political institutionalisation in society (Scarrows, 2005). Putnam (1976) argued that political parties have to institute democratic political traditions in their way to promote the participation of the community in political development. It challenges the status quo and giving a chance to confident politicians, and disappointment groups (Schlesinger, 1966) to change the current political structure (Brady, 1988). The participation level in political parties developed democratic norms regularly in decision making that all members are perceived to be the principal decision-makers of the concept of intra-party democracy (Salih, 2006).

Internally democratic political parties must be and should be democratic in terms of their internal distribution of power and decision-making practices. This research aims to address the shortage and assess the level toward which a more inclusive and open leadership selection method increases the level of Intra Party Democracy (IPD) in Pakistani political parties.

5.2- Possible Consequences of Internal Participation

A large part of the literature dedicated to the possible consequences of the adoption of internal elections both for the organisational boundaries of the parties and for the relation between party leaders and grass-roots members. On the one hand, these measures contribute to stimulating the internal mobilisation of members already

enrolled in the party (Sandri and Amjahad, 2015). On the other hand, the open and inclusive role of this tool encourages new types of political participation, which in some cases does not need recognised affiliation with the party, but instead produces alternative attitudes; in particular, voters are only interested in emotional movement (Dalton 2008; Scarrow, 2013; Sandri and Amjahad, 2015).

In this perspective, the direct election of party leader and candidates for elections seem to affect the role of grass-roots members within party organisations strongly. Scholars have pointed out that these measures often strengthen party central bodies and elites rather than weakened (Scarrow, 1999a; Cross and Katz, 2013). There are many consequences of internal participation for the party members in developing democracies such as participating in candidates' selection, the election of party president and internal policymaking. Closed primaries for party leadership selection is a very positive approach for Pakistani society and growing democracy in the country to elect leaders on merit for a positive change in overall the country. The internal participation promotes the following qualities in the party members.

5.2.1- Promotion of Educative Value

Many political parties are continuously in the struggle, making every effort to catch the attention of as many members as possible can be explained by the benefits that it offers to member parties that still balance the costs (Scarrow, 1994). One of the means to attract members is giving them a voice in the internal functioning of the party. Calling the rank and file one more significant point, the parties have sought to increase the membership of the party and hope that they will be associated with the party (Wauters, 2009).

The only means of participation open to the citizen, in the Schumpeter theory, are voting for the leaders and discussion. Internal participation is a very encouraging effort in developing democracies for the promotion of overall democracy. As Rousseau described in his theory of participation, the central function of participation is to educate citizens the term education used in a broad sense. The Rousseau ideal system designed to develop responsible individuals, social and political action through the effect of the participatory process (Pateman, 1970). Kern (2018) argued that this educational impact as a result of participation and expected to increase and make possible inhabitant participation in the future, creating a self-contained partnership system. Therefore, it is the process of self-participation that is estimated to progress upcoming participation.

The party members participate in the election of party president. This practice is beneficial for developing countries and particular for Pakistan in the light of Rousseau's theory of participation. Pakistan is an emerging democratic country. The political parties have no proper organisation to train and educate the party members, workers, supporter, and voters. Hence this type of activities promotes the educative values of party members in Pakistan. The central function of Rousseau's theory is to produce an educative and responsible individual. The internal participation may educate the party members and workers and prepare them for the general elections. The presidential candidates improve the skills and knowledge of party members through their speeches during the campaign. The party members can improve their knowledge and awareness about the party programme, and they can defend their parties and party policies on every platform. The Rousseau theory of participation increases the value of freedom to individuals. This concept of participation brings the leaders and workers very near to each other's the members can easily access the party leaders, including party president.

The Rousseau second point of the participatory theory is to produce responsible individuals. In the present time, the turnout of general elections is insufficient; the parties may attract many members for membership through intra-party election for party presidents. The party workers and supporters may register as party members. According to Rousseau's theory of participation, the participatory ideology, decision-making also enhances the individual's sense of freedom as well as giving him real control over his life and the structure of his life (Pateman, 1970). The party members of Pakistani political parties can improve the power of his decision making, and they elect real leadership through the intra-party election. It will be good for the future of the party, civil society, and even for the positive development of the country.

5.2.2- Increase the Participation Level in General Election

Participating in elections can ultimately be viewed as a habit (Geys, 2006), as Waters (2010) argued that those who voted in the past are more likely to do so again in the future, especially when in the past voting proved successful; for example, the victory of a favourite candidate.

The open primaries allow every individual to participate in the intra-party election; however, in the closed primary, only the party members can vote. This part of the study focuses only on the closed primary. If these voters can help to elect a party president, in the future, they may be more likely to participate in the general election.

Internal participation increases independents' participation in the general election. The party primary could be seen as suitable for voter participation. First, the party primary allows the party members to contribute to the proposing process. If these voters are allowed to assist in the selection of candidates, then they may be further expected to vote in the general election, as the voter in the intra-party election may be one of the

contestants. Also, the wiser member of either party can make further decisions with the alternative party candidate. This voter will be more motivated to take part in the general election if there is a nominee with whom he/she is pleased.

5.2.3- Participation Promotes Equality

Democracy is a system where all citizens are equal in front of the law; everyone participates in the political system to choose their leaders. In political participation, every individual has equal rights for participation; equality is the fundamental component of participation. A more open political system, that is, a political system with more opportunities for power-sharing, will lead to an even higher allocation of political supremacy across the population. Because of these contradictory approaches, it is hugely significant to prove that what is the consequence of the availability of a direct democratic method within a country? (Kern and Hooghe, 2017). The participation theory of Rousseau, in a political system, everyone has equal rights to political equality and independence. Political participation in party primaries improves equality among party members and party leaders within political parties. It also reduces gender base equality among party male and female members.

5.3- Participants in the Election

This study already identified in the previous chapter that a party leader is an imperative person at the party. He is the leading decision-makers, but a question arises here that who will be selecting the party president? In the past, in 1960, decades in the European political parties, a small group of elites were selected the parties' presidents (Wauters, 2010). This practice is still using in Pakistan in many major political parties except for a few political parties where the party president elects by the party members or the

elected representatives of the party members. While the previous method of selection is no longer generally viewed as democratically acceptable, it has used by some new parties formed around a single leader or a small group of parliamentarians (Cross, 2013). In these parties, introductory leaders often emerge by force of their assumption of the leadership position. Pakistani major political parties are the prime example of this type of selection in the present era.

Therefore, in recent decades, the selection methods of party leaders have emerged in a new development in the developed democracies all over the world. Participation is the most crucial indicator of leadership selection. The political parties should democratise the leadership selection process ratifying participation of a broader electorate. This study is relating to Pakistani political parties the selection process of party leaders analysed that who participate in the election of party presidents in the three selected political parties of Pakistan.

The direct elections of party presidents are a regular theme in the discussion about parties and their organisational changes (Mair, 1994; Katz and Mair, 1995 and 2009; Scarrow, 1999; Sandri; 2015). The party members, supporters, and voters elect the party president through open primaries. The intra-party election attracts new individuals to the party. Hazan and Rahat (2007) argued that this type of instrument represents a new pattern in the relationship between parties, members and their supporters. The political parties of Pakistan do not yet introduce the practice of open primaries. The party presidents elected by only the party members, delegates or a small group of elites.

In open participation, political parties permit anyone in the general electorate to take part in the election of their party president. This approach is generally followed by US political parties, which have chosen their presidential candidates through this procedure

for more than a century. Individual states have set rules for their primary, with some accepting an 'open' process in which any interested voter can vote (Cross, 2013). A similar process of open primacy has taken place in other countries, such as the Italian Democrats, who attracted several million voters to their leadership election in 2007 and 2009 (Seddone and Venturino, 2011).

The intra-party election in 2012-13 of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf was not an open primary, but the procedure was very similar to open primaries. In that election only, the party members cast their votes. The mechanism of this election generally impacts on citizens and particularly those individuals they were disappointed about political parties and politics. The turnout of the general election in 2013 was very high than the general elections of 2008, and other previous elections. The turnout of general election 2013 was 53.62 per cent while the turnout of general election 2008 was just 44 per cent as well as in 2002 only 41.8 per cent (Election Commission of Pakistan, 2013).

Due to the absence of democratic culture in state politics, the political parties in Pakistan remained weak and unstable (Mahmood, 2003). The lack of intra-party election as one of the leading and extensive reasons this gave rise to the politics of personalities and families (Tariq et al. 2016). Therefore, it weakened the party's internal organisation that political parties expected to strengthen it internally and externally through intra-party elections (Hasnain, 2008).

In closed primaries, one member in the intra-party elections takes part in the one-vote system (OMOV), the entire party in the election of the party president and each vote counted equally. In the past three decades ago, this type of selection was limited in political parties. In the present, however, many political parties have responded to demands for internal democratisation by opening up the process to broader participation

(Kenig, 2009a). The requirement for this participation party affiliation is necessary and required formal party membership to vote in the election of party presidents. The critical point is that only those who have formally expressed their support for a party can participate. There are many increasing numbers of political parties in the world that they were turned the leadership choice over to the party members (Cross, 2013).

Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan follows this mechanism for the election of the party president. In many political parties, they allow for the voter to join the party at the time of election to participate in the election of the party president. However, some political parties have strict criteria for party members to vote in the election of the party president. The Irish Labour party is an example, a minimum of 24 months party membership required for the participation in the election of the party president; now it is reduced to 18 months. In this regard, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan also has stringent criteria for party membership but no limited period of membership to vote in the election of the party president. The study of the party constitution and primary literature (small books) are compulsory for party membership in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan.

The Conservatives and Liberals of Canada provide an excellent example of an alternative perspective. At these parties, the first few months of each leadership competition devoted to the candidates and their campaigns, recruiting new members whose sole purpose was to make them participate in the leadership contest (Cross, 2004; Flangan, 2007; Cross, 2013). Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan elects party president through one member one vote, but a campaign is not allowed to any candidates among the three, mostly three candidates contest elections for the post of party president. The election of party president in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan has done through closed primaries. The register party members can participate in the election of party president. They cast their

votes on a secret ballot by post. However, a question arises here against that why the party not allowed election campaign to presidential candidates in the intra-party election. Maybe due to this reason, the membership figure is not rapidly increased. If Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan allows the campaign to candidates for intra-party election, the party may attract more new members as well as enormous attention paid by electronic, print and social media to the intra-party election and also free publicity of the party.

The primary data was also collected from the party members and non-party members for the authentication of the results through survey questionnaires to evaluate that who participate in the election of party president in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, and the bellow table shows the views of the respondents in this regard.

Table 4.1: Respondents views about participation in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan

Sr. No	Party Name	Frequency and percentage											
		SA	%	A	%	DA	%	SDA	%	NA	%	T-F	T-%
	JIP	100	33.3	89	29.7	72	24	29	9.7	10	3.3	300	100

The above table is related to the participation of party members in the election of party president. The party president elected by party members, party elite class, parliamentary party, etc. The above table shows the views of the registered parties members and non-party members to measure the participation level in the election of party presidents in the three political parties of Pakistan. The views of 33 per cent strongly agree, and 29.7 per cent of views agreed that the party members have participated in the election of party president in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. Twenty-four per cent of views disagree with the above statement, and 9.7 per cent views strongly disagree with the above statement that the party members do not participate in the election of party president in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf also followed the method of a closed primary in the election of party president.

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf also followed closed primary in this regard. The party members elect the party president (chairman) through a mobile short message. The members of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf have participated directly in the last intra-party election of party president. The party registered members directly participated in the last intra-party election was held in 2017. The method of participation was different from the previous election, and the party registered members have cast their votes through mobile short message instead of a secret ballot. However, the constitution of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf indicated in the article (V) that an intra-party election conducted on an indirect basis. There is a national council in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf the members of the national council elect the party president. The members of the national council are the representative of the party members from the grass-roots level. The intra-party election of 2017 was against the previous procedure, which already pointed out in chapter three. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf amended in party constitution for the last intra-party election and turned from indirect election to direct way of voting.

The data collected from the respondents of the party members and non-party members regarding participation in the election of party president in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf the below table shows the views of the respondents in this regard about Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf.

Table 4.2: Respondents views about participation in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf

Sr. No	Party Name	Frequency and percentage											
		SA	%	A	%	DA	%	SDA	%	NA	%	T-F	T-%
1	PTI	86	28.7	93	31	51	17	60	20	10	3.3	300	100

The views of the respondents are 28.7 per cent about Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf in this regard, and 31 per cent of respondents agreed that the members of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf participated in the election of party president. Seventeen per cent views of the

respondents disagree, and 20 per cent strongly disagreed with the above statement that the party members have participated in the election of party president.

Faizan (2018) argued that, in Pakistan People's Party, not once, the party elected the party president competitively through intra-party elections, and it was purely a symbolic work out by the party's Central Executive Committee (CEC) to appoint a new leader. Although the PPP leadership claims that intra-party elections held every five years, it was during the Musharraf era when intra-party elections were made compulsory, and the PPP did its first exercise in 2002. However, the centre of power was Benazir Bhutto till the end of her life, later, her husband Asif Ali Zardari and now her son Bilawal Bhutto Zardari (Dawn News, 2018). The party members did not participate directly or indirectly in the election of party president. However, a small group of elites always nominate the party president. The members of the small group are not the representatives of the party members. The data collected from party members and non-party shows the level of participation of party members in the election of party president.

Table 4.3: Respondents views about participation in Pakistan People Party

Sr. No	Party Name	Frequency and percentage											
		SA	%	A	%	DA	%	SDA	%	NA	%	T-F	T-%
1	PPP	45	15	78	26	79	26.3	78	26	20	6.7	300	100

The views of 15 per cent of the respondents are strongly agreed, and 26 per cent agreed are that the party members have participated in the election of party presidents in Pakistan People Party. 26.3 per cent of the respondents disagree, and 26 per cent of respondents strongly disagreed are with the above statement that the party members of Pakistan people party have participated in the election of party presidents.

Bilal (2019) explains that the party members of both Jamaat-e-Islami and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf participated in the election of party president. In Jamaat-e-Islami, the members participate and vote through secret ballot while in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, the party members participate through a mobile short message. The numbers of the members of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is in millions while the members of Jamaat-e-Islami are in thousands. The party members of Pakistan People's Party do not participate in the election of party president because the party presidents always come through nomination.

Mehmood (2019) explains that the participation process of intra-party elections in PTI, Jamaat-e-Islami, Pakistan, and PPP is a democratic process to elect the party presidents. She answered a question that the party members of both PTI and JIP participate in the election of party president. The JIP members participate through secret ballot and the party members of PTI participate through a mobile short message. She further says that the procedure of Jamaat Islami is more democratic than Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. She further says that the numbers of party members PTI is more than Jamaat Islami. She says that the members of PPP have never participated in the election of party president throughout history because the party president of PPP is always electing opposed without an intra-party election. The participation level of the members of Jamaat-e-Islami is more democratic than PTI.

Islam (2019) explains that there is one person in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, and he is all and all. The participation of party members is only a formality in the intra-party election of party presidents. The intra-party election of 2012-13 was declared unfair by Justice Wajihud Din (chairman the inquiry commission) due to ragging by the candidates. Imran Khan, the party chairman, abolished the inquiry commission. Further, more he

argues that Jamaat-e-Islami followed more democratic participation in the election of party president (Ameer). The president (Ameer) of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is elected by the party members directly through a secret ballot. However, there is no participation of party members in the election of party president (chairman) in Pakistan People Party. The party president always comes without competition and participation of party members.

The most critical choice consists of a single individual by nature. Whether it is a retired political leader, who takes the name of his successor or a spiritual leader who nominates a political leader of the party, today such a selection is unfamiliar for parties working in modern democracies. There is also an example of this type of selection is present in Pakistan. One of the mainstream political parties of Pakistan has this example that a leader elected through a will of his mother.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the father of Benazir's, founded the party in 1967, making Bilawal the third generation of Bhutto to become a leader. Bilawal will adopt the Bhutto surname. The Bhutto political dynasty extends back four generations, and Benazir Bhutto made clear in her will that her son should succeed her (CTV News, 2007). The will of his mother, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, becomes the chairman of Pakistan's people party. It is the most exclusive way of leadership selection in intra-party democracy. Talat Masood, a TV anchor, argued she knew she could die, so even chose the exact place where she should bury.

In the election of party president in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, the party registered members participate in electing the party president while in Pakistan People's Party the members of central executive committee nominate the party chairman (president).

5.4- Numbers of Participants

The question is: Why do party members participate in intra-party elections? Generally, participation sees as a crucial indicator of measuring the democratic grade of elections. The strength of democracy consistently observed in terms of its voting level. It also applies to elections of political parties. However, the academic focus dedicated to participating in internal elections is almost non-existent (Wauters, 2009). Most of the time, such reviews are limited to the number and percentage of participants in the intra-party election. The election of party president is mandatory according to political parties' order 2002, and the party members should participate in it as voters' equally one member one vote.

The last intra-party poll of 2017 of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf was different from the previous intra-party election of 2012-13. At the last Intra-Party Election in 2017, 256,957 registered members cast their votes through their mobile phones to elect the party chairman, as well as national and regional heads of the party. Imran Khan, who was chairing the Insaf panel, received 189,055 votes while the challenger Ehtesab panel protected 41,647 votes around 26,256 votes were rejected the turnout was only 10.4 per cent (Express Tribune, 2017). However, for city and district heads, this approach was not adopted, the city and district head will assign by the regional heads of the party. Some party members expressed resentment against the appointment of city and district chiefs. This system needs to change, and in the first phase, the party should avoid appointments and elect officials through appropriate elections so that real leaders emerge (Dawn News, 2017).

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf held an intra-party election in 2012 for the first time in Pakistan. However, this election was not for the selection of the party president, but the

result of this election impacted the membership size of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. Intra-party election of PTI contested for the district's regional and provincial presidents, and all these representatives are the members of the national council. Furthermore, the national council is an electoral college for party chairman (president). In this intro-party poll, the winning candidates had declared as candidates for the general election 2013. The impact of this election was very positive for PTI because, in general election 2013 PTI becomes the 3rd largest parliamentary party as well as received the second most enormous number of votes. PTI holds an intra-party election in 2017 for the party president, one member one vote through a mobile message. While the party members criticise that procedure and they demand a fair and free intra-party election to elect all the organisational head through one member one vote and constitute the national council in a proper way.

Bilal (2019) argues that, in reality, the intra-party system in Pakistan is not democratic. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf held the most democratic intra-party election in 2012-13 in the history of Pakistan. However, the last intra-party election for the party president was not more democratic. PTI create a plastic panel in the last intra-party election. It was not more democratic, but the membership database creates very active and with hard work, and he says there is no proper membership list present and updated with the political parties.

Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan consists of 37000 of permanent party members according to the party website. The party has workers, supporters everywhere in Pakistan, including youth wing. However, only the registered members have the right to vote in the election of party president. However, in 2014, this number was 31311 totals of 25533 members participated in the intra-party election held in 2014 for the party president (Dawn News,

2014). The party's election commissioner, Abdul Hafeez Ahmed, announced the results at the press conference, saying that 30,759 members (voting members) had reserved ballot papers, and 25,533 of them cast votes, 85 per cent of turnout shown (Dawn News, 2014). Mr Siraj ul Haq managed to get the majority of the vote and elected in a five-year term. The party shura (consultative organ) had suggested three candidates the current Ameer Syed Munawar Hassan, Secretary-General Liaquat Baloch, and Deputy Amir Siraj ul Haq for the post of party president. Even members (Arkan) were free to vote for someone else who is not running in competition. Mr Haq, who was second with 28 per cent support in 2009, is the deputy Ameer of the party and the youngest of the three candidates this time.

Bilal (2019) argue that Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan holds an intra-party election every five years. However, there are no candidates who can present himself as candidates, and campaigns are also not allowed. The Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) proposed three candidates. However, the system of Jamaat-e-Islami is very open, and every member (Rukan) has the right to vote to one in the three candidates as well as to any other members who are not in the three candidates selected by the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) owing to this we can say that it is more democratic than the other parties. Mahmood (2019) argues that the numbers of party members of PTI are more than Jamaat Islami Pakistan. She says that the members of PPP have never participated in the election of party president throughout history because the party president of PPP is always electing opposed without an intra-party election. The participation level of the members of Jamaat-e-Islami and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is more democratic than the Pakistan People Party.

The numbers of participants are not apparent in the intra-party election of Pakistan People Party, because all the candidates are elected unopposed in the poll, including party chairman. The party elections of Pakistan People's Party was held on Saturday and Sunday, respectively, in the light of a decision taken by the central executive committee in Larkana on Dec 27, 2016 (Dawn News, 2017). Bilal (2019) says that in Pakistan People's party, there is no participation of party members in the election of party president because the party president always comes unopposed. The reasons for avoiding the intra-party election in Pakistani political parties are others. The top leadership and the dynastic leadership of parties know if a person (member) of the party elected by the party members through proper channel may be a threat to the top leadership in the future. Because the top leadership of any party cannot remove any elected officeholder at the provincial level and neither at regional and district level, it is possible in the future that the usual party members reached the post of the party president in this procedure. The internal system of Jamaat-e-Islami does not rely on a specific family. Therefore, the leaders (president) come from different families and different provinces and also change the top leadership (central presidents) in their lifetime. We can say that it is more democratic than the other political parties of Pakistan.

In the last intra-party election, the three selected political parties elect their party presidents. However, the level of participation in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf was very high because 2.7 million party members participate in the election of the party president through mobile SMS. While in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, the level of participation was deficient if we compare to PTI. However, JIP has strict criteria for party membership owing to this; the number of members (Arkans) is less than Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. However, the turnout in the election of party presidents was high in Jamaat-e-Islami

Pakistan than Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. The party members vote through the secret ballot to elect party president in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. The intra-party elections in political parties have become a strange phenomenon in the country's politics over the years. All political parties except Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan get their office-bearers elected unopposed by an election process whose transparency has always been questionable.

Under Section 12 of the Pakistan Political Parties Order 2002, each party's party leader has to submit its certificate to the Election Commission under its signatures that the elections held under the party constitution and the requirements of this law. The party chief is also required by law to produce election results, including the total number of votes cast and the number of votes received for all party offices of his candidate. However, the Election Commission has not ever questioned the transparency of any political party's intra-party elections. The 'elected' party officials list accepted without any objection.

On January 7th and January 8th, the PPP and the PPPP held intra-party elections to designate their office bearers for four years. As anticipated, all the candidates were elected without competition as no one had risked filing papers against the nominees by the top leadership. Former Secretary Election Commission of Pakistan, Kanwar Dilshad, is of the view that it is the responsibility of the Commission to conduct intra-party elections in political parties in a transparent way. It is highly questionable how the members of PPP and the PPPP have cast their votes in the intra-party election (The Nation, 2017).

The party members participate in the election of party presidents in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. The numbers of the participant of Pakistan

Tehreek-e-Insaf is more than Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. Many international scholars indicate the most inclusive participation that the measurement of inclusive participation could be depending on the numbers of participants and turnout. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, has followed the same pattern regarding participation, but some party expert criticises the procedures of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf mobile SMS. However, Bilal (2019) argued that due to huge members, it is difficult in PTI to use secrets ballot in the intra-party election. In this regard, JIP followed the procedure of intra-party election through secret ballot papers. The turnout of the participant was high in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan than Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf; hence, Jamaat-e-Islami has followed more democratic procedure than PTI and PPP. Because in the intra-party election of PPP appoint the party chairman, there was no proper election held.

CHAPTER- 6

REPRESENTATIONAL PORTRAYAL AND DELIMITATION (MARKING OUT) OF THE PARTIES PRESIDENTS

This dissertation is related to party leadership selection, and representation is an essential consequence of leadership selection, in intra-party democracy. Firstly, this chapter delimits the concept of representation. Then look at the five parts of this chapter: life before politics, education, and family background, relation with the party founder and political experience, or political carrier. Firstly, this chapter investigates life before politics of the present presidents. Secondly, this chapter highlights the educational qualification of party presidents of the three selected political parties. Thirdly this chapter focuses on the family background of the present presidents. Fourthly, this chapter evaluates the representative status of parties' presidents more, in particular, the extent to which they represent grass-roots members or a single dynastic family. Finally, the political carrier of the present presidents evaluated in the selected political parties. Furthermore, this chapter also focuses on the dynastic leadership of other major political parties of Pakistan to compare the present status of the presidents of the selected political parties with non-selected political parties of Pakistan.

6.1- The Notion of Representation

The notion of representation is just one of many to represent society, namely its microcosm (Birch 1993). However, when dealing with empirical representation, relatively than notionally, the context of recruitment and electoral studies. The concept of representation almost universally and equally used, that is, reflecting the

demographic structure of society, and in the case of political parties, it is reflecting the demographic structure of their voter groups.

In the recruitment literature, an institution considered more representative if it reflects the society in terms of gender, class, education, ethnicity, religion, (Patzelt, 1999; Putnam, 1976; Norris, 2006; Hazan and Rahat, 2010). In the electoral studies literature an electoral structure is seen as more representative if it more accurately convert votes into seats – the closer the quantity of votes is to the share of seats, the more “representative” the electoral system is measured to be one (Gallagher, 1991; Lijphart, 1985, 1994; Rae, 1967; Riedwyl and Steiner, 1995; Hazan and Rahat, 2010). This study of representation reflects the selection of the party president that the party president is the representative of party members, or he/she represents a dynastic family.

There are three different dimensions of political life that delegates must facilitate: the varying characteristic of legislative decision-making, the nature of straight legislative dealings, and the foundation for accumulating citizens from representing populations. Furthermore, it highlights each feature using the same theme (voice, confidence, and memory) and highlights the experiences of underrepresented groups in the United States. For example, while highlighting the experiences of American women seeking equal citizenship, which historically backward groups need to "voice" a decision. The "heavy-thinking" standards of legislative institutions require the presence of individuals who have direct access to the historically excluded approach (Williams, 1998).

In light of the framework of the above theoretical distinctions, I used the notion of representation as a reflection of society. Hazan and Rahat (2010) argued that the decision of the party selectorates concerning who will be the party and party voters' representative in a realistic position is often the key one. The role of parties in

influencing representation, specifically their role in reducing the candidate pool from all (party eligible) aspirants to only the party candidates for leadership competition. The treatment of candidate selection methods in such studies is rather simplistic to contest intra-party election for the office of the party president.

In this study, the notion of representation referred to as an intra-party context. This study focuses on the political career and family background of the party presidents. The question arises here whether the party president is representative of party members or only of a dynastic family. Furthermore, the political career of the party president, we investigate whether he served for a long time for the party or became by engaging the party president through direct nomination. The main idea is that the present president representative of the whole party, such as the grass-roots members or a single-family. The educational qualifications of parties, presidents are also present in this part of the study. They represent the local, national institutions, or international institutions. The notion of representation in this study also focuses on the relationship of present presidents of the party with the party founder. This study investigates that the present president becomes the president through proper channel or owing to the relationship with the party founder.

6.2- An Outline for Representation in Leadership Selection

This chapter focuses on the second consequence of leadership selection in intra-party democracy. The main objective of this chapter is to evaluate the representation level of the present president of the three political parties. This chapter focuses on five sub-indicators to measure intra-party democracy through representation in the three political parties. The sub-indicators explained in the previous paragraph already. The measurement of intra-party democracy in leadership selection focuses on these sub-

indicators to measure the intra-party democracy in the three selected political parties of Pakistan. The most crucial indicator through which we measure the level of intra-party democracy is the family background: to highlight that the present presidents belong to a political family or promote from the grass-roots level. Fourth indicator relation with the party founder: that the present president of which party has relation to the party founders. The last indicator is the political experience of the party presidents. I highlighted the experience of parties' presidents that which one is the most experienced person and acquired this position owing to his political experience.

6.3- Life Before Politics

The main aim of this part of this study is to evaluate the early life or life before politics of the presidents of the three political parties of Pakistan. We would like to know whether the presidents of the selected political parties were grass-roots members in the past and came from the grass-roots level, or they directly nominated to the top by family influence. The life before politics of the present presidents of the three-selected political parties presented one by one in the bellow.

6.3.1- Imran Ahmad Khan

Imran Ahmad Khan was a national, international cricket player before entering politics. He played international cricket for twenty years and started playing cricket at the time of 13 years old. In the early stages, he was performing for his school and afterwards for the Worcestershire Cricket Club. Imran Khan introduced himself to the Pakistan national team at the age of 18 in the 1971 English series in Birmingham. He successfully won Pakistan in the 1992 Cricket World Cup and was Pakistan's only success in the

history of cricket. In 1992 he resigned as one of Pakistan's most wealthy cricketers (Asian Society, 2012).

He completed 3,807 runs and took 362 wickets throughout Test cricket. He is one of eight global cricketers to receive the 'all-rounder's triple' label in test matches. Immediately afterwards, he retired from cricket and dedicated the majority of his time to a charitable foundation and public works. He launched Shaukat Khanam, Pakistan's first specialised cancer centre, on the name of his late mother, who surrendered to the said disease. In 2008, Khan also recognised a personal technological college, known as Namal College, in the rural Mianwali district of Punjab. He initiated in 2010 the ICC Cricket Hall of Fame (Aziz, 2018)

6.3.2- Siraj ul Haq

Siraj ul Haq belongs to a middle-class family of districts Dir, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. He started his carrier from politics before national politics; he was very active in students' politics. Before entering national politics, he started politics from the grass-root level and played a very active role in students' politics. He selects as a member of Islami Jamiat Talba (IJT), a student wing of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (JIP) in 1981. He was elected the provincial Nazim (president) of Islami Jamiat Talba of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province in 1985. He was elected Nazim Aala (President) of Islami Jamiat Talba for all Pakistan in 1988. After leaving the student wing of Jamaat-e-Islami, he joined Jamaat-e-Islami and was elected Tehsil Nazim (president) of Samar Bagh district Dir (Pakistan Herald, 2014).

6.3.3- Bilawal Bhutto Zardari

Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, the ambitious young boy, was kept away from his home country due to political disorder. Exiled in Dubai and London for the maximum of his life, he grew closer to his sisters. It was not till 2004 that Bilawal and his sisters reunited with their father, Asif Ali Zardari (former president of Pakistan). Bilawal got the opportunity to be exposed to the light of Pakistani media and left a fantastic impression highlighting his views. Bilawal destiny had become apparent to the world, but he delayed due to life-endangering threats.

The life before politics of the presidents of the three selected political parties, Imran Khan spent his life in cricket and charity. Mr Siraj ul Haq was remaining very active in students' politics before joining national-level politics. Mr Bilawal Bhutto Zardari spent his life abroad in Dubai and the United Kingdom before entering national politics to lead Pakistan People Party.

6.4- Education

This part of this study focuses on the educational carrier of the present presidents of the three selected political parties. We would like to know whether the presidents of the selected political parties got their educations. The educational carriers of the present presidents of the three selected political parties are presented one by one in the bellow.

Imran Ahmed Khan is a former Pakistani cricketer, present Chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), and recently elected in August 2018, the 22nd Prime Minister of Pakistan. He was born on October 5, 1952, in Lahore, Punjab. He studied at Aitcheson College, Lahore, and the Royal Grammar School of Worcester, England,

where he specialised in cricket. He joined Cable College, Oxford, in 1972. He studied philosophy, politics, and economics there and graduated in 1975. Greeted by a cricketing family, he played the game as a teenager in Pakistan and sustained in England (Khadim, 2018).

Siraj ul Haq was born on 5th September 1962 in a Pakhtun family of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, district Dir of Jandool village. He is 57 years old. Siraj ul Haq is a Pakistani politician. He is chief of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. The Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is a social and conservative party in Pakistan. He passed his primary education at his village Government primary school. However, he passed Metric (High school certificate) in Government Lal Qila School in 1980. In a TV interview, he said that he faced a challenging situation in his childhood. He was going on foot every day to his school 5 kilometres from his hometown (Interview to Geo TV). He got Admission in FA in government degree college Temargara. He studied political science at the University of Peshawar, and he also received the degree of M.Ed. from Punjab University in Lahore.

Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, the present chairman of Pakistan People's Party, was born in Karachi on 21 September 1988. He is the first-born child and only son of Benazir Bhutto former prime minister and Asif Ali Zardari, the former President of Pakistan and started his primary education from Atchison College Lahore but had to switch between many schools throughout his life. He left Pakistan with his mom and sisters in April 1999. He consumed his childhood in Dubai and London during his family's self-exile. He studied at the Rashid School for Boys in Dubai and also received a black belt in taekwondo (ARY News, 2018).

In 2007, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari joined Oxford University's Circle College Christ Church for graduation in history and politics. As a student at Oxford's curriculum, he studied general history as well as British history. Like her mother, Bilawal was a member of the Oxford Union Debating Society, learning a craft that would be useful for a political career. In 2010 he moved up with a B.A. degree, and following the university's custom, he received a Master of Arts degree in 2015 (Dawn News, 2012).

There is much difference among the educational status of the presidents of the three selected political parties of Pakistan. The educational background of Imran Khan and Bilawal Bhutto Zardari are from a high standard national and international institution. While Siraj ul Haq education based on the government school system of Pakistan. Both Imran Khan and Bilawal were got their primary education from Atchison College Lahore, while Siraj ul Haq passed his primary education at his village primary school. Imran Khan and Bilawal passed their graduation at Oxford University in the United Kingdom. Siraj ul Haq passed his M.A from Peshawar University and M.Ed. from the University of Punjab Lahore.

The present presidents of the selected political parties are well educated. The two presidents of PTI and PPP were getting an education from the same institutions. However, the Ameer of JIP got his education from the local institutions of Pakistan, and he involved in politics from his student life. Mostly Pakistani politicians got their education from foreign universities. However, those leaders who came from dynastic families got their educations from abroad.

6.5- Family Background

Imran Khan, the founder of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, was born in a Pashtun family as the one son of his parents include four sisters, Aleema Khanum, Rani Khanum, Rubina Khanum, and Uzma Khanum. His mother was Shaukat Khanam, who diagnosed with cancer and died, and his father, Ikramullah Khan Niazi, was a civil engineer. The Khan family based in Mianwali, north-western Punjab and his father's family belongs to Pakhtun background and also has a place with the Niazi community. Imran Khan's mother belongs to the Baraki Pashtun family of Jalandhar, Punjab. Imran Khan was not alone because his family comprised Javed Burki and Majid Khan, two other great cricketers. Imran also has a Sufi poet from his mother's background and a master of Pashto script (Khadim, 2018).

Siraj ul Haq has no political family background, and no one of his family members played a role in Pakistani politics at any level. He reached to the top position as party president on his performance and the formal rules of his party. The Ameer (president) of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan Siraj ul Haq has revealed in an interview on Geo TV to host Sohail Waraich during his show Ek Din Geo k Sath (one day with Geo TV). He explained that he is the son of a Charwaha (Shepherd). He was saying that he feels proud that a son of Charwaha (Shepherd) became Ameer of an Islamic political party.

Bilawal Bhutto Zardari was born in Karachi in the Zardari tribe of the Sindhi Bloch political family in Pakistan (The Express Tribune, 2014). He is the first-born child and only son of the Pakistani politician and Ex-Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and her husband Asif Ali Zardari, the former President of Pakistan. His father belongs to the Zardari family and his mother to the Bhutto family. Therefore, he called Bilawal Bhutto Zardari. He is the grandson of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, previous Prime Minister of Pakistan

and (founder of Pakistan People Party) his Iranian-Kurdish wife, Nusrat Bhutto (the Guardian, 2012).

6.6- Relation with the Party Founder

The politics of the family networks in Pakistan, in general, as in South Asia, are firmly rooted in the politics of clientelism, which in turn linked to caste, race, and identity. The tribe, caste, and baradari system have played a leading role in electoral competition and primary public politics. These relationships refer to the political family occupy the resources and leave these resources behind the inheritance of new generations of family members. Although the politics of the royal family have often associated with feudal politics in Pakistan, the two are not the same. However, this study focuses only on dynastic representation in the three selected political parties of Pakistan. This part of the study highlights the relation of present presidents to the founders and former presidents of these political parties.

Imran Khan has been the chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf from the date of origin till now. He is the first chairman and founder of the PTI: no one replaced him till now in the 22-years history of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. There is no one from his own family that they have an essential position in the party (Express Tribune, 2018). The party president is a charismatic personality making him very famous among his party members, voters, and supporters. It becomes evident during general election 2018 in many TV channels surveys in a few constituencies where parties, members were asked about their vote. Mostly party members and voters answer their vote for Imran Khan Candidates is not significant.

Siraj ul Haq is the president of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and belongs to the rural area of KPK province of Pakistan. The founder of Jamaat-e-Islami was Maulana Abul Ala Maududi. He replaced by Mian Tufail a party member in his life had neither a son nor any other relative. Mian Tufail remained president till 1987 (Faizan Ullah, 2018). After Mian Tufail Qazi Hussain Ahmed, a party member from NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) alleged the command of Jamaat-e-Islami and designated for three terms as Ameer till 2009 (Dawn News, 2009).

In the life of Qazi Hussain Ahmed, neither his sons nor his family member has controls on the party. However, it was Syed Manwar Hassan who elected as party president till 2014.

After Syed Munawar Hassan the party did not nominate any of his sons or any member of his family for the post of party president (Aamir), but through a proper election party command given by Siraj ul Haq, he has been serving as President (Amir) of Jamaat-e-Islami since 2014 (Express Tribune, 2014). Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is the only political and religious party to depend on its rules and stable organisational structure. The party top leadership changed correctly in time this party not revolved to personalities.

Bilawal Bhutto Zardari is the present president (Chairman) of Pakistan People Party. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto founded the party in November 1967. Since his execution in April 1979, the chief of the PPP has always been from the Bhutto family. The PPP led by his wife, Begum Nusrat Bhutto. She served as party chairperson and later, even after Benazir Bhutto (his daughter) was elected prime minister for the first time in 1988, she was replaced by the party, for a lifetime, till her terrible death in 2007 (Mushtaq et al. 2013). After the assassination of Benazir Bhutto, her son Bilawal Bhutto Zardari

selected party chairman at the will of his mother, Benazir Bhutto and her husband Asif Ali Zardari, without delay on track working as co-chairman of the party (PILDAT, 2015). Pakistan People's Party depends on Bhutto family the voters and supports of the party have an affiliation with Bhutto family and the founder Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Bilal (2019) argue on the relation of present presidents of the three selected political parties for this dissertation. Most political parties in Pakistan are personality-based except a few, for example, a person comes forward, and he presents a program. The people attracted to his party and program if the founder excludes from the party, it may be scattered and would divide into many small and regional groups. For instance, in Pakistan Tehreek-Insaf Imran Khan is the person in the present time that keeps uniting the party in the present time. The same situation in Pakistan people party because after the assassination of Benazir Bhutto. Asif Ali Zardari was the person who comes forward and kept uniting the party in that problematic situation and announced Bilawal Bhutto Zardari the party chairman. Owing to the son of Benazir, the party workers have sympathy with the Bhutto family. He further said that he does not know that Mr Zardari is familiar in the party, but at that time he was the only source to keep united the party, and we cannot say it an undemocratic act. However, in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, there is a proper procedure for the election of party president. Muan Maudodi resigns from the post of party president in his life and abolishes the tradition of hereditary politics in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, and the new president (Ameer) elect by the party members from the outside family of Maulana Maududi.

Mahmood (2019) explain that PPP has a dynastic leadership the top leaders such as the party chairman always nominated from the Bhutto family and the present chairman has relation to the party founder Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and previous chairperson Benazir

Bhutto. Mr Bilawal Bilawal is the son of Benazir and Asif Ali Zardari. Owing to this to gain the sympathy of PPP voters and supporters, he is entitled to both Bhutto and Zardari at a time (Bilawal Bhutto Zardari). However, hereditary and dynastic leadership are always imposed from the top in PPP in every era.

Islam (2019) argued on the relation of the present presidents of the three selected political parties with the party founders. He says that the Ameer (president) of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan Mr Siraj ul Haq promote from grass-root level to the office of the party president. Because he got his education in ordinary institutions of Pakistan and he also belongs to an ordinary family of District Dir. The present president of Jamaat-e-Islami represents the grass-roots members of the party. He further said that all the presidents (Ameers) of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan came from different regions and costs not from a specific dynastic family. The first Ameer from Hider Abad Dakin the second one from Punjab the third one from Noshehra (KPK), the fourth one from Karachi (Sindh) and the present Ameer belong to district Dir (KPK).

There is no dynastic representation in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. The present president (chairman) of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Imran Khan got his primary education in high ranking of intuitions of Pakistan and higher education from foreign institutes. He further said that Imran Khan is not representing a dynastic family and he also did not like dynastic politics. He further argues that the breakup of Imran khan and Reham khan because Reham khan wants to enter to politics through Imran khan, but Imran khan was opposed to this. The present president of Pakistan People Party Mr Bilawal Bhutto Zardari enters into to politics through a dynastic family, and he is not the representative of the grass-roots members of the party.

Imran Khan Chairman had no political dynasty and before him no one of his family involved in national-level politics. He is the chairman of PTI in the present time and also the founder of PTI. The popularity of PTI credit goes to Imran Khan owing to his continuous struggle against the traditional politicians and political parties, PTI is now the mainstream party in Pakistan. PTI leadership claimed that they followed democratic norms in all the internal affairs of the party, while Imran Khan has been leading the party from origin till now. No one replaces him as party chairman neither anyone contest election against him for the post of party chairman except 2017 intra-party election. The same situation is present in Muttahida Qawmi Movement (MQM) the party founder Altaf Hussain is still the party chief from the origin.

The case of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is different from PTI in this regard. All the elected presidents of JIP were belonged to a non-dynastic family in throughout the history of Jamaat-e-Islami till now the present President Siraj ul Haq. The founder of JIP Syed Abul Ala Maududi holds an intra-party election and the position of party president take over to Mian Tufail through proper channel in his life. The present president of Jamaat-e-Islami Siraj ul Haq replaces the previous President (Ameer) Syed Munawar Hassan neither his son nor his relative. In throughout the history of Jamaat-e-Islami, neither any president replaces by his son, nor anyone else from his family.

The present president of JIP Siraj ul Haq is grove up from grass-root level till the party president through proper channel. The same tradition followed by the National Party (NP) of Pakistan; there is no dynastic representation in the party. The National Party hold intra-party elections properly and change the leadership through proper channel. The first president Dr Abdul Hayee Baloch and the present President Mir Hasil Bizenjo,

have no family relation. National Party has placed in the second position according to PILDAT report 2015 on intra-party democracy of major Political parties in Pakistan.

Mahmood (2019) highlight that the present presidents of both PTI and JIP Imran Khan and Siraj ul Haq have no dynastic political background and neither has relation to the founder or previous presidents of their parties. However, further, she argues that Imran Khan is the founder of PTI, and till date, he is the party president (chairman). Intra-party elections held in Jamaat-e-Islami, While, PTI also holds an intra-party election in 2017 for the party president (chairman) Imran Khan elected as president (chairman) of the party. However, her last and final argument was that the JIP is better than PTI in this regard because the top leadership changed adequately through the democratic process.

The Pakistan People's Party case is different from both Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan because the party chairmen elected throughout the history and unopposed from one family. The chairman of PPP Mr Bilawal Bhutto Zardari is nominated by his mother in her life when she was alive through a will. She declared that after her death her son will be the party chairman, Benazir herself was the daughter of Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, founder of Pakistan People's Party. The tradition of dynastic leadership is still present in the mainstream political parties of Pakistan.

The present president of Pakistan Muslim League Noon (PMLN) is the brother of party first president, Mr Nawaz Sharif replaced by his brother Shahbaz Sharif. Currently, the elder Sharif is the Quaid (or the great leader) while the younger Sharif is the elected head of the party. The daughter of Mian Nawaz Sharif is preparing for future leaders to lead the PML-N in the future. The sons of Mian Shahbaz Sharif are also preparing to lead the party in the future. The example of Hamza Shahbaz in front of everyone now

a day he is the opposition leader in the provincial assembly of Punjab. There are also few politicians they have no dynastic background. The president of Awami Muslim League (AML) Sheikh Rasheed Ahmad reached this position of his ability because there was no one before him in his family who participate in national politics.

The Pakhtun nationalist politician, In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Asfandyar Wali Khan, whose claim on the party is also family-based, is the Awami National Party (ANP). Asfandyar Wali Khan is the son of Abdul Wali Khan and grandson of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Before the ANP led by Wali Khan's and after his wife, Begum Naseem Wali Khan and now Asfndayar Wali Khan is leading ANP. The present president of Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party, Mr Memood khan Achakzai is also representing a dynastic family and is the son of party founder Mr Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai. The religious parties such as the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) and the Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP) not exempted. Because Maulana Fazlur Rehman inherited the JUI leadership from his father Mufti Mahmood, and when he refused some ideological leaders to accept the leadership, he formed his alliance JUI-F and remained a powerful faction. In the same way, the leader (president) of JUP Shah Ahmad Noorani succeeded by his son, Anas Noorani.

Imran Khan, the present chairman (president) of Pakistan Tehreek-Insaf, is the founder of PTI. Before Imran khan, no members of his family participate as a leader in national politics of Pakistan. He has no dynastic political background. However, from the date till now, he is the chairman of PTI. The present Ameer (president) of Jamaat-e-Islami Siraj ul Haq has no relation to the founder of JIP. While, he also has no relation with any former Ameer (presidents) of JIP. He is the only person in the present politician that he has come from a grass-roots level in a middle-class family through a proper way

to this position. Mr Bilawal Bhutto Zardari is the son of Benazir Bhutto, and Benazir Bhutto was the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. However, we can measure that the Ameer of Jamaat-e-Islami has no dynastic family background while Imran Khan also has no dynastic background, but he has been the chairman from the date till now owing to this we measure that Jamaat-e-Islami is more democratic than PTI and PPP in this sub-indicator of representation.

6.7- Political Experience

Political experience played an essential role in the life of a leader because the party leader is the most crucial person in the party. He makes all the significant decisions and the chief spokesman, within, and outside of the party. In this part of the study highlights the political experience of the present presidents of the three selected political parties of Pakistan.

Imran Khan: Imran Khan started his political career in 1996. Increasingly disappointed by the country's bureaucracy and widespread corruption, Khan entered into the political realm in founding his centrist political party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) with a promise of ensuring "Insaf" (justice) for all. However, Pakistani politics move around on a few dynastic families in the major political parties of Pakistan while Imran Khan had no political family background and no one of his family was in politics in the past.

Khan's political profession is open to all. He laid the foundation of a political party Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) to transform his vision of revolution in a country into a reality. He knew that Pakistan needed a change, which was only possible through politics. Imran Khan's main task was to focus on justice for the common man, free

judiciary, responsibility and democracy. Khan contested for the National Assembly seat in October 2002 and elected from Mianwali. Imran Khan boycotted from general election 2008 due to a dictator President Gen. Parvez Musharraf.

The grand Jalsa (gathering) of Minar-e-Pakistan Lahore on 29 October 2011 was a turning point in the political career of Imran Khan. The Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) organised a rally at the Minaret Pakistan Ground in Lahore, which is traditionally the stronghold of the PML-N. The chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Imran Khan informed politicians to announce their assets, or their party would start on civil disobedience movement against them. Talking about the country's tracking down, Khan said his party would stand with minorities and work for women's rights (Express Tribune, 2011).

Under Imran Khan's leadership, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf started gaining recognition along with the youth of Pakistan and initiate to bring about revolutionary change even though gathering against corruption. In 2013, the PTI emerged as one of Pakistan's most active political parties and launched the "New Pakistan Resolution" (Naya Pakistan) in the country. The 2013 elections held on May 11, and the Pakistan Muslim League came out with a large number of votes, and the PTI was defeated. Imran Khan did not prevent here, as he emerged as an influential leader who could have wished and won the 2018 general elections and surprised everybody. Throughout his political career, his main opposition has been the Muslim League-N and the Sharif family (Khadim, 2018).

The 22 years mature struggled for Pakistan finally made Imran Khan the Prime Minister of Pakistan in 2018. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf won the leading position in the National Assembly after winning 115 seats and gathered more than 16 million votes nationwide.

The cricketer-turned politicians have once again promised to light Pakistan on the world map. Imran Khan's speech was welcomed worldwide as an inspiration after the election. He undertakes to help the poor, farmers and labourers so that they could feed their children properly. Furthermore, his focus is on human development, equality, justice, and providing opportunities for all young people (The New York Times, 2018).

Siraj ul Haq: The political career of Siraj ul Haq started from the grass-root level in students' politics. Siraj ul Haq nominated as a member of Islami Jamiat Talba (IJT) a Student wing of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (JIP) in 1981. He was elected the provincial Nazim (president) of Islami Jamiat Talba Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 1985. He was elected Nazim Aala (President) of Islami Jamiat Talba for all Pakistan in 1988. After leaving the student wing of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, he joined Jamaat-e-Islami and was elected Tehsil Nazim (president) of Samar Bagh district Dir (Pakistan Herald, 2014).

However, he was very active in local politics under the banner of Jamaat-e-Islami and remained the general secretary as well as he was elected the Ameer (president) of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Jamaat-e-Islami. He continued the Deputy Ameer of Jamaat-e-Islami until 30 March 2014 (Express Tribune, 2014). He was designated the Ameer (President) of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan in 2014 in the intra-party contest with previous Ameer Munawar Hassan and present Secretary-General Liaquat Bloch.

He entered electoral politics in 2002 and elected to the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly in general election from the platform of the Mutahida Majlis Amal (a coalition of religious parties). He selected as Finance Minister in the provincial cabinet under the headship of Chief Minister Akram Khan Durrani. However, he resigned from the finance ministry. However, Qazi Hussain Ahmed, a former Ameer (president) of Jamaat-e-Islami, announced that he had to resign from one of the two offices, namely

the Ministry or the Ameer Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, then N.W.F.P. His party boycotted the general election 2008. In 2013, he contested on the ticket of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and was elected to the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly, and once again nominates Finance Minister in the provincial cabinet in the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Government. He signed the budget and resigned from his ministry (finance ministry) in June 2014. According to party rules, a person cannot hold two posts at a time. During that time, he was the Amir of Jamaat-e-Islami and senior minister in the KP Assembly (Express Tribune, 2014). He was elected for the upper house of parliament as a senator and resigned from the membership of provincial assembly KPK. He remains until 2021 member (senator) of the upper house of the parliament.

Bilawal Bhutto Zardari was started his political Journey from 2012, an official political debut in 2012 on the fifth death anniversary of Benazir with an emotionally charged speech as party chairman. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari had two primary goals when he took command of the Peoples Party chairmanship. One is to reorganise the political party to promote new blood in the system and to renew the sentiment that the People's Party has known since the time of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (CNN News, 2012). The second objective was to mobilise the party workforce to demonstrate its role in the 2018 election. Achieving these goals, the PPP chairman has declared his "great asset" in expressing his interest in working with the guidelines and advice provided by senior members of the party.

The chairman Pakistan People's Party (PPP) Bilawal Bhutto Zardari participated in the first general elections in 2018. He contested in three constituencies of the National Assembly to win a seat in the NA. Although he was defeated by the Pakistan Tehreek-

e-Insaf (PTI) in Lyari along with NA-246 Karachi South 1 as well as in NA-8 Malakand, he elected from NA 200 Larkana 1, the stronghold of the Pakistan People's Party, for the first time in his political career. Bilawal won the election with 84,426 votes, while Rashid Mahmud Soomro of the MMA (Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal's) got 50,200 votes (Geo News, 2018).

6.8- Comparison of the three political parties

The political carrier of the Pakistani politician mostly started from a political dynasty. However, there are also a few politicians they have no political dynasty. However, we compare the political carrier of the present presidents of the three selected political parties. Imran Khan the present (president) chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf before joining politics he was an international player of Pakistani national cricket team. Imran khan stared politics from the top-level he founded his party and started his political carrier in 1996. He faced many difficulties at the beginning of his political carrier. He is a visionary man and described in his many interviews that he believes in to continue the struggle. He contests the general election of 1997, but his party cannot obtain a single seat in the national assembly while he obtained his seat in general election in 2002.

The turning point of Imran Khan political carrier was the grand Jalsa (gathering) of Minar-e-Pakistan 2011. This Jalsa (gathering) turned the political carrier of Imran Khan. We can say that he is a self-made politician. It is the continuing struggle of Imran Khan in Pakistani politics that now he is the prime minister of Pakistan. The political carrier of Siraj ul Haq started from his student life in his school stage. He joined the student wing of Jamaat-Islami Pakistan and reached to the top position of the party.

Siraj ul Haq entered electoral politics in 2002, and he elected the member of the provincial assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. He also remains two times the finance and senior minister of this province. Siraj ul Haq remains the provincial president of Jamaat-e-Islami. He also remains a central deputy Ameer (vice president) of Jamaat-e-Islami and then elects the central Ameer (president) of Jamaat-e-Islami. He has much experience in his political carrier because he enjoys different party offices. It is the intra-party democracy that Siraj ul Haq reached from grass-root level to the position of party president. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, a young politician of Pakistan People's Party and the present president of PPP. He belongs to political family his mother remained the prime minister, while his father remained president of Pakistan his grandfather Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto also remain the prime minister of Pakistan as well as the founder of Pakistan people party. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari is in his beginning stage of politics but a significant factor that his career started from a political dynastic family.

The three selected political parties have a huge difference regarding party policies and practice with reference to selection of party president. Pakistan people party has a long history of Bhutto dynasty from the date till now the party president (chairman) come from the same blood relation. However, in the present time the vote bank of Pakistan people party decreased in KPK, Punjab and Balochistan, while the party maintain their holds in Sindh province. The policies and practices of Pakistan Tehreek-Insaf regarding leadership is different from PPP because PTI holds intra-party election for the post of party president (chairman). The main offices of the party hold by different persons from different families. However, the party founder is the chairman from date till now. The case of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is different from both PPP and PTI, because the top leadership (Amir) changed through intra-party election in a proper way. However, all the presidents were come from different family and different areas of the country.

CHAPTER- 7

COMPETITIONAL RACE IN THE ELECTIONEERING (CONVASSING) AND IN THE ELECTION OF THE PARTY PRESIDENT

This chapter takes account of the competition among party leaders' selection process..

This chapter focuses on numbers of candidates' contests election for the position of the party presidents in the three selected political parties. The first part of this chapter encircles the concept of competition as well as the significance of competition in intra-party democracy for leadership selection. The next part, of this chapter, marks out the level of competition as well as numbers of candidates in the intra-party election for the party presidents in the selected political parties of Pakistan. The indicator of competition for measuring intra-party democracy through leadership selection is complicated to compare among the selected political parties. However, for an authentic comparison, the data is collected through questionnaires from the party members and non-party members. The data analysed descriptively, using tables for questions related to competition in the election of party president in the selected political parties. The additions to the questionnaire field survey, the interviews are also conducted from the expert of intra-party democracy to measure the effectiveness of competition in the intra-party election among the three political parties.

7.1- Concept of Intra-Party Competition

There are several ways to define intraparty competition between candidates. The most straightforward division between those conditions where there is no competition compared to those where competition exists in the intra-party contest between or among candidates for the leadership position. The definition of non-competitive leadership

selection is that the number of candidates is equal to the number of exact position (Hazan and Rahat, 2010). For instance, if a party has only a single candidate for a realistic position, then there is no competition in the leadership selection. While if there are two or more candidates for a representative position, then there is competition. In many political parties of Pakistan, the top leadership including party president select by the party elites unopposed there are no more candidates in the competition. If someone stands against the party president as a candidate, examples are present in many dynastic political parties these candidates are very soon excluded from the party important meeting and decisions making. For example, Javeed Hashmi in PML-N and Makhdoom Ameen Faheem in PPP stood against their parties' presidents. Their parties ignored them all in all-important meeting and essential decisions making. Javid Hashmi joins Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (Dawn News, 2011). While Makhdoom Amin Faheem remains in Pakistan People's Party till death, but the party co-chairman has limited his attendance in a crucial meeting at the party (Dawn News, 2014; The Nation, 2014).

The first way to evaluate the level of competition which also distinguishes among those cases where there are more candidates than representative seats, the positions are to focus on the supply side, examining how many ran for candidacy (Norris and Lovenduski, 1995). This measure is used to estimate the level of competition in US primaries for example, by looking at differences in competition between inn able and unwinnable seats (Standing and Robinson, 1958); to estimate the influence of incumbency on competition and to compare contests between runoff primaries and contests in primaries where a plurality is sufficient to win (Glaser 2006).

Hazan and Rahat (2010) argue that the more general candidacy requirements are the more competitive system for leadership selection methods. After all, more particular

requirements will limit the pool of leadership selection process and will limit the right to be selected as the party president. However, a wide-open field for leadership selection might help incumbents retain their seats or positions once again. However, as long as candidacy requirements do not minimise the field too much up to the point where the selectors have no choice, they might enhance competition.

7.2- Background for Competition in Leadership Selection

Competition is the most significant consequence of leadership selection in intra-party democracy. The measurement of effective competition is challenging through descriptive analysis. This study focuses on a field survey to know the views of the party members and non-party members for an authentic measurement and compression of effective competition in the election of party president. This study also includes interviews from the party experts, especially expert of intra-party democracy to measure the effective competition in the light of the interviews of these experts.

7.3- Significance of Competition in Leadership Selection

In a democratic system, everyone expects to see a free and fair competition of interests and values among political parties and leaders; they compete for the support of voters. In the intra-party context, competition among candidates for the supports of selectors, all voters of the party, members, party delegates, the party elites or a single leader. Sartori (1976) Hazan and Rahat (2010) argues that intra-party competition is significant for democracy to strengthen the weak intra-party contest among party leaders in the intra-party election. Wauters (2014) argues that party presidents are the most influential persons in political parties. They are responsible for both the internal organisation of the party and the external relations and activities, such as acting as a spokesman in

consultations and assigning ministers. Earlier, the Belgian political parties designated their party leaders (presidents) by a decision of the party executive or the party conference consist of the only selected elite of the party. The party president assigned by a few elites in the mainstream political parties of Pakistan without the participation of party members in the competition.

Although some competition is both essential and constructive, and unopposed selection of leadership is harmful to democracy, a high level of competition is also challenging for democracy. The party leaders think that about their efforts will not reward by reselection in the intra-party election then why should they bother investing any effort? Furthermore, heavy competition might also improve the standing of money in the campaign and increase the incentives for corrupt practices. High turnover can also affect the ability of the representatives to accumulate experience and thus function better in their legislative and executive posts (Somit et al. 1994). However, as an interpretation of Michels (1915) leads us to expect, it is much easier to identify cases of no and low intraparty competition than cases of too much competition.

7.4- Formal Competition in the Election of Party President

Because of the nature of Intra-Party Democracy in leadership variety, it is vital to think about the competitiveness of these contests. Hazan and Rahat (2010) argue that another way to look at competition is to assess the success rate of newcomers in their attempts to challenge incumbents. The selection of newcomers indicates that even after a candidate was selected and elected in the last intra-party election as party president, there is a chance that in the next election, their position or seat will lose. Such analyses can be conducted in voting as well as in appointment systems.

Cross and Katz (2013) argued that the Party rules might suggest that the contests are comprehensive, open, fair and easily accessible to candidates and voters but this is not particularly meaningful if there is little competition. It is especially true in the many cases in which party elites control access to the leadership ballot. The degree of competitiveness of these contests sheds light on whether members have a real choice or are rubber-stamping a decision made by party elites.

This study already indicates in chapter two that the primary data collected from the party members in the form of questionnaires and interviews from the experts, which analysed in the latter portion of the study. The question asked about formal competition in the election of party presidents in the three selected political parties of this dissertation.

First, here it is made particular a descriptive analysis of the trends (Table 6.1). As the below table illustrates, there is indeed a considerable level of variation between observation points, of party members and non-party members. The non-party members played a significant role in the authentication of the results. The statement was about the formal competition in the election of party president was asked from the party members and non-party members in the form of questionnaires. The statement was: there is a formal competition in the election of party president in Pakistan People's Party, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, the ratio of the respondents shown in the bellow table.

Table 6.1: The views of respondents about formal competition in JIP, PTI and PPP

Sr. No	Party Name	Frequency and percentage											
		SA	%	A	%	DA	%	SDA	%	NA	%	T-F	T-%
1	PPP	53	17.7	71	23.7	68	22.7	93	31	15	5	300	100
2	JIP	93	31	73	24.3	86	28.7	45	15	3	1	300	100
3	PTI	74	24.7	72	24	62	20.7	82	27.3	9	3	300	100

The above table shows the views of the respondents about formal competition in the election of party president in the three selected political parties. Formal competition is significant for the production of new leadership come out from the bottom level o top through proper channel. The grass-roots members acquired vital positions such as the post of party presidents through proper channel in truly internally democratic political parties. The views of 31 per cent of the respondents strongly agree, and 24.3 per cent only agreed that there is a formal competition in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan for the position of party president and the party president come through a formal competition in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. The views of the respondents who disagree are 28 per cent and strongly disagreed respondents are 15 per cent that there is no formal competition in the election of party president in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. These respondents are opposite of the above statement that there is no competition in the election of party president in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan their views are not in favour of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. If we compare the ratio between agreeing and disagree, respondents, the views of the agreed respondents are more than disagreed respondents. The views of the agreed and strongly agreed are 55 per cent they are in favour of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan regarding formal competition and the respondents they disagree and strongly disagreed are 43 per cent they are opposed to Jamaat-e-Islami regarding regular competition in the election of party president.

The views of the respondents which are collected by the researcher through survey questionnaires about Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf 24.7 per cent of the respondents strongly agree, and 24 per cent of the respondents only agree that there is a formal competition in the election of party presidents in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. These respondents give their favour to Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf in this regard. While 20.7 per cent of the views of the respondents disagree with the formal competition as well as 27.3 per cent of the

respondents, strongly disagree with the above statement that there is no formal competition in the election of party presidents (chairman) in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. These respondents are not in favour of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf regarding the formal competition. However, the ratio of strongly agree and agree and strongly disagree and disagree are 48.7 per cent and 48 per cent, respectively. Agree and strongly agree are more than disagree and strongly disagreed. The views of 17.7 per cent of the respondents they strongly agree with Pakistan People's Party and 23.7 per cent only agreed that there is a formal competition in the election of party president (chairman) in Pakistan People Party. These respondents paid their attention to Pakistan People Party in this regard. However, 22.7 per cent of the views of the respondents disagree that Pakistan People Party followed the procedure of formal competition in the election of party presidents as well as 31 per cent of the respondents strongly disagreed that there is a formal competition in Pakistan People Party for the post of party president (chairman). In order to evaluate the ratio of strongly agree and only agree and strongly disagree and only disagree in Pakistan People's Party according to the views of the respondents, 41.4 per cent and 53.7 per cent respectively.

However, now we are going to compare the views of the members of the selected political parties and non-party members to measure the overall position of the formal competition in the three selected political parties of Pakistan for this dissertation. The views of 55 per cent of the respondents are in favour of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan that there is a formal competition for the post of party presidents. 48.6 per cent views of the respondents in favour of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf that the candidates compete for the post of party presidents, while, in Pakistan People Party the only 41.4 per cent of the respondents is a positive response in the favour to the formal competition of party president through proper channel.

Mahmood (2019) explains her views about formal competition in the election of party presidents in the three selected political parties for this dissertation. She said formal competition is present in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan because there are more than two candidates in every intra-party election for the party leadership selection in the party. She further said the formal competition also exists in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf the election held between two panels in the last intra-party poll. However, in Pakistan People Party, there is no formal competition exist the president always come unopposed without competition and the participation of party members. The competition between two are more than two candidates, and the participation of party members are essential for effective intra-party competition.

Bilal (2019) answer to my question about the competition that formal and effective competition only exists in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan because the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-shura) propose or nominate three candidates for the position of party president and the party members (Arkan) elect one from these three candidates for the post of party president. In Pakistan people's party, the competition does not exist because the party chairman (president) always come through the nomination while the formal competition in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf exists but this competition is artificial because of produce panels instead of candidates.

7.5- Numbers of Candidates in the Election of Party President

In the past, political parties select their party leader by a decision of the party executive or the party conference without competition among two or three candidates. Nowadays, however, almost political parties organise internal elections to designate their leader, with every party member having one vote. While in the 1970s only 8 per cent of party leadership appointments were decided by internal elections, by the 1990s this figure had

raised to 38 per cent, and it has increased further in the first decade of the new millennium (Wauters, 2009).

This numbers of candidates are a decent indicator of the competitiveness of an intra-party contest for party leadership selection in the election of party president. The assessing of intra-party democracy is party leadership election institutionalisation as measured by the adoption of formal rules for the election of party leaders (Sindre, 2016). Hence, the attention needs to be on the presence or lack of formal and codified rules in official party documents, like party Statutes and Constitutions. It is essential to underline that formal institutions might co-exist with informal procedures, and the former may say little about the reality of the leadership election practice (Annalisa, 2016). The below table shows the numbers of candidates contest in the election of party presidents in the selected political parties for this dissertation Pakistan People's Party, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf.

The party members and non-party members responded this bellow statement, and the ratio of the respondents shown in the below table the statement was the election contest for the post of party presidents in Pakistan People's Party, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf among three or more than three candidates. Most scholars (Hazan and Rahat, 2010; Wauters, 2014) paid attention and refer to the effectiveness of intra-party election for the position of party presents to the presence of many candidates in the competition.

Table 6.2: The views of respondents about the numbers of candidates in competition

Sr. No	Party Name	Frequency and percentage											
		SA	%	A	%	DA	%	SDA	%	NA	%	T-F	T-%
1	PPP	24	8	60	20	100	33.3	99	33	16	5.3	300	100
2	JIP	96	32	60	20	73	24.3	59	19.7	11	3.7	300	100
3	PTI	38	12.7	54	18	101	33.7	91	30.3	11	3.7	300	100

The above table is related to the numbers of candidates' contest in the election of party president. Kenig (2009b) argue about the effective competition in the election of party president we measured an effective competition by both the number of candidates the closeness of the contest and the access of the voters (members) to the polling station. The above table shows the ratio of party members and non-party members from whom the data collected the statement is: in which party the number of candidates is three and more than three in the election of party presidents. The ratio of the respondents in favour of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is 32 per cent strongly agree, and 20 per cent only agrees that the contest in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan held among three candidates for the party president. While 24 per cent disagrees and 19.7 per cent views of respondents strongly disagree with the above statement. The views of 12.7 per cent of respondents strongly agree that there are three or more than three candidates in the competition for party president in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, and 18 per cent only agreed in this regard. While the views of 33.7 per cent of respondents disagree and 33.3 per cent respondents strongly disagree that there are three or more than three candidates in competition for the post of party president in the intra-party election in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf.

The views of 8 per cent of the respondents are strongly agreed, and 20 per cent of the respondents only agree with the above statement that there are three or more than three candidates in the election of party presidents to compete with each other in Pakistan People's Party. However, 33.3 per cent of the respondents disagree, and 33 per cent of the respondents strongly disagreed that there are three or more than candidates in the competition in the intra-party election for the position of party presidents in Pakistan People Party. The overall ratio of strongly agree and agree and disagree and strongly disagree in the above statement that there are three or more than three candidates in the

competition for the post of party president. In Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is 52 per cent and 43.7 per cent in that order in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is 30.7 per cent and 64 per cent and in Pakistan People Party is 28 per cent and 66.3 per cent respectively. If we compare the ratio in the light of the respondents in the light of the above statement in the three selected political parties of Pakistan, the Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan acquired the first position, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf got the second position, and Pakistan people party is in the third position. According to the observation, the three candidates only compete in every intra-party election for the position of party president and Bilal (2019) also explains that there are three candidates only in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan for the position of party president. The candidates nominated by the central consultative council (Majlis-e-Shura).

Bilal (2019) argues about the numbers of candidates that there are always three candidates contest election for the party president in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. However, the three names proposed by the central consultative council (Majlis-e-Shura) while in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf there were two panels instead of candidates in the last intra-party election held in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf for the post of party president. However, in Pakistan People Party, there is always a single candidate in throughout the history for the position of party president (chairman), and the party president (chairman) comes from a specific family.

The third table is also about the numbers of candidates competing in the election of party president. The numbers of candidates are two in which political parties in the election of party presidents in Pakistan People's Party, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. In the below table, the statement about two candidates contests in the election of the party president asked through survey questionnaires from

the party members and non-party members about Jamaat-e-Islami, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and Pakistan People's Party. The effectiveness of competition is a challenging task to measure it in the political parties. However, many scholars (keing, at al. 2013; Annalisa, 2016; Wauters, 2010) argued that the numbers of candidates show the effectiveness of competition in the elections of party presidents and also in the selection of candidates. For instance, if there are two candidates in a competition in one party and the other party, there are three or more than three candidates we can say that the competition among three or more than three candidates is effective than the competition among two candidates.

Table 6.3: The views of respondents about effectiveness of competition in JIP, PTI and PPP

Sr. No	Party Name	Frequency and percentage											
		S	%	A	%	DA	%	SDA	%	NA	%	T-F	T-%
1	PPP	40	13.3	68	22.7	87	29	92	30.7	13	4.3	300	100
2	JIP	35	11	56	18.7	121	40.	81	27	6	12	300	100
3	PTI	85	28.3	71	23.7	58	19.	78	26	8	2.7	300	100

The above table is related to numbers of candidates in the election of party presidents. Mostly scholar and expert of intra-party democracy argue that the effectiveness of competition may be measure through numbers of candidates. Competition among more candidates should be effective competition. The above table shows the percentages of the respondent views about numbers of candidates. The views of 28.3 per cent strongly agree, and 23.7 per cent of respondents agree that the numbers of candidates are two in the competition for the party presidents (chairman). While 19.3 per cent of views of the respondents disagree and 26 per cent of respondents strongly disagree that competition held between two candidates in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. The views of 13.3 per cent strongly agree, and 22.7 per cent of respondents only agree that there are two candidates compete for the post of party presidents (chairman) in Pakistan People Party. However,

29 per cent of the respondents disagree, and 30.7 per cent views of the respondents strongly disagree with the above statement that there are two candidates in the competition for the position of party president (chairman) in Pakistan People's Party.

The views of the respondents about Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan are 11 per cent are strongly agreed, and 18.7 per cent of the respondents agree that the competition held between two candidates in the internal election for the position of party presidents (Ameer). However, the views of 40.3 per cent of the respondents disagree, and 27 per cent of respondents strongly disagreed that the competition among between two candidates in the election of party president (Ameer) in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. However, now we can compare the three political parties in this regard that where are two candidates compete for the position of party presidents in the views of the respondents. In the above analysis, mostly respondents about 28.3 per cent and 23.7 per cent strongly agree and agree respectively with the above statement in favour of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. While in the case of Pakistan People's Party, 13.3 per cent and 22.7 per cent strongly agree and agree in this regard with the Pakistan People Party. Eleven per cent and 18.7 per cent in favour of Jamaat-e-Islami strongly agree and only agree respectively with the above statements. In the views of the above respondents now we can easily categories the position of the parties that there are two candidates in the election of party presidents in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. Pakistan People Party in second and Jamaat-e-Islami in on the third position in this regard.

Mahmood (2019) argues, and she explains her views about the numbers of candidates in the competition of party presidents in the three selected political parties. She argues on leadership selection in intra-party democracy that a person competes against the other one. The most effective competition is present in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan in her

views that the candidates selected by members' representative body and the numbers of candidates are also more than all other parties of Pakistan for leadership selection. She said that there are always three candidates in the competition of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan in the election of party president. The intra-party competition of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf was not more effective because instead of candidates the party introduces two panels in the last intra-party election to fulfil the criteria of election commission of Pakistan. There is no opposition for the post of party president (chairman) in Pakistan People Party because always the party chairman nominated by a few elites of the party according to her views.

7.6- Effectiveness of the Competition

Intra-party competition in leadership selection is a leading consequence because, in many political parties, the party presidents remain the same. Wauters (2009) argued that party leaders are an essential and influential performer in party politics, responsible for both the party's inside organisation and external relations and behaviours, such as acting as an ambassador in consultation and the appointment of ministers. The party leaders will be proficient and have sufficient information, and party members can elect a party president on merit. However, in most cases, Pakistani political parties delegate their party leadership through party executive decisions or party conferences consisting of only a select group of party members. The party presidents remain the same for a long time in many political parties till death and the next one also comes from the same family in many political parties of Pakistan. The top leaders or party presidents not adequately changed in the major political parties of Pakistan through formal competition. Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is the only religious, political party where the

intra-party election held after every five years properly and mostly the president changed through intra-party election correctly.

The effectiveness of intra-party competition is crucial in the election of party president. The measurement of effective competition is complicated to measure descriptively in intra-party democracy. The question arises here that how to measure the effectiveness of intra-party competition in the election of party presidents? The effectiveness of competition measured through primary data it was collected from the party members and conducted interviews of parties' expert, exceptionally expert of intra-party democracy and the procedure of leadership choice. The indication available on this question proposes that competitive rates to the highest degree, which is measured by the number of candidates and the proximity of competition (Kenig, 2009b), which based on party and state democratic principles and political culture. The source can also specify as the formal rules of a party.

For example, the studies of leadership selection in Belgium, Germany, and Spain all find low levels of competition with coronations being the norm. Barbera and colleagues (2011) study fifty-eight cases of leadership selection in Spanish party congresses and find only ten with two or more candidates. Mostly scholar argued that the effectiveness of competition might measure through the numbers of candidates that how many candidates compete if there are more than two candidates. The level of competition in the election of party presidents in Pakistani political parties is shallow.

This study raised two questions through a questionnaire about the numbers of candidates in the election of party presidents from the party members to measure the effectiveness of competition in the election of party presidents. The questionnaire states that there are two candidates in the election of party presidents, and the second one is

that there are three and more than three candidates. The above tables show the numbers of candidates in the competition for party presidents in the three selected political parties. However, the above two tables show the numbers of candidates in light of the views of the respondents in the election of party presidents. The views of the most of the respondents in the favour of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan about the three candidates in the election of party president that there are three candidates, while the mostly respondent views about Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is about two candidates in the election of party president, as well as the respondents' views about Pakistan People Party, is also in favour of two candidates. The level of competition in the regards of two candidates is deficient in Pakistan People's Party and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan while very high in Jamaat-e-Islami in three candidates.

Bilal (2019) argues about the effective competition that, is an active competition the candidate is essential because without two are more than two candidates there is no competition. The campaign is not allowed to the candidates of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan in the intra-party election for the post of party president. He further said that it is against democracy because democracy allowed the candidates to share their views and introduce his future program to attract the party members (voters) to vote him. However, if the party not allowed campaign it should be held an introductory session of the party members at the provincial level in every province to know about the presidential candidates and his future programme for the party. The party may use social media also for this purpose. He paid attention to Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan regarding the competition that Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan has effective competition in the election of party president. He said about the intra-party competition in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf in the last intra-party election of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf produced an artificial panel for the election of party president it was not more effective like Jamaat-

e-Islami Pakistan. There is no competition in Pakistan People Party because the party president always comes through nomination without competition.

Mahmood (2019) argues in an interview about the effectiveness of competition. She said that the selection of candidates is essential for every type of election; it provides a competitive environment. Her views about that healthy competition mean that the competition should be among a few candidates in an election for a position, competition should not be less than two candidates because of one candidate it is always a selection, not an election.

Therefore, now we can easily measure the effectiveness of competition in the three selected political parties in the views of the respondents. According to the above views, the most active competition is held in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan because there are three candidates in the contest in the intra-party election for the position of party president. The second most effective competition is held in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf in the views of the respondent because there are only two candidates (two panels instead of candidates) in the last intra-party election for the post of party president. The effectiveness of competition in an intra-party election in Pakistan People Party in the views of the respondents in two and more than two candidates are very low the views of the respondent are disagreed and strongly disagree with the statement in Pakistan People Party. If we observe the effectiveness of competition in the election of party president in Pakistan People Party, mostly the party president elects without competition, unopposed throughout the party history. The most inclusive and effective competition is held in Jamaat-e-Islami than Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf while the most exclusive effectiveness competition found in Pakistan People Party in this regard.

Islam (2019) the process of election is a continuous activity, but the democratic norms very rarely seen in it. The intra-party election held in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf in 2018, but the competition was not very useful, and the democratic norms not followed in the last intra-party election by Pakistan Tehreek-Insaf. Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan holds intra-party elections in every level properly in time. However, there are three candidates in the competition but according to the law of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan this not a competition among these candidates but we going to elect the best candidate for the post of party presidents. Many scholars argued that effective competition would see in more candidates. The intra-party election held by Pakistan People party but there is no competition because party president comes through nomination.

7.7- Discussion

The competition in leadership selection is the third consequence of the candidates' selection model of Hazan and Rahat (2010). They both paid full attention to the competition in the selection of candidates are very important in their selection model. However, this study focused on leadership selection in light of the selection model of Hazan and Rahat (2010). The competition is significant in the selection and election of party presidents, but the question arises here that how we can measure it. For the measurement of the active competition, we were collecting data from the parties' members, and non-parties members (for authentication of the result) and this study also conducts a few interviews form the parties' experts. First, this study discusses the data collected from the party and non-party members. According to the above data analysis Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan has followed the most formal procedure in the election of party president while Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf less than in this regard in Jamaat-e-

Islami Pakistan as well as Pakistan People's party is less than both Jamaat-e-Islami and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf in the formal competition in the election of Party presidents.

The most crucial sub-indicator in the competition is the effectiveness of competition. In this regard in the light of the data collected from the respondent, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan has the most active competition owing to more candidates in the election of party president (we already explain the views of many scholars about the effectiveness of competition). There are always three candidates in the views of the more respondents in the election of party president in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. In Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf there were two candidates in the election of party president according to the data collected from the respondents (but in the last intra-party contest there were two panels instead of candidates) more respondent in support of two candidates in the election of party president. However, the respondents in favour of Pakistan People's party regarding numbers of candidates are less than in both two and more than two candidates than Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. However, in this contest, we can easily measure that Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan has a more effective and high level of competition. The level of competition in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is low while in Pakistan People's Party there is no competition in the election of party president, and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is more effective than Pakistan people's Party in this regard.

CHAPTER- 8

THOROUGHFARE AND WAY LEADS TO THE ACCOUNTABILITY (CULPABILITY) OF THE PARTY PRESIDENT .

This chapter illuminates the responsibility and responsiveness of party presidents in the selected political parties of Pakistan. The party president is the most critical person in the political party. The responsiveness of party president means internal accountability of party president to party members and party organisation. First, this chapter presents the concept and significance of accountability. Secondly, this chapter expounds and explicates the responsiveness (accountability) of party president to party members as well as to his party organisations. This chapter examines the questionnaire data collected from the party members of the selected political parties and non-party members related to the accountability of the party president to measure internal accountability among the presidents of the selected political parties of Pakistan to evaluate the level of intra-party democracy in the three selected political parties.

8.1- Idea of Accountability

The party president is a significant and leading person in politics who devoted for both within the organisation of the party and the outside statements and performance, such as performing as a representative in consultation. Political parties used to assign their party leader by a decision of the party executive or the party conference containing only selected elite of party members (Wauters, 2009).

Intra-party democracy is an absolute term that describes the widespread practice of internal affairs of a party, as well as party members, in discussions and decision-making contained by political parties. It outlines a variety of political parties and political

ideologies. There is no set of "best practices" for intra-party-style governance (Scarrows, 2005).

The principles of comprehensiveness and centrality are generally central when discussing issues of intra-party democracy. Inclusiveness is concerned with who is responsible for making critical decisions within the party, while centrality defines the extent to which decisions made by a single leader of the party or decision-making body. The institutionalisation of political parties, which means the procedure by which individual political parties face an increase in organisational stability and value, is regularly discussed, in which the importance of party-related democracy enhanced. The degrees are related to parties, as they require more rules explaining different processes (Scarrows, 2005). The internal accountability within political parties is also an essential principle of intra-party democracy. The party top leadership, decisions makers, including the party president, would be accountable to party members and party organisation. However, the primary decision-makers are the party members in intra-party democracy within the parties.

The definition of accountability is a difficult task, as there is no single principle or consent for understanding it. All organisations, whether they are government, private companies or leaders of political parties, understand accountability differently and put down to different features to it. It can also depend on the situation, whether the level to which they are accountable is local, national or international. There are many explanations why today accountability should understand from a broader and more realistic perspective: the general economic model, globalisation, decentralisation, together with all the following problems of discrimination, elimination, and poverty.

These factors require a change in the perspectives of the participatory models is the setting that shapes accountability (Care, 2010).

In the new world, political parties regularly seen as a part of the problem of corruption. The debates over corruption and anti-corruption approach have known parties who abuse their dominant position in the political system. Besides, they receive buybacks to provide their members and followers with profitable positions at public sector-related corporations. They refer to the interests of the interest groups belonging to the formation of political and economic institutions, or public leaders, to party leaders, members, or supporters. Party corruption can be a problem, especially in new democratic and developing countries where political and economic institutions are not yet settled (Blechinger, 2002).

In addition, executives and party element need to be internally accountable for party funding within their sphere. Internal accountability means that there are specific ways of tracking the parties, who pay the party and its candidates, and where that fund ends up. It can also mean generating a party monitoring board that is entitled to audit the financial records of all-party sub-units, and who can recommend party officials who fail to provide accurate accounts (Scarrows, 2008). This chapter focus on the accountability of parties' leaders that the party leaders are responsive to their parties and party members. The leaders of internally democratic political parties are accountable to their parties and party members. The leaders of political parties need to consent with party members directly or indirectly in all crucial decisions making. Intra-party democracies ensure internal accountability of the party president to responsive to party members in all internal decision making.

Political, accountability has described as maybe, the most challenging issue of the modern democratic republic' (Montereyf, 2001) One of the causes for this is the uncertainty in the term itself, an aspect that falls well into his grasp when he says. That accountability represents an 'unrealistic idea, whose meaning is left open, whose boundaries are not clear, and whose internal structure is ambiguous (Schedule, 1999b).

There are several mutual discussions on what accountability means and how it is moving parts in the domestic circumstance. Moreover, even in this background, the whole truth is not explained by African governments who calculate the legal constraints provided by foreign entities, such as foreign supporters, as well as global law. In the world of globalisation, the trend of external accountability is becoming very important. Household accountability is, however, necessary for democratic accountability. Interestingly, however, the question of how democratic accountability does be made clear by the broader field of domestic accountability (Burnell, 2008). Accountability in a democracy is a particular case where the most important is the public, and due to accountability, the parties are hand over with political power. Strict clarity will tell more about how to act as an accountability tool for people (Rockner and Gallopin, 2003). For example, independent responsibility can say to make the government accountable for the first time through a democratically elected body of society. Furthermore, that is representative of the public, and it endorses democratic principles and values, or agents assigned to such an organisation, working in the environment of the rule of law. Provisions of indication like these will leave out dictatorships and show trials, among other things (Rockner, and Gallopin, 2003).

Commonly made inequity is responsibility and enforcement, including 'correction' or remediation. On account of accountability, the obligation to provide information about

activities and the condition to present the cause is sometimes notable by the explanation for the conduct. By enforcement, there are many differences between criminal charges and dismissal, public humiliation or loss of credit, or threatening fines. An important distinction lies in the contradiction between the responsibility for legal misconduct and the enforcement of political accountability. Where the lawfully obeyed, there is no case for lawful endorse. However, with political responsibility, an agent can do what demanded and still be legally brought down. On the contrary, political agents may be able to escape through their performance. However, although in many cases the nature of the accountability relationship is, in particular, the nature of the approval or the procedure, the more general question is how effective the sanctions are, and in what situations is only empowering can be established (Burnell, 2008).

8.2- A Roadmap for Accountability

Intra-party democracy is an inclusive term, and internal accountability is an indicator of intra-party democracy, but the question arises here that how we can measure internal accountability of party leadership. This study focuses only on leadership selection owing to this; it paid attention in this part of the study to only the internal accountability of the party presidents of the selected political parties. For the authentic measurement of internal accountability, we collected data from the party members and non-party members through a survey questionnaire to measure the internal accountability of party presidents. We ask three questions about internal accountability. The first question is related to the party organisation and the second one to party members. The last question raises the removal of the party president through a vote of no confidence by the party members. This study also includes interviews of the experts of intra-party democracy to measure internal accountability in the light of primary data and these interviews.

8.3- Significance of Accountability

In standard provisions, accountability refers to the connection involving a right or a genuine claim-maker and the agents or organisations in charge of fulfilling or regarding that right. The most fundamental relationship of responsibility is that between a people or an agency delegate with a demanding task or certain powers or resources, and on the other hand, the 'principal' whose responsibility it performs. Accountability is a two-way connection of power. It indicates a duty to be accountable for a task, a power or a delegation of resources (Lawson and Rakner, 2005).

This assumption can exclude in different traditions, but the scholarly literature proposed that accountability methods typically work based on logic around three criteria: the first one is "simple", and it requires that decision and procedures are open to the public, and sufficient information is available so that other agencies and the general public can assess whether relevant procedures have been followed, with the mandate given. The party members have the right to access the party documents and can criticise disagreement with the views of party presidents. The second one is "responsibility" It identifies a commitment by decision-makers to justify their assessment to confirm that they are realistic, balanced and within their authorisation. The third is a "control", which means the survival of instruments approval functions and decisions that counter the given orders and events. It is known as the regular check and balance or enforcement mechanism (Kitschelt, 2011).

Many studies have used this framework to analyse the comparative strengths of the different responsibility interaction recognised. The ethnographic analysis has shown that the language of accountability often varies significantly with the actors concerned and the exact perspective. It has mostly implemented concepts such as 'transparency',

'responsiveness' and 'ability to control' however, it has, even so, be a favourable preparatory position.

In internal accountability, the party presidents would be accountable to party members and party organisation. He will also be transparent and answerable to party members the party members can ask about his performance and essential decision making within the party. The second important aspect of internal accountability controlled the party president to make decisions without consultation with other party officials and the party members participate in this process directly or indirectly. However, the power cannot be used by a single person; it divides the powers among different officials of the party.

8.4- The Accountability of Party Presidents to Party Organization

According to the Michael Iron Law of an oligarchy than a large organisation, such as political parties, will, without doubt, develop structures of involvement and classification in which leaders and experts will become predictable and unaccountable (Michael, 1962). This statement is consistent but does not follow, and our perception is that structures are mostly produced due to the inadvertence consequences of the process, can change relatively intensively and dominate the agents. Accountability is contested by power and authority. Accountability does not only mean giving an account but also accepting its direction. The representative or the concerned official and their actions, in principle, want to be subject to effective corrective action by the representatives (Mulgan, 2000). In cooperation, political and legal considerations related to the issue of accountability. The issue of accountability directly linked to sovereignty. The point of view in legitimate law and beliefs revolve around the need to compromise restrictions on political power and the need for freedom of action by state representatives and officers.

This dissertation investigates the internal accountability of party presidents in Pakistani political parties. The political parties of Pakistan are internally very weak in a democracy the party internal decision making, and all powers move around in a single leader. However, the data collected from party members and take a few interviews from party experts to investigate the internal accountability of party presidents to party organisations. The statement asked from party members and non-party members (for authentication of measurement) through survey questionnaires that the party presidents accountable to party organisations in the three selected political parties of Pakistan. The below table shows the ratio of the data collected from party members and non-party members.

Table 7.1: The views of the respondents about the responsiveness of party presidents to party organisations

Sr. No	Party Name	Frequency and percentage											
		SA	%	A	%	DA	%	SDA	%	NA	%	T-F	T-%
1	PPP	55	18.3	70	23.3	82	27.3	69	23	23	7.7	300	100
2	JIP	99	33	77	25.7	77	25.7	40	13.3	6	2	300	100
3	PTI	76	25.3	94	31.3	75	25	46	15.3	8	2.7	300	100

The above table linked to the presidents of the three political parties' that they responsible party organisations. The table shows the level of accountability of the parties' presidents to the party organisation. Internal accountability of the top leadership in political parties is the most crucial indicator of intra-party democracy; however, this study only focuses on the selection of party president, so this accountability is only paid attention to the presidents of the selected political parties. In the above table the statement about internal accountability, the views of 33 per cent of respondents strongly agree while 25.7 per cent of the respondents only agree that the president of Jamaat-e-Islami is accountable to their party organisations. However, 25.7 per cent of the respondents have disagreed, and 13.3 per cent strongly disagreed that the presidents

(Ameer) of Jamaat-e-Islami is not accountable to his party organisation such as Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura). The above table shows the views of the respondents of 25.3 per cent strongly agree, and 31.3 per cent agrees with the above statement that the president (chairman) of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is accountable to party and party organisation such as the national council and central executive committee. However, 25 per cent of views of the respondents disagree, and 15.3 per cent of respondents strongly disagreed with the above statements. They view that the party resident of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is not accountable to party organisation. The views of the respondents about Pakistan People Party there is 18.3 per cent of the respondents are strongly agree, and 23.3 per cent only agrees that the president (chairman) of Pakistan People Party is responsible and accountable to party organisation. While 27.3 per cent of the respondents disagree and 23 per cent view of the respondents strongly disagreed with this statement that the party president (chairman) is not responsible and accountable to party organisation.

In the overall internal accountability, the views of the respondents of strongly agree and only agree in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is 58.7 per cent as well as 39 per cent of the respondents are disagreed and strongly disagree in this ratio most of the respondents are in favour of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan in this regard and occupied the first position in the views of the respondents. The respondents in favour of Pakistani Tehreek-e-Insaf they are strongly agreed and agreed are 46.6 per cent in this regard. However, 50.3 per cent respondents disagree and strongly disagree that the president (chairman) of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is responsible to the party organisation and internally accountable, in this regard Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf acquired the 2nd position in the light of the party and non-party members views about internal accountability. Pakistan People Party got the 3rd position in this regard in the light of the views of the

respondents of the party and non-party members. The total ratio of strongly agree and agree is 41.3 per cent and disagree and strongly disagree 60.3 per cent that the party president is not accountable to party organisation.

Mahmood, (2019) argues about internal accountability of the party presidents in the selected political parties, i.e. Pakistan People party, Jamaat-e-Islami and Pakistan Tehreek Insaf. She argues that mostly seen those people accountable which elect by the individuals through their votes. She further said that the question is about the presidents of the parties in the light of the above sentence the president (chairman) of Pakistan people party is not accountable to their party and party workers in practically. However, he would be accountable in papers to their party and party workers but not in practice because the party members do not elect him through their vote and neither compete with other candidates nor acquired the position. She argues that the elected leaders are always thinking about the next competition and they ready for accountability. She further says that the case of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is similar to PPP because the party chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is the most popular and influential person in the party. He is not accountable to their party workers and party organisation because he took many decisions without in the consent of a representative of the party members.

However, it would indicate in the constitution of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf that the party chairman would be accountable but not in practice. She argues in the above question about Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan that the president (Ameer) of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is an elected leader and elected by the party members directly through their votes. She argues that if we compare the internal accountability of political parties the president (Ameer) of Jamaat-e-Islami is accountable in reality to the party organisation such as Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) this organ of the party is an elected

organ of the party members and this organ represents the party members. She further argues that the president is not directly accountable to the party members. However, she said that the president of Jamaat-e-Islami is accountable in reality than the other parties of presidents.

Bilal (2019) the party president, in reality, is accountable to party organisation in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan because the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is an elected body and the members of the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) are the representatives of the party members. However, in other political parties, the members of the party organisation such as the National Council of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and central executive committee of Pakistan People's Party do not remain the same it changes time by time, as well as the meeting of these party organisations, are not appropriately held in a proper time. He further argues and paid attention, that the members of the Central Executive Committee (CEC) of Pakistan People's Party and National Council of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf are not elected bodies in the present time and representatives of the party members. If an organisation does not adequately hold meeting how can it be accountable the party president, while the organisation of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan holds meeting properly and the members of Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) elected by the party members (Arkan), and they are the representative of the party members.

8.5- The Accountability of Party Presidents to Party Members

Accountability is the most critical and rising issue in the study of political science in the present era; mostly scholars paid attention to this issue in developed countries. This study focuses on the accountability of party president to party members and party organisations in the internal affairs of political parties of Pakistan. Weber argued that

political leaders were accountable to themselves and future generations through the 'ethic of responsibility. He ruled collectives out of rational politics because of their 'emotional re-activeness. The statement was related to the accountability of party president towards party members. The statement asked from the party members and non-party members that the party presidents accountable to party members in Pakistan People's Party, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. The views of the respondents show in the below table.

Table 7.2: The views of the respondents about the responsiveness of party presidents to party members

Sr. No	Party Name	Frequency and percentage											
		SA	%	A	%	DA	%	SDA	%	NA	%	T-F	T-%
1	PPP	50	16.3	79	26.3	74	24.7	75	25	21	7	300	100
2	JIP	99	33	71	23.7	69	23	44	14.7	16	5.3	300	100
3	PTI	70	23.3	95	31.7	71	23.7	49	16.3	14	4.7	300	100

The above table is related to the responsiveness of party president to party members. The ratio of the above table shows the effectiveness of the accountability of party presidents to party members in light of the views of party members and non-party members. The study analyses the accountability of the party president that the party consent to the party members in important decisions and the decision making by the party presidents are accountable to the party members or not. The above table shows the views of the respondent about Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is 33 per cent of respondents are strongly agreed and 23.7 per cent respondents only agree with the above statement that the president of Jamaat-e-Islami is responsible to party members. However, 23 per cent of the respondents' views show disagreement and 14.7 per cent of the respondents strongly disagreed that the president of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is responsible and accountable to party members. The views of the respondents about Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf who have strongly agreed 23.3 per cent and 31.7 per cent of

the respondents agree that the party president of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is accountable to party members. However, the views of 23.7 per cent of the respondents disagree, and 16.3 per cent of the respondents strongly disagreed that the party president of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is responsible to the party members.

The views of the respondents about the accountability of the president of Pakistan People Party 16.3 per cent strongly agree, and 26.3 per cent agrees that the party president of Pakistan People Party is accountable to party members. However, 24.7 per cent of the respondents' views have disagreed, and 25 per cent of the respondents strongly disagreed that the party president is accountable to party members. The overall ration of strongly agree and agreed are in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is 56 per cent, as well as the, disagreed and strongly disagreed ratio of 37.7 per cent. The strongly agree and just agreed to the ratio in Pakistan Tehreek-Insaf are 55 per cent while the disagreed and strongly agreed are 40 per cent. The respondents' views of strongly agreed and only agreed with the above statement with Pakistan People Party are 42.6 per cent and disagreed and strongly disagreed in this regard with Pakistan People Party is 49.7 per cent. The overall position in this regard in the light of the respondents Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan received the first position, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf acquired second and Pakistan People Party in occupied on the third position.

Mahmood (2019) Says about the accountability of party president to party members that the most political parties' presidents in Pakistan are not accountable to party members, in reality, it may indicate in papers documentation such as the party constitutions and other related party documents. She further argues that the presidents of these three political parties make an internal decision without the participation and consent of party members it means that the parties presidents not accountable to party

members nor in Pakistan People Party, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and neither in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf.

Bilal (2019) the Ameer (president) of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is accountable to the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) in reality if we compare these three political parties. The accountability system is dominant in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan because, in the era of the party founder Maulana Maududi, he was also accountable to the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura). The system of accountability relates by Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan to Islam, in the Islamic system, everyone is accountable to their followers. He further said the system of accountability is powerful in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan than Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and Pakistan People Party.

Islam (2019) argue about the internal accountability of party presidents of the selected political parties that, the system of overall internal accountability is unprecedented in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan in all over the country. The Ameer of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is responsive and accountable to the party members and party organisation. The Ameer of Jamaat-e-Islami is personally present in the last every annual session to give the answers to party members who ask from the Ameer. Every member of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan has the right to question the Ameer, and he is answerable to clear his position. Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is an ancient party, and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is a new party and new emergence but going on a good trace in its internal affairs. However, in the present time except a few, no one has the quality to answerable the party chairman to party members and party organisation? In the present time, the chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is not accountable and responsive to party organisation and party members. The chairman of Pakistan People Party belongs to a

dynastic family and has relation to the party founder he is also not accountable to party members and party organisations.

8.6- Discussion

Accountability of party presidents to party members and party organisation is essential in internally democratic parties because intra-party democracy is incomplete without internal accountability in political parties. The party members should have the right to remove the party presidents through a vote of no confidence. The party members are the most important and the primary decision-makers in internally democratic political parties. The below table shows the data ratio collected from the party members and non-party members to measure the ratio of the vote of no confidence against the party presidents. The vote of no confidence against party president includes in this discussion about the internal accountability of party president to party members and towards party organisation. The statement asked from party members and non-party members that, the party president remove through a vote of no-confidence by the party members in the three selected political parties of Pakistan.

Table 7.3: The views of respondents about the removal of party president through a vote of no confidence

Sr. No	Party Name	Frequency and percentage											
		SA	%	A	%	DA	%	SDA	%	NA	%	T-F	T-%
1	PPP	49	16.3	75	25	66	22	84	28	25	8.3	300	100
2	JIP	95	31.3	83	27.7	63	21	44	14.7	14	4.7	300	100
3	PTI	73	24.3	93	31	53	17.7	63	21	17	5.7	300	100

The above statement is related to vote of no confidence against the party president it is also a type of responsiveness and accountability about the party president. In this regard, the party members have the right in internally democratic political parties they have to remove the party presidents through votes of no-confidence. The party members

call a party conference, and they vote against the party presidents and remove the president and elect the new one. The above table shows the effectiveness of the vote of no-confidence against the party presidents of the selected political parties. The views of the respondents about Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan 31.3 per cent strongly agree, and 27.7 per cent only agrees that the president (Ameer) of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan removed through a vote of no-confidence. However, the views of 21 per cent disagree and 14.7 per cent are strongly disagreed that the president removed through a vote of no-confidence.

The views of the respondents about Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf 24.3 per cent strongly agreed, and 31 per cent only agrees that the party members remove the president (chairman) through a vote of no-confidence. While 17.7 per cent of respondents disagree and 21 per cent strongly disagrees that the party members of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf have the right to remove the party president in this way. The views of 16.3 per cent of respondents strongly agree that the party president removed by the party members through a vote of no-confidence as well as 25 per cent of the respondents only agreed in this regard in Pakistan People Party. The views of 22 per cent of the respondents disagree, and 28 per cent of respondents strongly disagreed that the party members of Pakistan People Party remove the party president through a vote of no-confidence. In the tradition in the history of Pakistan, there is no such example present in any political party of Pakistan that the party president was removed in the past and present by a vote of no-confidence. The overall ratio of the vote of no confidence against the party president the views of the strongly agreed and agreed with Jamaat-e-Islami 59 per cent as well as 35.7 per cent respondent disagree and strongly disagreed in this regard. The views of the strongly agreed and agreed respondents with Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf 55.7 per cent and 38.7 per cent respondents are disagreed and strongly

disagreed that the party members cannot remove the party president through the vote of no-confidence. The views of the respondent about Pakistan People Party the strongly agreed and agreed are 41.3 per cent as well as disagree and strongly disagreed are 50 per cent of the respondents have the views that the party members remove the party president through the vote of no-confidence. In this regard Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan acquired the first position, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf second and Pakistan People Party got the third Position in the vote of no confidence against Party president.

The party president is accountable for the party organisation in Jamaat-e-Islami in the views of Mahmood (2019) and Bilal (2019). They both further argued that the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) of Jamaat-e-Islami is an elected body of the party and representatives of the party members and the party members elect the party president directly through a secret ballot. In a real democratic system, the elected representatives are always accountable to their electorates. However, owing to this, the party president of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is accountable to the party organisation. While in Pakistan People Party and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf there is no real accountability of party presidents to Party organisations. In the accountability of party president to party members there is some difference in the opinions of both (Mahmood, 2019 and Bilal, 2019) in the views of Bilal the party president in Jamaat-e-Islami are accountable to party members but in the views of Mahmood, the party president of every political party of Pakistan including Jamaat-e-Islami are not accountable to party members in reality.

Islam (2019), there is no precedent of the vote of no confidence is present in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. He further says that he does not know about the vote of no confidence brought by any member of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and Pakistan People Party against

the party chairman. However, in the light of the present situation, of the parties' internal decision-making process the norms of a vote of no confidence did not work actively in Pakistan People Party and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf like Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan.

CONCLUSION (DÉNOUEMENT)

This research guided by two broad questions: *How are party leaders selected, and what is the formal election procedure of party presidents in Pakistani political parties' analysis of party statutes?* Moreover: *What are the consequences of intra-party democracy for leadership selection in Pakistani political parties?* The last question divided into four sub-questions. This final chapter, summarise the significant findings of this PhD dissertation, discuss their implications and place them into a broader perspective. The chapter ordered as follows: First, I have come to some points of overall conclusion of this dissertation, second, to reproduce the most important findings and recommendations of this study, and finally, this study sketching out the potential opportunity for future research.

A general perception is that the party president is the most crucial person in the party. It has been tried to explain that the selection of this post takes place. Candidacy is the first dimension of leadership selection; we can scrutinise the most eligible persons through candidacy because every party set is a standard for the party president in the constitution. The candidacy in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan based on the respect of the knowledge of the Quran and the Sunna, piety, sagacity, and soundness of opinion, resolve and determination, understanding of affairs and power of decision making. He should be neither an aspirant nor desirous of the office of the Ameer (president) nor any other office within the party. The constitution of Pakistan People Party explains about the candidacy that, the eligibility criteria for all party offices in Pakistan People's Party is: all party members who have "good standing" and "discipline" and "who subscribe to the aims of the PPP" are eligible to contest for the offices of the party. The most critical dimension states by Hazan and Rahat for measuring candidacy is a minimum

membership period. The constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami indicates the membership period for the position of presidents from district to central president of the party. The candidacy based in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf on the living standard of candidates according to their income. The candidates must declare their assets and not have any criminal record.

Further, the discussion has moved to the second dimension of leadership selection is selectorates after fulfilling the candidacy requirement that who will be selected the candidates for the post of party president. The party constitutions of the three selected parties do not elaborate on the selection procedure of candidates for party presidents. However, by observing the procedures in the past, we can conclude that the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) of JIP nominates three candidates for the election of the party president. The party chairman of PPP has always been elected unopposed throughout the history of the party. Comparing the three procedures, I conclude that the candidates' selection process of JI and PTI is more democratic than PPP because, for the former two parties, an element of competition exists. From 2002 onwards, every political party of Pakistan is supposed to hold intra-party elections.

According to the finding, the third dimension of leadership selection is decentralisation, used by PTI, any candidate who presented himself as a presidential candidate against the party chairman he needs the support of 20 per cent of MPs to contest election against the party chairman. While in JIP, the candidates are mostly selected from the central organisation by a central organ of the party. However, the selectorate represent all the provinces equally. Pakistan people party always selects a candidate from the centre which has been elected unopposed throughout the history of the party. PTI is more decentralised in this regard than JIP and PPP because the

presidential candidates have belonged to central and provincial organisations of the party.

Many international scholars of political science, such as Hazan and Rahat Cross and Katz and Wauters classify intra-party election procedures according to their degree of inclusiveness. This classification has already explained in the literature review of this dissertation. This study found the **fourth dimension**, the most inclusive method used by JIP with all party members electing the party president directly it is called closed primary. When applying the “inclusive-exclusive” scale to PTI, we find that the selection procedures are inclusive not more inclusive because it is the indirect election of party chairman. The party conference elects the party chairman consists out of delegates representing party members. Finally, the selection procedure of the PPP is more exclusive (as compared to both, JIP and PTI), because of the party chairman elected by a small group of nominated members (i.e. the party elite). The chairman of PTI exercises many powers under the constitution of PTI, but he is not responsive to CEC. However, the president of JIP is held responsible and accountable by the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) under article (19) (1) and article (19) (2). All decision and policies made by the party president made in consultation with the Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura). The chairman of PPP is the sole authority of the party because there is no elected organ in the party which holds the chairman accountable.

This study moved to the second part of this dissertation; the political consequence of leadership selections using in intra-party democracy. Democracy is a system where every inhabitant has the right to vote to elect their representative. This study focuses on party leadership selection that who participates in the election of party presidents in

Pakistani political parties. The consequence used in leadership selection is participation, in the intra-party election for party president, the party members participate in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. The party register members participate in the election of party president in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan to vote to in the election of party president. The party chairman (president) always elected unopposed in Pakistan people party. In the election of party chairman in PPP, the party members do not participate in the election of party president. The members of the central executive committee announced the name of party chairman without competition between two or more than two candidates. The numbers of the participant have participated in PTI were near 1.7 million 10 per cent of the total members in the last intra-party poll was held in 2017 for the party chairman between two panels. In the last intra-party poll of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan numbers of participants were 25533 and 85 per cent of the total party members. The exact numbers of participants in the last intra-party poll of Pakistan People party are not precise because of the party president-elect without competition unopposed. The procedure of participation in Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf through a short mobile message to select panel one or panel two.

While in Jamaat-e-Islami, the participant participates through a secret ballot to elect one candidate among the three candidates. The party president (chairman) elect unopposed the procedure of participation not cleared in PPP. The most accurate way is followed by Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan through secret ballot the way followed by PTI is criticising by many party members and party expert as well as they declare the way of SMS to fulfil the criteria of the election commission for general election 2018. Intra-party participation promotes equality in the party because grass-roots members and party elite participate equally in the election of party president. Intra-party election attracts new members to the party as well as it educates party members for a general

election to cast their vote accurately. It also increases the level of participation in general elections. The case of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is different, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan holds intra-party election properly, but there is no one present himself as party candidates as well as the election campaign is also not allowed to the candidates. So, the media cannot pay full attention to this activity of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan to attract new members to the party.

Here it has been tried to explain that representation is the most critical consequence of leadership selection in an intra-party democracy. We can easily measure the democratic selection of party presidents through this consequence. If we compare life before politics Siraj ul Haq, the Ameer of JIP spent a straightforward life as well as participated in the students 'politics in his students' life. He remains student leader of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan student organisation Islami Jamiat Talaba for a long time. Siraj ul Haq led the organisation from the grass-roots level to provincial as well as at a national level as a president. Imran Khan spent his life before entering to politics in cricket at the national and the international level, while after the retirement from cricket he paid attention to charity works. Mr Bilawal Bhutto Zardari spent his most life in Dubai and United Kingdom owing to the exile of his mother Ex-Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. The second sub-indicator of representation is the education qualification of the selected political parties' presidents. Siraj ul Haq completed his education throughout in Pakistani institutes from primary to university level, while, Mr Imran Khan the chairman (president) of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf remain the student of royal grammar school Worcester in England as well as completed his graduation from Oxford college England. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari spent his childhood in Dubai and England he completed his school and graduation in Dubai and England respectively. The third indicator of representation is the family background of the selected political parties'

presidents. Mr Bilawal Bhutto Zardari belongs to a high-class political family. His mother remained two times Prime Minister of Pakistan as well as his father remains the president of Pakistan.

Mr Imran Khan belongs to upper-class Pakhtun family of Mianwali southern Punjab. His father was an educated person and professionally a civil engineer. Mr Siraj ul Haq belongs to Pakhtun family of District Dir Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. He argues in a TV programme (one day with Geo TV) that his father is a sheep man and also worked as labour on daily wages. The fourth indicator of representation is a relation to the party founder. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari has relation to the party founder as well as all former chairman and chairpersons of Pakistan People Party. Imran Khan, the chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, is himself the founder of the party to date now. He is still present in the position of party chairman. Siraj ul Haq, the Ameer of JIP, has no relation to the party founder and neither to any former Ameer (President) of JIP. In the last indicator, Siraj ul Haq spent more time in politics than Imran Khan and Bilawal Bhutto Zardari. He played an active role in students' politics before entering national politics.

Therefore, it can be measured that Siraj ul Haq is representing grass-roots members, while, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari represents a single dynastic family. The case of Imran Khan is different from both presidents he represents nor a dynastic family and neither grass-roots member. Because to date till now he is still the party chairman, the position of party chairman did not change appropriately through healthy competition.

The selection of party president is a significant indicator of intra-party democracy, and the competition is the essential consequence of leadership selection. The measurement of competition in different political parties may be measure through formal competition, numbers of candidates and effectiveness of competition. The opinions of

the majority of the respondents are going in support of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan about formal competition in the election of party presidents. The views of the respondents about Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is less than Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan while the views of the respondents are less than about Pakistan People's Party than Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. The parties' experts argue also going in favour of Jamaat-e-Islami that there is formal competition in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan in the election of central Ameer (president). The views of the respondents about the numbers of candidates mostly in favour of Jamaat-e-Islami in three candidates and pay attention to Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf in two candidates and Pakistan People's Party received attention from the viewer is not as much of than Jamaat-e-Islami and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf in three and two candidates respectively. The party expert also paid attention to Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan about three candidates and in favour of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf in two candidates (two panels instead of candidates). The expert views about Pakistan People's party about candidates that there is only one candidate always elect unopposed.

It has been analysed the most critical indicator of competition is the effectiveness of competition in the election of party president. The scholars of political science argued that where there are many candidates, there is sufficient competition. In the light of the views of the respondent and party expert Jamaat-e-Islami always present three candidates for the election of party president in the intra-party election. We can say that the most active competition followed by Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan in an intra-party election in competition for the post of party president.

It has also been investigated the measurement of accountability is complicated in the political system as well as in intra-party democracy. The internal accountability of political parties makes the party top leadership Simple, responsible and controlled the

power. This accountability is the responsiveness of party presidents to party members and party organisation. The measurement of responsiveness of party president to party members and party organisation are challenging on a descriptive scale. For an authentic measurement, the views of the party members and expert interviews are essential to measuring the accountability among the selected political parties. The views of the majority of the defendants go into the favour of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan that the party president is responsible and accountable to party organisation in the party internal matters.

Furthermore, the views of most of the respondents also go in support of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan that the party president is accountable to party members. Bilal (2019) also said in his interview that there is a strict system of internal accountability in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and the party president is accountable to party organisations as well as party members. Mahmood (2019) also paid attention to the strict internal accountability system in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan in this regard. In the views of the above respondents and expert, the internal accountability system of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is effective than the other two parties, i.e. Pakistan People Party and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf.

The support of the respondents in favour of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is less than Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan in the accountability of party president to party organisations as well as party members. Bilal (2019) said the present chairman (president) of PTI is the founder, the most powerful person in the party and the sole source of the uniting of the party but in reality, he is not accountable to party members and party organisations. Mahmood (2019) also said that the internal accountability system, including party chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, is weak than Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. The views of the respondents about internal accountability of party president (chairman) in

Pakistan People's party are shallow and less than both Jamaat-e-Islami and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. In the views of the party experts, the party president is not accountable in reality to party organisations and party members.

Major Findings

The first significant finding of this dissertation tracks from the investigation of the levels of intra-party democracy in the constitutions of political parties. The study has analysed that the parties' constitutions do not indicate the minimum requirements for the party presidents' selection in Pakistan people's Party and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. The furthermost, remarkable observation I made that the minimum standard indicated for candidates, who want to contest the election. However, the constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami indicated in article 13 the basic requirements for the party president. While the minimum standard for party president indicated in the constitutions of the three political parties. This study attempted to highlight the self-presentation prohibited in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, and it is opposed to democracy, so all the three parties are inclusive in equal indicators.

The selectorates select the candidates for the post of party president to contest election for the office of the party president. The candidate's selection procedures not indicated in the constitutions of all the three selected political parties (i.e. Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan) for the position of party presidents. However, the constitutions of these political parties indicate the main decision making bodies such as in Pakistan People's Party Central Executive Committee (CEC) Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan Central Consultative Council (Majlis-e-Shura) and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Central Executive Committee (CEC). Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is more inclusive than both PTI and PPP because the selectorates is an

elective body and representatives of the party members and belong to the central and provincial organisation as well.

It has been examined and dugout that the decentralisation means the division of power; all the decisions would make through mutual consent of central, provincial and local organisations in the political parties. The candidates should be from both central and provincial organisation for the post of party president. In this regard, JIP is inclusive in one indicator and exclusive in one as well PTI and PPP are exclusive in both sub-indicators of decentralisation. The procedure of election in both PTI and JIP are a vote based according to the party constitutions but the members of JIP vote directly to the party president while in PTI the members' representative vote to the party president. Therefore, in leadership dimensions, Jamaat-e-Islami is more inclusive than PTI and PPP while PTI is inclusive than PPP.

It is also scrutinized that various political methods of leadership selection the members of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf participate in the election of party president directly. However, the method is different the members of Pakistan Tehreek-Insaf used their vote through a mobile short message. It has revealed that the members of Jamaat-e-Islami used their vote through a secret ballot. The members of Pakistan People Party did not party participate in the election of party president due to a single candidate always in the election of party president. The chairman of Pakistan People party belongs to a dynastic family and also has a relation to the party founder. However, the presidents of Jamaat-e-Islami and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf have no dynastic family representation and no relation to the party founder. The party president change in a proper way in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan but the president of PTI is still in his office from the day till date. There is a proper competition for the post of party

president in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. However, PTI produces two panels instead of candidates, and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan proposed three candidates. There was only one candidate in Pakistan People Party. The party president of Jamaat-e-Islami is accountable to party members and party organisation in the light of party expert and party members views. The party presidents of Pakistan People Party and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf are not accountable in reality to party members towards party organisation in the views of party members and party experts. Hence Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan is more democratic in political consequences in the selection of party presidents than PTI and PPP, while PTI is better than PPP in this regard.

Potential Research Zone for Future Researchers

This dissertation explored the level of intra-party democracy in leadership selection through the candidates' selection model of Hazan and Rahat. This model involves the candidates' selection for the position of party president and the procedure of the election of party presidents in the selected political parties of Pakistan. Moreover, it has shown the selection process and the role of party members in the overall procedure and the responsibility of party presidents to his party and towards party members. Intra-party democracy is a wide area of study in political science the literature already exists, however many questions remain still unanswered in this study. Based on the findings of this dissertation and due to the ever-evolving nature of intra-party party democracy new question in this field of research arise. Hence, there are various promising directions for further research on both the dimensions and consequences of leadership selection. The following section highlights the possible avenue for further research.

However, there are many gapes in the study of intra-party democracy in the perception of Pakistani political parties. The selection of parliamentary candidates establishes an

essential function of political parties. It provides a linkage between the citizens and the state. The question is: how parties select their candidates to help to understand 'the distribution of intra-party power among different organs and factions of the party. However, the role of party members is crucial in the selection of candidates, because the party members represent the faction of the party "the party on the ground". Many political scientists argue that the selection of party candidates is indeed one of the party choices commonly used as criteria for intra-party democracy, next to the selection of party leaders and the definition of policy positions. Because in the decentralised and democratic candidates' selection, the candidates selected by the party with the direct or indirect consent of the party members in the constituency. Other scholars have expanded the scope of what should be analysed in order to study intra-party democracy through adding next to decision-making, members' rights and the organisational structure of the party (von dem Berge et al. 2013). The primary decision making in intra-party democracy is the selection of party leadership, including party president, the candidate's selection and internal policymaking.

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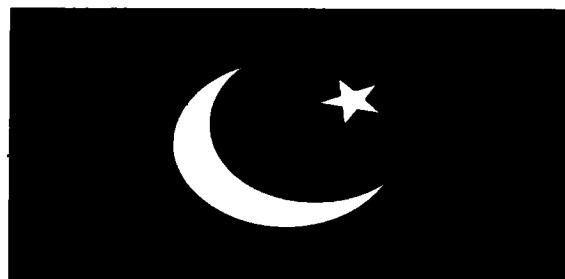
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ANNEXED 1-A

CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF



CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF

The proposals for amendments to the Constitution of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf were drafted by Committee of the following:

Chairman: Mr. Hamid Khan

Members:

- (1) Justice ® Wajeeh ud Din Ahmed
- (2) Dr. Arif Alvi
- (3) Mr. Ahsan Rashid
- (4) Mr. Naeem ul Haq
- (5) Mr. Asad Qaisar
- (6) Mr. Qasim Suri
- (7) Ms. Fauzia Kasuri
- (8) Ms. Shamsa Ali
- (9) Mr. Firdaus Naqvi
- (10) Mr. Saifullah Niazi
- (11) Mian Mahmud-ur Rashid
- (12) Chaudhry Ijaz Ahmad
- (13) Mr. Aamer Kiani
- (14) Sardar Azhar Tariq
- (15) Mr. Shah Farman

Whereas:

I - Creation of Pakistan was the result of relentless struggle of Muslims in India under the inspiring leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to establish a homeland where they could freely practice their beliefs and Ideals;

- 2- Pakistan was envisaged as a country and society wherein people would live in harmony and peace free from discrimination, exploitation, corruption and prejudices of any kind under a democratic system ensuring justice, equality and prosperity for all citizens;
- 3- Concentration of power at the centre has negated the spirit of federalism causing a sense of deprivation among the federating units which resulted in narrow parochialism, ethnicity and division among the people that tragically led to the separation of East Pakistan and continues to threaten the integrity and solidarity of Pakistan;
- 4- Pakistan fell into the hands of a ruling elite consisting of inept, corrupt and selfish politicians, feudals, civil and military bureaucrats and a host of vested interests who have plundered Pakistan and have brought it to the brink of disaster;

- 5- A colonial system of government and the feudal hold of society nurtured a dependency syndrome which has created a chronic debt-dependent economy curbing initiative and self-reliance;
- 6- Justice and rule of law have disappeared from all walks of life and the state institutions have lost credibility;
- 7- The common citizen is deprived of access to basic necessities of life such as food, education, employment, health care, clothing, housing and transportation and has been made a victim of violence in society, breakdown of law and order, institutionalized corruption, tyranny of police and other government departments;
- 8- Jammu and Kashmir has remained an incomplete agenda of the Pakistan Movement; and
- 9- Pakistan stands at the threshold of an economic disaster, breakdown of institutions, collapse of governance, social disorder, desperation and disillusionment.

Therefore:

We have launched a political party to mobilize people to extricate Pakistan from its present state of despair and to set it on the path of attaining unity, solidarity, social justice and prosperity.

(I) Name

The name of the political party is "Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf".

(II) Objectives

The Objectives of the Party are:

- (i) To make Pakistan an egalitarian, modern, Islamic democratic welfare state which upholds the fundamental rights of the people in which all citizens, regardless of gender, caste, creed or religion can live in peace, harmony and happiness;
- (ii) To promote and protect freedom of thought and expression;
- (iii) To restore dignity, self-respect and honour of the people of Pakistan that have been compromised through decades;

- (iv) To devise, formulate and implement systems and policies so as to eradicate corruption and tyranny in all forms and manifestations from public life and create permanent institutions of accountability and to recognize, protect and encourage persons of integrity and competence in all walks of life;
- (v) To promote tolerance and eliminate all kind of prejudices throughout the country whether provincial, ethnic, religious, sectarian, linguistic or tribal and inculcate a spirit of unity, mutual respect, brotherhood and prosperity for all;
- (vi) To replace the prevalent colonial system of government with a vibrant, responsive and democratically-decentralized form of governance;
- (vii) To promote and enforce provincial autonomy;
- (viii) To devolve and decentralize state power to local bodies by providing constitutional protection to them in order to ensure community participation in planning and development of all regions of Pakistan;
- (ix) To promote equality, unity, solidarity and brotherhood among the citizens and strive for a Pakistani identity;
- (x) To preclude and prevent personal enrichment by politicians and public officials through abuse of authority by enacting laws prohibiting conflict of interest;
- (xi) To eliminate nepotism and favouritism from the national life and to make merit an integral criterion in all walks of life;
- (xii) To ensure independence of judiciary and provide an inexpensive and expeditious system of justice through an efficient, responsive, credible and effective court system;
- (xiii) To eliminate the VIP culture, arrogant display of wealth and authority, double standards of dispensation of rights and justice, repression and oppression of the down-trodden by the state functionaries;
- (xiv) To eliminate the curse of illegal wealth, feudal coercion and administrative interference in politics and elections;
- (xv) To weed out smugglers, drug pushers, qabza, mafias and anti-social elements;
- (xvi) To reform the electoral system that would bring about accountability of election expenses and drastically reduce election spending and prevent defaulters and the corrupt from participating in elections, thus

facilitating persons of integrity and modest means to get elected to the legislatures;

- (xvii) To abolish feudalism and implement land reforms and the state lands so acquired to be distributed amongst the landless peasants;
- (xviii) To introduce a just and equitable system of land tenure and protect the tiller and the cultivator from the excesses of the revenue administration and feudal exploitation;
- (xix) To introduce agrarian reforms to ensure higher agricultural productivity and protection of the rights of farm workers and tenants;
- (xx) To tax all sources of income including agriculture and treat it as an industry, ensure payment of all government and public dues and eliminate massive financial leakages throughout the country;
- (xxi) To provide equal opportunities in education and achieve 100% literacy; and further to promote a knowledge economy based on higher education, research, development and technical education;
- (xxii) To introduce a system of quality education, develop uniform core curriculum for all strata of society and discourage elitism;
- (xxiii) To ensure access to health care facilities for all citizens of Pakistan;
- (xxiv) To endeavour for achieving a sustained economic growth by introducing major improvements in the social and physical infrastructure and support facilities geared towards economic activity and prosperity for all throughout Pakistan;
- (xxv) To contain inflation and stabilize prices of the necessities of life;
- (xxvi) To endeavour for universal employment through massive economic, industrial and agricultural growth and development;
- (xxvii) To uphold the dignity of labour, promote socio-economic and political emancipation of the working classes and ensure just wages and compensation for all workers, contract labourers and peasants;
- (xxviii) To redress the grievances and problems of the fixed income groups like salaried employees, pensioners and senior citizens;
- (xxix) To promote and protect investments by overseas Pakistanis and other investors, cutting layers of regulations, securing a safe investment environment, transparency and durability in economic policies;

- (xxx) To reform and restructure the civil services at all levels by providing constitutional protection to civil servants against politicization and interference and promote specialization and efficiency;
- (xxxi) To recognize, promote and implement policies that protect the rights of women belonging to all strata of society, especially the middle and working classes, urban or rural, as equal citizens and encourage the participation of women in the national and political life;
- (xxxii) To provide for representation of women at all decision-making levels;
- (xxxiii) To protect the rights and interests of the minorities and to respect their aspirations and give them representation at all levels commensurate to their actual populations;
- (xxxiv) To introduce and continue the joint electorates throughout and encourage all marginalized communities to participate in mainstream politics.
- (xxxv) To abolish all unjust laws favouring manipulation by the government and imposing restrictions on the freedom of press and the rights of journalists and press workers;
- (xxxvi) To free the electronic and print media from governmental strangulation and monopoly;
- (xxxvii) To strive for the right of the citizens to have free access to public information;
- (xxxviii) To introduce police reforms in order to make it responsive to the needs of the citizens;
- (xxxix) To introduce and implement extensive judicial reforms in order to provide inexpensive and expeditious justice through an efficient court system;
- (xli) To introduce and strengthen an informal and efficient system of dispensation of justice;
- (xlii) To ensure participation of the youth - the future leaders of Pakistan - in the national mainstream;
- (xlii) To train the youth and modernize their skills through technical education and employment opportunities;
- (xliii) To ensure the continuation of voters' age to be 18 years;

- (xlii) To ensure participation of overseas Pakistanis in the electoral process;
- (xliii) To strengthen family as a unit and promote family values;
- (xlv) To preserve, protect and promote the rich and diverse cultural heritage of Pakistan;
- (xlvii) To pursue an independent foreign policy promoting national interest with special emphasis on relations with the regional countries and the Muslim Ummah;
- (xlviii) To strengthen national security and defence against external and internal threats;
- (xlix) To strive for the right of self-determination for the people of the State of Jammu & Kashmir;
- (i) To support international efforts for the welfare and dignity of the global community and establish a just international economic order;
- (ii) To enforce that Pakistan is a modern Islamic welfare state guided by Islamic values where tolerance, social justice and principles of genuine democracy are practiced as envisioned by the father of the nation, Quaide-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the national poet and philosopher Allama Mohammad Iqbal and founding fathers of Pakistan
- (iii) To ensure the elimination of all forms of terrorism by addressing its root causes;
- (iv) To adopt the concept of proportional representation in the electoral system;
- (iv) To bring FATA into the mainstream of the country and eliminate all vestiges of colonial laws and regulations; and
- (iv) To protect the environmental resources and ensure clean air, clean water and sustainable growth in the country while facing up to emerging threats such as clement change.

(III) Membership

The membership of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf will be open to all citizens of Pakistan and people of Pakistani descent regardless of religion, caste, creed, gender and place of residence who are at least 18 years of age and fully subscribe to the constitution and objectives of the party. A Membership fee may be prescribed. Those who sign the membership form shall be deemed to have relinquished membership of any other political party.

(IV) Organizations

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf shall have the following organizations:

- (1) A 'Primary Organization' may consist of a Census Block as defined by the Election Commission of Pakistan.**
- (2) A 'Union Council Organization' shall consist of the area of a union council as determined under the law.**
- (3) A 'Tehsil/Taluka/Town Organization' shall consist of a Tehsil/Taluka/Town in a District or a City as notified by the Provincial Government.**
- (4) A 'District Organization' shall consist of a District under the law.**
- (5) A 'Regional Organization' shall consist of a Region within a Province.**
- (6) A 'Provincial Organization' shall be formed for each Province.**
- (7) An Organization shall be formed for the Federal Capital Territory.**
- (8) An Organization shall be formed for the Federally Administered Tribal Areas.**
- (9) An Organization shall be formed for Gilgit Baltistan.**
- (10) An Organization shall be formed for Azad Jammu & Kashmir**
- (11) An Organization shall be formed for the overseas Pakistanis.**
- (12) A National Organization shall be formed for the entire country including overseas Pakistanis.**

(V) Office Bearers and Members of the Organizations

- (1) Each Primary Organization shall consist of the following office bearers:**
 - (i) President**
 - (ii) Senior Vice President**
 - (iii) 2 Vice Presidents (one woman)**
 - (iv) General Secretary**
 - (v) Joint Secretary**
 - (vi) Finance Secretary**
 - (vii) Secretary Women**

- (viii) Secretary Youth
- (ix) Secretary Labour/Kissan

The Office bearers shall be elected by the members of the Primary Organization.

- (2) Each UC Organization shall consist of the office bearers of all Primary Organizations within its area which shall form its electorate and elect the following office bearers:

- (i) President
- (ii) Senior Vice President
- (iii) 4 Vice Presidents (Two women)
- (iv) General Secretary
- (v) 2 Joint Secretaries (One woman)
- (vi) Secretary Finance
- (vii) Secretary Publicity
- (viii) Secretary Women Wing
- (ix) Secretary Youth
- (x) Secretary Labour/Kisan
- (xi) Secretary Traders
- (xii) Secretary Welfare
- (xiii) Secretary Minorities
- (xiv) A working committee shall be formed which shall consist of the Presidents of the primary organizations present in the UC. In addition to that, the President shall appoint 5 members of the working Committee including one from the minorities.

Provided that, in the absence of the primary organizations within a union council, the office bearers of the Union Council Organization shall be elected by the voter members of the PTI within that union council.

- (3) A Tehsil/Taluka/Town Organization shall consist of the office bearers of all Union Council Organizations within its area which shall form its electorate and shall elect the following office bearers:

- (i) President
- (ii) Senior Vice President
- (iii) Four Vice Presidents (Two women)
- (iv) General Secretary
- (v) Two Joint Secretaries (One woman)
- (vi) Secretary Publicity
- (vii) Secretary Finance (viii) Secretary Women (ix) Secretary Legal Affairs.
- (x) Secretary Youth
- (xi) Secretary Labour/Kissan
- (xii) Secretary Traders (xiii) Secretary Welfare

(xiv) Secretary Minorities.

In addition to the office bearers, there shall be a working committee of the Presidents of the UC organizations within the Tehsil/Taluka/Town. Additionally, the President shall nominate 10 members to the working committee including one from the minorities.

(4) District Organizations

There shall be a District Organization for each District which shall be elected by the office bearers of all Tehsil/Taluka/Town Organizations within that District which will elect the following office bearers of the District Organization:

- (i) President.
- (ii) 2 Senior Vice Presidents
- (iii) Four Vice Presidents. (Two women) (iv) General Secretary.
- (v) Four Joint Secretaries (Two women)
- (vi) Secretary Finance
- (vii) Secretary Information
- (viii) Secretary Legal Affairs.
- (ix) Secretary Public Welfare.
- (x) Secretary Youth
- (xi) Secretary Doctors
- (xii) Secretary Engineers
- (xiii) Secretary Teachers
- (xiv) Secretary Traders
- (xv) Secretary Industries (xvi) Secretary Student Affairs.
- (xvii) Secretary Labour
- (xviii) Secretary Kisan
- (xix) Secretary Ulema
- (xx) Secretary Sports (xxi) Secretary Welfare.
- (xxii) Secretary Culture
- (xxiii) Secretary Publicity
- (xxiv) Secretary Minorities
- (xxv) Secretary Political Training

Provided that the Secretary Information and the Secretary Finance shall be appointed by the President.

In addition to the office bearers, there shall be a Working Committee consisting of the Presidents of the Tehsil/Taluka/Town organizations. 15 members will be nominated by the President. The office bearers shall be the ex-officio members of the Working Committee.

Provided that the President and the Secretary of the Women Wing of the District shall be the ex-officio Vice President and Joint Secretary of the District Organization.

Provided that the President of the Youth Wing of the district shall be the ex-officio Secretary Youth/Student Affairs.

Provided further that the District where there is a concentration of labour, an ex-officio Secretary Labour who is the President of the Labour Wing of the District shall also be included in the District Organization.

(5) Regional Organizations:

There shall be a Regional organization for each Region which shall consist of the office bearers of all District Organizations within the Region which will form the electorate for election of the office bearers of the District organization and shall elect the following office bearers:

- (i) President.
- (ii) Two Senior Vice Presidents (iii) Four Vice Presidents. (2 women) (iv) General Secretary.
- (v) Four Joint Secretaries (2 women)
- (vi) Secretary Finance
- (vii) Secretary Information
- (viii) Secretary Legal Affairs
- (ix) Secretary Public Welfare
- (x) Secretary women
- (xi) Secretary Minorities
- (xii) Secretary Publicity
- (xiii) Secretary Doctors
- (xiv) Secretary Teachers
- (xv) Secretary Traders
- (xvi) Secretary Industries
- (xvii) Secretary Student Affairs
- (xviii) Secretary Labour
- (xix) Secretary Kissan
- (xx) Secretary Ulema (xxi) Secretary Sports (xxii) Secretary Welfare
- (xxiii) Secretary Culture; and
- (xxiv) Secretary Publicity
- (xxv) Secretary Youth
- (xxvi) Secretary Political Training

Provided that the Secretary Information and the Secretary Finance shall be appointed by the President.

In addition to the office bearers, there shall be a working committee consisting of the Presidents of the District Organization and 10 members to be nominated by the President. The Office bearers shall be the ex-officio members of the Working Committee.

Provided that the President and the General Secretary of the women Wing of a Regional organization shall be the ex-officio Vice President and Joint Secretary respectively of the Regional organization.

REGIONS: The following shall be the regions in Pakistan:

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa shall comprise of four regions as under:

1. Districts of Peshawar, Noshera, Charsadda, Swabi, Mardan,
2. Districts of Malakand, Swat, Buner, Shangla, Upper Dir, Lower Dir, Chitral
3. Districts of D I Khan, Kohat, Karak, Hangu, Bannu, Lakki Marwat, Tank
4. Districts of Abbottabad, Haripur, Mansehra, Kohistan, Batagram, Torghar

Punjab shall comprise of four regions as under:

1. Districts of (North Punjab) Attock, Rawalpindi, Chakwal, Jhelum, Sargodha, Mainwali, Bhakkar and Khushab
2. Districts of (West Punjab): Faisalabad, Toba Tek Singh, Jhang, Sahiwal, Pakpattan, Okara, Chiniot
3. Districts of (Central Punjab) Lahore, Sheikhupura, Kasur, Nankana, Gujranwala, Narowal, Sialkot, Gujrat, Mandi Bahauddin, Hafizabad
4. Districts of (South Punjab) of Multan, Khanewal, Vehari, Lodhran, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Bhawalnagar, Layyah, D G Khan, Rajanpur, Muzaffargarh

Sindh shall comprise of three regions as under:

1. Karachi: East, West South, Central and Malir
2. Central Sindh: Thatta, Jamshoro, Dadu, Nawabshah, Hyderabad, Tando Mohammad Khan, Tharparker, Umerkot, Matiari, Tando Allahyar, Badin, Mirpurkhas, Sanghar
3. North Sindh: Sukker, Shikarpur, Nosheroferoz, Larkana, Ghotko, Jacobabad, Khairpur, Kashmore, Shahdadkot

Balochistan shall comprise of five regions as under:

1. Northern Balochistan: Quetta, Pishin, Loralai, Barkhan, Zhob, Ziarat, Qila Abdullah, Musa Khel, Shirani, Qila Saifullah, Harnai.
2. Eastern Balochistan: Sibi, Dera Bugti, Naseerabad, Jhal Magsi, Kohlu, Jafferabad
3. Coastal Balochistan: Kech, Gawadar, Panjgur, Awaran
4. Southern Balochistan: Kalat, Khuzdar, Lasbela
5. Western Balochistan: Chagai, Noshki, Kharan, Washuk

(6) Provincial Organizations

There shall be a Provincial Organization in each Province of Pakistan which shall consist of the Provincial Council and the Provincial Executive Committee.

A Provincial Council shall consist of the following:

- (a) Presidents of the Tehsil/Taluka/Town organizations within the province;
- (b) SVPs and GS of all District Organizations;
- (c) General Secretaries of all Regional Organizations within the Province;
- (d) Presidents of all Regional and District Women Wing Organizations;
- (e) Members of the Provincial Assembly who are party members shall be the ex officio members;
- (f) Technocrats and professionals from amongst the members of the party in the province to be nominated by the Chairman in consultation with the Provincial President;

Provided that the number of technocrats and professionals shall not exceed one-fifth of the total number of members falling under clause (a) to (e) above.

- (g) Twenty-five members with five members each from the Women Wing, lawyers, Youth/Student, Labour, Kissan and Minorities

Organizations within the province to be nominated by the Chairman in consultation with the Provincial President.

(c) The members of Provincial Council belonging to categories (a),(b) and above shall elect the following office bearers:

- (i) President.
- (ii) Two Senior Vice Presidents
- (iii) Ten Vice Presidents (Two women)
- (iv) General Secretary
- (v) Two Deputy General Secretaries
- (vi) Four Joint Secretaries (Two women)
- (vii) Secretary Finance
- (viii) Secretary Information
- (ix) Secretary Legal Affairs
- (x) Secretary Public Welfare
- (xi) Secretary Education
- (xii) Secretary Labour
- (xiii) Secretary Publicity
- (xiv) Secretary Agriculture
- (xv) Secretary Religious Affairs
- (xvi) Secretary Health
- (xvii) Secretary Minorities
- (xviii) Secretary Social Media

In addition to the office bearers, a Provincial Executive Committee (PEC) shall be constituted consisting of 30 members to be nominated by the President out of the members of the Provincial Council that shall include two members from the minority communities. The office bearers shall be the ex-officio members of the Executive Committee.

Provided that the Secretary Information, Secretary Finance and Secretary Social Media shall be appointed by the President and confirmed by the PEC.

Provided that the nomination of the members of PEC by the President shall be subject to prior approval of the CEC.

Provided that the President of the Women Wing in the Province shall be the ex officio Vice President.

(7) National Organizations

There shall be National Organizations for the entire country including overseas Pakistanis which shall include the National Council and the Central Executive Committee.

The National Council shall include:

- (a) The office bearers of the Provincial Organizations**
- (b) The Presidents of the Regional Organizations**
- (c) The Presidents of all District Organizations**
- (d) There shall be thirty-five members, five each from the women, youth, students, labour, farmers, minorities, lawyers and overseas organizations, who will be nominated by their respective organizations.**
- (e) Technocrats and professionals in the country to be nominated by the Chairman who shall not exceed one-fourth of the total number of the members belonging to classes (a) to (d) above.**

The members of National Council belonging to categories (a), (b) and (c) shall elect the following office bearers:

- (i) Chairman**
- (ii) President**
- (iii) Vice Chairman**
- (iv) Five Senior Vice Presidents, at least one from each province**
- (v) Twelve Vice Presidents, at least two (one male and one female) from each province**
- (vi) Secretary General**
- (vii) Additional Secretary General**
- (viii) Four Deputy Secretary Generals, one from each province (ix) Four Joint Secretaries, one from each province (x) Secretary Finance.**
- (xi) Secretary Information.**
- (xii) Secretary legal Affairs**
- (xiii) Secretary Public Welfare**
- (xiv) Secretary Education**
- (xv) Secretary Health**
- (xvi) Secretary Culture**
- (xvii) Secretary Religious Affairs**
- (xviii) Secretary Publicity**
- (xix) Secretary Minorities**
- (xx) Secretary Labour**

- (xxi) Secretary Social Media
- (xxii) Secretary Foreign Affairs
- (xxiii) Secretary Defence Affairs
- (xxiv) Secretary Internal Security
- (xxv) Secretary Political Training
- (xxvi) Secretary Policy Planning
- (xxvii) Secretary International Chapters

Provided that the President of the Women Wing shall be the ex-officio Vice President of the National Council.

Provided further that the Secretary Information, Secretary Finance, Secretary Social Media, Secretary Political Training, and Secretary Policy Planning shall be appointed by the Chairman and confirmed by the CEC.

There shall also be Organizations for:

Islamabad
Gilgit Baltistan
Azad Jammu & Kashmir
Federally Administered Tribal Areas

Central Executive Committee (CEC)

The Executive Committee shall consist of the Central Office bearers and thirty members to be nominated by the Chairman from amongst the members of the National Council which shall include one member each from Christian, Hindu and Sikh / Parsi / other communities. The Presidents of the Provinces shall be the ex-officio members of the Central Executive Committee.

Provided that the Chairman may 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 shall be the ex-officio members of the Core Committee. The term of the Core Committee shall not exceed one year.

(VI) Vote of No-Confidence

- (i) The Office bearers of the National and Provincial Councils can be removed through a vote of no-confidence.
- (ii) A vote of no-confidence can be passed against the Chairman by not less than two-third of the total membership of the National Council. A vote of no-confidence can be passed against other office bearers by a majority of the total membership of the National Council.

(iii) A vote of no-confidence can be passed against any office bearer of a Provincial Organization by a majority of the total membership of the Provincial Council.

Provided that a vote of no-confidence shall not be voted upon unless the office bearer concerned has been given at least two weeks' notice prior to such a vote. Provided further that all members of the National and Provincial Organizations, as the case may be, including nominated ones, shall have a right to participate and exercise their votes in a vote of noconfidence.

Provided further that a vote of no-confidence cannot be moved by less than one-fifth of the total members of the Council as the case may be.

Provided further that if a vote of no-confidence fails against an office bearer, no fresh motion for a vote of no-confidence can be moved against him for at least a period of six months.

(VII) Functions of the Organizations

1. Primary, Union Council, Tehsil/Taluka/Town Organizations

The functions of the Primary, Union Council, Tehsil/Taluka/Town Organizations shall be:

- (i) To motivate people to join the Party;
- (ii) To promote, disseminate and implement the party programmes among the people within their respective areas;
- (iii) To promote membership and maintain the membership register at the Union Council level and transmit information to the District Organization as well as to the office of the Secretary General;
- (iv) To work for the social uplift and development of their respective areas;
- (v) To feed the Provincial and the National Organizations with information about the problems in their respective areas to facilitate the formulation of party policies at the national and provincial levels which are responsive to the real issues and actual problems of the people;

- (vi) To work and assist the affectees in their respective areas during emergencies like floods, epidemics, earthquakes and other national disasters;
- (vii) To work at the grassroots level in areas including education, basic health facilities, building and maintenance of infrastructure and educating the people in the realms of civic facilities and sanitation;
- (viii) To identify corruption, exploitation, injustice, excesses of the local officials, pollution and other problems in their respective areas, mobilize public opinion against the perpetrators and wage a moral and legal struggle for their eradication;
- (ix) To establish conciliation bodies at the local level for promoting harmony and social justice;
- (x) To perform all other functions that are defined elsewhere in this Constitution; and
- (xi) To perform any other acts or functions in pursuance of the policies as laid down by the Central/Provincial Executive Committees from time to time.

2. District Organizations

The functions of the District Organizations shall be:

- (i) To supervise and coordinate with the Primary, Union Council and Tehsil/Taluka/Town Organizations;
- (ii) To settle all disputes relating to Primary and Union Council Organizations within their respective regions;
- (iii) To disseminate the objectives of the Party within their respective areas;
- (iv) To establish regional offices throughout their respective areas and report to the Regional and Provincial Organizations;
- (v) To interact with the Primary, Union Council and Tehsil/Taluka/Town Organizations on the one hand and the Regional and Provincial Organizations on the other;
- (vi) To meet at least once in three months;

- (vii) To constitute bodies and lend support for remedying injustices and excesses identified by the Primary, Union Council and Tehsil/Taluka/Town Organizations within their areas;
- (viii) To perform all other functions that are defined elsewhere in this constitution; and
- (ix) To perform any other acts or functions in pursuance of the policies as laid down by the Central/Provincial Executive Committees from time to time.

3. Regional Organizations

The functions of the Regional Organizations shall be:

- (i) To control and co-ordinate with the District Organizations;
- (ii) To disseminate the objectives of the party within their respective regions;
- (iii) To monitor offices of the lower organizations throughout their respective areas and report to the Provincial Organizations;
- (iv) To interact with the District Organizations on the one hand and the Provincial Organizations on the other;
- (v) To meet at least once in three months; and
- (vi) To perform all other functions that may be delegated by the Provincial and National Organizations.

2. Provincial Organizations

A Provincial Council shall be responsible for the work of the Party Organization in the Province.

The Provincial Council shall meet at the discretion of its President at least once in a year to perform the following functions:

- (i) To consider all matters arising from time to time relating to the aims and objectives and performance of the Organization and to take appropriate decisions in these matters within its jurisdiction;

- (ii) To take all necessary steps to implement the decisions of the National Council and the Central Executive Committee;
- (iii) To control, direct and regulate all activities of the lower Organizations within its jurisdiction;
- (iv) To approve the budget and appoint auditors; and
- (v) In the event of occurrence of vacancy of an office bearer due to death, permanent incapacitation, removal or resignation, the Provincial Council shall elect such an office bearer for the remaining term of office.

Provided that one-fifth of the total membership of a Provincial Council may requisition a meeting of the Council and, on receipt of such requisition, the President shall convene the meeting of the Council within fourteen days. The quorum of a Provincial Council shall be one-fourth of the total membership of the Council. However, the quorum of an adjourned meeting shall be one-fifth of the total membership.

Provided further that the Chairman may direct the President to call a meeting of the Provincial Council and the President shall call such a meeting within fourteen days of the receipt of such direction.

5. National Council

The National Council shall be the supreme body of the Party which shall review the progress of the Party from time to time, and formulate programmes and policies suitable to the needs and demands of the time. The National Council shall meet at the discretion of the Chairman at least once in a calendar year.

Its functions shall be:

- (i) To consider all matters arising from time to time relating to the aims, objectives and performance of the Organization and take appropriate decisions;
- (ii) To supervise the activities of the specialist Committees for carrying out such duties as may be entrusted to them such as economic affairs, international affairs, agriculture, education, labour, health and others;
- (iii) To approve the annual budgets and to appoint auditors;

- (iv) For the purpose of meeting, the quorum shall consist of one-fourth of the total membership of the council. However, quorum of an adjourned meeting shall be one-fifth of the total membership;
- (v) In the event of occurrence of vacancy of an office bearer due to death, permanent incapacitation, removal or resignation, the National Council shall elect such office bearer for the remaining term of office.

Provided that one-fifth of the total membership of the National Council may requisition a meeting of the Council and, on receipt of such requisition, the Chairman shall convene the meeting of the Council within thirty days.

6. Executive Committees

There shall be Executive Committees at the National and Provincial levels.

(A) Functions of a Provincial Executive Committee

A Provincial Executive Committee may be summoned by the President at his discretion at any time. However, not more than sixty days shall elapse between two successive meetings of the Executive Committee.

The functions of the Executive Committee shall be as under:

- (i) To carry out day-to-day functions of the Provincial Council;
- (ii) To act as the executive authority of the Party in the Province;
- (iii) To take all necessary steps to give effect to the decisions of the Provincial Council;
- (iv) To control, direct and regulate all activities of the lower Organizations within its jurisdiction;
- (v) To place its reports of all actions taken, orders passed and activities done before the Provincial Council at its annual meeting for approval;
- (vi) To carry out directives of the Chairman, the Central Executive Committee or the National Council; and

(vii) To form sub-committees for carrying out specific jobs assigned to them.

(B) Functions of the Central Executive Committee

The Central Executive Committee may be summoned by the Chairman at his discretion at any time. However, not more than sixty days shall elapse between two successive meetings of the Central Executive Committee.

The functions of the Central Executive Committee shall be as under:

- (i) To assist the Chairman in carrying out the day-to-day functions of the National Council;
- (ii) To lay down the party policy and guide the party at the national level;
- (iii) To act as the executive authority of the party at the national level;
- (iv) To take all necessary steps to give effect to the decisions of the National Council;
- (v) To control, direct and regulate all activities of the Provincial Executive Committees;
- (vi) To control, direct and regulate all activities of the Organizations for the Federal Capital Territory, Federally Administered Tribal Areas, Gilgit and Balistan and Overseas Pakistanis;
- (vii) In case the Central Executive Committee is of the opinion that a Provincial Executive Committee is not carrying out the aims and objectives of the Party, it may suspend the Provincial Executive Committee and, summon the Provincial Council to take appropriate action in this regard. In the meantime, the Central Executive Committee can assume unto itself the functions of the Provincial Executive Committee; and
- (viii) To place its reports of all actions taken, orders passed and activities done before the National Council at its annual meeting for approval.

Provided that the Chairman may nominate fifteen members out of the CEC to constitute a Core Committee to be approved by the CEC through a secret ballot. The SG and the Provincial Presidents shall be the ex-officio members of the Core committee. The term of this Committee shall not exceed one year.

(VIII) Term of Office

The term of office for all the Organizations at all levels shall be four years. The process of elections of all Organizations shall be commenced one hundred and twenty days before the expiry of the term and shall be concluded thirty days before the expiry of the term.

Provided that the Chairman, after consultation with the Central Executive Committee, may extend the term of office of any particular Organization in an emergent situation by a period not exceeding one year.

(IX) Selection of Party Candidates

The Chairman, in consultation with the Provincial President, shall constitute a Provincial Parliamentary Board for each Province which shall recommend Party candidates for the National and Provincial Assemblies. The Provincial Parliamentary Board shall receive the names from the Regional Parliamentary Boards and recommend one candidate and a covering candidate to the Central Parliamentary Board headed by the Chairman.

Provincial President, in consultation with the Regional Presidents, shall constitute a Parliamentary Board for each Region which shall recommend Party candidates for the National and Provincial Assemblies within the Province. Regional Parliamentary Board shall recommend at least three persons for selection as Party candidate in each constituency to the Provincial Board.

All Parliamentary Boards shall be approved by the Central Executive Committee.

Provided that the Parliamentary Board concerned shall give due consideration to the recommendations of the District Organization and the criteria and qualifications as laid down for selection of candidates.

Provided further that the Parliamentary Board shall give preference to the candidate belonging to the middle and working classes in order to ensure participation of people across the board.

However, only such persons shall be selected for nomination as Party candidates who fulfil the following qualifications:

- a) Whose sources of income and wealth are not based on corruption;**
- b) Whose standard of living is in accordance with his known sources of income;**
- c) Who has not obtained plots and permits through influence and bribery;**
- d) Who has not used his influence to get remission of loans;**
- e) Who has not been convicted with an offence involving moral turpitude;**
- f) Who is not known to have any affiliation with the underworld, or known to have amassed wealth from illegal and anti-social activities.**
- g) Who shall disclose his assets and assets of his immediate family, Income earned and taxes paid before filling his nomination papers; and**
- h) Who has not been directly responsible for unconstitutional acts violating the independence of the Judiciary.**

All these qualifications are in addition to and not in substitution of the qualifications provided for the membership of the Parliament and the Provincial Assemblies under the Constitution and the laws of Pakistan. In case of any objection to the qualification of a candidate, the matter will be resolved by the Scrutiny Committee appointed by the Chairman for the purpose.

(X) Powers and Functions of Office Bearers

- (A) Office bearers of Organizations, except the Chairman and the Secretary General, the Presidents and the General Secretaries of the Provinces:**
 - (a) The President shall be the Chief Executive of the relevant Organization and shall exercise administrative control over other office bearers. He shall preside over the meetings of the Organization.**
 - (b) The President of every Organization shall have the power to suspend any office bearer of the organization immediately below pending disciplinary action against him.**
 - (c) The Vice Presidents shall exercise functions and responsibilities delegated to them by their Presidents.**
 - (d) The General Secretary or Secretary shall, after the President, be responsible for the organizational work of the Party. He shall attend all meetings of the respective Organization and the Working Committee, keep a record of the deliberations of the Organization and the Working Committee in accordance with the relevant rules. He shall be responsible for preparation of the**

agenda under the guidance of the President and for the issuance of notices for the Organization and Working Committee meetings. He shall present the financial statement before the Organization for approval.

- (e) A joint secretary shall assist the Secretary in the performance of his duties and functions.
- (f) The Information Secretary shall perform the functions of public and media relations in accordance with the policy of the Party.
- (g) The Secretary Finance shall maintain the accounts of all payments received and keep them in a bank or in safe custody in the name of the Organization. He shall make such payments as authorized by the Organization, its Working Committee or its President and operate the account jointly with the President/Secretary under the authority of the President and prepare half yearly accounts. The President may authorize any office bearer to perform the duties of the Finance Secretary in the absence of the Finance Secretary.
- (h) The Secretary Legal Affairs shall look after the legal matters of the Party at his respective level. He shall also be responsible for maintaining liaison with the legal cells of the Party in order to seek remedy of any grievances that the Party members may have due to political victimization or any other reason arising out of the Party work. The Secretary Legal Affairs shall ordinarily be a practicing Advocate.
- (i) The Secretary Welfare shall look after any welfare programmes that the Party decides to undertake in his respective area/province.
- (j) The Secretary Literacy shall work within his respective area for mass literacy programme that the Party may initiate at various levels.
- (k) The Secretary Culture shall be responsible for holding cultural programmes in his respective area to popularise the Party amongst common citizens.
- (l) The Secretary Publicity shall be responsible for publishing and maintaining party publicity materials including pamphlets, webbased materials, hand bills and newsletters and shall be responsible for distribution of the same amongst party workers and the public at large in his respective area.

- (m) Secretary Labour shall be responsible for keeping contact with the labour organizations and trade unions within the area of his organization.
- (n) Secretary Youth shall be responsible for organizing youth activities within the area of his organization.
- (o) Secretary Doctors shall maintain contact with the doctors qua members of PTI within the area of his organization.
- (p) Secretary Engineers shall maintain contact with the engineers qua members of PTI within the area of his organization.
- (q) Secretary Teachers shall be responsible for maintaining contacts with the teachers qua members of PTI within the area of his organization and shall organize educational programmes including those of teacher-training and improving standards of the educational institutions within the area of his organization.
- (r) Secretary Traders shall maintain contact with the traders within the area of his organization and shall organize activities in the best interest of the traders of the area of his organization.
- (s) Secretary Industry shall maintain permanent contact with the industrial activities within the area of his organization.
- (t) Secretary Student Affairs shall organize the activities of Insaf Students Federation (ISF) within the area of his organization.
- (u) Secretary Kissan shall keep contact with the farmers of the area and shall organize programmes for better agricultural produce in the area of his organization.
- (v) Secretary Ulema shall keep contact with the *Ulema* and *Mashaikh* in the area of his organization and shall endeavour to maintain peaceful and harmonious relations among people belonging to various sects, *masaliks* and other beliefs.

(B) Powers of the Chairman

- (a) The Chairman shall be the Head and the Chief spokesman of the Party and shall exercise all powers inherent in his office. He shall ensure that the Organization at all levels works in accordance with the aims and objectives of the Party;
- (b) He shall have the power to delegate any of his powers to the Secretary General or any member of the Central Executive Committee;

- (c) He shall have the power to suspend any office bearer at the national and provincial levels pending disciplinary action against him;
- (d) In the event of removal or suspension of an office bearer, he may delegate power and duties of such office bearer to any other member of the Party;
- (e) He shall have all other powers which have not been specifically stated including the power of interpretation of the Party constitution for successful functioning of the Organization;

Provided that an appeal against the Chairman's interpretation could be made to the National Council;
- (f) He may appoint special Assistants/Consultants/Advisers at the National or Provincial level in addition to the office bearers who have been elected if he is satisfied that such an appointment is necessary in the Party interest;
- (g) He may appoint Specialized Committees as approved by the Central Executive Committee from time to time;
- (h) In the event of the incapacitation due to illness or detention of the Chairman, one of the Senior Vice Presidents shall act as Chairman of the Party; and
- (i) The Chairman shall be the appellate authority against any order passed by a Provincial President.

(C) Powers and Functions of the President at the Centre

The President at the Centre shall exercise such powers and perform such functions that are assigned to him by the Chairman.

(D) Powers and Functions of the Vice Chairman

The Vice Chairman shall exercise such powers and perform such functions that are assigned to him by the Chairman.

(E) Powers and Functions of the Secretary General

- (a) The Secretary General shall, after the Chairman, be responsible for looking after the organizational work of the Party, take all suitable measures and actions which are necessary to promote the Party and implement its aims and objectives;
- (b) He may advise the Chairman on any national or political issue or matters relating to Party organization;

- (c) He shall have the power to induct, with the approval of the Chairman, salaried persons for the central office of the Party and shall supervise and guide them;
- (d) He shall issue, from time to time, directives to members and organizations of the Party in accordance with the directions of the Chairman and the policies and programmes as spelled out by the National Council and the Central Executive Committee;
- (e) In the event of death, permanent incapacitation or resignation of the Chairman, the Secretary General shall convene a meeting of the National Council to elect a new Chairman;
- (f) He shall record the minutes of the meetings of the National Council and Central Executive Committee; and
- (g) He may refer the case of any office bearer of the Party to a Disciplinary Committee for action against him.

(F) Powers and Functions of other office bearers:

Other office bearers shall exercise such powers and perform such functions that are assigned to them by CEC.

(G) Powers and functions of a Provincial President

- (a) A Provincial President shall be the head and chief spokesman of the Party in the Province and shall exercise all powers inherent in his office. He shall ensure that the Organization at all levels within the Province works in accordance with the aims and objectives of the Party;
- (b) He shall have the power to delegate any of his authority to the General Secretary or any member of the Provincial Executive Committee;
- (c) He shall have the power to suspend an office bearer up to the level of the Regional Organization pending disciplinary action against him;
- (d) During the period of suspension of an office bearer, he shall delegate his functions to any member of the Party within the Province;
- (e) He may appoint specialized committees as approved by the Provincial Executive Committee from time to time;

- (f) He shall ensure that all directives of the Chairman and the Central Executive Committee issued from time to time are fully complied with within the Province; and
- (g) In the event of incapacitation of the President due to illness or detention, one of the senior Vice Presidents shall act as the President.

(H) Powers and functions of the Provincial General Secretary

- (a) The General Secretary shall, after the President, be responsible for looking after the organizational work of the Party, take all suitable measures and actions which are necessary to promote the Party and implement its aims and objectives;
- (b) He may advise the President on matters of the Party Organization;
- (c) He shall have the power to recruit, with the approval of the President, salaried persons for the Provincial office of the Party and shall supervise and guide them;
- (d) He shall issue, from time to time, directives to members and organizations of the Party within the Province in accordance with the directions of the Chairman and the policies and programmes as set down by the National Council, the Central Executive Committee, the Provincial Council, the Provincial President and the Provincial Executive Committee;
- (e) In the event of death, permanent incapacitation or resignation of the President, the General Secretary shall convene a meeting of the Provincial Council to elect a new President;
- (f) He shall record the minutes of the meetings of the Provincial Council and Provincial Executive Committee; and
- (g) He may refer the case of any office bearer of the Party to a Disciplinary Committee for action against him.

(I) Powers and Functions of other provincial office bearers:

Other provincial office bearers shall exercise such powers and perform such functions that are assigned to them by the CEC.

(XI) Responsibilities of Organizations

All Organizations of the Party shall, within their respective jurisdictions, act in advancement of the aims and objectives of the Party. **(XII) Funds**

Membership fees shall be retained by the Provincial Organizations. All Organizations at various levels shall, however, have the authority to require the lower Organizations to contribute a portion of their income to their funds as and when such necessity arises.

To maintain the independence of the Party and to finance the implementation of its aims, objectives and programmes, the Central and Provincial Executive Committees shall authorize fund-raising activities to meet the financial targets. Proper accounts of the funds shall be maintained which shall be audited by the auditors appointed by the Central and Provincial Executive Committees.

(XIII) Fund-raising

There shall be fund-raising committees for the Centre and Provinces to be nominated by the Chairman and Provincial Presidents respectively. These fundraising committees shall function in accordance with the instructions issued by the CEC and respective PECs.

The fund-raising committees shall present reports to the CEC or respective PECs biannually. Secretary Finance, at the Centre and the Provinces, shall be the exofficio members of the concerned fund-raising committees.

(XIV) Amendment to the Constitution

An amendment to the Constitution can be moved by the Central Executive Committee before the National Council. An amendment can also be moved by one-tenth of the total membership of the National Council.

The constitution of the Party can be amended by the National Council provided that the proposed amendment is approved by at least two-third of the members present. The Chairman may refer back to the Council for reconsideration of the amendment which may again be passed by two-third of the members present.

Provided that the proposed amendment shall be circulated amongst the members of the National Council at least fourteen days prior to the meeting.

(XV) Differences and Disputes

All matters, differences and disputes at meetings of various Organizations of the Party shall be decided by a majority of votes.

(XVI) Party Election Commission and its Functions

1. The Central Executive Committee shall appoint a Central Election Commissioner for a period of four years who shall, in consultation with the Chairman, appoint members of the Central Election Commission;
2. The Central Election Commission shall be responsible for holding Party elections at the level of the Central and Provincial Organizations;
3. The Central Election Commission shall appoint Provincial Election Committees which shall be responsible for holding elections at all tiers below the Provincial Organizations;
4. The Central Election Commission shall frame its own rules for conduct of elections which shall be approved by the Central Executive Committee;
5. Results of the elections at all levels shall be intimated immediately to the Central Election Commission;
6. The Central Election Commission or a Provincial Election Committee may release the results of election to the Press;
7. Only one appeal against the decision of an Election Committee shall be permissible. The appeal shall lie before the higher forum within a week of any such decision; and
8. The members of the Election Commission shall be drawn from the National Council. They shall stand disqualified from contesting any party election during the period of their tenure.

(XVII) Qualifications for election to Party Office

Only such members of the party shall be eligible for election to party offices who fulfil the following qualifications:

- (i) Whose sources of income and wealth are not based on corruption;
- (ii) Whose standard of living is in accordance with his known sources of income;
- (iii) Who has not obtained plots and permits through influence and bribery;

- (iv) Who has not used his influence to get remission of loans;
- (v) Who has not been convicted with an offence of moral turpitude;
- (vi) Who is not known to have affiliation with the underworld, or known to have amassed wealth from illegal and anti-social activities.
- (vii) Who shall to disclose his assets and assets of his immediate family, income earned and taxes paid; and
- (viii) Who has not been directly responsible for any unconstitutional acts violating independence of the judiciary?

In case of challenges with regard to qualifications, the Party Election Commission shall determine the dispute.

(XVIII) Disciplinary Matters

The following Organizations shall be authorised to take actions for inefficiency, violation of discipline and breach of Constitution against the Organizations named below:

Organization under Authorized Appellate Disciplinary Organization Organization Action.

- 1- Primary and UC District Regional Organizations Organizations
- 2- Tehsil/Taluka/ Town Regional Provincial Executive Organizations and Organizations Committee District Organizations
- 3- Regional Organizations Provincial Executive Central Executive Committee
- 4- Provincial Organizations, Organizations for Islamabad, Federally Administered Tribal Areas, Gilgit and Central Baltistan or Executive Overseas Pakistanis Committee

Provided that:

- (1) Where the authorized Organization for disciplinary action is Central Executive Committee, the Organization concerned shall have a right of review;
- (2) Regional Organizations shall form one or more disciplinary Committees consisting of a Chairman and two members each to deal with the disciplinary matters of the lower organizations;
- (3) For the purposes of disciplinary action and hearing appeals, the concerned Central and Provincial Executive Committee shall form

subcommittees to act on their behalf which shall submit the report after due enquiry or hearing to the Executive Committee concerned;

- (4) That no action against any person or Organization shall be taken unless it has been given a show-cause notice containing the allegations against it in detail and after providing adequate opportunity of hearing including enquiry into the facts constituting the allegations against such person or Organization;
- (5) That Central Executive Committee can take action against any Organization at any level on its own motion if it is of the opinion that any such Organization is not performing its functions under the Constitution or is functioning in a manner detrimental to the party interest; and
- (6) An Appellate or Review Authority shall decide an appeal before it within a period of two months.

(XIX) Reconciliation Committees

Reconciliation Committees shall be formed at the District, Regional, Provincial and National levels. District Organizations shall form one or more reconciliation committees to resolve disputes arising out of the working of the Union Council or Primary Organizations within the district.

Regional Organizations shall form one or more reconciliation committees to resolve disputes arising from the working of District and Tehsil/Taluka/Town Organizations within their Regions.

Provincial Executive Committee shall form a reconciliation committee to resolve disputes arising out of the working of Regional Organizations within the Province.

The Central Executive Committee shall form reconciliation committee to resolve disputes arising out of the working of the Provincial Organizations. This Reconciliation Committee will also deal with disputes arising out of the workings of the wings.

(XX) Special Organizations

There shall be special Organizations for Women, Youth, Students, Minorities, Labour and Overseas Pakistanis which shall form wings of the Party. The CEC may add to these special organizations.

These wings shall be autonomous in their working. Provisions relating to the internal working of these wings are laid down in Schedule I. All the special organization shall work in coordination with the main organization. In addition to provisions in Schedule I, every special organization at the central

and provincial level may frame by-laws for its internal working with the approval of CEC.

A person removed from one of the special organizations will not be eligible for membership in any other special organization.

(XXI) Temporary Provisions

Until the adoption of this constitution by the National Council, the Central Executive Committee shall have the power to make appropriate amendments in the Constitution.

(XXII) Penalties

Penalties for inefficiency, violation of discipline and breach of Constitution may include expulsion from the membership of the party.

(XXIII) Eminent Pakistanis:

The party will offer from time to time to eminent Pakistanis a role from its platform to shape the destiny of the nation by seeking their guidance and leadership. Such eminent Pakistanis will be requested to participate in the highest policy making forums of the party which include the Central Executive Committee and the Core Group, where they can express their opinion, offer guidelines and advice on all important issues and may use their right to vote. Their advisory role would be of utmost importance to the party in shaping and formulating national policies. These eminent persons would also become spokespersons for expressing party's views on important issues.

ANNEXED 1-B

CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN PEOPLES PARTY

CONSTITUTION OF

PAKISTAN PEOPLES PARTY

The Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) was formed on 30th November 1967 by the founder father Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. It could however not be registered under the Political Parties Order 2002 as the dictatorial regime after 12th October 1999 coup placed conditionalities which could not have been fulfilled as the attempt was to oust the Pakistan Peoples Party contesting general election of October 2002. Hence the registration is being sought hereunder of the very Party which had contested the 1970 elections as the following elections also held under martial law and were non Party's elections: Save 1988 onwards Elections which too were facilitated under Judgment of Supreme Court but without the original symbol.

Aims and Objects

The Aims and Objects of Pakistan Peoples Party as had been framed and constituted by the founder father Quaid-e-Awam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed and his associates were to build an egalitarian society and welfare state fostering the vision of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and for the real political and economical empowerment of the people of Pakistan. The bane, power and force of the poor, peasants, harries, workers, educators, businessmen and women, old, young and children and for the empowerment of all segments of society by providing them equal opportunity of the resources of the country and providing them food, clothing, Home, Hearth, Health Care medical facilities work, jobs according to their potentials labour and merit orientation policies. Thereby providing them opportunities of livelihood with respect, dignity and honour as an inviolable right according to their abilities through a merit driven opportunity in all avenues of life. Transparent elections, good governance unadulterated and honest service oriented bureaucracy at the national and provincial level so as to translate the dream of founder father in to reality. Make Pakistan a strong citadel of Islam and unifying force amongst the Islamic Ummah.

The Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) will play a pivotal role in fostering a constitutional federal democratic political culture and promote democratic governments in the country for sustaining democracy. would stand committed to the ideals of Quaid-e-Awam Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Mohtarma Shaheed Bhutto and carry her policy of conciliation galvanizing all efforts to promote and foster decency and democratic norms and bring about a change in mind set as well as usher in culture of tolerance and mutual trust amongst the pro democratic forces so as to lend continuity to democracy uphold the rule of law promote the human rights and ensure the economic emancipation of the poor and down trodden people of Pakistan. Eradicate gender distinction, spread Education, eliminate all type of exploitation and make Pakistan self reliant, break the shackles of foreign dependence usher in foreign policy in best interest of Pakistan, open corridors of trade, energize the country, so as to promote industrial growth creating Jobs, increase export and take the country amongst the comity of nation with dignity and pride.

The Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) will set up and establish national, provincial and local bodies and ensure the growth of leadership from the lower tiers right up to the national level and ensure cohesion of federal structure giving maximum autonomy to the provincial and district bodies.

Nomenclature: The association will follow the name of its original Party i.e. the name of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) lending continuity to the visionary martyred leaders service oriented philosophy of making Pakistan a welfare state.

Article-I :

Eliqibility for Membership

Any person who subscribes to the Manifesto of Pakistan Peoples Party and is follower of the philosophy of Quaid-e-Azam and believes in the historical and unprecedented sacrifices of Quaid-e-Awam Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Shaheed-e-Jamhooriyat Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto who laid their lives for the lofty principles of the grandeur and glory of Pakistan and for the empowerment of its people and would propound and promote their idealistic thoughts vision and follow their missions would be eligible for membership..

Each member shall pay an annual fee upon joining as may be fixed determined from time to time including the elected members as may be determined by the Central Executive Committee. This fee will be collected by the Finance Secretary and/or any other officer designated by the Secretary General.

Every member will follow the decisions of the PPP in a democratic manner and despite having contrary view which he would be free to express within the Party meetings the decision once taken would be binding. The contrary note of the member however would may be placed by him before the CEC for consideration and the decision thereafter will not be open to any exception. Any member defying the decision would be liable for expulsion from the membership but shall be entitled to hearing in a committee constituted by the Secretary General and an appeal whereof shall lay to the CEC which decision shall be final.

Article-2

Organization of PPP

There will be a Secretary General, one Information Secretary and a Finance Secretary at the Central level at the Center.

President and Secretary in all the four provinces and FATA and Northern Areas as well as Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan, there will be a President and Secretary at the District level as and when necessary.

However Patron-in-Chief and Patron may however be conferred in recognition of the sacrifices of the PPP Leadership.

Article-3

Constitutional Changes

This Constitution having been approved and promulgated by the PPP in its meeting held on 25 February 2013, any amendment can be proposed by a member which shall be subject to approval by the Centrai body and will not be in any manner derogatory to the aims and objects for which the PPP was established.

Article—4

Patron-in-Chief

Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari shall be the Patron-in-Chief being the legitimate heir and carrying the legacy of the founder his grandfather, Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his mother Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto.

a. Secretary General

The Secretary General will be the administrative and organizational head of the Party. He will be assisted by the Provincial Presidents.

b. Information Secretary

The Information Secretary will be responsible for promoting the view point of the Pakistan Peoples Party and convey and communicate the decisions of the CEC and relegate the decisions so arrived to all the provincial, district and local organization.

c. Secretary Finance

He will receive the membership fee; applications received for general/provincial/local elections open the Party bank account accordingly, maintain the accounts and collect fees from the members of the executive and council. Each member of the Central, Provincial and District Committees will pay an annual fee of Rs. 20,000/- except in case of exemption, failing which he will lose his membership.

d. Executive Committee

There shall be a Executive Committee which shall assist the Secretary General in the administration of the province in consultation with the Council.

Article-5

Federal Council

There shall be a Federal Council which shall discuss and debate the political situation and keep liaison with the other political parties/organization as well as Human Rights, NGOs and other segments of society.

Article-6

Election Procedure

The Rules under which the Party Elections are to be held will be prescribed from time to time by the Party.

Article-7

Electoral College

The electoral college for the election will comprise the members who subscribe to the aims of the Pakistan Peoples Party.

Procedure for Party Elections:

There will be elections to the offices other then the Patron-in-Chief and Patron of the PPP after every three years, or on the resignation, death, incapacity, or removal of

any of the office bearers as determined by the Central Organization. All members in good standing and discipline who subscribe to the aims of the PPP will be eligible to contest for the offices of the PPP. All members in good standing and discipline who subscribe to the aims of the PPP will be eligible to vote for the offices of the PPP. Voter list will comprise of members in the particular geographic area being voted in the Federal, Provincial or District Organization.

Article-8

Obligation of Members:

The members shall uphold the constitution of the Party and abide by the philosophy and principles of Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto. Under all circumstances they shall adhere to the democratic norms and abide by Parliamentary mannerism and shall not exploit their offices of PPP for personal gains or benefits. They shall be entitled to the Party elections and right of vote subject to clearing dues provided they do not incur any other disqualification of the Party constitution.

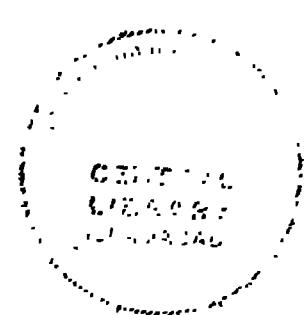
Article-9

Selection of Members

Every eligible person by Law & Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and who is a member of the Party shall be entitled to apply for Party ticket to contest the general elections/bye-elections and or Local Government Elections for which Bodies at the Federal/Provincial/Tehsil/Union Council level shall be charged to scrutinize and recommend Party ticket which decision shall be subject to final approval at the Central, Provincial and District Body as the case may be. The amount alongwith other requisites shall be fixed from time to time by the Federal Council for such aspiration of Party tickets to contest elections. The grant of Party ticket shall be certified by the Secretary General or designated office bearer of the Party duly nominated by Secretary General. All decisions for the formation of government or otherwise shall be taken and notified by the Central leadership in consultation with the Central and or Provincial body as the case may be.

ANNEXED 1-C

CONSTITUTION OF JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI PAKISTAN



اللّٰهُ الّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ الرَّسُولُ



دفعہ۔۔۔ 1 (نام)

حصہ اول)

ہم، نصبِ الحکم اور شرائط و فرائض رکھتے
اس جماعت کا نام "جماعتِ اسلامی پاکستان" اور اس دستور کا نام "دستورِ جماعتِ اسلامی پاکستان" ہو گا۔

دفعہ۔۔۔ 2 (تاریخِ نفاذ)

یہ دستورِ کمی جون 1957ء بمقابلی 2 ذی القعده 1376ھ سے نافذ العمل ہو گا۔

دفعہ۔۔۔ 3 (عقیدہ)

جماعتِ اسلامی پاکستان کا بیانیہ ایجادی عقیدہ لالہ الا اللہ محمد رسول اللہ ہو گا۔ یعنی یہ کہ صرف اللہ ہی ایک اللہ ہے، اس کے سوا کوئی اللہ نہیں، اور محمد اللہ کے رسول ہیں۔

تغیرت: اس عقیدے کے پہلے جزو یعنی اللہ کے واحد الہ ہونے اور کسی دوسرے کے اللہ ہونے کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ زمین اور آسمان اور جو کچھ آسمان و زمین میں ہے، سب کا خالق، پروردگار، مالک اور حکومی و تحریکی حاکم صرف اللہ ہے، ان میں سے کسی حیثیت میں بھی کوئی اس کا شریک نہیں ہے۔ اس حقیقت کو جانتے اور تسلیم کرنے سے لازم آتا ہے کہ:

1۔ انسان اللہ کے سوا کسی کو ولی و کار ساز، حاجت رو اور مظلل کشا، فریاد رس اور حمایت و ناصرتہ سمجھے، کیونکہ کسی دوسرے کے پاس کوئی اقتداری نہیں ہے۔

2۔ اللہ کے سوا کسی کو نفع و نقصان پہنچانے والا نہ سمجھے، کسی سے تقویٰ اور خوف نہ کرے، کسی پر تکل نہ کرے، کسی سے امیدیں والہ نہ کرے کیونکہ تمام اختیارات کا مالک ہی اکیلا ہے۔

3۔ اللہ کے سوا کسی سے دعا نہیں گئی، کسی کی پہنچانہ ڈھونڈتے، کسی کو خدا کے لیے نہ پہلاۓ، کسی کو خدا اپنی اختیارات میں ایسا وحشیل اور زور آور بھی نہ سمجھے کہ اس کی سفارش قضاۓ الہی کو نال سکتی ہو، کیونکہ خدا کی سلطنت میں سب بے اختیار عیت ہیں، خواہ فرشتے ہوں یا انتیاء یا اولیاء،

4- اللہ کے سو اکی کے آگے سر زم جھکائے، کسی کی پر ستش نہ کرے، کسی کو نذر نہ دے اور کسی کے ساتھ وہ معاملہ نہ کرے جو مشرکین اپنے معبودوں کے ساتھ کرتے رہے ہیں، کیونکہ تھا ایک اللہ ہی جہاد کا سخت ہے۔

5- اللہ کے سو اکی کو بادشاہ، مالک الملک اور مقتدر اعلیٰ تسلیم نہ کرے، کسی با اختیار خود حکم دینے اور منع کرنے کا مجاز نہ سمجھے، کسی کو مستقل بالذات شادر ہے اور قانون ساز نہ نہانے اور ان تمام اطاعت کو تسلیم کرنے سے الکار کر دے جو اللہ کی اطاعت کے تحت اور اس کے قانون کی پابندی میں نہ ہوں، کیونکہ اپنے ملک کا ایک ہی جاہشہ ملک اور اپنی خلق کا ایک ہی جاہز حاکم اللہ ہے۔ اس کے سو اکی کو حاکیت اور حاکیت کا حق نہیں پہنچتا۔ نیز اس عقیدے کو قبول کرنے سے یہ بھی لازم آتا ہے کہ:

6- انسان لہنی آزادی و خود مختاری سے دست بردار ہو جائے، لہنی خواہشات لئے کی بندگی چھوڑ دے اور اللہ کا بندہ بن کر رہے جس کو اس نے اللہ تسلیم کیا ہے۔

7- اپنے آپ کو کسی چیز کا مالک مختار نہ سمجھے، بلکہ ہر چیز حقی کہ اپنی جان، اپنے اعضاء اور اپنی ذہنی و جسمانی قوتوں کو بھی اللہ کی بیک اور اس کی طرف سے لات سمجھے۔

8- اپنے آپ کو اللہ کے سامنے ذمہ دار اور جواب دے سمجھے اور اپنی قوتوں کے استعمال اور اپنی برہاؤ اور تصرفات میں ہمیشہ اس حقیقت کو ٹھوڑر کے کہ لے قیامت کے روز اللہ کو ان سب چیزوں کا حساب دینا ہے۔

9- اپنی پسند کا معیار اللہ کی پسند کو اور اپنی ناپسندیدگی کا معیار اللہ کی ناپسندیدگی کو بنائے۔

10- اللہ کی رضا اور اس کے قرب کو اپنی تمام سی وحدہ کا مقصود اور اپنی پوری زندگی کا محور تھہرائے۔

11- اپنے لیے اخلاق میں، برہاؤ میں، محاذات اور تمدن میں، میہیت اور سیاست میں، غرض زندگی کے ہر حالت میں صرف اللہ کی ہدایت تسلیم کرے اور ہر اس طریقے اور ضابطے کو رد کر دے جو اللہ کی شریعت کے خلاف ہو۔

12- اس حقیقت کے دوسرے جز یعنی حضرت ﷺ کے رسول اللہ ہونے کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ سلطان کائنات کی طرف سے روئے زمین پر بخندے والے انسانوں کو جس آخری نبی کے ذریعہ سے مستجد ہدایت نامہ اور ضابطہ قانون بیجاؤ گیا اور جس کو اس ضابطہ کے مطابق کام کر کے ایک مکمل معمونہ قائم کر دینے پر مسور کیا گیا، وہ محمد صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم ہے۔

اس امر واقعی کو جانے اور تسلیم کرنے سے لازم آتا ہے کہ:

1- انسان ہر اس تسلیم اور ہر اس ہدایت کو بے چون وچہاں قبول کرے جو محمد سے ثابت ہو۔

2- اس کو کسی حکم کی تحلیل پر آمدہ کرنے کے لیے اور کسی طریقہ کی بیوی سے روک دینے کے لیے صرف اتنی بات کافی ہو کہ اس چیز کا حکم یا اس چیز کی ممانعت رسول خدا سے ثابت ہے۔

اس کے سو اکی دوسری دلیل پر اس کی اطاعت موقوف نہ ہو۔

3- رسول خدا کے سو اکی کی مستقل بالذات پیشوائی اور ہنماں تسلیم نہ کرے۔ دوسرے انسانوں کی بیوی کی کتاب اللہ اور سنت رسول کے تحت ہو، نہ کہ ان سے آزاد۔

4- اپنی زندگی کے ہر حالے میں خدا کی کتاب اور اس کے رسول کی سنت کو جنت اور سند اور مرجح قرار دے، جو خیال یا عقیدہ یا طریقہ کتاب و سنت کے مطابق ہو اسے اختیار کرے۔

5- تمام عصیتیں اپنے دل سے نکال دے خواہ وہ شخصی ہوں یا خادمانی، یا قبائلی و نسلی، یا قومی و ملکی، فرقی و گروہی۔ کسی کی محبت یا عقیدت میں ایسا

گرفتار نہ ہو کہ رسول خدا کے لائے ہوئے حق کی محبت و عقیدت پر وہ قابل آجائے یا اس کی بد مثالی میں جائے۔

6- رسول خدا کے سوا کسی انسان کو معیار حق نہ بنائے، کسی کو تلقین سے بالاتر نہ سمجھے، کسی کی ذہنی غلامی میں جگانہ ہو، ہر ایک کو خدا کے بنائے ہوئے اسی معیار کا مل پر جائے اور پر کے اور جو اس معیار کے حلاطے سے جس درجہ میں ہو، اس کو اسی درجے میں رکے۔

7- محمد ﷺ کے بعد پیدا ہونے والے کسی دوسرے انسان کا یہ منصب تسلیم نہ کرے کہ اس کو ائمہ یا شاہنشاہی پر آدمی کے کفر و ایمان کا فیصلہ ہو۔

د فہرست 4 (نصب الحین)

جماعتِ اسلامی پاکستان کا نصب الحین اور اس کی تمام سی و مسجد کا مقصود مگر اقامتِ دین (حکومتِ الہیہ یا اسلامی نظامِ زندگی کا قیام) اور حیثیتِ رضاۓ الہی اور قلابِ اخروی کا حصول ہو گا۔

تقریب: "الدین" ہے حکومتِ الہیہ اور اسلامی نظامِ زندگی۔ تینوں اس جماعت کی اصطلاح میں ہم سمجھیں۔ قرآن مجید نے اپنے جس مفہوم کو بیان کرنے کے لیے "اقامتِ دین" کے الفاظ استعمال کیے ہیں اسی مفہوم کو یہ جماعت اپنی زبان میں "حکومتِ الہیہ" یا اسلامی نظامِ زندگی کے قیام سے ادا کرتی ہے۔ ان تینوں کا مطلب اس کے نزدیک ایک ہی ہے اور وہ یہ کہ انسانی زندگی کے جس دائرے میں انسان کو اختیار حاصل ہے اس میں وہ برخا و رغبت اسی طرح اللہ کی تقریبی حکومت تسلیم کرے جس طرح دائرہ جبر میں کائنات کا ذرہ ذرہ چاروں ہنچار اس کی تکونی حکومت تسلیم کر رہا ہے۔ اللہ کی اس تقریبی حکومت کے آگے سر جھکانے سے جو طریقہ زندگی رونما ہوتا ہے وہی "الدین" ہے، وہی "حکومتِ الہیہ" ہے اور وہی "اسلامی نظامِ زندگی" ہے۔

اقامتِ دین سے مقصود دین کے کسی خاص حصے کی اقامت نہیں بلکہ پورے دین کی اقامت ہے خواہ اس کا تعلق انفرادی زندگی سے ہو یا جماعتی زندگی سے، نماز، روزہ اور حجج زکوٰۃ سے ہو یا حیثیت و معاشرت اور تمدن و سیاست سے۔ اسلام کا کوئی حصہ بھی غیر ضروری نہیں ہے۔ پورے کا پورا اسلام ضروری ہے۔ ایک مومن کا کام یہ ہے کہ اس پورے اسلام کو کسی تجزیہ و تفہیم کے بغیر قائم کرنے کی جدوجہد کرے۔ اس کے جس حصے کا تعلق انفرادی کی لہیٰ ذات سے ہے، ہر مومن کو اسے بطور خود لہیٰ زندگی میں قائم کرنا چاہیے اور جس حصے کا قیام اجتماعی جدوجہد کے بغیر نہیں ہو سکتے، اسی ایمان کو مل کر اس کے لیے جماعتی نظم اور سقی کا اہتمام کرنا چاہیے۔

اگرچہ مومن کا اصل مقصد رضاۓ الہی کا حصول اور آخرت کی قلاب ہے، مگر اس مقدمہ کا حصول اس کے بغیر ممکن نہیں ہے کہ دنیا میں خدا کے دین کو قائم کرنے کی کوشش کی جائے۔ اس لیے مومن کا عملی نصب الحین اقامتِ دین اور حقیقی نصب الحین و رضاۓ الہی ہے جو اقامتِ دین کی سقی کے حاصل ہو گی۔ نتیجے میں

دھن۔۔۔ 5 (طریق کار)

جماعت کا مستقل طریق کا رہی ہو گا کہ:

- 1- وہ کسی امر کا فیصلہ کرنے یا کوئی قدم اٹھانے سے پہلے یہ دیکھے گی کہ خدا اور رسول کی بدایت کیا ہے۔ دوسری سادی پا توں کو ہاتھی جیش سے سرف اس حد تک پہنچ نظر کے گی جہاں تک اسلام میں اس کی مچانش ہو گی۔
- 2- اپنے مقدمہ اور نصب الحین کے حصول کے لیے جماعت کبھی ایسے درائیں اور طریقوں کو استعمال نہیں کرے گی جو صداقت اور دیانت کے خلاف ہوں یا جن سے فوادی الارض رونما ہو۔
- 3- جماعت اپنے پہنچ نظر اصلاح اور انقلاب کے لیے جہوری اور آئنی طریقوں سے کام کرے گی۔ یعنی یہ کہ تبلیغ و تبلیغ اور اشاعت الہ کے فریضہ سے ذہنوں اور سیر توں کی اصلاح کی جائے اور راستے عامہ کو ان تغیرات کے لیے ہوا رکیا جائے جو جماعت کے پہنچ نظر ہیں۔
- 4- جماعت اپنے نصب الحین کے حصول کی جدوجہد خنیہ تحریکوں کے طرز پر نہیں کرے گی بلکہ کلم کھلا اور علائیہ کرے گی۔

دفعہ ۶ (شرائط رکنیت)

ہر عاقل و بالغ شخص (خواہ وہ گورت ہو یا مرد اور خواہ وہ کسی ذات، برادری یا نسل سے تعلق رکھتا ہو) اس جماعت کا دکن بن سکتا ہے۔ بشرطیکہ وہ:

- ۱۔ جماعت کے عقیدے کو اس کی تحریک کے ساتھ سمجھ لینے کے بعد شہادت دے کر بھی اس کا عقیدہ ہے۔
- ۲۔ جماعت کے نسب الحسن کو اس کی تحریک کے ساتھ سمجھ لینے کے بعد اقرار کرے کہ بھی اس کا نسب الحسن ہے۔
- ۳۔ اس دستور کا مطالعہ کرنے کے بعد ہد کرے کہ وہ اس کے مطابق جماعت کے نعم کا پابندی کرے گا۔
- ۴۔ فرانشیز ریگی کا پابند ہو اور کہاڑے انتساب کرتا ہو۔
- ۵۔ کوئی ایسا ذریعہ معاشرہ رکھتا ہو جو معصیت فاحش کی تعریف میں آتا ہو مثلاً سود، شراب، زنا، رقص و سرود، شہادت زور، برثوت، خیانت، قمار وغیرہ
- ۶۔ اگر اس کے پیشے میں ایسا مال (یا بائیواد) ہو جو حرام طریقے سے آیا ہو، یا جس میں حق داروں کے حق کردار حقوق شامل ہوں، تو اس سے دست بردار ہو جائے اور اسی حقوق کو ان کے حق پہنچا دے۔
تحریک یہ عمل صرف اس صورت میں کرنا ہو گا جب کہ حق دار بھی معلوم و متعین ہو جس میں ان کا حق حق ہوا ہے۔
بعورت دنگ تباہ اور آئندہ کے لیے طرزِ عمل کی اصلاح کافی ہو گی۔
- ۷۔ کسی لئی جماعت یا ادارے سے تعلق نہ رکھتا ہو جس کے اصول اور مقاصد جماعت اسلامی کے عقیدہ، نسب الحسن اور طریق کا دکن کے خلاف ہوں۔
نہم جماعت اس کے پارے میں ملٹینی ہو جائے کہ وہ جماعت کی رکنیت کا دکن ہے۔

دفعہ۔۔۔ 7 (طریق داخلی)

ذکورہ بالا شرائط کے مطابق جماعت میں داخلہ کا طریقہ یہ ہو گا کہ امیدوار رکنیت، امیر جماعت یا اس کے مقرر کیے ہوئے کسی مجاز شخص کے سامنے اس بات کا اقرار کرے کہ:

اول، اس نے جماعت کے حقیقے کو اس کی تحریک کے ساتھ اچھی طرح سمجھ لیا ہے اور سمجھنے کے بعد ادب پورے احساس ذمہ داری کے ساتھ شہادت دیتا ہے کہ اللہ وحدہ لا شریک کے سو اکوئی اللہ نہیں ہے اور محمد ﷺ کے رسول ہیں۔

ثانیاً، اس نے جماعت کے نسب الحسن کو اس کی تحریک کے ساتھ اچھی طرح سمجھ لیا ہے اور وہ اسے سمجھنے کے بعد اقرار کرتا ہے کہ دنیا میں اللہ کے دین کو قائم کرنا، اس کی زندگی کا نسب الحسن ہے اور اسی نسب الحسن کے حصول کی سی کے لیے وہ خالص اسلام جماعت اسلامی میں داخل ہو رہا ہے۔ اور اس کام میں اس کے پیش نظر اللہ تعالیٰ کی رضا اور قلاب اخروی کے سوا اور کوئی مقصد نہیں ہے۔

ثالیاً، اس نے دستور جماعت کو بھی اچھی طرح سمجھ لیا ہے اور وہ مجدد کرتا ہے کہ اس دستور کے مطابق وہ نظام جماعت کا پوری طرح پابند رہے گا۔

دفعہ۔۔۔ 8 (فرائض رکنیت)

داخلہ جماعت کے بعد جو تحریرات ہر کن کو تحریک لئی زندگی میں کرنے ہوں گے وہ یہ ہیں:

۱۔ دین کا کم از کم اتنا علم حاصل کر لیتا کہ اسلام اور جاہلیت (غیر اسلام) کا فرق معلوم ہو اور حدود اللہ سے واقفیت ہو جائے۔

۲۔ تمام معاملات میں اپنے نقطہ نظر، خیال اور عمل کو کتب و سنت کی تعلیمات کے مطابق ڈھالنا، لئی زندگی کے مقصود، لئی پسند اور قدر کے معیار اور لئی وقار اپنے کے محور کو تبدیل کر کے رضائے الہی کے موافق بنتا اور لئی خود سری اور لئی پرستی کے بت کو توڑ کر تائیں امر رب بن جانا۔

۳۔ ان تمام رسوم جاہلیت سے لئی زندگی کو پاک کرنا جو کتاب اللہ اور سنت رسول اللہ کے خلاف ہوں اور اپنے تاہر و باطن کو احکام شریعت کے مطابق بنا نے کی زیادت سے زیادہ کو خش کرنا۔

۴۔ ان تھیبات اور دلچسپیوں سے اپنے تکب کو، اور ان مشاہق اور جھگڑوں اور بخنوں سے لئی زندگی کو پاک کرنا جن کی بنا نصانیت یا دنیا پرستی پر ہو اور جن کی کوئی اور اہمیت دین میں نہ ہو۔

۵۔ فراق و فوار اور خدا سے غافل لوگوں سے موالات اور مودت کے تعلقات منقطع کرنا اور صالحین سے ربط قائم کرنا۔

۶۔ اپنے معاملات کو راستی، مدل، خدا تری اور بے لائگ حق پر قائم کرنا۔

لئی دوڑ ہوپ اور سقی و جہد کو اقامت دین کے نسب الحسن پر مرکوز کر دینا اور لئی زندگی کی حقیقی ضرورتوں کے سوا ان تمام مسروقاتوں سے دست کش ہو جانا جو اس نسب الحسن کی طرف نہ لے جاتی ہوں۔

تقریب: ضروری نہیں کہ یہ تغیرات تمام اشخاص میں کمال درجے پر ہوں، مگر ہر شخص کو اس باب میں لہنی محیل کی کوشش کرنی ہو گی کیونکہ انہی تغیرات کے اعتبار سے ناقص یا کامل ہونے پر "جماعت اسلامی" میں ہر آدمی کے مرتبے کا تباہ ہو گا۔

دفعہ ۔۔۔ 9

ہر کوئی جماعت کے لیے لازم ہو گا کہ اپنے ملتی تعداد میں اور جہاں تک وہ بھتی کے بندگان خدا کے سامنے باحوم جماعت کے تقدیمے اور نسب الحسن (جس کی تقریب دفعہ ۹،۱۰ میں کی گئی ہے) کو پیش کرے، جو لوگ اس تقدیمے اور نسب الحسن کو قبول کر لیں انہیں اقامت دین کے لیے مختص چدوجہد کرنے پر آمادہ کرے اور جو لوگ جدوجہد کرنے کے لیے تیار ہوں، انہیں جماعت اسلامی کے نظام میں شامل ہونے کی دعوت دے۔ تقریب: اگر کوئی شخص جماعت اسلامی کے نسب الحسن، طریقہ کار، پروگرام اور نظام جماعت سے اشائق کا انتہا کرنے کے باوجود کسی وجہ سے رکنیت کی ذمہ داریاں اٹھانے کے لیے تیار ہے ہو تو اس کو جماعت کے ملتہ متفقین میں شامل ہونے کی ترفیب دی جائے تاکہ جس حد تک بھی اس کے لیے ممکن ہو جماعت کے ساتھ تعاون کرے۔ وہ اقامت دین کی سیگی میں

دفعہ ۔۔۔ 10 (رکن خواتین کے فرائض)

جو عورتیں جماعت اسلامی میں داخل ہوں، ان پر اپنے دائرہ مل میں دفعہ ۹،۸ میں دفعہ ۹،۸ کے تمام اجزاء کا اطلاق ہو گا، نیز رکن جماعت ہونے کی حیثیت سے ایک عورت کے فرائض حسب ذیل ہوں گے۔

- 1۔ اپنے خاندان اور اپنے ملتے تعارف میں جماعت کے تقدیمہ و نسب الحسن کی دعوت پہنچائے۔
- 2۔ اپنے شوہر، والدین، بھائی، بیویوں اور خاندان کے دوسرے افراد کو بھی اس کی تعلیم کرے۔
- 3۔ اپنے بچوں کے دلوں میں نور ایمان پیدا کرنے کی کوشش کرے۔

اگر اس کا شوہر یا بیٹی یا بیوپ اور بھائی جماعت میں داخل ہوں تو لہنی صابر لہن رفاقت سے ان کی مہم افزائی کرے اور جماعت کے نسب الحسن کی خدمت میں حتی الامکان ان کا ہاتھ بٹائے اور نزولی معاہب کی صورت میں صبر و ثبات سے کام لے۔

بڑا ہوں، حرام کملاتے ہوں یا معاہدی کا رکاب کرتے ہوں تو صبر کے ساتھ ان کی۔ اگر اس کا شوہر یا اس کے سرپرست جاہلیت میں 5 کی حرام کمالی اور ان کی مخلاتوں سے محفوظ رہنے کی کوشش کرے اور ان کے ایسے احکام ہلنے سے انکار اصلاح کے لیے ساغر رہے، ان کر دے جو مصیبت خدا اور رسول کے مترادف ہوں۔

دفعہ۔۔۔ 11 (نظام جماعت کی نوچیت اور اس کے چلانے والوں کے اوصاف)

حصہ دوہج

نظام جماعت کی نوچیت اور اس کے چلانے والوں کے اوصاف
جماعتِ اسلامی پاکستان کا نظام شورائی ہو گا اور تعلیمی لحاظ سے مرکزی اور مختلف علاقوائی نظاموں پر مشتمل ہو گا۔
تشریف: نظام کے شورائی ہونے کا مطلب یہ ہے اس جماعت میں امیر اور الیٹ شورائی کا عزل و نصب ارکانِ جماعت کی رائے سے ہو گا اور جماعت کے سامنے کام اسلامی احکام کے مطابق مشورے سے چلانے جائیں گے۔

دفعہ۔۔۔ 12 (جماعت فرقہ مراتب کا معیار)

اس جماعت میں آدمی کے درجہ و مرتبہ کا تین اس کے حسب و ترتیب اور علمی اسناد اور مادی حالات کے لحاظ سے ہو گا بلکہ اس تعلق کے لحاظ سے ہو گا جو وہ اللہ اور اس کے رسول اور اس کے دین کے ساتھ رکھتا ہو اور جماعت کو اس کے اس تعلق کا ثبوت اس کی ان شخصی، جسمانی اور مادی قربانیوں سے ملے گا جو وہ اللہ کے دین کی راہ میں کرے گا۔

تشریف: اس دفعہ کا مقصد ارکانِ جماعت کے سامنے وہ اصولی معیید چیزیں کرنا ہے جس کے لحاظ سے وہ اپنی جماعت کے کارکنوں کو جانچیں اور پرکشیں اور یہ رائے قائم کریں کہ اس جماعت کے نظام میں کس قسم کے لوگوں کو آگے اور کس قسم کے لوگوں کو پیچے رہنا چاہیے۔ جہاں تک رکنیت کے حقوق کا تعلق ہے، اس میں تمام ارکانِ جماعت مساوی ہیں، لیکن جہاں تک اخلاقی فضل و شرف کا اور نظام جماعت میں رہنمائی و پیش روی اور ذمہ دارانہ مناصب کے استحقاق کا تعلق ہے، اس کا فیصلہ کسی کی خاندانی و جاہت، یا شہر و ناموری، یا دولت و ثرث، یا علمی اسناد کی بنیاد پر ہو گا بلکہ اس بنیاد پر ہو گا کہ کون اللہ اور رسول کے احکام کا زیادہ پابند ہے، دین کے فہم اور اس کے مطابق محل میں زیادہ بڑھا ہوئے، تحریک اسلامی کے کام کو چلانے کی زیادہ الیت رکھتا ہے اور اس جماعت کے نسب الحین کی خاطر وقت، محنت، ذہانت اور مال کی بے دریخ قربانی کرنے والا ہے۔

نہ کے مطابق لبیک محکیل کی کوئی خاص کوشش کریں، 8 کے مطابق رکنیت کی لازمی شرطیں پوری کر دیں، مگر نہ تو دفعہ 6 جو لوگ دفعہ جماعت کے کاموں میں کسی خاص سرگرمی کا انتہا کریں اور نہ اپنی حیثیت کے مطابق بمال، وقت اور قوت اس نسب الحین کی راہ میں صرف کریں جس کے لیے یہ جماعت جدوجہد کر رہی ہے، وہ رکن جماعت تو رہ سکتے ہیں مگر اس کے الی نہیں ہو سکتے کہ اس جماعت کے نظام میں ان ایسے کسی شخص کو اگر اس کی دوسری حیثیات کا لحاظ کر کے یہ مرتبہ دیا کوچیں روی کا مقام دیا جائے یا ذمہ داری کے مناصب سونپے جائیں۔ جائے گا تو وہ اس دستور کی خلاف ورزی سمجھا جائے گا۔

دفعہ۔۔۔ 13 (امراء جماعت کے اوصاف)

امیر (خواہ وہ مرکزی ہو یا ماحصلت) کے انتخاب و تقرر میں حسب ذیل اوصاف کو مرکز رکھا جائے۔

1۔ یہ کہ وہ ملارت کا خود امیدوار ہو اور وہ اس سے کوئی لیکی بات غیر میں آئی ہو جو یہ پیدا ہتی ہو کہ وہ ملارت کا خود خواہ مند یا اس کے لیے کوشش ہے۔

2۔ یہ کہ ارکان جماعت اس کے تقویٰ، علم کتاب و متن، لاتت و دیانت، دینی بصیرت، تحریک اسلامی کے فہم، اصحابِ رائے، تدریس، قویٰ فیصلہ، بلوغ خدایمیں ثبات و استقامت اور نظم جماعت کو چلانے کی الیت پر اختیار رکھتے ہوں۔

3۔ یہ کہ صوبہ و حلقہ کی ملارت کی صورت میں کم از کم دو سال سے اور علاقائی یا ضلعی ملارت کی صورت میں کم از کم ایک سال سے جماعت کا رکن ہو، الیہ کہ امیر جماعت اس کو اس شرط سے مستثنی کرنے کی ضرورت سمجھے۔

دفعہ۔۔۔ 14 مجلس شوریٰ کے ارکان کے اوصاف

مجلس شوریٰ (خواہ وہ مرکزی ہو یا ماحصلت) کی رکنیت کے لیے کسی شخص کے انتخاب میں حسب ذیل اوصاف کو مرکز رکھا جائے گا۔

1۔ یہ کہ وہ مجلس کی رکنیت کا خود امیدوار ہو اور وہ اس سے کوئی لیکی بات غیر میں آئی ہو جو یہ پیدا ہتی ہو کہ وہ رکنیت کا خواہ مند یا اس کے لیے کوشش ہے۔

2۔ یہ کہ وہ علم و تقویٰ، لاتت و دیانت، فہم و بصیرت، خدا کی راہ میں ثبات و استقامت اور دعوت کے سلطے میں خدمات کے لحاظ سے قابلِ اختیار اور عام ارکان سے مستاذ ہو۔

دفعہ—15 مرکزی نظام کے اجزاء ترکیبی

(حصہ سوم)

مرکزی نظام۔

اتحادی ارکان، امیر جماعت، مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ
مجلس عاملہ، قیم جماعت، ناظمین مرکزی شعبہ جات
جماعت اسلامی پاکستان کا مرکزی نظام حسب ذیل اجزاء مشتمل ہو گے:

1- جماعت اسلامی پاکستان کے ارکان کا اجتماع عام۔ (دفعہ 16)

2- امیر جماعت (دفعہ 17) اور اس کے مقرر کردہ نائب امر (اگر کوئی ہوں) (دفعہ 19) (ج)

3- مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ (دفعہ 12)

4- مرکزی مجلس عاملہ (دفعہ 19) (4) (ج)

5- قیم جماعت (دفعہ 35)

6- مرکزی شعبوں کے ناظمین (دفعہ 19) (4) (ج) (37)

دفعہ—16 ارکان کا اجتماع عام

1- ارکان کا اجتماع عام

1- جماعت اسلامی پاکستان کے تمام امور میں آخری اختیارات اس کے ارکان کے اتحادی عام کو حاصل ہوں گے۔
طریقہ العقاد اور حیثیت:

2- جماعت کے ارکان کا اتحادی عام جماعت کی ضروریات کے پیش نظر مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ یا امیر جماعت جب ضرورت سمجھیں طلب کر سکتے ہیں اور اگر جماعت کے دو یا اکر صوبوں یا تعلیمی ملتوں میں سے پانچ یا زائد ملتوں کی جماعتیں باقاعدہ قرار داد پاس کر کے اس کا مطالبہ کریں، تو ضروری ہو گا کہ ایک موقول مدت کے اندر اتحادی منعقد کیا جائے۔

3- اتحادی عام کی تعریف میں ایسا اتحاد بھی آئٹکا ہے جس میں تمام ارکان کو شریک ہونے کی دعوت نہ دی جائے بلکہ مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کی تجویز کے مطابق ہر تعلیمی صوبے، ملکے یا انتظام سے ارکان جماعت کے منتخب کردہ مندوں میں طلب کیے جائیں۔

2- امیر جماعت اسلامی پاکستان

- 1- جماعت اسلامی پاکستان کا ایک امیر ہو گا، جس کی حیثیت "امیر المؤمنین" (پاصلارج معرف) کی نہ ہو گی بلکہ صرف اس جماعت کے امیر کی ہو گی۔ جماعت کے ارکان اس کی اطاعت فی المعرف کے پایند ہوں گے۔
- 2- جماعت کی دعوت لپٹنے مقیدہ اور نسب الحسن کی طرف ہو گی، نہ کہ اپنے امیر کی شخصیت اور مادرت کی طرف۔
- 3- امیر جماعت کا تقرر ارکان جماعت پر اوسط انتخاب کے ذریعے سے کریں گے اور اس انتخاب میں آراء کی مجرد اکثریت فیصلہ کن ہو گی۔
- 3- الف۔ امیر جماعت کی مدت مادرت مختتم ہونے سے کم از کم تین میسی پہلے مجلس شوریٰ انتخاب المادرت کا انتظام کرنے کے لئے ایک ناٹم انتخاب مقرر کرے گی اور اس انتخاب کے لیے ضروری قواعد بنائے گی۔
- 4- امیر جماعت کا انتخاب یہک وقت پانچ سال کے لیے ہو گا اور ارکان جماعت چالیں تو ایک ہی شخص کو بار بار منتخب کر سکیں گے۔
- 5- ضروری ہو گا کہ ایک امیر کی مدت مختتم ہونے سے پہلے مادرت کا نیا انتخاب ہو جائے۔ لیکن اگر کسی وجہ سے ایمانہ ہو سکے تو اسے امیر کے منصب ہو کر اس ذمہ داری کو سنبھالنے تک پہلا امیر اس منصب پر فائز رہے گا۔ مگر یہ مدت تین ماہ سے زیادہ دراز نہ ہو سکے گی۔
- 6- اگر کسی وقت مادرت کا منصب امیر کے استھنی، محرولی یا کسی اور وجہ سے خالی ہو جائے اور ارکان جماعت سے نئے امیر کا فوری انتخاب کروانا ممکن نہ ہو تو جماعت کی مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ عارضی طور پر ایک امیر کا انتخاب کرے گی۔ اس انتخاب میں ارکان شوریٰ کی مجرد اکثریت فیصلہ کن ہو گی۔ یہ عارضی انتظام زیادہ چھ میسی کے لیے ہو گا اور اس مدت کے گزرنے سے پہلے ضروری ہو گا کہ ارکان جماعت سے نئے امیر کا انتخاب کرالیا جائے۔
- اگر کسی وقت امیر جماعت کے لیے عارضی طور پر اپنے فرائض سے سکدوش ہو ناگزیر ہو جائے تو وہ مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کے ارکان میں سے کسی کو بینا قائم مقام مقرر کر دے گا۔ مگر اس تقرر کی میعاد ایک سال سے زائد نہ ہو گی اور چہ ماہ سے زائد ہونے کی صورت میں اس کے لیے مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کی تویش ضروری ہو گی۔

(دفعہ۔۔۔ 18 (حلف

مادرت کی ذمہ داری سنبھالنے سے پہلے امیر جماعت کے لیے (خواہ وہ عارضی ہو یا مستقل یا قائم مقام) وہ حلف مادرت اٹھانا لازم ہو گا جو اس دستور کے ضمیمہ نمبر ایں درج کیا گیا ہے۔ یہ حلف حسب موقع امیر جماعت، ارکان کے اجتماعی عالم، مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کے اجلاس یا کسی مقامی اجتماعی ارکان کے ساتھ اٹھایا جاسکے گا۔

وفعہ۔۔۔ 19 (امیر جماعت کے فرائض اور اختیارات)

- 1- تلمیم جماعت اور تحریک کو چلانے کی آخری ذمہ داری امیر جماعت پر ہوگی اور وہ مجلس شوریٰ اور ارکان جماعت کے سامنے جواب دہوگا۔
- 2- جماعت کی پالیسی کی تکمیل اور اہم مسائل کے نیچے امیر جماعت مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کے مشورے سے کرے گا۔
- 3- امیر جماعت کا فرض ہو گا کہ:
 - (الف) خدا اور رسول ﷺ کی اطاعت اور وقار ادیٰ کو ہر چنینہ مقدم رکھے۔
 - (ب) جماعت کے مقصد اور نسب الحسین کی دل و جان سے خدمت کو اپناؤں فرض کرے۔
 - (ج) لہنی ذات اور ذاتی قائدوں پر جماعت کے مخاوف اور اس کے کام کی ذمہ داریوں کو ترجیح دے۔
 - (د) ارکان جماعت کے درمیان بھیہہ مدل اور دیانت سے حکم کرے گا۔
 - (e) جو ناتینیں جماعت کی طرف سے اس کے پردوکی جائیں ان کی پوری حفاظت کرے۔
 - (و) اس وسٹور کا خود پابند رہے اور اس کے مطابق تلمیم جماعت کو قائم کرنے کی پوری کوشش کرے۔
- 4- امیر جماعت کو حسب ذیل اختیارات حاصل ہوں گے:
 - (الف) مجلس شوریٰ کے ارکان میں سے لہنی مجلس عاملہ نامزد کرنا۔
 - (ب) اہم معاملات میں اگر کوئی فوری قدم اٹھانے کی ضرورت ہو اور مجلس عاملہ یا مجلس شوریٰ کا اجلاس منعقد کرنے کا امکان نہ ہو تو مجلس عاملہ یا مجلس شوریٰ کے جن ارکان سے بھی بروقت مشورہ لیا جا سکتا ہو، ان کے مشورے سے قدم اٹھانے کا اختیار۔
 - (ج) مجلس شوریٰ کے ارکان میں سے یا مجلس کے مشورے سے تابع امراء مقرر کرنے کا اختیار۔
 - (د) جماعت کے جملہ انتظامی معاملات کی انجام دہی، نیز جماعت کے مخاوف میں مجلس شوریٰ کی عائد کر دے پابندیوں (اگر کوئی ہوں) کے تحت جماعت کی ملکییں تصرف کرنا۔
 - (و) جماعت میں ارکان کا داغلہ (دفعہ 7) اور اسے ان کی علیحدگی (دفعہ 90)
 - (و) کسی ماتحت جماعت کو مطلع کرنا یا آئوز دینا۔ (دفعہ 91)
 - (ز) ماتحت امراء کا تقرر اور ان کی معزولی (دفعہ 84,68,54,40)
 - (ح) قیم جماعت اور مرکزی شبیوں کے عملہ کا تقرر اور برخانگی (دفعہ 35,36,37)
 - (ط) جماعت کے بیت المال سے جماعت کے کاموں پر خرچ کرنا (دفعہ 96)
 - (ی) مجلس شوریٰ کے ارکان کے علاوہ کسی دوسرے شخص یا افراد کو مجلس کے اجلاس میں شریک کرنا (دفعہ 27)
 - (ل) مجلس شوریٰ کے اجلاس میں غیر ارکان شوریٰ کی سامنے یا کسی دوسری جمیعت سے شرکت پر پابندی عائد کرنا۔ (دفعہ 26,27)
 - (م) ارکان جماعت کا اجتماعی عام طلب کرنا (دفعہ 16)
 - جماعتی فیصلوں کی تغییل لہنی صواب دینے کے مطابق کرنا۔

(س) اپنے اختیارات کا کوئی حصہ کسی کو تفویض کرنے۔

دفعہ 20۔۔۔ (ترکیب)

3۔ مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ

امیر جماعت کی اہداف اور مشورے کے لیے ایک مجلس شوریٰ ہو گی جس کی تفکیل دفعہ 12 کے مطابق کی جائے گی اور اس مجلس کا نام مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ یا "مجلس شوریٰ جماعت اسلام پاکستان" ہو گا۔

دفعہ 20 الف (ناظم انتخاب کا تقریب)

مجلس شوریٰ کی میعاد نظم ہونے سے کم از کم تین میہنے پہلے امیر جماعت ایک ناظم انتخاب مقرر کرے گا اور اسے نئی مجلس کا انتخاب کرنے کے لیے ضروری اختیارات تفویض کرے گا۔

دفعہ 12 (تفکیل)

(1) (مجلس شوریٰ کے منتخب ارکان کی تعداد کم از کم پہلاس ہو گی جن کا انتخاب ارکان جماعت لپیٹے برپا راست دلوں سے کریں گے۔ ہر انتخاب سے پہلے امیر جماعت یا اس کا مقرر کردہ ناظم اس تعداد کو تفہیمی صوبوں کے ارکان کے نائب کے لحاظ سے تیم کر کے مناسب حصہ ہائے انتخاب مقرر کر دے گا مگر کوئی صوبہ کم از کم ایک نشست سے محروم نہیں رہے گا۔

(2) امیر جماعت اس مجلس کا صدر ہو گا اور تیم آراء کے موقع پر آراء کے مساوی ہونے کی صورت میں اسے ترجیحی رائے Casting دینے کا حق ہو گا۔

2 الف۔ قیم جماعت برپنائے چہدہ مجلس کا رکن اور صندوق ہو گا۔

2 ب۔ نائب امراء (اگر کوئی ہوں) برپنائے چہدہ مجلس کے رکن ہوں گے۔

2 ج۔ امراء صوبہ برپنائے چہدہ مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کے رکن ہوں گے۔

3۔ اگر مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کی کوئی نشست خالی ہو جائے تو اس کو تین ماہ کے اندر پور کرنا ضروری ہو گا۔

4۔ مرکزی شعبوں کے ناظمین مجلس شوریٰ کے اجلاسوں میں شریک ہو سکتے گے اور بحث میں حصہ لینے کے چاہوں کے گرد وہ دینے کے چاہنہ ہوں گے الایہ کہ مجلس شوریٰ کے منتخب شدہ رکن ہوں۔

5۔ مرکزی عملے کے ارکان مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کے انتخاب کے لیے اس انتخابی حلقت کے وظروں میں شامل ہوں گے جس کے حدود میں وہ رہتے ہوں
گر مرکزی شعبوں کے ناظمین صرف ووٹ دینے کے مجاز ہوں گے، ان کو مجلس شوریٰ کا درکن منتخب نہ کیا جاسکے گا۔

دفعہ 22 (افتتاحی خطاب)

مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کے ارکان کا انتخاب کامل ہو جانے کے بعد دو ماہ کے اندر امیر جماعت اس مجلس کا افتتاحی اجلاس طلب کرے گا جس میں تمام ارکان مجلس فردا فردا امیر جماعت کے روپ و رکنیت شوریٰ کا حلف اٹھائیں گے جو اس دستور کے ضمیر ۲ میں درج ہے۔ اس کے بعد امیر جماعت انہیں ان کے فرائض اور ذمہ داریوں سے نیز جماعت کے موجوداً وقت حالات سے آگاہ کرے گا۔

دفعہ 23 (میعاد)

1۔ مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کے ارکان کا انتخاب تین سال کے لیے ہو گا، لیکن اگر اس میعاد کے دوران میں جماعت کے حالات میں کسی تغیری کی اور محتول وچہ سے امیر جماعت مجلس شوریٰ کے نئے انتخاب کی ضرورت محسوس کرے تو وہ مجلس شوریٰ کے مشورے سے اس کا فیصلہ کر سکتا ہے۔
2۔ اگر کبھی غیر معمولی حالات کی وجہ سے نئی مجلس شوریٰ کا بروقت انتخاب مشکل ہو جائے تو امیر جماعت کو اقتیاد ہو گا کہ جماعت کے تنقی
صوبوں، علقوں اور اصلاح کے امر (جو بھی موجود ہوں) کے مشورے سے موجوداً وقت مجلس شوریٰ کی میعاد میں ایک سال تک اضافہ کر دے۔

دفعہ 24 (معمولی اجلاس)

1۔ مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کا سال میں معمولاً ایک اجلاس ہو گا جو عام حالات میں ملی سال کی آخری سہ ماہی میں ہو گا۔ اس میں جماعت کے کام کی رپورٹ، میزانیہ اور مرکزی بیت المال کے ایک سال قابل کے حسابات کی اگرث رپورٹ پیش ہو گی۔ جماعت کے سال بھر کے کام کا جائزہ لیا جائے گا اور آئندہ سال کے لیے پروگرام مرتب کیا جائے گا۔ مجلس شوریٰ کے اجلاس کو مجلس کا معمولی اجلاس کہا جائے گا۔
مرکزی مجلس کے دو معمولی اجلاسوں میں 2۔ پندرہ ماہ سے زیادہ کا وقفہ نہیں ہو گا۔

دفعہ—25 (غیر معمولی اجلاس)

- 1- مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کا غیر معمولی اجلاس امیر جماعت ہر وقت طلب کر سکے گا۔
- 2- مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کا غیر معمولی اجلاس حسب ذیل صورتوں میں لازماً طلب کیا جائے گا۔
(الف) جبکہ اس مجلس کے کم از کم ایک چوتھائی ارکان اس کے اتفاقاً امیر جماعت سے تحریری مطالہ کریں۔
(ب) جبکہ امیر جماعت کا منصب خالی ہو جائے اور کوئی نائب، قائم مقام یا مدارضی امیر موجود نہ ہو..... اس صورت میں جماعت کا مرکزی شعبہ تنظیم اس کو طلب کرنے کا بیاز ہو گا۔

دفعہ—26 (اجلاس میں عام ارکان جماعت کی بطور سامعین شرکت)

مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کے اجلاسوں میں عام ارکان جماعت سامنے حیثیت سے ماضر ہو سکتیں گے البتہ کسی خاص اجلاس یا اس کے کسی حصہ کے لیے امیر جماعت معاون جماعت کی خاطر اس اجازت کو منسوب نہ کر سکے گا۔

دفعہ—27 (اجلاس میں غیر ارکان شوریٰ کی شرکت)

اگر امیر جماعت کسی خاص مسئلے کے متعلق اس کی ضرورت محسوس کرے کہ اس میں مجلس شوریٰ کے ارکان کے علاوہ کسی دوسرے شخص یا اشخاص کو بھی شریک مشورہ کیا جائے تو وہ اس شخص یا اشخاص کو بھی شریک اجلاس کر سکتا ہے لیکن مسئلے کا فیصلہ صرف ارکان مجلس عی کی رائے سے ہو گا۔

دفعہ—28 (حاضری کا نصاب)

مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کا نصاب اس کے ارکان کی ایک تھائی تعداد پر مشتمل ہو گا..... لیکن اگر کوئی اجلاس نصاب پورانہ ہونے کی وجہ سے ممکن کرنا پڑے تو پھر اس کے بعد دوسرے اجلاس کے لیے کوئی نصاب نہ ہو گا۔

دفعہ 29 (مجلس شوریٰ میں فیصلے کا طریقہ)

1- مجلس شوریٰ کی کارروائیوں میں بالعموم اتفاق رائے سے فیصلے کرنے کی کوشش کی جائے گی۔ لیکن اختلاف کی صورت میں مجلس شوریٰ کے ارکان کی اکثریت کا فیصلہ مجلس شوریٰ کا فیصلہ متصور ہو گا۔

2- اگر امیر جماعت کو مجلس شوریٰ کی اکثریت کے فیصلے سے اختلاف ہو تو وہ اسے مجلس شوریٰ کے اجلاس با بعد تک کے لیے ملتوی کر سکے گا۔ لیکن اجلاس با بعد میں اکثریت سے جو فیصلہ ہو وہ آخری ہو گا۔

دفعہ 30 (مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کے فرائض و اختیارات)

1- مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کا بحثیت بھوگی اور اس کے ارکان کا فردا فردا فرض ہو گا کہ:

(الف) وہ خدا اور رسول اللہ ﷺ کی اطاعت و وفاداری کو ہر چیز پر مقدمہ رکھیں گے۔

(ب) وہ امیر جماعت اور خود اپنے آپ پر یہ شہنشاہی رکھیں گے کہ وہ جماعت کے عقیدہ پر قائم، اس کے نسب الحسن سے وابستہ اور صحیح اسلامی طریقہ کار کے پابند ہیں۔

(ج) مجلس کے اجلاسوں میں پابندی کے ساتھ شریک ہوں۔

(د) ہر محاں میں اپنے علم اور ایمان و ضمیر کے مطابق اپنی حقیقی رائے کا صاف صاف اظہار کریں۔

(ه) جماعت کے اندر مستقل پارٹیاں اور بلاک بنانے سے مختر رہیں اور اگر مجلس شوریٰ یا جماعت میں کوئی شخص اس کی کوشش کرتا نظر آئے تو اس کی بہت افواہی کرنے یا اس سے مخالف برتنے کے بجائے اس کی اصلاح کرنے کی کوشش کریں۔

(و) جماعت اور اس کے کام میں جہاں کوئی خربی محسوس ہو، اسے دور کرنے کی کوشش کریں۔

2- مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کے اختیارات یہ ہوں گے

(الف) جماعت کی پالیسی کی تکمیل۔

(ب) امیر جماعت کی معزولی پر طیکہ مجلس کے کل منتخب ارکان کی دو تھائی اکثریت سے ان کے خلاف عدم اعتماد کی قرارداد منظور ہو جائے۔

(ج) دستور جماعت کی تحریر و ترمیم اور جماعت کے نظام میں رد و بدل کا اختیار۔

(د) قیم جماعت کے تقرر اور اس کے خلاف عدم اعتماد کی قرارداد کا اختیار۔ (دفعہ 35)

(ه) مرکزی بیت المال کی جانچ پر ہتھ کے لیے آئٹر کا تقرر اور اس کی روپورث پر بحث اور ضروری کارروائی۔ (دفعہ 96)

(و) جماعت کا مرکزی بجٹ پاس کرنا۔ (دفعہ 24)

(ز) امیر جماعت اور اس کے ماتحت مرکزی شعبوں کے ناظمین کے آزاد معاہبے اور ان کے کاموں پر تحریم اور بحث کا اختیار۔

(ج) مرکزی اور صوبائی پارلیمنٹی بورڈ اور ان کے حدود کا مقرر کرنا۔

(ط) جماعت کے حق کا مول اور شعبوں کے سلطے میں حسب ضرورت بورڈ اور کمیٹیاں اور کمیشن اور ان کے حدود کا مقرر کرنا۔

(ٹ) جماعت کے ارکان کا اجتماعی عام طلب کرنا اور اگر ضرورت ہو تو اجتماعی عام میں شرکت کے لیے عام ارکان کے محلے ارکان کے مندوں میں طلب کرنا (دفہ 16)

(ک) جماعت کے نسب الحین، مقاصد اور پروگرام سے متعلق جو مسائل اندر ون یا ہر دن ملک پیدا ہوں، ان کے بارے میں قراردادوں یا دوسرے مناسب طریقوں سے اطمینان خیال اور مناسب اقدامات کرنا۔

(ل) اجتماعی عام اور مجلس شوریٰ کے اجلاس میں کارروائی کے تواہد و ضوابط مرتب اور منظور کرنا۔

(م) جماعت کے نسب الحین کے حصول کے لیے اس کے دستور کے مطابق تمام ضروری اقدامات کرنا۔ لہذا اختیارات یا ان میں سے بعض کو ان قیود کے ساتھ جو وہ عائد کرنا چاہے مجلس عاملہ یا اپنے ارکان پر مشتمل کسی کمیٹی یا بورڈ یا اسی قائم جماعت یا کسی دوسرے شخص یا اشخاص کو تفویض کرنا۔

دفہ 31 (مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کی معزولی)

اگر مجلس شوریٰ کی قرارداد اور عدم اعتماد سے معزول شدہ امیر جماعت نے انتخاب میں دوبارہ امیر جماعت منتخب ہو جائے تو یہ جماعت کی طرف سے مجلس شوریٰ پر عدم اعتماد کے ہم سقی ہو گا اور منتخب امیر کے لامارت کا علاوہ اٹھا کر لامارت کا چارچ لینے کے روز سے مجلس شوریٰ معزول ہو جائے گی۔ منتخب امیر نئی مجلس شوریٰ کے انتخاب کا انتظام کرے گا اور اس دوران میں امراءے صوبی پر مشتمل عادی ضمی مجلس عاملہ کی مدد اور شورے سے کام کرے گا۔

دفہ 32 (صلی جماعتوں کے امراء کی مجلس)

اگر کسی وقت مجلس شوریٰ کے اجلاس کے لیے مقرر نصیب حاضری کی حد تک بھی ارکان شوریٰ اپنے فرائض انجام دینے کے قابل موجود نہ رہیں تو ملک میں تمام صلی جماعتوں کے امراء کی ایک مجلس شوریٰ قائم مقام قرار پائے گی اور اسے یہ اختیار حاصل ہو گا کہ چاہے تو خود مجلس شوریٰ کی حیثیت سے کام کرے یا دستور کے مطابق نئی مجلس شوریٰ کی تکمیل کا انتظام کرے یا دستور کی رو حکومت قرار رکھتے ہوئے سربراہ جماعت کی مدد اور شورے کے لیے کوئی اور مناسب اور ممکن احتیاط صورت جھوپڑ کرے۔

دفعہ۔۔۔ 33 (صلیٰ جماعتوں کے امراء کی مجلس کو طلب کرنے کا ضابطہ)

امیر جماعت کا منصب خالی ہو جانے کی صورت مجلس شوریٰ کا اجلاس، یاد نامہ 32 کی رو سے صلیٰ امراء کی مجلس کا اجلاس بلانے کا اختیار علی الترجیب قائم جماعت، مرکزی شعبہ تنظیم، مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کے ہر موجودہ کن اور ہر صلیٰ جماعت کے امیر کو حاصل ہو گا۔
(وٹ مجلس شوریٰ کے اجلاس منعقدہ اپریل 1987ء میں دفعہ 31 حلقة کی وجہے صوبہ اور دفعات 33,32 میں مقامی کے بجائے صلیٰ کے الفاظ درج کرنے کی ترمیم منظور ہوئی)

دفعہ۔۔۔ 34 (تقریر، حیثیت اور اختیار)

1- جماعت اسلامی پاکستان کی ایک مجلس عاملہ ہو گی جو پندرہ ارکان پر مشتمل ہو گی جن کا انتخاب امیر جماعت مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کے ارکان میں سے کرے گا۔ امیر جماعت اس کا صدر ہو گا، قیم جماعت بریلنے مہده اس کا رکن اور مسند ہو گا اور نائب امراء (اگر کوئی ہوں) بریلنے مہده اس کے رکن ہوں گے۔
2- کوئی شخص جس کی مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کی رکنیت ختم ہو جائے مجلس عاملہ کا رکن نہیں رہ سکے گا۔
3- مجلس عاملہ کا اجلاس امیر جماعت جب اور جتنی مرتبہ چاہے طلب کر سکتا ہے۔
4- مجلس عاملہ کے اجلاس کے لیے حاضری کا نصاب سات ہو گا جن میں کم از کم چار فیر مہدہ دار ارکان شامل ہوں گے۔
5- مجلس شوریٰ کے ہر ہی انتخاب کے بعد مجلس عاملہ از سرفور مرتبہ کی جائے گی۔
6- ایسے تمام حالات میں جب کہ مجلس شوریٰ کا اجلاس نہ ہو رہا ہو، یا طلب کرنا مشکل ہو، مجلس عاملہ، مجلس شوریٰ کے جملہ اختیارات (باستثناء ترمیم دستور و عزل امیر) استعمال کر سکے گی۔
5- قیم جماعت

دفعہ۔۔۔ 34 (مجلس عاملہ۔۔۔ تقریر، حیثیت اور اختیار)

1- جماعت اسلامی پاکستان کی ایک مجلس عاملہ ہو گی جو پندرہ ارکان پر مشتمل ہو گی جن کا انتخاب امیر جماعت مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کے ارکان میں سے کرے گا۔ امیر جماعت اس کا صدر ہو گا، قیم جماعت بریلنے مہده اس کا رکن اور مسند ہو گا اور نائب امراء (اگر کوئی ہوں) بریلنے مہده اس کے رکن ہوں گے۔
2- کوئی شخص جس کی مرکزی مجلس شوریٰ کی رکنیت ختم ہو جائے مجلس عاملہ کا رکن نہیں رہ سکے گا۔

- 3۔ مجلس عاملہ کا اجلاس امیر جماعت جب اور جنہی مرتبا چاہے طلب کر سکتا ہے۔
- 4۔ مجلس عاملہ کے اجلاس کے لیے حاضری کا نصاب سات ہو گا جن میں کم از کم چار غیر مددہ دار ارکان شامل ہوں گے۔
- 5۔ مجلس شوریٰ کے ہر نئے انتخاب کے بعد مجلس عاملہ از سر نو مرتب کی جائے گی۔
- 6۔ ایسے تمام حالات میں جب کہ مجلس شوریٰ کا اجلاس نہ ہو رہا ہو، یا طلب کرنا مشکل ہو، مجلس عاملہ، مجلس شوریٰ کے جملہ اختیارات (باستثناء ترمیم دستور و عزل امیر) استعمال کر سکے گی۔
- 5۔ قیم جماعت

دفعہ 35....[قیم جماعت] تقرر، بر طرفی اور فرائض

5۔ قیم جماعت

- 1۔ جماعت اسلامی پاکستان کا ایک قیم ہو گا ہے امیر جماعت مجلس شوریٰ کے مشورے سے منتخب کرے گا۔
- 2۔ قیم جماعت اسی وقت تک اپنے منصب پر قائم رہ سکے گا جب تک کہ امیر جماعت اس کے کام سے مطمئن رہے، مگر اس کی بر طرفی مجلس شوریٰ یا مجلس عاملہ کے مشورے سے ہو گی۔
- 3۔ مجلس شوریٰ قیم جماعت کو عدم اختیاد کی قرارداد کے ذریعے معزول کر سکے گی، بشرطیکہ امیر جماعت کے اس سے متعلق نہ ہونے کی صورت میں قرارداد کے حق میں ووٹ دینے والے ارکان شوریٰ کی تعداد مجلس کے کل ارکان کی تعداد کے نصف سے کم نہ ہو۔
- 4۔ قیم جماعت جملہ معاملات میں امیر جماعت کا مددگار اور اس کا نمائندہ ہو گا، وہ تمام فرائض انجام دے گا اور اختیارات استعمال کرے گا جو امیر جماعت اس کے پسروں کے اور اپنے کام کے لیے امیر جماعت کے سامنے جواب دہ ہو گا۔
- 5۔ قیم جماعت اپنے مددے کی ذمہ داری سنبھالنے سے پہلے امیر جماعت کے رو برو جف الخالیہ گا جو اس دستور کے فیصلہ نمبر 3 میں درج ہے۔

دفعہ 36۔۔۔ نائب قیم

1۔ امیر جماعت کو اختیار ہو گا کہ وہ ایک یا اس سے زیادہ نائب قیم مقرر کرے اور ان پر قیم کے فرائض اور اختیارات میں سے جس قدر چاہے تقسیم کر دے۔

2۔ قیم جماعت کی غیر موجودگی میں جس نائب قیم کو امیر جماعت قائم مقام قیم مقرر کرے اس کی حیثیت وہی ہو گی جو اس دستور میں قیم جماعت کو دی گئی ہے۔

دفعہ 37.... [مرکزی شعبوں کے ناظمین] تقرر، بر طرفی اور فرائض و اختیارات

1۔ ہر مرکزی شعبہ بالحوم ایک الگ ناظم کے ماتحت ہو گا جس کا تقرر امیر جماعت لہنی صوابدیہ سے کرے گا۔

2۔ ایک ناظم شعبہ اسی وقت تک اپنے منصب پر قائم رہ سکے گا، جب تک امیر جماعت اس کے کام سے مطلع رہے۔

3۔ ناظمین شعبہ جات کے فرائض و اختیارات کا تین امیر جماعت کرے گا۔

دفعہ 38۔۔۔ 1۔ صوبائی نظم، حدود اور نظام

حصہ چہارم

1۔ حدود اور نظام

پاکستان کو جماعت کی تینگی ضروریات کے لیے تینگی صوبوں میں تقسیم کیا جائے گا۔

2۔ صوبے کا نظام امیر صوبہ، صوبہ کی مجلس شوریٰ اور قیم صوبہ پر مشتمل ہو گا۔ الایہ کہ حالات عاد فی طور پر کسی دوسرے نظام کے متناقضی ہوں۔

3۔ صوبے کے ارکان جماعت پر نظم صوبہ کی اطاعت لازم ہو گی۔

دفعہ 39۔۔۔ 2۔۔۔ امیر صوبہ

صوبے کے نظم کا ذمہ دار ایک امیر ہو گا جو امیر صوبہ کہلاتے گا۔ اس کی حیثیت اپنے صوبہ میں امیر جماعت کے نمائندے کی ہو گی اور وہ امیر جماعت کے سامنے جواب دہو گا۔

دفعہ 40۔۔۔ عزل و نصب

- 1۔ امیر صوبہ کا عزل و نصب امیر جماعت کے اختیار میں ہو گا اور وہ اس میں جماعتی مصالح کے ساتھ اور کابین صوبہ کی رائے کو زیادہ سے زیادہ محفوظ رکھے گا۔
- 2۔ امیر صوبہ کا تقرر 3 سال کے لیے ہو گا۔

دفعہ 41۔۔۔ حلق

امیر صوبہ اپنے منصب کی ذمہ داری سنبھالنے سے پہلے امیر جماعت یا اس کے مقرر کردہ شخص یا اشخاص کے روبرو حلقِ مادرتِ اٹھائے گا جو اس دستور کے ضمیر نمبر ایں درج ہے۔

دفعہ 42۔۔۔ امیر صوبہ کے فرائض و اختیارات

امیر صوبہ کے فرائض حسب ذیل ہوں گے:

- 1۔ جماعت کی دعوت، نصب الحین، پالیسیوں اور پروگرام کی اپنے صوبے میں اشاعت اور ان کو عملی جامد ہٹانے کے لیے ضروری اقدامات کرنے۔
- 2۔ صوبے میں مرکزی احکام کی تعمیل اور مرکزی واجبات کی بروقت ادا نگی کا انتظام کرنا۔
- 3۔ صوبے کے حالات اور صوبائی جماعت کے کام سے مرکز کو باخبر رکھنا۔
- 4۔ صوبے میں ماتحت جماعتوں، شعبوں اور اداروں اور ان کے عملہ اور کارکنوں کی گرفتاری اور رہنمائی اور محاسبہ کرنا۔
- 5۔ صوبے میں جماعت کے نصب الحین اور مقاصد سے تعلق رکھنے والے یا ان پر اثر انداز ہونے والے سائل کا بروقت نوٹس لینا اور ان کے

بادے میں ضروری اقدام کرتا۔

6- ہر یہ جو فرائض اور ذمہ داریاں مرکزی نظم کی طرف سے عائد کر دی جائیں۔

دفعہ 43۔۔۔ امیر صوبہ کے اختیارات

امیر صوبہ کے اختیارات حسب ذیل ہوں گے:

1- صوبے کی مجلس شوریٰ کے مشورے سے قیم صوبہ کا تقرر اور اس کی بر طرفی۔

1 الف۔ صوبائی مجلس شوریٰ کے ارکان میں سے لہنی مجلس عاملہ نامزد کرتا۔

2- صوبے کے شعبوں میں عملہ کا تقرر اور بر طرفی۔

3- صوبے کی مجلس شوریٰ اور مجلس عاملہ کے اجلاس طلب کرتا۔

4- صوبے کی مجلس شوریٰ کے طے کردہ بجٹ کے مطابق صوبے کے بیت المال میں تصرف اور اپنے فرائض کی ادائیگی کے سلسلے میں دستور کے مطابق مناسب اور ضروری اقدام کرتا۔

5- اپنے صوبے میں وہ اختیار استھان کرنا جو امیر جماعت کو دفعہ 19(4-ب) میں حاصل ہے۔

6- ہر یہ جو اختیارات امیر جماعت پرداز کرے

دفعہ 44۔۔۔ [صوبائی مجلس شوریٰ] ترکیب اور میعاد

1- صوبے کی مجلس شوریٰ ارکان صوبہ کی برداہ راست منتخب کر دے ہو گی۔

2- صوبائی مجلس شوریٰ کے ارکان کی تعداد امیر صوبہ مقرر کرے گا اور ہر انتخاب سے پہلے امیر صوبہ یا اس کا مقرر کردہ ناظم اس تعداد کو صوبے کے مناسب حلقوہ ہائے انتخاب بنائے کرنا میں ارکان جماعت کی تعداد کے ناساب سے تقسیم کر دے گا۔

3- صوبائی مجلس شوریٰ کے ہر انتخاب سے کم از کم تین میں پہلے امیر صوبہ ایک ناظم انتخاب مقرر کرے گا اور انتخاب کرنے کے لیے اس ضروری اختیارات تقویض کرے گا۔

4- ارکان مجلس کا انتخاب دو سال کے لیے ہو گا۔

5- امیر صوبہ اپنے صوبے کی مجلس کا صدر ہو گا اور قیم صوبہ برپا نئے عہدہ اس کا رکن اور صندھ ہو گا۔

دفعہ 45۔۔ افتتاحی اجلاس

صوبہ کی مجلس شوریٰ کا انتخاب مکمل ہو جانے کے بعد امیر دو مینے کے اندر اندر مجلس شوریٰ کا افتتاحی اجلاس بلائے گا جس میں تمام ارکان شوریٰ فرد افراد امیر صوبہ کے روبرو طبق رکنیت شوریٰ انٹیگیں گے جو اس دستور کے ضمیمہ نمبر ۲ میں درج ہے۔ اس کے بعد امیر صوبہ انہیں ان کے فرائض اور ذمہ داریوں سے اور صوبے میں جماعت کے موجودہ وقت حالات سے آگاہ کرے گا۔

دفعہ 46۔۔ امیر صوبہ اور اس کی مجلس شوریٰ کا باہمی تعلق

- 1- امیر صوبہ روزمرہ کے معاملات کے سواتھ میں اہم معاملات صوبہ کی مجلس شوریٰ کے مشورے سے ملے کرے گا۔
- 2- امیر صوبہ اور اس کی مجلس شوریٰ میں خزانی پیدا ہو جانے کی صورت میں امیر جماعت کی طرف رجوع کیا جائے گا۔

دفعہ 47۔۔ اجلاس

صوبے کی مجلس شوریٰ کا معمولی اجلاس سال میں ایک مرتبہ ہوا کرے گا۔

دفعہ 48۔۔

صوبے کی مجلس شوریٰ کا غیر معمولی اجلاس حسب ذیل صورتوں میں ہر وقت بلایا جائے گا۔

- (الف) امیر صوبہ اس کی ضرورت محسوس کرے۔
- (ب) صوبہ کی مجلس شوریٰ کے کم از کم چوتھائی ارکان اس کا تحریری مطالبہ کریں۔
- (ج) امیر صوبہ کے موجودہ ہونے کی صورت میں صوبہ کا شعبہ تنظیم اس کی ضرورت محسوس کرے۔
- (د) امیر جماعت اسے منعقد کرنے کا حکم دے۔

وفعہ 49۔۔ مجلس شوریٰ کے فرائض اور اختیارات

صوبے کی مجلس شوریٰ کے فرائض وہ ہوں گے جو رکنیت شوریٰ کے حلق (فیصلہ نمبر 2) میں ذکر ہیں اور اس مجلس کے اختیارات حسب ذیل ہیں:

- 1۔ جماعت کے نسب الحین اور مقاصد سے متعلق اور ان پر اثر آنے والے مسائل پر قرارداد یا بیان کی خل میں اکھاڑا نے بشرطیکہ وہ مرکزی نظام کی عام یا خاص پالیسی کے خلاف نہ ہو۔
- 2۔ اپنے صوبے اور ماتحت جماعتوں کے کام کا محاسبہ۔
- 3۔ صوبے کے بجٹ کی منظوری
- 4۔ امیر صوبہ پر اختیار عدم اعتماد کی قرارداد منظور کرنا۔

Annexed- 2 Research Questionnaire

Research Questionnaire

I am a student of PhD Pakistan study at international Islamic university, Islamabad Pakistan. My thesis research topic is "**Intra-party democracy in Pakistan: A comparative study of political parties**". My research aims to evaluate internal democracy in Pakistani political parties. This dissertation is focus on the selection of party presidents in three political parties to apply the four dimensions through party formal laws and four consequences of intra-party democracy for leadership selection through informal laws.

All information which you intend to provide would be used only for educational purpose and would not be revealed to anyone else.

Socio-Economic Background of the Respondent

I	Name of Respondent		Optional					
II	Sex		Male		Female			
III	Age of Responder	18-28		29-38		39-48		49-above
IV	Academic Qualification		Intermediate	Graduate		Master	M. Phil	PhD
V	Professional Field	Politics		Social work		Lawyer		Business
		Student		Any others				
IV	Political affiliation	Pakistan Tehreek-Insaf	Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan	Pakistan People's Party	Non-party Members			

Sr. No	Statements	Political Parties	Respondents Opinion/Views				
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not at All
1	Party members participate in the election of party president	Pakistan People Party					
		Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan					
		Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf					
2	The election of party president held through secret ballot	Pakistan People Party					
		Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan					
		Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf					
3	Everyone can vote in the election of party president	Pakistan People Party					
		Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan					
		Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf					
4	The present party president represents a dynastic family	Pakistan People Party					
		Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan					
		Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf					
5	The present president promotes from grass-root level through intra-party election	Pakistan People Party					
		Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan					
		Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf					
6	The present party president has relation to the previous president or party founder	Pakistan People Party					
		Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan					
		Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf					
7	There is a formal competition for the position of party president	Pakistan People Party					
		Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan					
		Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf					
8	The election contest between two candidates for the party president	Pakistan People Party					
		Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan					
		Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf					
9	The election contest among three or more than three candidates for the party president	Pakistan People Party					
		Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan					
		Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf					
10	The party president is accountable to party organization	Pakistan People Party					
		Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan					
		Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf					
11	The party president is accountable to party members	Pakistan People Party					
		Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan					
		Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf					
12	In your views, the party president removes through a vote of no confidence	Pakistan People Party					
		Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan					
		Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf					

ANNEXED- 3 INTERVIEW GUIDE

Research interview guide

I am a student of PhD Pakistan study at international Islamic University, Islamabad Pakistan. My thesis research topic is “**Intra-party democracy in Pakistan: A comparative study of political parties**”. Intra-party democracy is an extensive area of study; my dissertation only focuses on leadership selection. This study applied the candidate's selection model of Hazan and Rahat (2010). My research aims to evaluate internal democracy in Pakistani political parties. This dissertation is focused on the selection of party presidents in three political parties to apply the four dimensions through formal party laws and four political consequences of intra-party democracy for leadership selection through informal laws.

1. Who participates in the election of party presidents in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, Pakistan People's Party and, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf?
2. What is the procedure of the election of party presidents in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, Pakistan People's Party and, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf?
3. Which procedure is more democratic, i.e. vote through secret ballot or vote through a short mobile message?
4. Which president represent the dynastic family and who represents the grass-roots members of the present presidents in these three political parties (Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, Pakistan People's Party and, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf)?
5. The present presidents of both JIP and PTI have no dynastic background of leadership but from the date of foundation of PTI Imran Khan is still leading to the party, while in JIP the presidents changed through proper channel in the intra-party election, please explain that which president is near to dynastic leadership
6. Which political parties, i.e. (Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, Pakistan People's Party and, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf) followed democratic norms in the competition of party presidents?
7. In which political party the competitions is very effective for the post of party president in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, Pakistan People's Party and, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf?
8. How far the party president accountable to ordinary party members in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, Pakistan People's Party and, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf?
9. How far the party president accountable to party organisation and party law in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, Pakistan People's Party and, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf?

- 10. Where the real internal accountability is exist for the party president, in Jamaat-e-Islami, Pakistan People's Party and, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf?**
- 11. Where is a vote of no confidence in working effectively against party president in Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, Pakistan People Party and Pakistan Tehreek-Insaf.**

