

# NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES



## DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNANCE & PUBLIC POLICY

### THESIS

### “Issues and challenges of Political Intolerance in Political Parties of Pakistan”

Thesis Draft-III  
25-03-2019

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Session: 2015 to 2017

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## **Abstract**

Political parties by means of democratic institutions are liable to perform the functions of participation, representation, integration and capacity building of political workers etc. In recent years, political intolerance gets boom and reducing the spaces for political leadership up to level that they can't move and share their ideas openly.

With the assumption that political leadership are taking part in promoting of intolerance in political culture, this research aimed to explore and analyse the issues and challenges of intolerance to Pakistani political parties. For this purpose, two parties, main ruling and main opposition party were selected i.e. Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf (PTI) and the Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N).

To achieve the aims and the objectives of the study, the researcher adopted the qualitative research method to gather the maximum in depth data through semi structured interviews of eleven party leaders and public representatives (MNA, MPA and Senators) of PTI and PML-N. The view point (data) collected was analysed with a thematic analysis and found many overlapping, important and less important themes.

The key findings of the study are three main themes or issues i.e. lack of institutionalization, lack of democratic culture and lack of political education, with five sub themes and six sub to sub themes having less saliency.

The themes showed that political parties are lacking in introducing and implementing of standardize systems (written laws, rules and regulations) of Accountability, Dispute Resolution, Counter Hate Speech and Participation. Both parties need to define a selection criteria and procedure for nomination of representatives and introduce some decentralization. Parties need to introduce intra party political education/training system for capacity building so that they could promote political tolerance to achieve their role and responsibility effectively.

# Chapter-1

## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Background

Democracy is the essence in political system of Pakistan. The country was created on the basis of the popular will of the people in 1947, while the father of the nation and his confidantes underpinning it umpteenth times that democracy was the bedrock of the system they envisioned for the nascent country. (Mahmood & Yasira, 2014) Deliverable and continuing democratic governments needs general public affiliation and support for basic democratic orientations. (O'Connell, 2011) Political participation and political tolerance is the basic requirement for prevailing democracy, people generally come to an agreement that democracy works superlative when general public vigorously take part in political activities and don't create hurdles for others for doing the same. (Peffley Mark; Robert Rohrschneider, 2001)

A true democracy stems from an environment, which is least hostile to the expression of any dissenting voice or opinion. Hence "Political tolerance is a willingness to permit the expression of ideas and interest one opposes" (Sullivan & James Piereon, 1982) Political parties as institution are responsible to create environment hostile for political participation and inclusiveness. Political parties, the bastion of parliamentary system of governance in Pakistan, hence, were not an exception in fact to hurt the cause of a stable and vibrant democracy in Pakistan. They have unscrupulously employed different strategies, such as long marches, sit-ins and law suits, especially in the apex court, to oust democratically elected governments.

Parties always struggle for power and government, in today's world, the competition generally generate conflicts between political parties for the sake of power. (Strom, 1990) The period of 2008 and 2013 general elections are witnessed the competition and conflicts gets extraordinary levels of intolerance between unlike political groups. In some circumstances, intolerance led towards violence among political parties' members. Violence has been observed in past between members of

PTI and PML-N as well. (Shapiro & Rais, 2012) Associates of dissimilar opposing political parties have attacked verbally and physically each other, they disturbed political rallies, even made no-go zones for opponent parties, posters/banners of opponent parties are vandalised by rival party workers and violent clashes are also common.

Notwithstanding the fact that the constitution of Pakistan guarantees freedom of expression, political parties have systematically stifled the prospects of it within themselves through different hard earned legal instruments, such as Political Parties Act 2002. “Political intolerance manifests itself when political leaders refuse to give space to opposition parties”, and don’t tolerate dissent from their member and rejection of different views. (Tolerance, 2018)

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

Pakistan is yet to develop a strong and stable democratic system. Subjected to culture of discredit politicians is ever since its creation, the law PRODA in 1949 (Pakistan G. o.) not only put politicians under detention on different pretexts, but support to prevail a culture of distrust, discredit in public and intolerance in parties. The situation climaxed in 1971, when different political parties and their workers were largely held responsible for the division of the country by fanning hate-mongering, threat, distrust and intolerance for party they didn’t like. (Iqbal J. , 2008)

The leading political parties have culture of autocracy, extermination of political rivals, disruption of opposition rallies through violence and clan politicking, hate speeches, sit-ins, judicial cases, support to non-democratic actors, (Liaquat, Qaisrani, & Khokhar, 2016) labelling opponents as corrupt, anti-sate or Islam is the common practice they indulge in to win public support, (Verkaaik, 2010) are among the commonly used tactics by political parties to forward their goals and objectives, such actions invariably lead to heightened political intolerance.

Unlike many western countries, political parties in Pakistan are not equipped with a well-defined system of recruitment, self-accountability, internal democracy and political education. (Taj & Rehman, 2013) Incidences of intolerance shows that “Parties are lacking in introducing and effectively implementation of systems and



culture to counter the issues and challenges of political intolerance in political parties”.

The study attempted to analyse and explore the issues and challenges they are confronting with political intolerance and the role of political parties in promotion of political tolerance. This study based on hypothesis testing i.e. political parties can promote political tolerance by effectively counter issues and challenges of political intolerance.

### **1.3 Research Gap**

The researcher has found that no prior study has been made on the researched topic, and no direct future calls have also been made on the topic, therefore the study is first of its kind to take up to find the issues and challenges of political intolerance in political parties of Pakistan. However, some prior researches and concerned seminars provided the basis of the importance of this study to take up.

Political tolerance in political leadership is difficult to find, the result of the intolerance is constantly creating unrest in the politics and country as well. (Riffat, Fatima, 2016)

A comprehensive study should be undertaken to identify the problem of lack of political integration in Pakistan. (Shahista & Zia)

Political elite pursued or adopted policies that strengthened authoritarian attitudes rather than promote democratic norms, flout rule of law and defy tolerance of any political opposition. (Shafqat, 1998)

It is unfortunate that a culture of tolerance regarding principled dissent on the policies and leadership within a political party is not developing in Pakistan. (Pakistan C. F.)

Representatives of political parties and civil society spoke in a seminar that democracy without tolerance have no future and can't flourish in developing countries such as Pakistan. The representatives of different parties advised political parties to promote a culture of tolerance in their positions. They urged political parties to

promote political and democratic values in their own bodies and discourage political expediency which had disgraced politicians in public eyes. (Adil, 2006)

## **1.4 Research Question(s)**

### **Main Question**

What are the key issues and challenges to political parties in promoting political tolerance?

### **Sub Questions**

- Q1. What are the key issues to exercise democratic values in party functions?
- Q2. What are the key issues of institutionalization and counter hate speech within parties?
- Q3. To what extent parties provide political education/trainings to party workers?

## **1.5 Hypothesis**

Political parties can promote political tolerance by effectively counter issues and challenges of political intolerance i.e.:

### **Hypothesis 1:**

The more democratic values exercised by political party will enhance the level of political tolerance in party.

### **Hypothesis 2:**

The more institutionalized political party is, the greater the rule of laws and accountability that enhance the level of political tolerance in party.

### **Hypothesis 3:**

The more political education for party workers will enhance the level of political tolerance.

## **1.6 Research Objectives:**

Through empirical research field work, this study attempted to achieve following objectives:

- i. Analysed the role of political parties in promotion of this concept.

- ii. Analysed the working style, strategies and culture of political parties in promoting political tolerance.
- iii. Analysed the issues and challenges faced by political parties in promoting political tolerance.

### **1.7 Delimitation of research field**

Pakistan has a multi-party political set up with more than 280 parties are registered under the umbrella of Election Commission. It is simply out of question to include all of them in the research study. After weighing different options, the researcher, therefore, narrowed down the research field to two mainstream Pakistani political parties consists on PML-N and PTI (2008 to mid-2018).

Following factors are taken into consideration, while selecting them for the study:

1. They are nation-wide parties.
2. They have a strong history of political activism and rivalry.
3. They are in power, either at federal or provincial level at the moment.
4. Wide political base of them would justify generalization of the findings.

### **1.8 Motivation for the Topic**

Pakistan has a chequered history of democracy, fascinating political commentators across the globe to delve into that. As a result, we have today a wealth of knowledge and research work on the issue. While treating the subject, the writers, however, have paid hardly any attention to the co-relation between democracy and the need to engender a culture of political tolerance in Pakistan. As a student of governance and public policy and protagonist of democratic principles and values in Pakistan, the researcher felt impelled to investigate the issue from different dimensions.

## **1.9 Thesis Sequence**

### **Chapter 1: Introduction**

The first chapter consist with overall overview of the study and introduction with the topic and study. This chapter sketches the explanations of the study has been conceded with the research question and objectives.

### **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

The chapter number two contains the literature about political tolerance and the factors affecting the tolerance. This chapter explored the main bodies of knowledge been carried out in political intolerance field and interconnected literature. The chapter number two also helped in identifying the gaps in the field of research on political intolerance that had influence on research questions and objectives.

### **Chapter 3: Methodology**

The chapter number three sketches the research methodology of this study and outline the philosophical and scientific point of view of the research that is eventually explains the perceptive and reasoning of the selection of methodology and methods used in this study.

### **Chapter 4: Discussions and Findings**

The Chapter number four consists on findings from the analysis of qualitative data and discussions on results and findings for each of the questions and objectives of this study. The data was collected through semi structured interviews from participant's i.e. party leadership/public representatives MNAs, MPAs and Senators.

### **Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations**

The chapter fifth of this study is based on the discussion that conclude the findings and find the answers of research questions and objectives of this study. The fifth chapter also suggested specific recommendations for political parties.

## **Chapter 2**

### **2 Literature Review**

Democracy is most rampant model of state rule and is only possible in the presence of political tolerance. It is not possible to have a democracy when people or groups are excluded from decision making or political power in general. Therefore, people must be politically tolerant towards all different groups in society, in order to work and live together.

The researcher argued that democracy without political tolerance is hard to achieve its goals, and political parties as democratic institutions are main agent to promote political tolerance. Therefore, researcher reviewed literature on democracy, political tolerance and political parties with relevant theories and factors for theoretical conceptualization and operationalization.

#### **2.1 Political Tolerance**

It is undeniable to express that political relations fulfil the democratic need that should be guided with a culture of discourse, dialogues, tolerance, resistance, compromise and rule of law. At the point when such kind of political culture remains deficient in the texture of general society, then a smooth and fruitful change to a popularity-based democratic lifestyle and arrangement of rule of law may undoubtedly be exceptionally troublesome. In this manner there is a need to learn and build up a culture of political tolerance is absolutely imperative. Research within political science has often emphasized the latter, linking tolerance for dissent as critical for a functioning democracy since “few aspects of political life so directly and immediately touch upon the daily lives of common citizens as does their tolerance toward each other” (Kuklinski, Riggle, Ottati, N., & R., 1991)

Every society has diversity of opinions and different solutions for their local problems to be choose one from them. Political tolerance is an attitude of a society/groups having diversity of ideas and respect for these ideas/groups, to develop an ideologically heterogeneous society to avoid a society where everyone thinks

similar. Tolerance is a permissive attitude that based on objective and fairness towards the people whose opinions, beliefs and viewpoints differ from one's own (Tolerance, 2018). Tolerance is perceived differently in different fields, in political science it is known as Political Tolerance and it is define as “the willingness to permit the expression of ideas or interests one opposes.” (Gibson, James L., 2006) Political tolerance is a central attitude of democracy, in which citizens are obliged to understand, accept and respect others.

### **2.1.1 Conceptual Framework**

The tolerance used in different context and every context has its own definition, political tolerance in definitions are differ between the political and social scientists, but generally, it implies a level of fairness or equal application of rules or norms of conduct and an allowance of individual freedom. It means that those who are unlike us or who we oppose can express their ideas or activities in freedom. In researcher’s point of view (Sullivan et al and Gibson) (Peffley & Robert, 2003) to conceptualize the term of political tolerance, a vital factor was found is opposition, these scientists contend that the problem of intolerance or tolerance may not become possibly the most important factor except if one holds negative convictions or assessments about the groups or principle being referred to.

Based on the premise that psychological security is conducive to tolerance, several studies have shown that people scoring high on measures of dogmatism and authoritarianism and low on self-esteem are less tolerant toward disliked groups in society and also less supportive of civil liberties. (Hinckley, 2010)

Moreover, political tolerance implies that every member of a society ought to have privilege to be part of a political party of her/his decision, or not to go along with it, without being scared. This acceptance and recognition/acknowledgment allows freedom in political activities. Individuals should figure out how to be tolerant of another individuals' perspective, regardless of whether they are not the same as their own. The tolerance exclusively required not only regarding and valuing our social, cultural and political contrasts but similarly the distinctions in our political associations and memberships.

As there is slight consensus on what precisely political tolerance is, the appearance of political tolerance is critical to investigation of democratic system and society, and its job in moulding the public considerations of the democratic political manifestation. By what means do public see political and social groups with which they oppose their political ideas? Would they permit these groups to take a part in indistinguishable roles from a political group specifically viewed as more agreeable and permissible? This conceptualization is further widely required to inquire about. The analyst researched political tolerance, seeing that it is a portrayal of “the willingness of political party members to extend the full rights of political activities to members of a disliked party”

The term political tolerance historically and characteristically defined by some social and political scientists and theorists as "an individual's willingness to permit the expression of ideas or interests one opposes" (Sullivan & James Pierson, 1982). From the point of view civil liberty, “the willingness to permit or allow civil liberties to be extended to objectionable groups or offensive (but innocuous) ideas.” In Pakistan tolerance naturally considered as civil liberties, and it is granted in the 1973 constitution as the rights for public, these include freedom of speech, freedom of petition, freedom to assembly, freedom to peaceful protest and freedom to the press. (Pakistan C. o., 2012)

General public must show an adequately high level of tolerance to help democratic system to function well and continue as a cohesive political civic, to measure the strength of democracy in a country an indicator of the level of tolerance is a valuable, which may have insinuations for the consolidation and stability of democratic system over all. The best suited political tolerance definition is by the Stouffer and as the other scientist followed the same to study the political tolerance in different contexts, so this study also used the widely accepted definition “an individual’s willingness to permit the expression of ideas and interest one oppose”.

“One of the vital prerequisites for consolidating democracy is people’s high level of political tolerance.” (Macedo, 2000) While maximum people across the globe willing to provision of democratic rights, in intangible way, the literature on

democratization shows that these similar people are typically significantly less likely to extend the same rights to their disliked groups, studies come to the point and shown that peoples express very high levels of tolerance while ask for democratic freedoms, but the same people express somewhat little inducement to give these freedoms to the groups or groups members which they disagree in some or many ways. (Peffley & Robert, 2003)

### **2.1.1.1 Historical Understanding of Political Tolerance**

The political tolerance comes under discussion and study by the social scientists and political scientists and scholars after the study of Samuel Stouffer on the issues of Conformity, Communism and Civil Liberties. (Stouffer, 1955) Different social sciences disciplines considered that the problem of political tolerance is extensive in range for example political sciences, sociology, economics, law and human science. Now a day, even though there are distinctive types of tolerance (social, cultural, religious and others), but the special consideration is paid to the political tolerance. To understand the phenomena, we have to begin from the assumption that the political tolerance is considered distinctively in various occasions and different places as it consists on contextual bases. The requirement for tolerance, and particularly for political tolerance, has been incessantly highlighted since the issue of political tolerances is connected with the matters related to political power, the problem of peaceful and nonviolent resolution of conflicts based on political issues, also resolution of many other disputes among citizens.

In the milieu of McCarthyism and “Red Scare,” Stouffer wanted to know about the variances among elite and mass tolerance, therefore determining further about Americans, to what extent they would be ready to refute the civil liberties of fellow citizen who are communists, atheists or socialists. Possibly the most horrible result of the study was that most of the respondents had high tendency to be intolerant to the sets of people selected by Stouffer.

With regards to McCarthyism and "Red Scare Movement" Stouffer wanted to find contrasts among elite and mass tolerance, while measuring all at large to what degree Americans would prevent the common freedoms for those who recognize as



socialists, communists or sceptics. Maybe the most stunning finding of the examination was that respondent was observed to be prejudiced and intolerant toward the groups picked by Stouffer.

The relationship of psychology and political theory, political tolerance characterizes as a matter for the bureaucratic customs in the process of democracy, and also about the belief that the rules and regulations and laws of a state ought to be imposed on equal basis to all members of state, together with those who believed personally disgusting. Furthermore, people's tolerance shows a will to oversee one's preliminary negative partialities for an idea or group and let that idea or group to be voiced in front of the people without any intercession. By this, the mien of these attitudes of tolerance might be psychologically alike with the other types of useful partiality or bias defeat. (STEN WIDMALM, 2016)

### **2.1.2 Political Tolerance Measurement**

The social scientist Stouffer's study placed the groundwork for future studies on political tolerance. We may say that the work of Stouffer was so influential and providing base as his work on the measurement of the tolerance and provided technique is still in use by the scholars and the institutes like National Opinion Research Centre is still using for their General Social Survey. The technique of measurement guided decades to the researches on political tolerance until (Sullivan, John; Piereson, James; Marcus, George, 1979) advanced a moderate technique of measurement, constructed on the basic hypothesis that intolerance can greatest be incidental when people reject the civil liberties of an individual or a group they predominantly dislike, instead of pre-decided sets of people selected by the researcher.

Advancing the research techniques for measuring the political tolerance, researchers have developed three different methods of measurement. The first is Theoretical measure that used to ask questions in abstract such as: do you think minorities should allow to speech? The second method is pre-selected group method, that denotes to the surveys in which the researcher pre-selected two or more groups and ask question such as: do you think the communist should permit to speech?. The

third method is Content-controlled method that describe the technique of survey in which researcher allow respondents to choose or identify they groups they dislike or like the least, and then researcher asked the respondent about will he or she allow that group to speech or not?

## **2.2 Democracy**

By investigation of great Greek scholars and philosophers we came to realize that the majority rules system in Greek incorporated numerous essential present day democratic system's ideas and practices. The Aristotle and Plato were given contemplations of Political Equality, Citizen Participation, Rule of Open Discussion. The Greek democratic framework had highlights that make it as good example for a cutting edge of majority rules system.

The essential characteristics of popular government hint the privilege to cast a ballot, the privilege to have a place with a political association of anyone's decision (i.e. opportunity of affiliation) and the privilege to opportunity of articulation and recognition of human rights. Moreover, the organizing of normal free and fair elections is an irreplaceable element of a majority rule framework or a democratic system. (UNDP, 2002).

Democratic system is for the most acknowledged system of the government by the general public, it consist of the rule of system which is enabled to exercise the power by the will of general public who poses the foremost power and entrusted to the government to rule over their life and to practice the authority and run the government affairs for the advantages of individuals and society at large, this activity of empowerment of government is through an arrangement of portrayal and vested of power is via a methodical system known as elections.

Four basic components of democracy are find out by the Larry Diamond, describe as follow:

- a) A system of choosing the body of government via fair and free elections.

- b) The participation of general public in elections, civic life and politics.
- c) Fortification of human rights on equality basis.
- d) Rule of law, that apply on equality basis to citizens.” (Diamond, 2004)

### **2.2.1 Democratic Culture**

Democratic culture based on the democratic values we exercise in daily activities of politics. Indication proposes that masses that show the support for democracy and its values can be expected to uphold the tolerance consistently. (Sullivan & James Piereon, 1982), (McClosky & Brill, 1983), (Gibson, 2013)

Political scientists, on the basis of their researches on the topic of political tolerance proposes that tolerance for the groups people dislike or least like are based on the promise to democratic norms. People’s provision towards the democratic norms showed that they value the democracy by considering it as idyllic democratic system of government, like fairness in procedures, equal laws for all, and appreciate diverse representation. (Sullivan & James Piereon, 1982)

In Pakistan the systems of political parties are weak and mostly undemocratic that may cause or consider as reason for unstable and unpredictable parliamentary democracy and undemocratic political culture.

In Pakistan political parties are top-overwhelming, they have no system of centre tier of political leadership that can be a source of party association with the common public. Political groups with some exemptions of urban and religious parties are ruled by the customary leaders that protected their votes based on their traditional association of family and status in the society rather than the community served to whom they guarantee to speak for. Therefore, the same leadership patterns made the conventional parties stagnant. This became a hurdle in the recruitment of new leadership from all social classes. The newer cohort of the traditional leaders can substitute them. (Akhtar, 2008)

## **2.2.2 Democratic Theories**

The political tolerance is directly impacted by the system of politics in a country and the democratic culture being followed in the society. There are theories of democracy that provide bases to understand the circumstances and political scenarios that help in developing the tolerance or intolerance.

### **2.2.2.1 Conservative Democratic Theory**

The righties always believe in conservative democratic theory that is not developed on the higher level of tolerance in elites or in the masses. The theory says that the democracy can easily endure and foster even when the governing elites and masses don't possess a high level of tolerance. If considerable dissenting elite are loyal and patriotic to democratic principles and tolerance, it's their duty to protect the civil liberties and they have the ability as well.

### **2.2.2.2 Elitist Democratic Theory**

It may be considered that elites show tolerance than common people, it is because they show greater importance for democratic values in a society when researchers assessed tolerance scenarios. An elite democratic system denotes to a government with the leadership form the all stakeholders of the society such as governmental or non-profit, large bureaucratic organizations and from the corporate sector as well because they exercise an important influence on society. Political individuals and elites who are holder of political offices are considered as more tolerant than the masses. (Stouffer, 1955), (McClosky & Brill, 1983), (McClosky & Zaller, 1984) In this circumstance, it could be claimed that the utmost stumbling block for the development of democratic culture is the opposing attitude and behaviour of elites and political leaders of Pakistan. In spite of constructing struggle for the democratic culture, they remain unsuccessful to construct an environment that supports democracy and also lacking in developing a required policy framework to resolve intra party or inter party conflicts by using the negotiations, bargains and dialogues to construct consensus among and between.

### **2.2.2.3 Pluralist Democracy**

The democratic theory of pluralist talks about the relationship between the interest groups and the democratic system. The power detained by interest groups in a society make them important and “Pluralists assign to interest groups the important role of providing democratic responsiveness.” (Truman, 1952) The leadership from the interest-groups represents their groups in every policy reflections. As the groups are part of the society so they present the needs and wants of their groups and public.

### **2.2.2.4 Democratic citizenship**

The people living in the democratic societies can take ownership of civic qualities, which can make them to vision afar from the self-interest to welfare of the society at large. Democratic citizenship helps the people to take continuous decisions on the political matters and political representatives. The practice of making these judgments, citizens goes into political discourse and talk to one another about the political problems, and learn from each other, and finally it helps them to develop their own intelligence.” (Dewey, 1970)

## **2.2.3 Democracy and Political Tolerance**

Liberal philosophers of political science like J. S. Mill discuss that without assurances of the rights of participation to all members of a society in politics the “marketplace of ideas” couldn’t function to get proper results from the democracy. The success of idea only depends on the level of provision easily given to the market of ideas. The philosopher considers it as an essential component of democratic governance. Lacking with will to move on with all ideologies looking for to contest for the hearts and minds of the public the market is probably to fail. Therefore, a justly modest theory derived is that “democracies require the free and open debate of political differences, and such debate can only take place where political tolerance prevails.”

The full functioning of democracy requires political tolerance so that the political philosophies and the groups have them should possess the same accessibility

to the marketplace of ideas as the possession legitimately protracted to the ideas directing the system and avoid any form of violence.

The scholars have consensus and the scientist Boutros-Ghali expressed in his writings that democracy is not only working in the limited institutional framework to delivers opportunities for general public to choose the government, but the democracy “also needs to be embodied in a culture, a state of mind that fosters tolerance and respect for other people, as well as pluralism, equilibrium and dialogue between the forces that make up a society” (Boutros-Ghali, 2002)

The behaviours based on actions that are related to persuade general public and to contest for political power should be put up with tolerance. This may consist of candidates trying to get access and power for public office, giving public speeches and other political activates. The freedom is more based on the political ethos of a society, the attitudes, beliefs, norms, and behaviours of common people. (Gibson, 2013)

#### **2.2.4 Theoretical Framework**

Sixty-three years of experimental researches have provided a vigorous theoretical base of the social, psychological and political factors of political tolerance. This model applied in modern industrialized democracies, which and can explain considerable variation in the attitude of citizens’ tolerance at post-communist Europe and even developing democracies. Individuals and groups are usually more tolerant when the perception of their disliked groups based on making them less threatening, and when they support more strongly the institutions and the democratic processes, and also when they the individual and groups are less dogmatic, authoritative and psychologically insecure.

Four theories employed to develop the theoretical framework for the study, the Democratic Theory, Integrated Threat Theory, Elitist Democratic Theory and Institutional Theory. These theories provided a base to identify the factors affecting political tolerance and their causal relationship with the political tolerance.

The four foremost theoretical methods that emphasis on various features of the leading role of political tolerance perform in a democratic system. The first one is the democratic consensus approach believes that masses' support for civilian liberties crucial for democratic system and its stability. The second one is the elitist theory that proposes that elites show more tolerance than the common man. The third one is the pluralistic democracy and according to the pluralistic approach intolerance threatens the democratic system when focussed against some commonly disliked groups. Finally the fourth one is, the cultural conformity approach, and according to this approach mass political intolerance may forms a culture of orthodoxy and it confines individual political liberty, thus weakens the democracy by delegitimizing political opposition. (Kim, 2006)

## **2.3 Political Party as an Institution**

### **2.3.1 Party Definition**

The definition of political parties are differ globally and in Pakistan the order of political party 2002 define the party as “political party is an association of citizens or a combination or groups of such associations formed with a view to propagating or influencing political opinion and participating in elections for any elective public office or for membership of a legislative body”. (PPO, 2002) The association of general public under similar political goal(s) creates a political party, the association of the people may be temporary or permanent, and the association consist on the program and vision of political party and also built on association. The political party gain power, government or bureaus of a state by contesting the elections and they practice the power given by the people to articulate the ideas of a particular party and resolve the issues of particular country.

### **2.3.2 Functions of Political Party**

In a country following any democratic system must consider the political party as essential and basis part of the system. The political party order 2002 in Pakistan identified the significance role of political parties in different functions of state as “Political parties play a pivotal role in fostering a constitutional, federal, democratic political culture”. The important role of Political parties in the formulation of

government, to run the state affairs, legislations, participate in all the political development of a state and fostering of democratic culture couldn't be denied to build and sustain a democratic system in the country.

The political mobilization is job of the political party in a society, the significant instruments of interest articulation of general public and interest groups is also job of the political party, to aggregate the demands of general public, ideas, and party policies is also job of the political parties. We found in the political culture of Pakistan that parties are not so much strong to do their key functions in efficient and effective way.

The political scientists Martin and Dalton discussed the functions of any political party as:

- a) They aggregate and articulate social political and economic benefits of the mass they are representing and the stakeholders of the society. (Function of political opinion-making).
- b) They select political representatives and cultivate political knowledge in future generations of political persons. (Function of selection).
- c) They formulate policies and political programs, they assimilate numerous interests into a specific political program or plan, for which parties campaign to get the agreement, consensus and the favour from the public (Function of integration).
- d) The political participation and socialization of public is the important task, because parties are responsible to create a linkage between government and citizens (Function of participation).
- e) They formulate the government by participating in elections and occupy political positions. (Function of exercising political power). (Dalton & Martin, 2000)

The political programs and projects are the actual output of a political party, and they proposed to their voters and build opinion of the citizens by their influence to get their support for their political programs. These Political programs do not only bring about precisely one function of aggregation and articulation the ideas and



interests of the general public, but, the party influence the opinions of citizen and consider this as the process of political opinion building.

Parties accomplished the role of their opposition when not able to get the power to make the government as to criticize the programs, projects, policies and attitude of the government, and by building the opinion of the masses they also take control on these and give productive and positive substitute ways. For a viable democratic society the role of alternatives have important implication to flourish and endure a system of democracy, in the absence of opposition parties, the government could inclines towards rudeness and sense of satisfaction on their programs and policies, consequently the government fails to suggest the alternatives.

In polity based on democratic system, political leaders must show the accommodation, compromise, and tolerance for the better forecast of the public lifestyle that consciously raised their wishes in elections. In other words, political governments should demonstrate political tolerance at the time when they had the power to run their and nation's affairs, and these political values should be in their political agenda and practical activities that are reflected the public wishes, demands aspirations and needs. (Akhter, 2006)

There are several reasons of the importance of political tolerance, whichever on a state level, political party level or even at individual level. Political parties are vibrant political institutions to keep the effective functioning of democratic system. Parties are indispensable for the organization of the contemporary democratic polity and also central part for the manifestation and expression or democratic system. Parties are supposed to be essential towards the democratization of any country, and for stable democracy, participation of general public and their support to make an inclusive society political tolerance promotion is dare need of time for Pakistan.

## **2.4 Issues of Political Intolerance in Pakistan**

Pakistan's political history has remained considered as inter and intra party power struggle, hate, aggression, factional ineffectiveness, intolerance and extensive snuffing out of open political thought, manifestation and association. The human rights violations including indiscriminate arrests, imprisonment, torments and

physical liquidation were also remain part of parties. All these behavioural personas have given rise to in solemn political upshots for the stable political development of Pakistan.

The political tussles between parties have mostly spun everywhere and concentrating on the possession of power from any other opposing political party. Hence, at any time a political party is in power try to systematically put aside through ruthless power and legal-cum constitutional way they other opposition parties. The oppositions also up route to any accessible opportunities to displace the political party that is in authority. Unluckily, these political tussles are mostly accomplished aggressively and through unconstitutional ways aggressively and sometime violently.

In the hostility of one political party by other party, there is lack of establishing least standard of the tolerance. The hate, discourteousness, annoyance, abhorrence, hostility and the refusal to compromise and recognize one another among political sets in Pakistan has been outrageous. People get politics as an end in itself and as a way to get consistent income and employment. Therefore, they exploit all their tricks and administrative abilities as well as capitals at their removal to adhere onto power by any mean, nevertheless they often don't feel shy to talk regarding their noble intentions to serving the people.

As in 2018, elections hold second time at the completion of five years tenure of democratic government, tolerance within and among political groups becomes a vital condition for viable democratisation. Actually, political tolerance set up the political foundation upon which the diverse political powers should build, and shape mutually accepted political agenda for action. Pakistan is bearing intolerance in political atmosphere since long, but during the last few years, it has reached up to new heights after the participation of young people in politics.

In political talk shows on Pakistan on televisions every day at 8pm to 12am, anchors of political talk shows used to give their own opinion instead of conducting or running the show, and the invitees, who are usually ministers, senators and members of the parliament of Pakistan insist to talk on same time with filthy language against their opponents and their families. On the next level the demonstration of intolerance

in the assemblies is a distinct features of Pakistan's political history for the last many years.

Intolerance concerning with political contrasts has been on demonstrate everywhere throughout the world, in any case, Pakistan, being a nation of energetic and absurdly enthusiastic individuals, has made intolerance a hazard for general public. From leaders to common persons, nobody is prepared to tune in to the opposite side's perspective. Returning to political intolerance, even following 71 years, the nation still not figured out how to respect the political views of others.

Ask any anchor person or journalist frequently tweeting, what pro-PTI individuals are doing to them on twitter at whatever point they censure any political choice of Imran Khan. Same goes for the PML-N cliques. It is awful to perceive how the youth of our nation has created narrow mindedness against any individual who does not concur with their views. The intensity of thinking and healthy discussion has been overwhelmed by the utilization of oppressive dialect and intolerance towards opposing sentiments. Politics has turned into an amusement where politicians and their supporters are depending more on their physical power instead of political thinking and debate. (Iqbal W. , 2012)

In Pakistan, political system is parliamentary and democratic, yet for the most part when a dictator takeover the authority, he ban all the democratic activities and place the political leaders in prison or deport. Resultantly when they came back to the power, they assemble the general population counter to dictator and its rule. As indicated by the PPP's leader Nisar Khuro "our party workers tend to wait for the party leaders to return from prison or exile, rather than rallying around the second team". (Report-Asia, 2005) The unjust from the state make them intolerant and then they promote it.

Political intolerance brought about most exceedingly bad disasters before, for example, the dismantling of East Pakistan in the year of 1971. The serious circumstance at the social and political level requests the dominant elite to advance tolerance and boost discussion with those the parties proclaim as traitors.

Justice (r) Mehboob Ahmad talked in seminar that “Unfortunately, political parties lack tolerance and can rightly be called as bands of usurpers,” He said the level of political tolerance in Pakistan has been on the deterioration for the last several years. “Political parties should promote tolerance and discourage family politics,” Khurram Dastagir Khan said that “Pakistan lacks a culture that promotes dialogue”. (Mehboob, Khan, & Rasheed, 2013) Bearing in mind that how our national and local politics is tinted with animosity, hate speech, and utter personal foul language.

#### **2.4.1 History of Political Intolerance in Pakistan**

The political intolerance captured the politics of Pakistan from its beginning, the Kalat National Party of Balochistan was banned from its activities in 1948, in the same year another party was formulated by Abdul Ghaffar Khan and G M Syed named as ‘Azad Peoples Party’ and the party was died in its early stages due to detention of its pioneers for long time because the party was imagined as to make Pakistan non-communal and secular on socialist beliefs, that has conflicted with religion based collective patriotism support by Muslim League, the party in rule. The ruling party introduce assertiveness in the political culture and culture of political intolerance.

Though each society based on democratic culture acknowledges the political pluralism and oppose exclusiveness. The elections of 1951 at provincial level encourage the intolerance, as Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and ruling party Muslim League utilized the state's resources to fix the races and abuse the sacredness of the polling booths that leads to rigging and, they used terms traitors and dogs for the politician contradicted or opposing his party. He specified that all those politician or parties those didn't pledge to the Muslim League's philosophy were traitorous and blatant that the formation of new political parties in opposition to the Muslim League is against the interest of Pakistan.

Quick forward to 90's politics, we overheard the similar criticism from a young leadership of Muslim League against Peoples Party and its leader Benazir Bhutto, who was criticised and nominated as a threat for national security.

The tactic of labelling the complete opposition as wrong or traitors was started from the pioneer leader of Muslim League Liaqat Ali Khan. The model initiated by him was copied and still followed by League's leaders not in the past but the current leaders are following the same. The NWFP leader of Muslim League, Khan Abdul Qayyum, pressed the political philosophy and slogan of 'Red Shirts' of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He was similarly malicious towards the leaders of Muslim League who had left the party and establishes a new party, Pir of Manki Sharif was one of them who was thrust out of the province because he established the Awami Muslim League. This model of intolerance was followed by all other parties as well.

This model was based on nondemocratic a practice that's why as an alternative of setting good governance the politicians mature grooves against each other. A trend of pull in the army was making known in the political arena of Pakistan when Army as one group of power struggle to take over the ruling party. In his book, 'Working with Zia' by the chief of staff General K M Arif vindicated the Army interference by uttering that it was due to lack of "reconciliation, accommodation and tolerance among the quarrelling politicians". The politicians are less mature in tolerating others, they not only abstain from calling the army but rather successfully defused the few opinions which shouted against the martial law. The PPP government of 2008 to 2013 was perhaps first time destitute the old political intolerance pattern by endorsing and introducing the culture of live and let live. (Mehboob, Khan, & Rasheed, 2013)

In reality, intolerance is particularly a normal for Pakistani society, a reality clear to any individual who follows the media. Take, for example, the exceptionally sensationalized and supremacist thought by Imran Khan at Senator Babar Ghauri. Khan depended on bigotry as a reaction to Ghauri's allegation that I.K had an illegal child. Yet, the straightforwardness with which he decided on the race card shows that intolerance is flourishing here. Instead of grasp assorted variety and pluralism, or regard individual's personal choices, we the nation are turning into people who mark, scorn and even assault what is esteemed to be variation. (Yusuf, Feb, 7, 2010)

#### **2.4.2 Determinants of Political Intolerance in Pakistan**

Along with the literature review the researcher has conducted some pre study interviews of MNAs, MPA and political experts to know in-depth knowledge about the determinants/factors of political intolerance in Pakistan and find following:

Lack of respect of the constitution is one of indication of intolerance, the constitution utilized for other than as a limitation upon government but for the concerns of the ruling elite. Lacking in a system of intercession of social and political rifts by current political rules premise towards culture of intolerance. Henceforth, the obstinate violent spouts and intolerance in inter and intra party politics of the country.

The type of language exploited in political addresses is also upholds political intolerance. Non-parliamentary language and abhorrence discourses that prompts agitation, egocentrism and individuality has significantly instigated political intolerance to detriment of robust political concurrence and harmony building. “Political parties have been relatively more successful as a movement for pursuing a limited agenda like the overthrow of a sitting government, than as a political party because this requires a viable organization and a broadly shared long term political agenda.” (Rizvi, 2012)

The absence of tolerance in politics is because of the institution of leadership has endured so feeble and it has a top down authoritative structure. The leadership in Pakistan is grounded on family inheritance patterns and they use their influence to gain power and use undemocratic ways for power. (Memon, Sami, Saima, & Fahmeeda)

Poor or weak administration of a state matters, promises are not fulfilled and lack of accountability and transparency by the governing parties is a major reason to creating frustration and intolerance in Pakistani society. The political parties are used to make big commitments of prosperity in the country based on once they get voted and power, but once they get voted they overlook all the promises.

The dictatorial political culture and feudal system in the political arrangement took the society on the road to intolerance, conflict and dissension in politics of

Pakistan. It is an unfortune that still it is difficult to find serenity and tolerance in politicians. They never come for a common ground about many problems confronted by the country. The party in power don't care about demands of opposition parties and their constituencies. The sustainability in leadership has always been an important issue in Pakistan, political parties are normally lacked with ethical and moral values. (Riffat, Fatima, 2016)

In politics of Pakistan there is tendency for the negative movements against the rival political parties. Instead of deed of positive movements for their own support, they used to degrade and damage the political respect of other parties. Unfortunately, however some politicians are unable to do their political campaign without political intolerance stances.

In conclusion, Pakistani political culture is based on intolerance due to low level of political education of masses and political leaders/workers. In political parties there is no culture of political dialogues between parties, even they don't want to do this because they prejudice that others are wrong, and they are superior and patriotic. One important determinant is judgemental culture (if and then, or black and white) that also make people intolerant against others. An important determinant is communication gap between lower and higher tiers of party that promotes the low participation and inclusiveness. The poor policies, authoritative attitude of leaders and negative propaganda/hate speech for opponents from political leaders create intolerance in political discourse.

## **2.5 Determinants of Political Tolerance**

The determinants of political tolerance divided into mainly two levels, one is the individual and second is the social level. The determinants deals with individual level were recognized by previous studies on the topic. First, the education level of individual is positively associated and has strong relation with political tolerance. (Bobo & Licari, 1989). Secondly, some other scientists have found that age of a person have relationship with political tolerance but it negatively relates, the same results have been observed at different regions of the world. (Stouffer, 1955) &

(Sullivan & James Piereon, 1982). The third one is, the people who support preferences for liberty and personal freedom over the order of government, and they also support for democratic system and democracy, they are more tolerant than those people who prefer the government order and dictatorship. (Gibson, James L., 2006). Forth one is, the hate speech and authoritative leadership style that also play significance role to make person intolerance.

Social level determinants are education, social status (income and occupational position), age, religion, gender, city size, region, demographic. Psychological determinants are Personality, self-esteem, authoritarian personality. And Political determinants are political threat, Political philosophy and provision for the over-all democratic values. (John L. Sullivan, 1981) Researcher's prime focus was on micro level/institutional determinants and in democratic culture personal authoritarian factors was also in discussion.

The context is an important factor while study the determinants of political tolerance, in this study the research questions are inquiring about the political party and its representatives and activities so following determinants are important to consider.

### **2.5.1 Political Participation and Tolerance**

Democracy requires that citizens have clear opportunities to make their voice heard to public authorities. These include both established rules on how to bring suggestions, demands, and complaints to the attention of elected authorities (and their appointed representatives) and established mechanisms to solve community problems or set priorities for public expenditures that encourage public discussion among citizens and government authorities.

The intolerant people may convert to tolerant one through participation, this was the idea when the democratic elitism theory shifted towards the theory of democratic learning. (Abbarno, 2013)

“Public need to participate because they want to influence the policies of an organization.” (Franklin, 2002) The associates of a political party possess great



influence and impact of his views on the intra participation process and the decisions. Members of the party Participate in the party policy formulation process, this participation system perform a significant role in party worker's empowerment and trust on the party and party leadership, the absence of this kind of participation make workers intolerant towards the party policies and the leadership.

The relationship of tolerance with participation was found to be significant. On the other hand, the drawback of controlling the participation effects negatively and it is just like the downside of the controlled education. It is hypothesized that workers become more informed about the political background through participation in the politics and political activities and become more tolerant with different opinions. (Stouffer, 1955) & (McClosky & Brill, 1983) & (McClosky & Zaller, 1984)

### **2.5.2 Inclusiveness and Political Tolerance**

The Inclusiveness is associated with the participation, it based on two dimensions, the first one is participation of all workers into decision making process and the second one is integration of diversity. German scholar (Michels, Eden, & Cedar, 1959) discussed inclusiveness in various political aspects, one aspect of inclusiveness is the level a political party which have workers from different communities and varied experiences. In one more aspect parties, well thought-out as inclusive institution on the source of multiplicity they have in members and the party is leaning cantered institutions based on the importance of viewpoints of their members in requirements and policy discussions to make inclusive policies.

In another aspect, political parties should imitate the structure of the social order as it grounded on ethnic and racial structure to make institution inclusive. In another aspect the process of selection of candidates must have higher level of inclusiveness in every activity of decision making and procedures. These processes enable parties to institute inclusiveness. Inclusiveness and Representation is when parties include the communally side-lined groups such as the youth and women.

The USAID said that political parties should allow debate on societal conflicts ethnic conflicts, regional, tribal or based on religious appearances.” (USAID, 1999)

Inclusiveness is based on the process of politically educating the people and includes the groups and individuals having different local political identities into one political system. Political scientist described that political parties have an ability to transform a social order very effectively to confirm the involvement of lay-man from any sector of a society in political activities. (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, & Ha., 2010)

### **2.5.3 Political Leadership**

The political leadership have central part to create awareness, formulate political opinion and the process of decision making with the provision of acceptability to decisions. “Besides all the efforts regarding their organization, political strategies, communication and programs, indispensable for lasting success, political parties need to have appropriate political leaders to be attractive for the population and the voters.” (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011)

In democracies the parties leaders are anticipated to accomplish the expectations and demands of the public and also the subordinates and workers of the party. “The task of the leadership is to establish a framework on the basis of which uniform and credible principles of political game may evolve.” (Weingast, 1997) Failing in establishment of the system and fulfilling the role and responsibilities of leadership may promote distrust and leads towards intolerance from the workers and people because leadership don't fulfil the wishes and demands.

### **2.5.4 Integrated Threat Theory**

The theory is also recognized as intergroup threat theory, this theory used to study sociology and psychology that describe the determinants caused to perceive a threat from or between the political and social groups. Studies based on Individual-level determinants suggest that there is strong connection between political tolerance and objective threat levels. (Stanley & Stenner, 1997). Threats from the parties generate an environment based on threat that interprets citizens' less likely to tolerate disliked / least like groups. The need and desire of different groups make them in race to achieve their needs and if the goals get same, but the resources are inadequate, the other group is considered as a threat, which causes to arise the inter-group resentments. This causes the negative stereotyping of the other groups.

### **2.5.5 Institutionalization and Political Tolerance**

The process of introduction and implementation of a political institution's vision, mission, objectives, policies, laws, rules, regulations and code of conducts into its daily routine activities and its workers is known as institutionalization. It put efforts to assimilate ultimate objectives and values into the organization's ethos and structure.” (Definition of Institutionalization, n.d.) Political parties as institution are based on membership and associations, the political practices adopted by party are stated in the document of articles of association, the article of association is submitted to the state institution that deals with the affairs of political parties. Parties make legal documents of party such as manifestos, constitution and strategic plans to govern the day to day party activities.

To write down the principles and rules into the constitution of party, party strategies, operational rules, election manifestos and so on required many group discussions for exchange of ideas, and these activities help in leadership to articulate institutional policies and rules to make hierarchal structures for the management and organizing of party.

The Institutional theory emphasizes on the principles, societal truth and procedures by which an institution tends to set align with norms and social meaning. (Oliver, 1991) This approach try to find out, how institutions are interconnected and collectively constituted with the expectations of the general public and society.

The institutionalization of a party makes them more vibrant for democratic culture and norms, the institutionalization affects the democratic process of consolidation. The higher the level of institutionalization the greater the system of democratic consolidation, and in contrast the lower the institutionalization may hinder democratic alliance. The tolerance of the party workers based on the democratic system. The meaning of institutionalization in politics are that the people involve in politics have clear expectations from each other about their behaviour. There is stability in the workers behaviour in an institutionalized party system. (Mainwaring & Torcal, 2006)

Democracy requires the attitudes and institutions that enable public decision making and nonviolent conflict resolution. A democratic political structure is effective when it acquires political tolerance, the way to integrate disagreement which reassures respectful existence between the political groups exercising uneven societal supremacy. (Karpov, 2002).

#### **2.5.5.1 Rule of Law**

The law is equally implemented on all without making any difference and it is called the rule of law, as term defined as “the restriction of the arbitrary exercise of power by subordinating it to well-defined and established laws.” (Rule-of-Law, 2015) Nobody is above the law that everyone else follows and Rule of Law ought to be maintained by every single political leaders or group, it is the center piece of institutionalization. The political power, which is exercise by following the rules and regulations of party comes under the institutionalization and considered as rule of law.

To govern of law have three measurements:

- a. Internal (principles and controls for internal functions)
- b. External (consistence with state law)
- c. Social (keeping in thought the social standards)

All kind of political activity inside the party as per above mentioned three measurements create the capacity in of the political party to keep all activities upright and it satisfy the workers, if the rule of law is not followed within the party the authoritarianism will promote and dogmatic culture will promote that reduce the spaces for the people who are considered as upright and tolerant. The rule of law is part of democratic culture and have strong impact on political tolerance.

#### **2.5.5.2 Accountability**

People in a way projected to make them feel that they are “accountable” for their actions of (in)tolerance judgments, or any accountability condition are simply motivated to 'correct'. Researches shown that elites general express high level of tolerance than the usual tolerance of masses. The accountability may have entirely disparate effects on political tolerance and encourages thoughtful consideration of attitude correction or consideration.

The continuous discussion on the actions of political leadership and party workers give the sense that corruption is inevitable, and it reducing tolerance, now a days the political campaign of PTI make general public intolerant against the corruption, and they are demanding the accountability for it, and it also encouraging the general public to register their reports of even small abuses of political power, the same happens in the party. It requires governance reforms and the tolerance to reform leaders and workers so that they may know that whenever citizens think about the accountability, reform and good governance, the credibility of the political leadership may quickly are lost.

### **2.5.6 Hate Speech**

By definitions 'hate speech' is any manifestation of prejudiced hate towards individuals: it doesn't really involve a specific result. Hate speech is manifestation of hatred against a specific group. It is used to offense a man on the base of that individual's race, ethnic, religious or other group to which he/she comes from. Such discourse for the most part tries to denounce or degrade the individual or the group or to express resentments, hatred, violence or abhorrence toward them. It carries the message of mediocrity of the individuals to the apprehensive group and convicts, disgraces and is abundant in hatred.

Speech is vital to communicate ideas, views, and schemes of action. Free speech is indispensable for protection of democracy, as it enables the exchange of diverse views. In a demonstrative democracy, dialogue enables the testing of challenging entitlements and finding of diverse feedback into political decision making. Hate speech becomes trend and an alternate way to get popularity, carries complex issues for modern legitimate rights to freedom of expression. The right to freedom of expression is of dynamic significance for, inter alia, ensuring political multiplicity in political decision making. (Tsesis, 2009) Then again, it must be perceived that words can have lethal impacts when they are expressed by the people who have influence, for example, politicians, as hate discourse, since their bearings can reach and move huge groups of individuals inside a general public (Thomas, 2011) and the hate speech can make people and the political workers ferocious and intolerant. Intolerance has a control on society and the opportunity for free and open

exchange of views has minimized, even in scholarly community. (RANA, APR 07, 2012)

Hate language denotes to terms which are used to defame, demonize or dehumanize groups distinct by their national, ethnic, religious, racial, sectarian, or political identity. In a low-tech setting such as Pakistan, it is very common to use civic spaces to blow-out the messages of hate. In past at Auschwitz, gas chambers were used to kill people, as Abraham Joshua Heschel uttered, "Auschwitz was built not with stones, but words." (Asif, n.d.) Bilawal Bhutto, although the most liberal in outlook, had to raise "nationalist" concerns while campaigning in Azad Kashmir. In fact he even went to the extent of calling Nawaz Sharif, "Modi ka Yaar". (Raza, 2016), (Modi's friend).

Public administrators, as well as politicians, have a vital role to play in recognizing and quickly speaking out against discrimination and intolerance, have cases of "hate speech." It entails recognizing and refusing the action itself, and also the intolerance of which it is indicative, having understood and provision to the under-fire people or groups, and enclosing such instances as destructive for the social structure. Such kind of interventions become important if inter-communal strains are having high tendencies, or are vulnerable to be escalated, and political groups have high interests, e.g. in the run-up to elections.

### **2.5.7 Political Education and Political Tolerance**

In a study on education effects, apart from other background variables such as location of residence and urban city, Johan Peck found that the education had an important and substantial positive effect on political tolerance. Indeed, education and political tolerance have a positive relationship. (Johan, 2016) Education has extensively been establish to enhance the level of political tolerance, despite the fact that the framework by which it has impacts on political tolerance could be discussed. (Hiskey, Moseley, & Rodríguez, 2006-2012) Education was a strong positive correlation with the political tolerance. Education, especially civics education, is an extensive supporter of both political tolerance and political knowledge. (Bobo & Licari, 1989) & (Stouffer, 1955)

The education about the civic rights, role and responsibilities had a great influence on tolerance, individuals and groups with adequate reasoning skills and political awareness to contextualize and understand tolerance are more likely to tolerate the people whose political values and personal dispositions were more favourable towards democracy. (Finkel, 2003)

To flourish the democratic norms and culture of political tolerance it is necessary to promote political awareness and educate people about the political activities, especially to political party workers who are assumed to promote democratic culture in the society.

### **2.5.8 Trainings**

In developing countries the rapid changes are occurring in every field of life and political parties are directly associated with these changes, the leaders and workers are responsible to develop and present the party policy accordingly. It is essential that parties should cautionary take steps to get ready in acceptance of change and prepare their workers and legislatures for the challenges outside and within the party. (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011)

The political education through trainings is essential for political parties to make arrangement for their workers and leadership. The development through trainings parties should keep in consideration the democratic attitudes and the institutional activities. It is indispensable for parties to educate and train their political workers on the topic of the collective decision making, the electoral process, the rules and regulations to govern the party activities and the norms and procedures of democratic culture. (Vicky & Lars, 2002) The set of learning activities or program that contributes the learners to acquire explicit knowledge and skills that envisioned in changing the attitude of the participants within the system.

Trainings enable party workers to get more education about specific knowledge to increase their efficiency and effectiveness in contribution of democratic culture. To equip party workers with anticipated skills and knowledge make them

more aware with party way of working and this awareness make them more tolerant towards the party laws and the people working with them.

### **2.5.9 Political Dialogues**

The party functions are not only related with the internal issues, most of the functions are deal with external either with government, or with other political parties or with the general public. In any aspect of the communication the party workers should contribute constructively in every political activities and process. Political parties could ensure the participation of their workers effectively in constructing the political dialogues and debates on the matters of political importance with other party workers.

Om the public life and discussion of their matters and problems, party workers must also have dialogues to present the party policy effectively, for this they required decent decision making, communication and problem solving skills so that they can advocate and dialogue well. Empirical work in political science has suggested that tolerance can be increased as a result of exposure to alternative viewpoints and heterogeneous social networks. (Mutz, 2002)

There is lack of mutual understanding and trust among and between the political parties of Pakistan. The beliefs on political dialogue could not ever taken roots in this country. They process of negotiations was held in the year 1977, when two rival political parties of Pakistan entered into negotiations process. In current days circumstances brought the PML-N and PPP on the table and they signed “Mesaq e Jamhoriat” and went into an Alliance to Restore the Democracy in Pakistan but unfortunately they didn’t fulfil their commitments. The entire Mainstream and the other regional political parties are lacking in internal debate and dialogues over policy alternatives and external dialogues on government’s policies alternatives. The household debates and discussion may come up with consensus oriented policy alternatives and without the dialogues there is a gap and intolerance with other point of views. (SDPI, 2005)



### **2.5.10 Sit-ins and their Effects in Pakistan**

The Azadi March, also called as Tsunami March from 14 August 2014 to 17 December 2014 was the massive public Sit-in that ever apprehended in Pakistan, set by the Pakistan Tehreeke-Insaf (PTI) party in the opposition to Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, based on the claims of his governmental rigging in general elections 2013. The results of sit-ins have significantly negative effect on the market. (Wisal, Khan, & Usman) Awami National Party (ANP) provincial general secretary Mian Iftikhar Hussain voiced that this long march might derail the democracy. PML-N leader and federal minister, Ahsan Iqbal, named Khan's Azadi March chaos in costume and criticized Khan to initiate a pointless protest campaign when the country was facing a situation of war with the terrorists in North Waziristan. Khan's ambition to call a million protesters in Islamabad sat a menace to the parameters of security in the country's capital for the government. Educational institutions in Islamabad were remain closed after summer holidays until 24 August 2014; later the dates were altered with 31 August 2014 to put up the enduring remonstrations, due to education sector suffered a lot. Most of the government schools were in fact closed as these were used to accommodate 30,000 policemen from AJK and Punjab, among uncertainties whom were called for a crackdown against the sit-in members. By 31 August, the government declared economic losses in the result of sit in were about Rs500 million to Rs800 million. Traders from all over the country have uttered about their worry over Azadi March and consequent sit-in on August 14, and said it would badly disturb businesses all over the country. Islamabad Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ICCI) president Mirza Mohamamd Ali said that the "Azadi March" would be damaging not only for the businessmen and traders of the Islamabad but also for the economy of Pakistan. He was of the view that overall economic process of country has cast extremely negative impact because of the rise in political temperature. (Rabbia & Mamoon, 2017)

The political circumstances of Pakistan in the stir of *dharna* manoeuvres was fetching a bad impression of Pakistan in the eyes of world. We were facing criticism as international media was covering, how democratic government of country was captured by such unconstitutional political tricks. The US ambassador had official and

casual consultations with various religious and political leaders and has uttered about their worry over the intensifying probabilities of chaos. Sit-ins had also put drastic effect on the economy of Pakistan. Data from the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (PBS) shows 5.8% decline in country's exports during the sit-ins. The government has also claimed that confused political state has badly affected financial markets. Foreign currency assets have declined to \$13.52 billion from the \$13.926 billion in a week time at the end of August 15. Pakistan was being named a 'wreck', where the strategies of Imran Khan and Dr Tahir-ul-Qadri were viewed as only piece of a shameless power grab.

The impairment to public property has been assessed at Rs5 million by the CDA. The apparatus of state-owned Pakistan Television was also spoiled. So far, 717 people have got injured including 202 police men and three protesters also lost their lives, according to official estimates. (TribuneNews, 2014)

## **2.6 Main Ruling and Opposition Parties of Pakistan**

### **2.6.1 Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf (PTI)**

The PTI is a centrist, welfarist and nationalist political party in Pakistan, the party was founded by former and Pakistani cricket man Imran Khan. The party is an anti-status quo movement advocating to set Pakistan on the path of unity, social justice, solidarity and the conservative model of Islamic democratic welfare state. (PTI-Constitution) In 2018 general elections, PTI came up as the 1<sup>st</sup> largest party of Pakistan at federal level and at Punjab the Khaybar Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) and made the government at Federal, Punjab and KPK. Party magnificently secured the 1<sup>st</sup> largest votes from all over Pakistan.

The party formally announced in Lahore on 25<sup>th</sup> April 1996 by the founder Imran Khan. (The-Australian, 2013) Imran Khan contested first time for National Assembly (NA) in 2002 from Mianwali (his home town) and won his seat.

Since its start in 1996, PTI has taken part in the general elections of 1997, 2002 and 2013. It boycotted the general elections in 2008. In General Election 2013 PTI made government in KPK and main opposition to PML(N) in Punjab and coalition alliance to Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) in federal for opposition to

PML(N). (TheNation, 2013)

### **Organizational structure**

The PTI's Constitution announce its National Council as its incomparable administering body that comprises on the office bearers of the all provinces, the presidents of regions and the presidents of all the districts. National Council comprises on thirty-five individuals, incorporates five each from the students, youth, labour, ladies, farmers, legal advisors, minorities, and abroad associations assigned by their specific associations. The Chairman of the National Council assigns the technocrats and experts in the Pakistan. National Council additionally chooses the focal office bearers, Party Wings incorporates Central Tarbiyati Council (CTC), Insaf Student Federation (ISF), Women's Wing (WW), Insaf Youth Wing (IYW) and Insaf Research Wing (IRW). PTI encircled a board of trustees to run party functions, named as Central Executive Committee (CEC), this panel is prime focal gathering and has a few duties to performed, for example, the advisory group is in control to screen the day by day exercises of the party and to offer help to the administrator in the standard elements of the National Council, CEC is in authority to articulate the party procedures and they have to guide the national level party leadership. The CEC at national level is the ultimate administrative authority.

The constitution of Pakistan Tehrik e Insaf proclaimed the chairman as the most strongest individual of the party. He is the head of party and chief spokesperson. He keeps every one of the power given to his office by the constitution. The constitution additionally puts a few duties on the chairman alongside the power, he is mindful to ensure that the party's association at various dimensions are working as indicated by the vision, mission and destinations of the party given by the constitution and National Council. The powers given by the constitution to the chairman make him approved to designate any of his power to any individual from the Central Executive Committee or to the Secretary General of party. The constitution additionally present the power to suspend any office conveyor from party at national or province on disciplinary ground, even any unsure disciplinary activity. As indicated by constitution the chairman could practice every single power which are not been unquestionably written in the constitution. The authority to clarification of the party constitution is also deliberated to the chairperson for effective functioning of the party

organization.

## **2.6.2 Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N)**

The PML-N is considered as centre-right and conservative political party. In 2013 general elections PML(N) made government in federation of Pakistan and in the largest province Punjab and smallest province Baluchistan. (Dawn, 2014) In 2018 general elections PML(N) lost its government from all places i.e. Pakistan, Punjab and Baluchistan. The head of the party was Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, who was 3<sup>rd</sup> time elected as Prime Minister of Pakistan and after 4 years of Prime Ministership he was disqualified from Prime Ministership and the Headship of his own Party. Currently Mian Shehbaz Sharif (the brother of Mian Nawaz Sharif, party chairman) is heading the party, who was Chief Minister of Punjab from 2008 to 2018. The party's platform is generally conservative, support free market capitalism, less role of government over the market, strong national defence, and also oppose the regulation and labour unions. (Haleem, 2013)

Historically, All India Muslim League (AIML) transformed into Pakistan Muslim League (PML) in 1947 after the partition and made government in Pakistan in its first elections, its first elected prime minister Liaqat Ali Khan was assassinated and in result the martial law imposed and in 1958 army banned all political parties and political gatherings and events in Pakistan. (Rahman, 2010) The headship of PML was in the hand of Fatima Jinnah (sister of Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jihan) who contested the presidential elections and couldn't won, which was held in 1965 against General Ayub Khan in his era of Martial Law. During the general election of 1985, a new party named PML-N emerged on the country's political arena. The presidency of Zia ul Haq had been supported by this party and earned his provision to appoint Mohammad Khan Junejo for the office of Prime Minister. Nawaz Sharif was appointed as a Chief Minister of the Punjab in 1985. (PML-History, 2010)

In 1988, PML-N participated in the general elections as Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA), the alliance of eight political parties, under the leadership of Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. IDA got victory and appointed Muhammad Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister of Pakistan. (Samad, 2012) The PML-N also gained national fame

in the parliamentary elections in 1993 and in 1997 with its most distinguished victory.

In 1999, PML-N's government was removed by military coup. (PML and Nawaz Sharif, 2012) In 1999, PML-N was much separated from country's politics and additionally affected by the trial of Nawaz Sharif in military court. In 2001, factionalism further divided the party. This fragment group emerged as the Pakistan Muslim League Quaid e Azam PML-Q. In general elections 2002 the PML-N got only 9.4% votes and found only 14 seats out of 272 in parliament. In 2006, PML-N had signed the cooperative declaration with its opposing party Pakistan People Party known as the Charter of Democracy, and announced their opposition to Musharraf and Shaukat Aziz. (BBC-News, 2006) In general elections 2008, PML-N gained the majority in Punjab and constitute its government in Punjab.

### **Organizational structure**

The General Council (or Central Working Committee) (PML-N, 2015) of PML-N is its utmost significant platform, the key obligation on this platform is to permute all the party policies and activities. It has to elect party president and secretaries. "The General Council Meeting coordinates campaign strategy while there are local committees every provinces and most large cities, counties and legislative districts influenced by the national body." (Anis, 2011)

## **Chapter 3**

### **3 Methodology**

This study based on qualitative method, the advantage of qualitative method is that, it does not seek or depend on participants' views on topic but exploits their experiences informed by the evidence. This helps to avoid biases and assumptions in the literature being disseminated and limits the chances of influence of researcher's pre-existing belief. (Braun & Clarke, 2006)

#### **3.1 Research design**

##### **3.1.1 Type of Investigation**

The type of study is exploratory and analytical.

##### **3.1.2 Research Method**

This study used qualitative approach to discover the issues and challenges a political party is facing in Pakistan to promote political tolerance. According to (Creswell, 1998) qualitative research is an inquiry procedure of understanding dependent on particular methodological ways of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, comprehensive picture, analyses words, reports detailed perspectives of informants, and directs the study in a natural setting.

In qualitative approach the inquirer often establishes information based on constructivist perspectives (i.e., the several connotations of individual experiences, meanings socially and historically built, with the aim of developing a hypothesis or example), or advocacy/participatory perspectives (i.e., political, issue-oriented, collaborative, or change oriented), or both. (Creswell, 1998) In relation with the constructivist perspective, the scholar seeks to find the gist of a phenomenon from the views of respondents. Which means that the scholar found out a group of people sharing culture and studied how shared patterns of behaviour developed with the passage of time (i.e., ethnography). One of the major essentials of collecting data is to observe respondents' behaviours by participating in their activities. Nevertheless, for

the participatory perspective, the inquirer pursues to inspect a problem related to their expertise and knowledge.

Additionally, to escape systematic faults of sampling, the interview sample is carefully chosen through Political Parties Probability Sampling (a multistage sampling method). Probability sampling is one of the most usually convenient multistage strategies because of its extensive applicability. The party are then the clusters.

### **3.1.3 Data Collection Methods**

The researcher used a semi structured questionnaire for in-depth interviews of senior party workers i.e. Senators, MNAs', MPAs for qualitative data collection. Semi-structured interviews consist of some significant questions that helped to describe the extents to explored, but also permitted the interviewer or interviewee to deviate in order to chase an idea or answer with more aspect.

### **3.1.4 Data Analysis Technique (Thematic Analysis)**

In this study qualitative data is used by the researcher, and to analyse the qualitative data which are in depth detailed interviews of eleven respondents the Thematic Analysis technique were employed. Thematic analysis is a generally used for qualitative analytic method, also used to find, analyse, and report patterns within the collected data set. (Mojtaba, 2013) The research has adopted this technique as a rigorous thematic approach which can answers to defined research questions and produce an observant analysis. Additionally, this method helps in an inquiry of the interview data by data-driven view and inductive way coding base perspective.

Thematic analysis method to investigate how participants view the research question. In thematic analysis a large amount of information gathered from a number of participants can be analysed and produced into a meaningful data. (Boyatzis, 1998). In thematic analysis key themes within a data set identify through a structured methodology and there is no constrain of specific epistemological position. Guidelines set by Braun and Clarke for thematic analysis was used as these are up-to-date description of the technique. (Braun & Clarke, 2006)

### **3.1.5 Study Setting**

The study is carried out in a non-contrived setting.

### **3.1.6 Unit of Analysis**

The unit is one person / senior party worker (Senator/MNA/MPA). The unit of analysis denotes to the scope to which the level of accumulation or the level of examination of collected data emphasizes especially on objects or an object (entire organization, department, groups, activity and individuals). For this study the unit is one person / senior party worker (Senator/MNA/MPA).

### **3.1.7 Time-Horizon**

Time-Horizon is cross-sectional.

### **3.1.8 Sampling**

Stratified Purposeful Sampling is employed in this study.

#### **3.1.8.1 Sample Size**

Typically, qualitative sampling required smaller sample size than the quantitative, but it should be adequate to get feedback, perception or the required data. Finding the most or complete perception, feedback or opinion through interviews will lead to the accomplishment of saturation. Saturation happens when including more respondents or interviewees to the study will not give more results in further perspectives or data. Glaser and Strauss endorse the concept of saturation for attaining a suitable sample size in qualitative studies. (Glaser, 1967) Creswell recommends 5 to 25 interviews for the qualitative study and obtaining saturation (Creswell, 1998)

Qualitative sample size may be the best determined by the time allotted, resource accessible, and study objectives, but using the recommendations of both social scientists Glaser and Creswell. Researcher initially was chosen to interview around 10 senior party workers (Senator/MNA/MPA), but researcher interviewed eleven senior party workers to get the answer of my question. By keeping the equality in view the number of interviews is distributed as follow:



Sr.	Party	Senator/MNA/MPAs
1.	PML (N)	06
2.	PTI	05

**Table 1:** Sampling Size

### 3.1.8.2 Sampling Technique

Stratified purposive sampling technique used in this study. In stratified sampling we “stratify” a sample based on characteristic. The key purpose of this approach is to capture significant variations (even though mutual themes may emerge). A stratified purposeful sampling approach can advance reliability to a research study. When sufficient information is acknowledged to find characteristics that may assume how the phenomenon is obvious, then it may make sense to use a stratified purposeful sampling approach.

### 3.1.9 Participants

The purpose of qualitative method was to find a little homogeneous sample significant for the study. (Lyons & Coyle, 2007). An example of 11 was seen as practical, given the prerequisites of this study, moreover being suitable to get adequately rich and worthy data, as thematic analysis facilitated investigation to get in-depth knowledge from the experiences of 11 senior level politicians of the ruling party Pakistan Tehrik e Insaf and the main opposition party which remain in power in last 5 years tenure the Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz, my respondent are public representatives of provincial assembly, national assembly and senate of Pakistan, they have years of experience of politics, people representation and running and participating of party’s activities and party policies formulations. Participants’ awareness, intentions, party policies and difficulties in promotion of political tolerance were reflected in the interviews and their wishes regarding the existing evidence about on-going processes and future aims of direction and legislation and the weaknesses in the delivery of these. Also, stand-out learning into both the positive and negative impact of current continuous circumstances was acquired. In relation to the experiences and knowledge of these politicians the associated challenges of self-

concept regarding political tolerance also observed. Potential support for more effective institutional way of dealing with political workers were discussed.

For this study researcher tried to get time for interview from many parliamentarians and luckily, researcher get time from the politically mature and experts, who not only hold the good positions in the parliament and governance structure of Pakistan but they have great experience in politics and in their parties. They have good educational background, no one is educated less than graduation, most of them studied political science and L.L.B. and one of them is PhD and supervising PhDs as well. Out of eleven participants all are well aware with the term political tolerance and the responsible politics, most of them are well informed about the party politics, its working style and systems and the political workers, although few are not well aware from the rules regulations and procedures of their party for some specific political activities.

For the interviews some call researcher at their home, some in their private office and some in their official office at senate and parliament, all the participants welcome open heartily and give proper time because they want to share their knowledge on this topic and they could give men in depth knowledge about the research question. List of participants attached in annexure B.

The researcher has no personal contact with any of them, the researcher have no any affiliation with any political party, and have no support for the policies of any party, no personal biasness.

Annexure B provides a summary of the participants descriptive data, the inclusion criteria were the capacity to provide informed consent, an experience politician who is at the leading position of party and as well as representing the public at large including the party as well.

## Chapter 4

### 4 Findings and Discussion

This study used semi-structured interviews of experienced political representatives of PML-N and PTI, the detailed interviews are attached at Annexure-C. The approach for this study is qualitative and the strong points to use qualitative data are that usually it distinct as 'rich' or 'contextualised' which recommends it is descriptive. (Braun & Clarke, 2006) Interviews were recorded through sound recorder and conducted at convenient place for the participants at their home and work place setting. After the interview, instantly transcription was given to the participants. Researcher ensured that the interviewees were satisfied, and they had said all they wished to state. The interviews were transcribed by researcher himself.

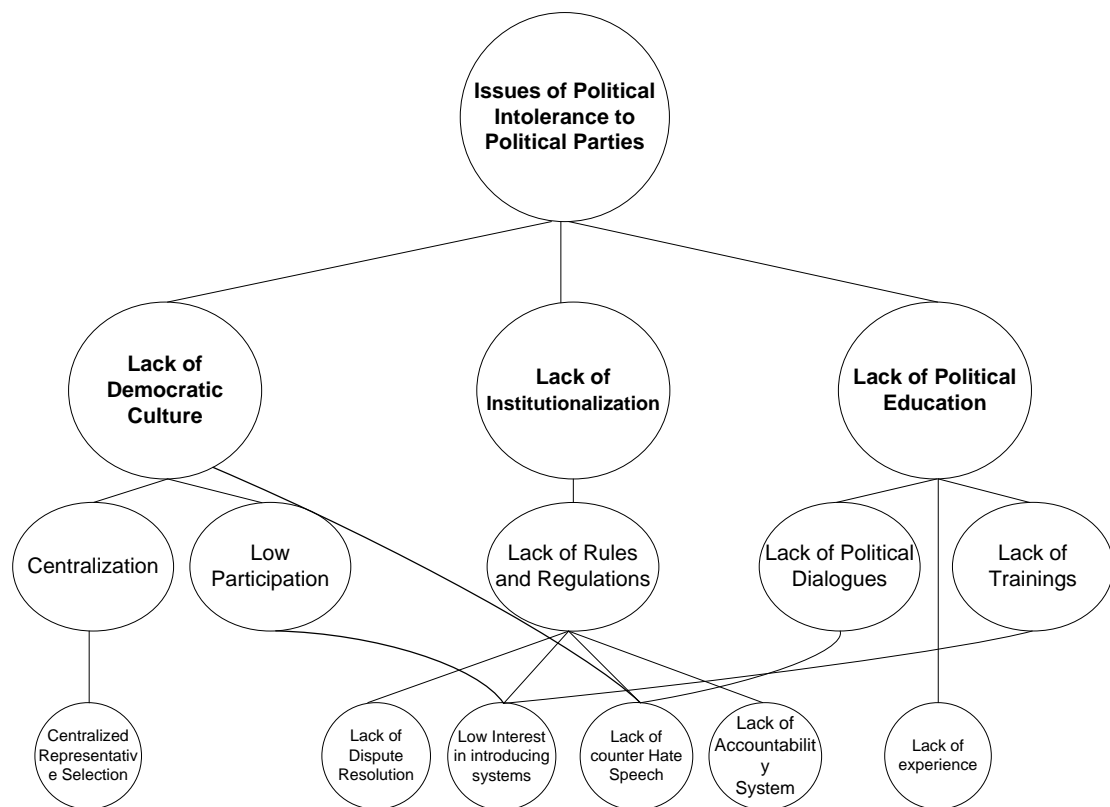
#### 4.1 Thematic Analysis

The appropriate method of data analysis is considered the thematic analysis, as it permits for the analysis of a big quantity of information from several interviewees to be analysed and produced into a meaningful data. It gives an organised method for identify key themes from collected data. (Boyatzis, 1998) Researcher has followed the stages of thematic analysis as described by Braun and Clarke. The first stage is interview transcription and reading to get familiarize with the ideas and data the interviewees provided. Second stage is one by one coding to create the underlying codes by highlighting the important points from the data (see Annexure-C). At third stage collected data was gathered under similar codes and organized into initial themes (see Themes map and overview). In saliency analysis (Buetow, 2010) of themes, frequency of data within the theme and the apparent importance of that theme was deliberated. Insignificant and infrequent themes were discarded. At stage four the themes were reviewed, refined, defined and considered in connection with each other in a 'themes map' (see Fig 1). Finally, the original transcripts of interviews were then re-read to confirm the ultimate themes were reinforced by the inventive data.

## 4.2 Themes

The thematic analysis of detailed interviews, helped researcher to identify the main themes and sub themes (themes impacting the main themes or have less importance and saliency than the main themes) that are impacting the research question i.e. issues and challenges of political intolerance in political parties, and these main and sub themes are further collectively considered as three main themes i.e. ‘lack of Institutionalization’, ‘lack of Democratic Culture’ and ‘lack of Political Education’. These were all well-thought-out main themes within the dataset and highly salient and important from most of the participants. All identified main themes and sub themes and sub to sub themes which are impacting each other and have relationships are shown in the themes map (Figure 1).

## 4.3 Themes Map



**Figure 1:** Themes Map

#### 4.4 Themes Overview

Theme	Sub-themes	Description	Saliency
Lack of Democratic Culture	Centralization	Centralized decision making in party	High
	Centralized representative selection	Party leadership have discretion power to nominate representatives and believe that Chairman should have discretion power to nominate representative Leadership Perception is there is democracy in all party activities	Medium
	Low Participation	No devised system of participation in party activities Willingness to make system of participation but lack of interest Grouping in parties Perception of delay in decision making Lack of trust on party wings and workers No importance of wings in decision making Willingness to make system based on inclusiveness but lack of interest practice Leadership don't listen workers properly	High
Lack of institutional ization	Lack of rules and regulations	Some party functions and activities don't cover by laws and rules There is no written system to counter hate speech Lack in written system of nomination of representatives	High
	Lack of dispute resolution	Disputes considered as personal issue and don't resolve by party until it effect party activities Disputes used for grouping in party	Medium
	Low interest in introducing systems/criteria/standards	Leadership believe that Standardization is not possible for selection of representative Leadership believe that unstandardized nomination process is fair enough Understand the importance of systems but lack in interest in introducing and implementing the systems	Medium
	Lack of Accountability system	No written system of accountability Discrimination between junior and senior leadership while implementation of law	High

	Lack of counter hate speech	Issuance of explanation is enough to deal hate speech If system develop against hate speech, punishment should be soft Counter hate speech system could not develop because of party loyalty	Medium
Lack of Political Education	Lack of Trainings	No political education of party worker to make them empower enough to participate in party activities and give their input Workers even don't know how to talk with leadership There is no defined education/training system for party workers No political education and grooming for leadership to stop hate speech Leadership don't consider themselves responsible to educate their workers Lack of awareness about dispute resolution system within party(party policies)	High
	Lack of Political dialogue	No system of inter or intra party dialogues Willingness to make system of dialogues but lack in interest and practice No introduction with heterogeneous political networks and political diversity There is no devised system for periodical general council's/corner meetings to discuss party affairs No corner meetings held regularly	High
	Lack of experience	Lack of experience in political activities Student unions are not allowed	Medium
<b>Table 2: Themes Overview</b>			

#### 4.5 Analysis

The study finds out the issues and challenges of political intolerance facing by the main ruling and main opposition party. The respondents talked about the important issues regarding the intolerance, most important and repetitive issues are considered as main themes and they are three, and there are six important and less repetitive issues which are considered as sub themes along with some more sub themes which are also important but less in repetition having direct impact on main themes or on sub themes, following is one by one discussion and analysis on every theme.

#### **4.6 Lack of Democratic Culture**

Democratic culture designates the set of attitudes and behaviours required to make democratic institutions and democratic laws function and in practice. The democratic culture emphasizes the participation of general public in politics with more active roles. The citizens express support for the right to organize civic groups, work for political parties, protest and vote. For all this, citizens must show the willingness to extend civil rights to proponents of unpopular causes because tolerance is a critical element of democratic political culture. One of the factors obstructing the growth of a democratic culture and ethos has been the absence of democracy within the political parties. Lack of democratic values within the mainstream political parties has gradually stopped the growth of democratic culture.

For democratization, scholars argue that the political parties need to establish a democratic political culture in their ranks to encourage the participation of general public in the political process. Intraparty democracy challenges status quo by circulating elites (Putnam, 1976) and providing opportunity to aspiring politicians and dissatisfied groups (Schlesinger, 1966) for transforming existing political structures. (Brady, 1988) Major political parties of the country are lacking in democratic culture inside their very own associations, most of the political parties as opposed to delivering new authority, they just protracted their pioneers' position as the all-powerful inside the party. Internal processes such as the ideological foundations, party history, personality of leaders and staff members and internal political culture are more influential to a party's internal functions. (Mahmood A., 2014) Nondemocratic culture or lack of democratic culture might not allow its own people to criticize their shortcomings. In short, the people may not be allowed to form their individual opinions on certain issues because they are expected to follow what their party is telling them. Intolerance to criticism, establishment of personal rule and lust for power led intolerance. In other way lack of democratic culture develops factionalism which later results in the intra-party conflicts and intensified the trends of intolerance in political culture. (Tariq, 2016)

Major political parties of the country are lacking in democratic culture inside their very own associations, most of the political parties as opposed to delivering new

authority, they just protracted their pioneers' position as the all-powerful inside the party.

Democratic culture is based on the spaces the parties provide to the difference of ideas, it also directly impact the tolerance of a party, but the current wave of intolerance from the ruling party is reducing our spaces, we face hooting and shouting on roads even in other countries. (Chaudhary, 2018) There is a formal system for it, but it is not practiced so recklessly, that's why people could not raise their opinion. (Malik, 2018)

#### **4.6.1 Low Participation**

The significant variable of internal democracy is that all the followers and groups take part in the democratic process of the party. This underlines the inclusion of the general population in the policies of party, and also shows the representation in all party activities. Democratic policy-making includes a participative process of the development of policy in discussions, consultation gatherings and on other platforms. It decentralizes the command of decision-making to the general population of political parties. (Salih, 2006)

Most of the participants said that there is no proper devised system to get input from party workers of different wings like youth wing, women wing, labour wing and minorities wing to encourage them to participate in the process of party policy making, candidate nomination or selection, any petition or collaboration/coalition with other parties, because these decisions are made by the seniors and at upper level of party hierarchy, these issues are not deal with these levels. (Bangash, 2018) There is lack of trust on junior party workers that they could give input in any activity of party functions. (Romina, 2018) Party leadership knows the importance of participation but yet not willing to devised any system of participation. They said in politics it is not possible to get input of every worker for decisions. So, there is no formal mechanism for it. (Malik, 2018)

It has been observed that leadership is reluctant to devise a system of participation. People show willingness to make system of participation but lacking in



interest and practice. They think no system can be introduced, if a worker is hard working then party should take him on up stages and the assessment is based on his working and ideology which shows how much you follow and support your leader and that's matter. (Khattak, 2018)

Democracy is considered all about inclusiveness. If there is no set up for people's inclusion in the party, there might be little participation since one affects the other. Scarrow (Scurrow, S., 2005) utters that in the most inclusive parties, all the members of party, or even all-party supporters have the opportunity to give their opinion on significant matters, just like, to choose of party leader or the selection of party candidates. Because of the way that inclusiveness involves process and formal rule, more inclusive parties tend to offer more prospects for open deliberation before to the decision stage. As in a way, this specific variable (inclusiveness) is truly and visibly lacking in the Parties.

In political parties' leadership shows willingness to have a democratic system for party but they are lacking in practice because they don't trust their people. They feel people are not enough capable to give right suggestion or they might be ditch them at any level. Such kind of perspectives keep them away to trust on their own workers which causes of discrimination. There is no system to get input from them or to encourage them because there are decisions which should be taken by seniors and at upper level, these issues are not deal with these levels. (Bangash, 2018) Party alliance is not good but some time you have to make it and it is not the level of local level leadership to participate or guide or suggest upper level leadership that's why we don't ask them for their input and decisions are made at upper level without taking local level in confidence. (Khattak, 2018) Party don't take on board these wings for any kind of decision making or other matters, they have no value actually. (Jazi, 2018)

#### **4.6.2 Centralization**

There is highly acceptance of centralization in parties and most of the party leadership believe that there should be centralization and decisions should be in the hand of party leadership, the central executive committee or the chairman.

As indicated by Norris (Norris, 2004), nomination process of parties is one of the major issues in intra-party democracy, as it were who chooses how citizens are qualified for kept running parliament as a candidate of that particular party. Regardless of whether such nomination procedures are considered democratic or not, depends on the level of centralization, in other words, regional, district or local bodies have how much power in the selection process. Furthermore, the level of participation in the nomination is also important: The more people that are get involved in the selection, the more democratic process is, additionally the extent of decision-making is vital.

Leadership believes that unstandardized nomination process is fair enough, but when we have a look on practices we found that democratic practices are lacking, especially in decision making process. Party leadership have discretion power to nominate representatives. Leadership believes that standardization is not possible for selection of representative. When you go for the democratic decision making it delays the decision-making process. (Bangash, 2018) People believe that final decision is in the hand of party chairman and it is democratic way of decision making. There is nothing wrong with it. (Khattak, 2018) People believe that final decision is in the hand of party chairman (one person) and it is democratic way of decision making which causes delay in decision making but it is effective way. (Bangash, 2018)

#### **4.6.3 Centralized Representative Selection**

Party leadership have authority to select the contestant, in party politics there are two types of people one are in party politics and second are in election politics like the people who have to contest election those who have linked with people twenty four hour, when he contest election they winning changes are greater for him, second people are experts in some area and they are much needed to run the affairs of party and government as well, those people should be selected by the party leader, otherwise there should be merit and those people who twenty four hour give services to people and remain in them ha have right to get party ticket, some people are needed to rut the affairs of the country and some are needed to deal with the public and they did not understand the matters of country level, foreign affairs etc. so for the team of experts. (Jazi, 2018)

They think no system can be introduced, if a worker is hard working then party should take him on up stages and the assessment is based on his working, ideology is how much you follow your leader, how much you support your leader, it doesn't mean that you are connected with the ideology, every constituency has its own dimensions where a nazariati could not win but an electable could win the election therefore it is important to choose an electable there. (Khattak, 2018)

#### **4.7 Lack of Institutionalization**

Institutionalization is the process by which procedures acquire value and organizations acquire stability. (Huntington, 1968) An institutionalized political party is externally autonomous in their policies and holds a certain level of systems in their internal organization. (Panebianco, 1988) An important aspect of a political party institutionalization is the level of organization. How well organized is the party, how clearly defined are the internal structures and procedures, and the organizational apparatus present at all administrative levels, local and at a nationwide level. (Mainwaring, Scott, 1998)

More institutionalized parties perform more constructively in their functional duties rather than less institutionalized parties, the low performance leads towards blames. (Matthias & Alexander, 2008) The higher degree of party system institutionalization positively correlates with the consolidation of democracy, and less democracy manifests intolerance. (Andreas, 2008) Due to less institutionalization in political parties of Pakistan the trust of public on democracy is less and the public has little faith in political parties, during the early years of the military regime of Pervez Musharraf a World Values Survey found that the public had more trust in the military than political parties. (Barracca, 2007)

One of the largest barriers in the struggles of democratic competency is inadequately institutionalized party systems. (Mainwaring, Scott, 1998) In most cases governments without strong parties' incline to be considered by less accountability, more personalization, more insecurity and more volatility. It is very critical and vital to

build strong and well institutionalized political parties for the strength and durability of democracies.

Political parties as a well-established institution is just a dream in current situation, according to some of the participants who think that our society is not yet reached at the point where they demand and to think about an established institutionalized party, and it will take some time to come up at the level when they think about the systematic ways, rules and laws about all the activities and functions of a party that is most important to sustain and flourish the democratic system in Pakistan. Most of the party functions aren't covered by some written laws and regulations and party leadership are not much interested in systemizing the functions of their party, they assume that leadership always make decisions in the best interest. Party loyalty and the street power are some qualitative terminologies and to achieve them it is not possible to quantify the activities through systems, and it is also not possible to develop the systems, there is need of flexibility, they think.

Political party as institution required rules and regulations and rule of law to set clear institutional standards for responsibilities with accountability, understandable rules and procedures guarantee the strong and effective systems of an institution. Political parties in Pakistan facing many challenges to establish democratic leadership style and rule of law within party affairs. Most of the party leaders have urge for such system but they face issues while practicing it.

#### **4.7.1 Lack of Rules and Regulations**

The internal rules of political parties include requirements and provisions to be transparent in their decision-making, to seek input from their members at all levels when determining policies, to resolve all the issues, regulates how amendments of the rules is introduced. They should ensure proper functioning and development of the parties and seen as rules regulating any field. It determines how the party functions, what is the role of every party's member and structure. (Tunis, 2015) Rules are embodied in official party documents, its constitutions, party rule-books, party codes of conduct, and party administrative procedures. (Pippa, 2005)

The major predictor of political intolerance is psychological insecurity that manifest in authoritarianism and lawlessness. (Aaron, 2013) Party affairs run on leader's likes and dislike. Party workers do not have urge to demand a set of rules and regulations. They rely on leader's choice and general perception of party leadership. In interviews, most of the participants did not mention to their constitutions until asked which an indication is possibly in itself of the way in which these are dealt with additional as background, static archives without impact by and large on the activities of the party.

Political parties lack in establishing rules and regulations for all functional activities, also rule of law is also weak, sometimes when it comes to practice, decisions were made on leadership's choice and will. There is also discrimination between junior and senior leadership while implementation of law.

Party rules must be implemented on equality basis, but to keep party activities functional we have to see that if new person is more competent than an senior, we go for the selection of new person, so laws are made and exercised on situational requirement, but we implement them equally. (Bangash, 2018)

Junior worker or leadership get explanation letter on any allegation or misconduct, but senior leadership get exempted, we neglect their mistakes don't make them accountable, until party comes under the voices of people or the government. Most of the leadership do decisions on their own will, not according to rules and regulations, and this is happening at every level. (Jazi, 2018)

Workers think that decisions should be according to rules and regulations and it is practiced in party affairs. It is a societal issue we have differences in our society, we differ towards authorities, parents, elders, tribes. Some societies don't have such differences, kids used to ask about their rights even in front of their father. Such practices are common in western societies but not possible in our society. In reality people show differences, these differences are cultural. (Malik, 2018)

#### **4.7.2 Lack of Dispute Resolution**

Disputes within party or with other parties lead towards the hate, grouping and sometime changing of party affiliation, we have witness that during the long march of PTI there was a conflict between the party president Hashmi and party chairman Imran Khan (Tribune, 2014) and during the sit in the chairman announced the ending of party membership without following any proper way, and the leadership or the workers didn't ask any question on it.

Intra party democracy is low in most of the parties, mostly have groups and when they came in power they try to fit their supporter so when elections came and tickets given, the groups support their yes man who may qualified or not and they sometime did Ham/maltreat with a eligible strong candidate who have skills and qualification and fame and can win contest and they did not support him because the group knows that if in future there might conflict happen with even party leader at that time that person stand with me, not with the rule, laws and leaders as well. (Jazi, 2018)

People think that personal life shouldn't discuss in party, and personal level issues also shouldn't discuss in party so, disputes are not an issue to discuss and resolve by the party. (Khattak, 2018) When something happened, a committee formulated according to issue and resolve conflicts. There is no need to have a system, it can be done by that level of people themselves. (Khan, 2018)

#### **4.7.3 Low Interest in Introducing Systems**

Mostly respondents seem lack of interest and willingness in developing any system of accountability and rule of law. Respondents feel that it will create hurdles in functioning of parties and they can't remain flexible in their choice which is important for them. For example, parties have no standard system to counter hate speech. Leadership showed lack of interest in developing such system as they think that issuance of show cause notice and explanation (mafi nama) is enough to let it go/deal with it. (Bangash, 2018) They think, to counter hate speech, any standardize system could not develop because of party loyalty. They consider that hate speech is not such an issue as people use language of hate just in an emotional state as they

don't like to listen anything bad about their own party. On the other hand, if any system developed against hate speech, punishment should be soft. (Khan, 2018)

Participation of all party workers is not possible to get their input for the party functions because there is no proper devised system of participation and parties are not thinking about introducing the system. No participants have any idea or value for the system because some have believed that there is no need to get the input from them. (Jazi, 2018)

Participants believe that the low level party workers, for example the union council or district level workers are not even capable to talk with their leadership and articulate their ideas, and to cop up with this issue guidance or training from the senior leadership at their own will considered enough for the political education of these party workers, no proper system is required. (Romina, 2018) Respondents shows less willingness for the proper introduction and implementation of rules and regulations for all party functions and activities.

#### **4.7.4 Lack of Counter Hate Speech**

Hate speech is a bias-motivated and malicious speech aimed at a person or a group of people because of some of their actual or perceived innate characteristics. It expresses discriminatory, disapproving or prejudicial attitudes toward those characteristics. (Cohen-Almagor, 2013) It has been observed that parties are lacking in system of accountability for countering hate speech in parties, sometime party issues show cause notice and in reply if party worker made sorry than party forgive him without any penalty, parties could not develop the system because party knows that the worker is loyal with the party and have many sacrifices for the party and if he used the hate speech it is due to his emotional state and being human it is not an issue to get emotional, so he just need to say sorry in response of show cause notice, because party consider it as person accepted his wrong doing and will keep in consideration next time, so there should not be strong punishments for this action because people use hate speech in emotional states. (Bangash, 2018)

Mostly people take hate speech as emotional statements and do not bother it. Often people get emotional and they do hate speech unconsciously and they can't control it. Workers are emotional but follow the ideology, if a person does hate speech against country and its institutions then institutions should make them accountable and take in charge for the wrong doing. (Khattak, 2018) Emotions overcome human and make them out of control than what can be happen. (Khan, 2018)

It has been observed that in parties people justify bad language and don't consider it wrong or unethical. (Mushahid, 2018) if someone compare himself with an animal like tiger or eagle we consider it accepted, and if in same reference someone give comparison with the donkey than there should not be an issue, all the people have some attitudes that can be matched with an animal, so we give reference comparison with that animal on the basis of the attitude or behaviour someone possess, therefore it is normal thing to refer a person as donkey, cow or snake, as these terms are normally use in our society. (Jazi, 2018)

While sitting in central executive committee or in central working committee which are two different levels, in both of these committees there is very limited number of people who understand each other, so they talk openly and express their views heartedly from both sides. Everyone used to talk according to his/her own understanding. (Romina, 2018)

#### **4.7.5 Lack of Accountability System**

The concept of accountability implies that the actors being held accountable have obligations to act in ways that are consistent with accepted standards of behaviour and that they will be sanctioned for failures to do so. (Grant & Keohane, 2005) All the participants are agreed that there should be accountability in every aspect of political life, and their party have such system, but when discussed in detail, it's came to know that both parties are lacking with a proper system of accountability. There is something very important that people called themselves as democratic are not ready to develop system of accountability. Infact they justify not to have such a strong system. Sometimes it has been accepted that accountability must have done even within party, but they could not confirm that there is a system of accountability.



The reason mentioned behind this was, worker could not do accountability because of biasness and favouritism, and therefore outsiders can do accountability in a better way. (Jazi, 2018) There is assumption in party leadership that everything comes under the laws, but rules and regulations are not written, they also think that there is no need to take everything in black and white. Sometimes it has been observed that laws are not implemented equally and there is discrimination while applying the laws

It has been observed that there is a culture of discrimination in political parties. Within party, leadership is considered as not for accountability. Discrimination between junior and senior leadership has been observed in parties, while implementing laws. Sometime parties have set patterns for accountability, but favouritism makes this system ineffective. People accept the importance of accountability while they are afraid to powerlessness. They avoid asking for accountability on standards/criteria and think about their own personal interests. (Bangash, 2018)

People are being selected not elected for party tickets because loyalty with party matters. Representatives who could be a threat for party or could disagree with the decisions of leadership cannot get prominent place. (Romina, 2018)

People think that decisions should be according to rules and regulations and it is practiced in party affairs. But the thing is we have a human difference in our society. It is a societal issue we have differences in our society. We differ towards authorities, parents, elders, tribes. Some societies don't have such differences, kids used to ask about their rights even in front of their father. Such practices are common in western societies. In our society framework laws are implemented uniformly. But in reality, people show differences, these differences are cultural. (Malik, 2018)

Almost all political parties are initiated with one person's wish and latter people joined him in his mission. It develops a specific form of affiliation in which people take the leader as an ideal. This idealism based on emotional attachment. People fall prey of idealism and rejects accountability whenever it nears their own leadership.

#### **4.8 Lack of Political Education**

Political education is a framework for the securing and internalization of the norms, sentiment and values of political institution and society in which they live. (Osakwe and Itejere, 1993). Political education as a source of passing on to the learners, set of values and norms, the body of knowledge, and social orientation that are viewed as imperative and essential for the sustenance and prosperity of the people. Political education constitutes one of the most important predictors of political tolerance. The main purpose of political education is to facilitate the development of social, political and democratic values and skills. Political skills refer to the understanding of political interactions and processes in terms of how these exist and work, that is understanding of political systems as well as understanding of the notion of politics - how this concept permeates the formal arrangement of political systems.

A viable contribution to the discussion regarding the ethology of political tolerance is the consideration of the cultural and sociological bases for tolerant and intolerant attitudes and behaviour. Education and tolerance are strongly correlated. People having political education and skills are usually more willing to extend political and civil liberties to other groups. A good fundamental political education has a greater impact on attitudes of tolerance than does an emphasis on such abstractions as others rights and freedom of speech. (Vogt, 1986)

About hate speech one participant said if party workers don't groom well, mistakes happened. (Williams, 2018) In political parties' people are found complaining about the behaviours of party workers that they are less mannered, not capable but parties don't effort to educate them.

Mostly workers don't know, how party works and what are the system of party. They don't know how to participate in party affairs. There is no devised system for periodical general council's/corner meetings. (Bangash, 2018) If sometimes corner meetings held, mostly workers complaint that leadership don't consult with us, they don't communicate with us, don't listen us, and it is their right,

but we didn't properly give them. (Khan, 2018) Leadership at lower level are advice to spend time at their constituency and listen people. (Jazi, 2018)

#### **4.8.1 Lack of Trainings**

Trainings are the most imperative and most continuous and it has been debated by many, training is a program that helps the beginners in procuring particular aptitudes, planned to change in attitude or behaviour within frameworks or interventions. The particular expertise and change in behaviour depend on required knowledge that given by the training program. To exploit the execution of party workers by expanding their proficiency and viability is just conceivable through furnishing them with foreseen information and abilities. Training programs are planned and controlled effort to acclimatise new knowledge, skills and behaviour, to achieve proficient performance in party activities. The development of capacities of party workers is in term of advancement of aptitudes, capacities and conduct.

The main ruling party and main opposition party didn't devised any system for trainings of their workers, however all the participants are well aware with the importance of trainings and they plan to avail if there is any training offered by any institution, all the party workers get trained for the elections by the trainings arranged by the election commission (Romina, 2018) and respondent also showed their concerns about the lack of trainings from PIPS (Pakistan Institute of Parliamentary Services) and the Santee as well for their own trainings. But they are all not so willing to establish any training system within party structure for the junior party workers.

It has been observed that people at leadership level don't feel their responsibility to engage workers to teach them. They think workers should be self-motivated. We have diversity of worker, educated and uneducated, ethical and unethical, some like pen some like gun/power and some don't like both, so we have every kind of workers and whenever there is trainings come under discussion or an opportunity came for capacity building we proceed accordingly as per feasibility. (Romina, 2018) People think that there should be a system of trainings for the workers, as it is responsibility of PIPS not party to build capacity of representatives. (Malik, 2018)

Leadership don't consider themselves responsible to educate their workers. There is no political education of party worker to make them empower enough to participate in party activities and give their input. Leadership admit that they are lacking in providing the political education to the party workers and there is no system of training, we don't arrange fortnightly, monthly or any other form of scheduled system of education, although senior party workers provide proper guidance to junior workers, as most of the participants said this but there is also an issue that leadership don't consider trainings or political education of workers as their responsibility. (Romina, 2018)

#### **4.8.2 Lack of Experience**

Experience enhances knowledge and exposure to diverse ideas, heterogeneous political networks and the public dealing. Party workers who have less experience in politics have less knowledge that how political parties work and achieve their functional goals. In past student unions, provided such exposures to groom people for political participation. Leadership faced difficulty to deal with immature people as they even don't know how to talk with leadership. (Romina, 2018)

#### **4.8.3 Lack of Political Dialogues**

Political parties lacking in understanding and mutual trust that producing gap between the parties. A participant Romina Khursheed Alam shows great respect and praise for some other political opponents because she words with them and found them competent, and it is just because of dialogues between them on some political issues. The culture of political dialogue is not yet taken roots in politics of Pakistan. Political dialogues in any form can reduce the gap between the parties and political workers, it is unquestionable to say that political ties for a democratic culture need to be directed by a culture of negotiation, dialogue, understanding and tolerance. Khurram Dastagir Khan MNA said in a conference about intolerance that "Pakistan lacks a culture that promotes dialogue"

All the members were agreed that there should be dialogues between the parties and even within the parties, some consider it important to discuss national

level issues to find common grounds and political support, some consider dialogues to increase understanding between workers.

Dialogues between the party workers or outside the party workers always have a positive impact on party workers for their political education, PTI take the initiative in District Karak, KPK and curry MPA and MNA arranged a meeting and invite all other parties to come and present their manifesto and have a discussion on it in presence of media and public, but unfortunately no one came there. (Bangash, 2018) Most of the participants are agreed on the importance for inter and intra party dialogues but no one is willing to establish any system for it.

There is no devised system for periodical general council's/corner meetings to discuss party affairs. (Khattak, 2018) party advice their representatives to spend time in their constituencies and listen the people (Chaudhary, 2018) but there is no compulsion on senior leadership to listen juniors. Meetings are the best way for dialogues and most of the participants said that there should be meetings and we are lacking in it. These meetings could be a tool of training for dialogues, presentations, negotiations and discussion of different ideas.

Education could reduce the hate speeches, political education through political dialogues could help workers to introduce with other political workers and the frequent meetings will help them to present their ideas without any hate speech. (Zafar-ul-Haq, 2018) If our party or other parties arrange any dialogue forum or meetings we will love to join them. (Zia, 2018)

## Chapter 5

### 5 Conclusion and Recommendations

#### 5.1 Conclusion

The political tolerance is an individual's willingness to permit the expression of ideas or interests one opposes, the term and concept was used mostly when a group of people was considered unlike on the basis of their nationality, caste, race, religion or political identity. It was observed that political leadership of different political parties of Pakistan was showing intolerant behaviour to their rivals, the trigger down effects of this intolerance can easily observed between the political workers and general public who support any party. Therefore in this study researcher tried to find out the issues and challenges of intolerance to political parties so that the issues could get attention and addressed by the parties.

The study conducted to explore and analyse the key issues and challenges to political parties in promoting political tolerance by using qualitative data and thematic analysis, the same is the main question of this research, with three sub questions to answer the main question. Researcher came to known by reviewing literature that there are no previous studies about political intolerance have been made that examine the issues to political parties, specifically in Pakistan context.

The overall conclusion of this study was in context with the earlier researches, the independent variables that leads to political intolerance are: democratic culture, education and rule of law. (Sullivan & James Piereon, 1982) Respondents were very openly showed their view point about political activities and were not afraid to expressing them. Consequentially researcher gets very deep knowledge about the issues and challenges they are facing to promote political tolerance. Petersen et. al. found that people are intolerant towards groups that they assume as disrespecting democratic rules, in this case, during the interviews researcher observed that both parties consider each other as not following the democratic rules. Politics is a central feature for debate and discussion of majority of Pakistanis, hence impacting the society from the intolerance of political leadership for their rivals.

To conclude on this thesis the aim of the research has been achieved, it can be concluded that clear, concise and prominent themes have been found through the use of thematic analysis on the data collected from the political leadership and public representatives/parliamentarians of PTI and PML-N.

To conclude the answer of first sub question, the views of representatives helped researcher to identify the themes which researcher considered as issues, the first main theme is 'Lack of Institutionalization' and the sub themes are 'lack of accountability systems', 'lack of dispute resolution', 'lack of counter hate speech' 'lack of systems/rule/regulations' and 'low interest in introducing systems/rule/standards'. The findings from the participants shows that parties believe in accountability and do accountability but they didn't have any standardize written system of accountability, along with accountability most of the party functions don't covered by the laws, rules and regulations but the best practices are in practice and the absence of these causing discrimination and favouritism that create distrust and frustration and lead towards intolerance when communication occur. Disputes are natural while working in groups but in parties they are considered as personal issues, and no formal action taken until they affect party activates, there is no written dispute resolution system/rules/regulations within the parties, the committees are formulated when disputes start effecting party. Leadership have low interest in making a system for dispute resolution, these disputes leads towards groupings to use as pressure groups for their demands and intolerance between two participants who are actually impacting the party. Hate speech is not considered important issue by the representatives, PML-N is better to counter the hate speech and follow their leader Nawaz Sharif but the PTI considered this issue with lenient response and they follow their leader Imran Khan who mostly used hate speech. However there is no written standardize system to counter hate speech, only issuance of show cause notice is considered enough to take remedial actions and some participants said that if we establish the system against the hate speech we believe the punishment should be minor not major. Political parties are considered as institutions and institutionalization is important to perform its functions and activities but participants told that some of the party functions and activities have no proper written standardize system, procedures, rules, regulations and laws especially to counter hate speech, dispute

resolution and nomination of representatives. The issue get more importance when the researcher came to know that some party leadership thinks that they could not develop the standardize system to counter hate speech because of party loyalty, and the perception that the current non standardize system is fair enough and leadership should have discretion authority to select or reject a contestant nominated from an informal selection process, that's leads towards the intolerance in party workers when they got know that deserve person didn't get selected and preference get someone who are not really popular in area workers. Researcher conclude this main and sub themes with the suggestion that both parties need to work on institutionalization of their parties and establish proper rules and regulations for all party functions and activities to avoid distrust, grouping and personalization that create intolerance between the workers and parties.

The findings identified the second main theme as 'lack of democratic culture' with sub themes are 'low participation', 'centralization', and 'centralized system of representative selection'. The findings from the interviews of party and public representatives and leadership identified the lack of democratic culture within the parties because there is no written standardize system of participation of low level workers like union councils or district level and also for the youth wing, women wing, minorities wing, labour wings and other wings, moreover the leadership is not so much interested to devise or make the system of participation because they believe there will be delay in decision making if the system is establish and it is impossible to get input from the local level on all issues. Both the parties are highly centralized and all the decisions are in the hand of either the party chairman or the central executive body/committee. Leadership think that the decisions should be in the hands of party chairman or central executive body because they have no trust on the local level workers and leadership due to their low political education, some participants think that the junior most workers even didn't know how to talk with leadership and couldn't contribute in any decision making activity. Party leadership think that there is democracy in all party activities but at the same time they believe the party chairman should have discretion power to select party representative or nominees for election contest and party ticket. The wings have no representation system at the upper level of the party, party leadership thinks that the allocation of party seats to



women and minorities is enough to include them in party system and this is enough to make party inclusive, however youth and labour wings are demanding for their proper representation and system in the parliament, women and The junior party workers claim that party leadership didn't listen their graveness properly and there is no devised channel to approach them. Concluding as lack of democratic culture leads towards the gap and distrust between the party leadership and party workers and hence leads towards intolerance of junior party workers.

The third and most important theme identified as 'lack of political education' with the sub themes 'lack of trainings', 'lack of political dialogues' and 'lack of experience'. The findings identified that both the political parties are not providing political education to their workers, they know that the junior workers are not capable enough to participate in party activates and required political education and trainings to get his input properly, but they are reluctant to make any defined political trainings/education system, they trainings are not only required by the junior worker and leadership but the senior leadership is also required trainings to groom themselves to avoid the disputes and the hate speech. Trainings have their importance as whenever the opportunity of training comes from the third party they always tried to avail, leadership think that it is important to empower the workers so that they could take effective party in political activities and for this they consider that MNAs MPAs and Senators should take it as responsibility to train their people. There is system of guidance from the senior party workers and leadership to junior workers but it based on the requirements and demands and those who don't demand, never get guidance. Leadership didn't take their moral and political responsibility to educate their sub ordinates and juniors. For the political education, the inter and intra party dialogues are considered much important by all the participants and some take initiative at their own to start inter party dialogues but others didn't respond well. Leadership have interest in dialogues but they think if someone else starts this activity they will love to take part. Due to no dialogue forum or less meetings the junior and senior workers as well don't introduce with political diversity and diverse political ideas, hence the tolerance level remains less with different ideas and people as well. There is no devised system for periodical general council meeting or corner meetings to discuss party affairs and political issues and party stances, due to lack of regular

and proper meetings arrangements causing the emerging leaders to come up with their ideas and lack of experience for management of gathering that's why we seen mismanagement in big gatherings of both the parties. Student unions also play a vital role in providing the experience to junior workers and introducing them with the political dialogues and diversity which is also banned by the government and need to be re-establish to help political parties in the political education of their workers.

Summarizing the findings of this study as well as responding to the three sub research questions dominated by the purpose and the overall research aim to find issues and challenge of intolerance to political parties as the Lack of Institutionalization, Lack of Democratic Culture and Lack of Political education causing Intolerance in the party workers and leadership that eventually penetrating in society and introducing the political polarization of the diverse society of Youthias and Patwaries that may lead towards the radicalization. All the finned issue/themes are important to learn from the mistakes and take corrective measures to make party as institution flourishing democratic culture in party and society and politically educate the workers and the society at large.

It is concluded that themes identified very important issues and shows that both the parties should take these issues serious and make necessary amendments in their system, and introduce and implement the systems, laws and rules to counter hate speech and resolve disputes.

## 5.2 Recommendations

The study conducted to identify the issues and challenges of political intolerance in political parties, and successfully identified that there are lack of institutionalization, lack of democratic culture and lack of political education are the main issues that are causing political intolerance in political workers. The recommendations are also come from the participant's concerns, data and themes.

Followings recommendations are made on the basis of analysis and conclusion derived from findings for Pakistani political parties.

### **For Pakistani Political parties:**

The following recommendations comes from the main identified themes/issues 'lack of institutionalization', 'lack of democratic culture' and 'lack of political education' as strategy to promote tolerance within party workers, so political parties should:

1. Introduce and implement written laws, rules and regulations for system of
  - a. Accountability
  - b. Dispute Resolution
  - c. Counter Hate Speech
  - d. Participation
2. Define selection criteria and procedure for nomination of representatives
3. Decentralize some authorities to lower executive level and wings e.g. youth wing, women wing and district level bodies.
4. Introduce a regular political education system/training doctrine for workers and leadership
5. Introduce inter and intra party dialogues system and regular corner meetings

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## Questionnaire for Interview

The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather data about the **Issues and Challenges to Political Parties in promoting of Political Tolerance**, to furnish the needs of research work for M.Phil Degree in Governance and Public Policy. All information provided by you will kept with confidentiality.

Name:	Party:	Position
		MNA / Senator / MPA
Sr	Statement	
1	Which leadership style is better to administer party activities? authoritative or democratic? and why	
	آپ کے خیال میں پارٹی کے معاملات کو چلانے کے لیے لیڈر کو آمرانہ طرز عمل اپنانا چاہیے یا جمہوری اور کیوں؟	
2	Do you allow PTI workers to make you accountable publicly on your actions? and why?	
	کیا آپ اجازت دینگے کہ پی ٹی آئی کے ورکرز آپ کے عمل اور کارکردگی کا احتساب کریں؟ اور کیوں؟	
3	Do you think PTI is really threat for your politics and your party politics and power?	
	آپ کے خیال میں پی ٹی آئی کی سیاست آپ کی اور ن لیگ کی سیاست اور طاقت کے لیے ایک خطرہ ہے؟	
4	Is PML-N implement party rules and regulations equally or it based on willingness of party leadership? Which system is better in your point of view?	
	ن لیگ میں پارٹی قوانین و اصول برابری کی بنیاد پر نافذ کیے جاتے ہیں یا لیڈرز کی خواہش کے مطابق؟ اور آپ کے خیال میں کونسا نظام بہتر ہے؟	
5	Which system is better? a defined selection criteria/procedures for recruitment of office bearers, MNAs/MPAs/Senators or only willingness of party leadership? and why	
	پارٹی نمائندوں - ایم ان اے / ایم پی اے / سینیٹرز - کے چناؤ کے لیے کوئی متعین نظام ہونا چاہیے یا پارٹی لیڈرشپ کی خواہش پر چناؤ ہونا چاہیے؟	
6	How do you make accountable a party worker for his actions? Especially about hate speech?	
	ن لیگ پارٹی ورکرز کے اعمال کا احتساب کیسے کرتی ہے؟ خصوصاً تحقیر/نفرت آمیز تقاریر کا؟	
7	How disputes within party are resolved in PTI? is there any defined system?	
	ن لیگ میں اختلافات کے حل کرنے کا کیا طریقہ کار ہے؟	
8	How PML-N encourage party workers (youth wing, women wing, minorities) to participate in policy making, representative selection and party coalitions?	
	ن لیگ کی دستور سازی، نمائندگان کے چناؤ، اور پارٹی اتحاد کے معاملات میں پارٹی ورکرز-یوتھ ونگ، وومن ونگ، اقلیت کو کیسے شامل کیا جاتا ہے؟	
9	How frequently general councils meetings are conducted at different levels to discuss party activities?	
	پارٹی معاملات ڈسکس کرنے کے لیے مختلف پارٹی لیولز کی جنرل/انتظامی کونسلز کی میٹنگ عموماً ہر کتنے عرصے بعد منعقد ہوتی ہے؟	
10	How PML-N provide political education to party workers? is there any defined training doctrine and syllabus?	
	ن لیگ میں پارٹی ورکرز کو سیاسی تعلیم مہیا کرنے کا کیا نظام ہے؟ اور وہ کیسے کارآمد ہے؟	
11	Do you think intra or inter party dialogues on different policies/problems are important and how frequently your party arrange them?	
	کیا ن لیگ کو اپنے ورکرز کے مابین اور دوسری پارٹیز کے مابین مختلف سیاسی معاملات پر مکالمہ/بحث کا انعقاد کرنا چاہیے؟ اور کیوں؟	

## List of Participants

Sr.	Party	Interviewee	Representative Position	Education
R1	PTI	<b>Zia Ullah Khan Bangash</b>	MPA, second tenure, adviser to the Chief Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa for elementary and secondary education.	Master in Political Science
R2		<b>Shahid Ahmad Khattak,</b>	MNA, President Insaf Student Federation, KPK, Member CEC ISF	Master in Political Science
R3		<b>Malik Qasim Khan Khattak</b>	MPA, Adviser to the chief minister on prisons	L.L.B.
R4		<b>Ejaz Khan Jazi</b>	MPA, Second tenure, Rawalpindi District President	Graduation
R5		<b>Brig. (R) John Kenneth Williams</b>	Senator, Member of different Senate Committees, Administrative expertise	Graduation
R6	PML-N	<b>Romina Khurshid Alam</b>	MNA, Second tenure, Representing Women, Coordinator PM Youth Laptop Scheme, Media Coordinator Young Parliamentarians Forum	Masters in Political Science Researcher
R7		<b>Dr. Musadik Masood Malik</b>	Senator, Ex Federal Minister of Water and Power, Ex spoke person for Prime Minister, Assistant to PM for Media Affairs	Phd in Health Policy, Phd Supervisor
R8		<b>Saleem Zia</b>	Senator, Ex provincial law minister, member of many senate committees	Graduation
R9		<b>Ahsan Iqbal Chaudhary</b>	Ex Minister for Interior and Minister for Planning, Development and Reforms, Ex Minister of Planning and Development, Chairman of Planning Commission, Ex Minister of Minorities and Education	MBA
R10		<b>Raja Muhammad Zafar-ul-Haq</b>	Senator, Leader of the Opposition Senate, Ex Minister for Information & Broadcasting and Religious Affairs, Ex Ambassador of Pakistan to Egypt, Ex Adviser to the Prime Minister, Federal Minister, Observer O.I.C., Chairman PML-N	L.L.B, M.A (Political Science)
R11		<b>Mushahid Ullah Khan</b>	Senator, Ex Minister for climate change, Ex Secretary General Labour Wing, Ex Chief Coordinator, Ex Information Secretary, Central Vice President	L.L.B

## Data Coding

Data	Initial Codes
<p>Q1: Which leadership style is better to administer party internal activities, authoritative or democratic? and why</p> <p>R1: Party activities are democratic in our party, advices/demands first come from CEC(Central Executive Committee) of any part of country and goes to Core Committee and the final decision is in the hand of chairman IK, every decision have three level CEC, Core Committee and then Party Chairman Imran Khan, this process take some delay in decision but this process is ok because it is effective, and I believe on this way of decision making</p> <p>R2: Politics is the name of democracy, in democracy you have to listen everyone, it is responsibility of party leadership</p> <p>R3: Leadership style should be democratic, the political system of Pakistan is based on democracy so in democracy you should be democratic, because the ineffective or bad democratic system is better then dictatorship</p> <p>R4: There should be democracy in parties, but infect there is no intra party democracy in any party including PTI, we say there is democracy (nara to lagaty hain) but infect there is grouping, everyone have groups and when they came in power they try to fit their supporter (mera banda) so when elections came and tickets turn came the groups support their yes man who may qualified or not and they sometime did Ham/maltreat with a eligible strong candidate who have skills and qualification and fame and can win contest and they did not support him, because the group knows the if in future there might conflict happen with even party leader at that time that person stand with me, not with the rule, laws and leaders as well</p> <p>R5: There are number of changes going on at political</p>	<p>Our system is democratic(R1,R6,R7,R10)</p> <p>There is delay in decision making but its effective(R1,R3)</p> <p>Demand/advices come from CEC, discussed at Core Committee and approved by Chairman(R1)</p> <p>Democracy is in every aspect of politics(R2,R4)</p> <p>System is and should be participatory and inclusive(R2,R5,R6,R7,R10)</p> <p>Party leadership is and should be democratic(R2,R3,R5,R6,R8,R9 )</p> <p>There is no intra party democracy in every party(R4)</p> <p>There is grouping in parties, Groups support their representatives either qualified or not(R4)</p> <p>There is right to speech for everyone(R6,R7)</p>

front now a day. First, we were canvassing the elections and all our activities are directed towards attracting the voters. Now at this time once elections have been over and PTI has come into power after the struggle of 22 years. This is a great achievement but along with that we must run the government also. In that mean we have to keep ourselves at best on what's happening so as you know sometime bureaucrats say yes and sometimes they say no because they are there.

R6:

For party instructions or policy we always use a proper democratic style a parliamentary style in which everyone talk and everyone get right to discuss and the leaders listen them open hearty, we conduct party meetings, there are two types of meetings, one in which all party workers attend it is called a general body meeting in which there is no MNA or MPA all are workers, second is working committee meeting, and in both meetings the interaction or right to speech is for anyone

R7:

It should be Democratic, and it is democratic. We conduct preliminary meetings as a parliamentary committee meeting has been conducted a day before yesterday in which we discussed everything on threat bared, we discussed all pros and cons and issues related to finance bill. Everyone get opportunity to give his/her point of view there was also a presentation regarding the finance bill. One agreed view point has been proposed. Moreover, everyone has right to talk on decision while sitting on any TV channel or parliament floor.

R8:

We don't have choice in it, we have to be careful to deal with workers in a democratic way.

If we don't use democratic way we can't kept people longer, they well run away from us

R9:

Being political party it is our responsibility to promote democracy so how can we use nondemocratic way to lead our workers

R10:

Yes party practiced democratic style. We interact with people to know about their concerns and opinions.

<p>Q2: Do you allow Opponent party workers to make you publicly accountable and why?</p> <p>R1: We are very open for accountability and we allow all parties (RTS) PML-N, PTI, ANP, JI to make us accountable, they can ask us about our income, funding etc, we give them facility to check us, we are internally accountable through a system given and public also make us accountable so that any wrong action can be caught,</p> <p>R2: Yes they have to make us accountable, say theft to theft is better then to keep silence</p> <p>R3: We are every time ready for the accountability because we do accountability and our slogan is accountability, so it is their right to make us accountable</p> <p>R4: I will open heartily give permission to PML-N workers to make me accountable because if he point out my mistake then it will be real accountability, our worker could not do accountability because of biasness, outsiders will make us accountable, but they have to come with prove, not only upto allegations level,</p> <p>R5: our chairman, our leader, our prime minister Imran khan has set a trend for us. That we are an open book. We know there could be certain weaknesses being a human, but we were not discouraging it. We would try to amend the man's opinion.</p> <p>R8: Yah Sure, if they have not bad intentions, we don't allow them for character assassination but we welcome accountability. If they want to talk on issue of common interest, then they are most welcome.</p> <p>R10: We don't have any problem with any accountability, we used to ask for accountability in past ourselves. But there should not be any personal grudges in this process.</p>	<p>We are open for accountability(R1,R2,R3,R4,R5, R8,R10)</p> <p>No fear of character assassination in the name of accountability(R1,R2,R3,R5)</p> <p>There is system of accountability in party(R1)</p> <p>Fear of character assassination in the name of accountability(R4,R8,R10)</p> <p>Due to biasness party accountability system is not effective(R4)</p> <p>Idealize leader for upright(R5)</p>
<p>Q3: Is opponent party politics threat for your politics and your party politics/power?</p> <p>R1:</p>	<p>No threat from the opponent politics(R1,R2,R3,R4,R5,R6,R8 ,R10)</p>



<p>Every party have its own way of politics, why pml-n goes back because they left gapes and PTI overcome/fulfill those gapes, in politics there is no chance for mistake, they have made two parties system and then people and PTI identified the mistakes of both parties and did its politics on identification of these mistakes and offer people an alternative to avoid these mistakes, if PTI repeat those mistakes which we identify then might possible opponent will come back on position, if we can't deliver we loos again, in kpk first time we get second change to make government and this is first time in history of kpk politics, we find what was the reasons why kpk people reject governments so we work on them and get second change for government,</p> <p>R2: We don't consider threat the politics of PML-N, we are very optimistic to deliver and we can</p> <p>R3: We have no threat from pml-n politics, the politics of N league is based on capitalism, but politics of PTI is different, the labour and general public are part of our politics, our leader Imran Khan always educate us to compete and don't think about failure, we are khan and we know to compete,</p> <p>R4: I don't consider their politics threat for PTI and for me because they don't deliver, they got 35 years to deliver but they didn't and this the reason people reject them, if we take example of Hanif Abbasi Affidrine case I would say he should punish either after elections or well in time before elections, now this action give perception that establishment want to make PTI win and this is too wrong thing for our politics because they can get edge of this perception in future against us, in general elections people vote to main leader mostly and their leader get damaged and there are strong position of our winning, people get fade up from hunger, unemployment and injustice at all levels and they want change for their children future, inflation is too high now and people buying power is reduced massively,</p> <p>R5: It depends on electorate, if I said our public, our voters from both parties they are of at an education level which desired still much more is to be</p>	<p>Fear of not fulfillment of expectations(R1,R4,R5)</p> <p>They identified the gaps in opponent politics(R1,</p> <p>No fear of not fulfillment of expectations(R2)</p> <p>They couldn't fulfill expectations(R6,</p> <p>We can easily compete them at any activity(R6,</p> <p>They get selected not elected(R6,R10)</p> <p>Good working relationships with known politicians(R6,</p> <p>They are promoting hate, mannerlessly and unethical way of talking in young workers(R6,</p> <p>Top Leadership is promoting culture of misbehaving, hate, mannerless and unethical way of talking in workers(R8,</p> <p>Welcome new party in politics(R8,</p>
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desired by them. It is about education they have. They can be a threat if they are good in their approach, may be Sufiism or some time share out of luck. Now you are big leader and I see that you are in a fix. It is the time to help which can give favor may be to us may be to Mian Shb. So, voters can bend towards mian shb. You know that is like a bit of danger.

R6:

PTI politics is not threat, what they have did is not politically threat, what method they used to get power was not democratic way, as everybody saying the they are not elected but they are selected, not only people but other parties are also saying the same, why we should get threat from the people who change their loyalty from parent parties, and they are also corrupt people, who could not developed their own structure in twenty two years, I am very junior political worker but I am not seasonal, they are working from twenty two years and if they were thinking to get power and make government and now from grace of Allah or someone else if the get elected and get opportunity to make government where they stand now, only few are new faces like Hamad, Murad Saeed, Ali Muhammad, Shaharyar Khan Afridi brother are new faces and we have good working relationship with them, these are some new faces and all others are unsuccessful, corrupted, polluted people who came from other parties, if they bring new faces in all 334 constituencies and they make an oversite committee on these new faces which supervise them, so they are not the threat, they talked about social media we made strong team than them, now our followers are equal in number in their comparison, but their followers are manner less, unethical

R8:

Not at all. We think its good that there is another good party. But we feel that they have a culture of misbehaving, and their leadership should have a check on this issue. We observe it from top to bottom. Its not just my opinion, other political parties have been observed to talk about it again and again. Asfand yar wali also said that they are promoting unethical culture. Party is good, but they are keep youngsters are on manner less and unethical path promoted from top position.

<p>R10: Its right of every Pakistani to have its own opinion and come with a party. We don't feel any threat, we are not new in politics. But the things PTI are practicing is not politics.</p>	
<p>Q4: Is your party implement party rules and regulations equally or it based on willingness of party leadership? Which system is better?</p> <p>R1: When party make system they implement on equality basis but we have to see if new person is more competent then an old nazariati so party go for the selection of new person, so laws implement equally and according to requirement laws made, if someone is with party from twenty years but have no required contribution how we give him priority</p> <p>R2: Our party equally implement party laws on their workers, if we don't then what is the purpose of Tehreek e Insaf,</p> <p>R3: Merit is our standard, I can't believe that Khan will demerit with anyone, when he coms to know he go with merit only, every party have its own rules, laws and by laws based on party policy and everyone come before law not before the willingness of party leadership</p> <p>R4: Rules are same for all worker from junior to senior and implement equally but junior worker and leadership get explanation letter on an allegation or misconduct, but senior leadership are exempted and we neglect their mistakes and we don't make them accountable, until they came under the rules they do things according to their own will as it is happening at every level</p> <p>R5: Yes, surely. It is a start, but it will be our aim to treat everyone on equal bases for whole Pakistan. We can change thinking's based on merits.</p> <p>R7: Decisions should be according to rules and regulations and it is practiced in party affairs. But the thing is we have a human difference in our society. It is a societal issue we have differences in our society. We differ towards authorities, parents, elders, tribes. Some societies don't have</p>	<p>The written rules are implemented equally(R1,R2,R3,R4,R5,R7,R10)</p> <p>Many rules are unwritten but applicable according to common sense, party chairman have discretion power on them(R1,R4,R7)</p> <p>Merit is our standard(R3)</p> <p>There is discrimination between junior and senior leadership(R4,</p> <p>Our society need to grow to ask for rights(R7,</p> <p>The rules are tried to implement equally(R8,</p>

<p>such differences, kids used to ask about their rights even in front of their father. Such practices are common in western societies. In our society framework laws are implemented uniformly. But in reality, people show differences, these differences are cultural. Many times, especially in political parties, people used harsh words when its about rules. They call out leadership that how's it possible while you used to practice something else in past.</p> <p>R8: We try to be fair in it. We try to implement it equally.</p> <p>R10: We have rules and regulations in party and run party affairs in a very systematic way. That's why we deal the whole scenario in previous months and took part in elections.</p>	
<p>Q5: Which system is better ? a defined selection criteria /procedure for recruitment of office bearers, mna/mpa/senators or only willingness of party leadership? And why</p> <p>R1: In our party (nominations /favorite/point out) comes from districts to region which give recommendations for parliamentary board committee where they evaluate to whom they will give party ticket as they have different criteria for example when there is tickets are distributing in kpk first for those who have spend a tenure they came in a three type of survey, a general survey from third party to check how much he is popular in public, second from agencies, and third from the government level as he is in government position so what was his attitude there, so from these three level survey the report goes to parliament board and final decision is in the hand of that board and chairman party Imran Khan, often it happen that a recommendation came from the said channel is rejected by chairman because final decision is in the hand of IK,</p> <p>R2: For this no system can be introduce, if a worker is hard working then party should take him on up stages and the assessment is based on his working, ideology is how much you follow your leader, how much you support your leader, it doesn't mean the</p>	<p>There is a process to nominate representatives, but the procedure/system is not written and implemented equally(R1,R2,R3,R4,R6,R10</p> <p>We believe process is fair enough(R1,R6</p> <p>Party leader have discretion power to nominate the representative(R1,R2,R4,R10</p> <p>System couldn't be develop to assess the working and wining criteria(R2,</p> <p>Chairman should have discretion power to nominate the some representative on basis of their expertise(R4,</p> <p>There is a process to nominate representatives, and we use voting system to nominate the persons(R8,</p>

you are connected with the ideology, every constituency have its own dimensions where a nazariati could not win but an electable could win the election therefore it is important to choose an electable there, as my example is here I am nazariati and I get the ticket and won the seat

R3:

PTI have system of selection and tickets are issued according to party policy, as PTI is national level party and have lot of members so it use a system of selection

R4:

Party leadership have authority to select the contestant, in party politics there are two types of people one are in party politics and second are in election politics like the people who have to contest election those who have linked with people twenty four hour, when he contest election the winning chances are greater for him, second type of people are experts in some area and they are much needed to run the affairs of party and government as well, those people should be selected by the party leader, otherwise there should be merit and those people who twenty four hour give services to people and remain in them ha have right to get party ticket, some people are needed to rut the affairs of the country and some are needed to deal with the public and they did not understand the matters of country level, foreign affairs etc so for the team of experts like asad umer and sherin mazari the selection should be in the hand of party leader and for others there should be a system but we didn't seen yet

R6:

For this purpose we mainly see quality, first check previous progress, worth of their work, their standing, I have no family background and political approach and friendships, I have joined politics in two thousand five, I have been general secretary female youth wing, I am from Gujranwala, and then I worked and I thanks Allah to give men oppotunity and party leadership just seen my previous work and progress, I have no commendation, there is system of preference or commendation in most of the politics and parties but it is not in PML-N, when question of elections came then we have to see that a representative could win or not,

<p>R8: The better way is to make a parliamentary vote. As we practice in our party. This decision is not taken on a person's will. We follow this pattern in all kind of elections, local, provincial, national, parliamentary or senate elections, peoples are selected on parliamentary votes.</p> <p>R10: People comes from grass root level. Its not possible for a party leader to know a number of people personally or decide anything form him. Party works in a systematic way yes leader observe things and take decisions accordingly.</p>	
<p>Q6: How do you make accountable a party worker for his actions? Specially about hate speech</p> <p>R1: There is no system of accountability/punishment to directly counter hate speech in party, but we issue show cause notice, if person made sorry in reply of show cause then party forgive him, parties could not develop the system because party knows that the person is loyal with the party so he just need to say sorry in response of show cause notice, there should not be strong punishments for this action. Because people use hate speech in emotional states.</p> <p>R2: Often people get emotional and they do hate speech unconsciously and they can't control it, our worker are emotional but follow the ideology of IK, we are working from twenty two years to establish systems and make them strong enough so that if a person do hate speech against country and its institutions then institutions should make them accountable and take in charge for the wrong doing</p> <p>R3: There is a system but often people get emotional and they use wrong words, but when they realize they take back their words like Imran Khan take back his words, emotions overcome human and make them out of control than what can be happen</p> <p>R4: Actually leaders didn't permit to misbehave/misconduct but if we see from other point of view Allah almighty give great status and lot of respect to humans but if someone says himself a lion, then it is disrespect of human</p>	<p>There is no written system of accountability against hate speech(R1,R2,R3,R4,R5,</p> <p>We issue show cause notice, its enough to intimate(R1,R3</p> <p>The system could not be developed because of party loyalty(R1,</p> <p>Usually leaders get emotional and do hate speech, its not big issue(R1,R2,R3,R4</p> <p>There should not be strong punishment if system developed(R1,</p> <p>We are trying to develop the systems(R2,</p> <p>Leadership should use ethical manners while public speaking(R4,R5,R7,R10</p> <p>We need to groom our people to avoid this issue(R5,</p> <p>There is a system of accountability, but not up to procedural level against hate speech, we deal it at different organizational level(R6,R7</p>

<p>because lion is animal, if someone compare himself with tiger or eagle they all are animals, and if in this reference if someone give comparison with the donkey then it is not an issue, all the people have matching an attitude with an animal so we give reference comparison with that animal on the basis of the attitude or behavior which match with action of an animal, reference of donkey, elephant and cow and snake is normally use in our society like snake is to bite so be careful and parrot is to talk more or repeat words, so like these examples Imran khan give example of donkey because they don't follow their leadership with a purpose, they blindly follow the instruction of their leadership, there should be every discussion in the limits of ethics, our Prophet PBUH said that best Muslim is who, whose brother keep safe from him, so we should not use bad names for others, but it is cultural issue that if someone give bad words to other then opponent use more bad language for him in response,</p> <p>R5: PTI is now trying its best to be a national party and get much coverage as possible from the voters and we are trying for it. While talking about hate speech, we army man sometimes support aggression but sometimes we like to control, in our term it is called gentleman cadet, first be a gentleman than military man. Same applies for party leadership and the party. If it is not so groomed, mistakes happened. But over the period of time that will end, and it should end.</p> <p>R6: Party take action first on Nihal Hashmi hate speech and then judiciary taken action, actually what happen is that in our party we did lot of things but we don't project it like PTI, if they want to sell buffalos by considering this issue important then they conduct 40 40 minutes talk shows on this topic, but honest to God, because my live belongs to Allah not for the party there is human inner, I have seen in fifteen years political carrier that our party deals with hate speech very strictly and it never happen the we don't ask anyone when he did hate speech, there is no privilege for any person if you did wrong then you might call privately by the leadership and ask you on your misconducts, and if we talk about Nehal Hashmi what do you think we</p>	<p>We issue show cause notice, privately call or cancel the membership as well(R6,R7,R8,R10)</p> <p>Our party strictly deal hate speech and don't allow us to do(R6,R7,R8,R10)</p> <p>Hate speech is our cultural issue, we are use-to with it at different level(R7,R10)</p>
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didn't take action, we did privately and then publicly we announce his cancelation of membership as you know

R7:

yes, there is a mechanism but sitting in different committees' things happened differently. For example, while sitting in central executive committee or in central working committee which are two different levels in both of these committees there are very limited number of people, so they talk openly and express their views heartedly from both sides. You know we have very conservative people in our country and used very harsh words. And some people are very different they protest against every such thing which shows intolerance or leads towards intolerance. Everyone used to talk according to his/her own understanding. In our society, generally no one talks in favor of hate speech but culturally this possibility has also been finished to bear such prejudice. And yes, we have it in our system as well. You saw when a senator (Nehal Hashmi) showed such behavior in front of supreme court he has been asked for resign from party. He has been formally reprimand; his membership had been suspended and afterward cancelled on this act. So, there is a system of accountability when someone violate or harm the rights of others or give such deteriorative remarks which cannot be considered just a human slippage or a different point of view. It is a very high-handed thing if a person thinks that one having different point of view deserved harsh word or not acceptable. People reprimand on the basis of violation of other's rights, hate speech. But this instrument is used carefully, and it should be. Because with its use freedom of expression can be snatched. It is a very dangerous process in a democratic or a political party system to be agreed with the point of view of two or more than two leaders in a system. There is a formal system for it, but it is not practiced so recklessly so the people could not raise their opinion. That's why I took two minutes to explain this example. In this party during last 4 years, I observed very hard talks for leaders in central executive committee, in central working committee and in parliamentary committee. Yes these all mechanisms are formal. I have told you about 2 formal mechanism, one



<p>institutional layers i) parliamentary committee, central executive committee and central working committee in which regular discussions held and decisions are taken. Second if someone is out liar and do extreme violation of human rights, minority rights, women rights which is also morally unacceptable or have legal objection, he/she has to face the system. As I have given an example in which an existing senator lost his party membership.</p> <p>R8: We don't bear hate speech. As you observed party dismissed the membership of Nehal Hashmi on such act.</p> <p>R10: We condemn hate speech and take actions if someone observed with it. Actually it's about culture. Our Leader never use abusive language and face harsh words and personal attacks even.</p>	
<p>Q7: How disputes within party are resolved ? is there any system?</p> <p>R1: There is dispute resolution committee in the party and it deals with all types of disputes within party and they try to resolve issue before going outside,</p> <p>R2: Personal life don't discuss at party, and personal level issues also don't discussed at party, our Sahaba have disputes, someone like something someone other thing so disputes are not an issue to discuss and resolve by the party</p> <p>R3: There is system, but as PTI is the biggest party and party of youth so disputes/fights happens normally, so when happen we made a committee according to issue and resolve conflicts, the committee also see if there is against party laws and discipline and they resolve conflict/dispute, we use parliamentary way to resolve disputes</p> <p>R4: There is no system of dispute resolution, and in all parties when there are some disputes/conflicts occur between two they convert into grouping, leaders don't give attention on these issues, they think that its ok if party working is ongoing and their conflict don't harming party then ok keep fighting we have no concern, examples of Ch.</p>	<p>We have dispute resolution committee(R1,</p> <p>Committee take early actions to resolve(R1,</p> <p>Disputes considered as personal issue and don't resolve by party until it effect party activities(R2,R4</p> <p>On occurring a dispute, dispute resolution committee constitute accordingly(R3,</p> <p>PTI is youth party so disputes are normal(R3,</p> <p>No written system of dispute resolution(R2,R4,R5,R6,R9,</p> <p>Disputes lead to grouping in party(R4,</p> <p>Dispute should be resolved by leadership(R5,R6,R9</p> <p>Leadership/seniors resolve the</p>

<p>Nisar with Khwaja Asif and Javed Hashmi, in PTI Jahangir Tareen and Shah Mehmood Qreshi, they are actually prawn and when there is no justice in party then they think that when party came in power we get demanded power only in condition when we have a big group so they take this dispute to make their groups and then make them strong that's why they support their group people to get power, the main reason for disputes is grouping, R5:  I am not aware with any such system in party. I am not a very active member in policy and all, but generally I know what's going on and try to stick that agenda. When we talk about such disputes then level is also important. Higher level is controlled by the chairman and as you know he has a background of a sportsman he knows how to control the team so like them he also controls the team. When team members have disputes he knows he needs both members, he knows peace matters.</p> <p>R6:  The main thing to resolve the disputes in our party is the senior members respect junior workers because we know that we are just because of our workers if they didn't support us we could not reach at position to get in power, so for this matter all seniors tries to talk with both parties and resolve the matter or reduce the intensity of reaction/issue at their own</p> <p>R9:  There should be system and we have to make some system to counter the hate so that democracy could rut otherwise there is not democracy it will went into fascism</p> <p>R10:  Yes there is dispute resolution system. it is the responsibility of senior members to have a check on such issues.</p>	<p>disputes at their own according to its level(R5,R6</p> <p>There should be a system to counter hate(R9</p> <p>There is system of dispute resolution  Leadership/seniors are responsible to resolve the disputes(R10</p>
<p>Q8:  How your party encourage party workers (youth wing, women wing, minorities and UC level) to participate in policy making, representative selection, signing a petition and party coalitions?  R1:  There is no system to get input from them or to encourage them because there are decisions which should be taken by seniors and at upper level, these</p>	<p>No system of participation in policy making, representative selection or party coalition(R1,R2,R4,R6,R7,R10</p> <p>They are not at the level to get input, Decisions are made at upper</p>

<p>issues are not deal with these level,</p> <p>R2:  We encourage minorities to be part of government, we have given representation to Kilash people and other minorities are also empowered by representation, party alliance is not good but some time you have to made it and it is not the level of local level leadership to participate or guide upper level leadership that's why we don't ask from them and decisions are made at upper level without taking local level in confidence, but I think they should be take on board for this process</p> <p>R3:  There is core committee at the top it comprises with representative from all level and wings and they follow principles in making decisions, we always think about all wings and we give representation to women like zartaj gull, sherien mazari, we also give representation to labors</p> <p>R4:  Party don't take on board these wings for any kind of decision making or other matters, they have no value actually,</p> <p>R5:  I think Imran Khan observes and did such things on interest bases like what are the other interests, he may be looking into the vote bank of that guy have, and check he does something himself or not. But there are specific things like they hold a special possession in Lahore for minorities. I also hold a possession for minorities. And the word minority has a negativity about it. We want that this term should be changed. During partition there was a great count of minority and majority even then the leader and the founder of Pakistan, he was counting the number of Muslims in the subcontinent and he knew there are a minority they will be treated like a minority so he became very aware of it and started the struggle for Pakistan and at the back of his mind was the word minority not the Christian and non-Muslim minority but the Muslim minority and when he achieved it he said I fought for the Muslim minority and now there are rare minority on our hand. So, he gave all the privileges to minorities I would like to say Muslim Pakistani and Non-Muslim Pakistani which means the binding word is Pakistani. So, there is a</p>	<p>lever(R1,R2,R4,R7,R8,R10)</p> <p>There should be system of participation(R2)</p> <p>Wings representations are at working committee so their participation is through this(R3,R5)</p> <p>In politics it is not possible to get input of every worker for executive decisions(R7,</p> <p>we get input from different nonwritten channels(R8)</p> <p>We must make them empower(R8)</p>
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requirement and a need that the Non-Muslim Pakistani Should be given a bigger list of boosts, especially, by the media. There are a number of things we can speak including employment, education, syllabus etc.

R6:

For the selection of representatives we start the process from the anonymous/hidden surveys like mystery shoppers from the party this is I am telling you because I have been worked in elections with party, and many people get angry because party didn't allot party tickets because they didn't worked satisfactory in their constituency they didn't priority they things came from party policies and when we didn't give them tickets they move to other parties

R7:

I didn't observe any formal mechanism for participation or asking for opinions from different groups like youth or women. You should keep in mind that in an executive function any organization cannot follow polls with respect to governance. Especially in politics it is not possible to go for each worker for an executive decision. Governance of a political system is different from a governance of an organization. But it does not mean you don't want to listen. If you do so it can be paralyzed. The whole idea of governance is the people rise and then a smaller group of people are authorized to make certain kind of decisions. At every level of governance decision right commensurate basically with the positions that you hold, and those rights are appropriate to particular matters. It does not mean we have a boundary less organization and not

R8:

Yes, we get their input, but currently the real thing is that we need to work on such wings and we must make them empower more, so that they can work more effectively and can give their input in a better way. They have a lot of problems in their organization and activities.

R10:

Leaders take the decisions, but they couldn't take decisions without knowing the concerns of their people. They need support from people on their decisions which could only possible if they feel they are listened.

<p>Q9: How frequently general council's meetings are conducted at different levels to discuss party activities?</p> <p>R1: When you are in government your working style is different, in working days you spend your time in office and listen people in office regarding the ministry or relevant issues, and on weekends I spend time in my hujra and listen all type of issues of my constituency people, so if you did corner meeting or available here to listen people are the same activity, and party give us instruction to spend time in your constituency, for cabinet members they are advice to spend time in offices and for non-cabinet members MNA's and MPA's they are advice to spend time in constituency other than parliament sessions</p> <p>R2: Party call general council meeting according to requirement and situation, corner meetings are important to interactions with the public with their representative, otherwise people accountability will be final way</p> <p>R3: We did corner meetings but mostly workers complaint is the leadership don't consult with us, they don't communicate with us, don't listen us, and it is their right but we didn't properly give them, but Imran Khan advice all federal and provincial leadership to go to their constituency and do corner meetings regularly (someone told me that when I went to Shehbaz sharif he ask me to get out from room your shoes make my carpets dirty), it is also fact that leadership don't treat their worker properly and didn't give proper respect</p> <p>R4: Party encourage representatives to conduct corner meetings, and politicians by themselves also did this for keep continue their public support, we did open house at our own without party instructions because now Allah give us power and it's our moral duty to solve local issues of our people and we do this and we try to fulfill the promises we made with the people</p> <p>R8: yes, we do conduct meetings regularly. We invite people to discuss things. And try to arrange it more</p>	<p>There is no devised system for periodical general council's/corner meetings(R1,R2,R3,R4,R8,R10)</p> <p>Leadership are advice to spend time at their constituency and listen people and they did meetings(R1,R3,R4,R8,R10)</p> <p>Corner meetings are important to held regularly(R2,</p> <p>Workers are not listened properly by the leadership and its important(R3,</p>
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<p>regularly. We explain issues, policy process etc. R10: We give proper importance to our workers and we discuss mostly issues with them, as you seen that Nawaz Sharif call central general council meeting before the elections and we do practice it at local level as well but as frequency is concern it based on the requirement, when there is something important to discuss and get support of all workers we call meeting.</p>	
<p>Q10: How your party provide political education to party workers? is there any defined system? R1: As a senior at district level member work as trainer who give training on different topics to our workers, as during elections we educate our workers about elections and their role and responsibilities, so we try to build their capacity upto level where if a senior party worker is sitting somewhere so they can talk with him R2: We don't have training system but our seniors guide us about the political activities and politics R3: Our system is based on services, Imran Khan says if you work for services you don't need to go to voters, people will come to you and give you vote, service is the policy of PTI R4: PTI often did trainings of their workers on election process, there are number of workers in PTI who have to spend their time with people, they have to attend occasions and listen public issues and this is their training, party don't give any kind of training to educate workers about politics R5: yes, Counselors and district members arrange things for it. Parliament do it itself as well. Like PIPS are conducting sessions. R6: As trainings are concerned so if we talk about a proper training system there is no system and no trainings, but whenever there is any option came for the courses or training then we find and decide who is eligible and good for training who can deliver further or train subordinates so that we can send him for trainings, as we have diversity of</p>	<p>There is no defined education/training system(R1,R2,R3,R4,R5,R6,R7, R8, Senior party workers guide juniors on different topics as per requirement(R1,R2,R3,R5,R6,R8 In elections we give training to our workers(R1, Workers even don't know how to talk with leadership(R1, Party don't provide any trainings or political education(R4, Party should make responsible the MNA's to build the capacity of their worker at their own(R6, PIPS and Senate is also not effectively providing trainings to representatives(R7,</p>

<p>worker, educated and uneducated, ethical and unethical, some like pen some like gun/power and some don't like both, so we have every kind of workers and whenever there is trainings come under discussion or an opportunity came for capacity building we proceed in this way, like PIPS (Pakistan Institute of Parliamentary Services) is only working for MNAs MPAs and I have worked with it in last five years, you can find my contribution over there as well, so PIPS is building capacity of the parliamentarians, and as I think parliamentarians could build capacity of their workers in their constituency (recommendation of me is MNA's should make responsible to build capacity of their workers to make their support strong by the Party etc.)</p> <p>R7: There should be a system of trainings for the workers, as it is responsibility of PIPS to build capacity of representatives. I am new in parliament I didn't see anything in which PIPS called us for trainings. But by the same token we have been invited on senate working but yet there is no meeting. Senate announced two training programs first I couldn't attend and second was cancelled.</p> <p>R8: We conduct training sessions, arrange sittings to tell people regarding election campaigns methods, how to arrange corner meetings how to conduct a seminar we also arrange religious sittings to tell how to do work within Islamic parameters. These sessions conduct on district levels.</p>	
<p>Q11: Do you think inter party or intra party dialogues on different policies/problems are important and how frequently your party arrange them?</p> <p>R1: PTI started this trend during elections days and we try to gather other parties on one platform to present their manifestos in front of public and media and defend their policies, we call all candidates but in that meeting only me and Sheharyar Afridi came no one came there, people and media were there but no one else come, our party introduce many new trends, other parties are not introducing any new trend in politics, it is very healthy and competitive activity to present</p>	<p>There is no system of inter or intra party dialogues on political issues(R1,R2,R3,R4,R5,R8,R10)</p> <p>There should be a dialogue system(R1,R2,R3,R4,R5,R8,R10)</p> <p>We introduce it at our own but no other party take part in it(R1)</p> <p>Our politics is not mature</p>

<p>and discuss their policies in front of us and media or public so that public can assess who is best in their interest, we wish that it happen so that if there is something regarding national interest and national issue so we come on table, dialogue and discuss it and make support for the national issues.</p> <p>R2: There should be dialogue between the parties, when we were in opposition we support government on different national level issues and we sit with them and discuss and support, but our democracy is not mature enough to develop a system of dialogue, it will take time to grow up to this level</p> <p>R3: There should be dialogue, but situation of Pakistan is different, when I went to opposition I see everything from criticism point of view for criticism not for correctness, criticism is our national game, people get on recalcitrance</p> <p>R4: There should be dialogue between parties on national level issues, and there should be system of dialogues, because of absence of this system Pakistan could not prosper, one party start a project of 300 million half have been expended when new government came they stop the project and one hundred and fifty million lost, they should carry on the projects which are for the public benefit to show their best for country and they have to come on one page like national action plan and they have sit for national level issues so opposition should point out the issues .</p> <p>R5: yes, I understand sometimes we see there is polarization on certain issues. But uncordiality our social structure is not so groomed that it works on such issues. But there should be some system. Because your thinking is very correct. When you are keeping Pakistan on top of everything and party politics is something secondary. It's not actually for the whole country, it is for the party. And then from there we have to go to next step.</p> <p>R6: its good democracy is prevailing, student unions should also restart, there should be student union councils where people could make discussion, we need healthy discussion on different issues</p>	<p>enough to start this system now(R1,R2,R3</p> <p>R5: There is no system of inter or intra party dialogues on political issues</p> <p>There should be a dialogue system</p> <p>Student unions are the platform of dialogues and should reopen(R6,</p>
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<p>R8: yes, there should be such forums. If there is any forum we would love to be a part of that.</p> <p>R9: Parliamentarians sit together to discuss on issues but yes I think we have to introduce the dialogues forum and specially our junior workers start this kind of dialogues to understand more about the politics and the current issues of Pakistan and they can give us recommendations.</p>	
<p>Q12: How do we promote political tolerance?</p> <p>R1: To reduce the polarization of the society due to our politics, we suggest that people keep politics up to elections now leave your discussions and come together, I contest with twenty contestant so now I meet everyone with open heartily and advice people to do the same, there should not be polarization in the society, politics is penetrating more into daily life, people don't like who support party different than him, but it depend on your awareness, your education, as there is continuity of democracy from two thousand two so there will be a time came where these issues will be resolved automatically due to awareness</p> <p>R3: In the tenure of PPP and PML-N lot of corruption happened and Imran Khan policy is to get back that money from out of country, that money stolen the street power from general public to some hands, so when you talk about corruption of PML-N and PPP it will create intolerance because when Imran Khan talk on it people gather with him on this point, young people are against corruption but old person are not</p> <p>R5: It is a little early at this point. Because both the parties have not yet understood each other fully. And there is an element of raise poppa. I personally feel that this matter, like you take the example of UK parliament and see their behavior. They have two directions, one is for the party and the other is for the nation. I give you an example, when Finland war was there and that was forced by certain parliamentarians and there was a great debate in UK Parliament then what happened is, finally it was decided that we will send our troops</p>	<p>R1: Elections are over now lets together again(R1,  Aware and educate people about political diversity(R1,R5  Meet people with open heart(R1,  There is no solution of intolerance(R3,R5,  Current situation need to create intolerance(R3,  Young people are intolerant to corruption(R3,  Parties should understand each other(R5,  Politician should get mature and stop activities which promote intolerance(R5,R6,R8,R11  Imran Khan should stop promoting intolerance and abusive language, because followers follow leaders(R6,R7,R9,R10,R11  There should be justice in elections(R8  Intolerance reducing our</p>

to Finland and what happened is that they sent let it to the troop commanders that now we are with you, first we opposed it but now the majority have decided and you are presenting our nation now. Wish you all the best. This is the behavior of mature nation and mature parliaments. In Brexit Exit, David Cameron was convincing for to stay in house and union should not freak. But when in the result of referendum, union was disrupted, and David Cameron said that, public opposed my opinion. So, he resigned as he felt that people are not with him. So, I guess when we will be mature enough we can deal with this issue of polarization. We all love with Pakistan, it provides us everything. We don't want something else. Because of lack of character sometimes we ignore things for personal wishes.

R6:

think first we have to see that who is promoting intolerance in society, we have to think who start containers politics, we have to think who teach youth the language of Oye, and bad name calling, when leaders use unethical language and show intolerance then automatically followers will also use unethical language, and for most youth are need to be tolerant as I am working on extreme counter violent extremism, I have moved a legislation in parliament on this issue, this time I also bringing it into parliament, the main issue is leader can guide, leader can show the light, honestly please check my facebook and tweeter account I never used bad language I used to went to talk shows regularly but never used bad language, the reason behind is what I say today my children will also use the same tomorrow and it represent me, Nawaz Sharif is our leader and leader of the party as well, he never teach us to do misbehave or use bad language, we have done many protest against his detention without party advices and without permission of leadership, but we did at our own, and we don't came outside on roads, we don't engage youth, we don't disturb youth, we don't destroy national assets because we made them, second thing is you claim that you represent youth, so what you are teaching youth? Abusing, Taunting, if you really a master planner then why not you give innovative plans, why did not you asked from the youth what policy they

political spaces(R9,

PTI should tolerate others and not treat political rivals as enemy(R11,

want, why don't you come with some different but good type of politics, you did same politics, we as Ideological party or old parties like PPP and PML-N and others as well, we signed Misaq e Jamhoriyat, and after signing that our seniors don't talk in abusive language yes we did mistakes but didn't use abusive language for each other and learned from the time, but what PTI learned ? they represent youth but today over two hundred and fifty children are seated outside Islamabad press club and protesting and its four days but PTI didn't address their issue even didn't listen them, so for tolerance leader should focus all the things, if you are doing politics just for the sake of rating then you are not people friendly party

R7:

I think my statement can be politically prejudicial for this question. I am in politics just for 5 years and I have observed unethical behavior towards women and false language and allegations for government employees and authorities especially during PTI sit ins in Islamabad. It made our politics polarized. During my political life which is 5-6 years I never witnessed such unethical behavior somewhere else. To response such behaviors other political parties also used bad language even from our party (PMLN). It reduced the leniency in our society, it also damages the acceptance level especially on social media bad characterization of women, use of bad language for women which you can't even speak in front of kids and you may feel shame to speak in friends circle are increased. Such loss of leniency in society is very woeful. After being in government PTI reduced such bad language a bit. Maybe it will be improved reciprocation. But systematically leniency has been damaged. People provoked their opponents to use bad language.

R8:

I didn't see such things. The only need is to conduct fair elections. If elections are not fair such cheap and bogus people will come in power. Such things do not work. See, one and half year ago local elections were conducted in Karachi, PTI was nowhere. We won on 42 seats of chairmen and vice chairmen's in Karachi. Those were party base elections. After one and half year in general elections they got 15 national assembly seats and

clean sweep, how could it possible. This is not fair and even not possible practically.

R9:

In Nineties there was polarization of PNL-N and PPP but that polarization have limits its was never happen that any worker of PML-N rude/nude Benazir Bhutto at public place or from the peoples party Nawaz Sharif get any bad language in public place but now a days Imran Khan present a hate based strong narrative and ignite people to radical opponent degrade opponent, and this culture comes first time in history of Pakistan politics that outside the country we face hooting and this is a big negativity in our politics which bring in by the narratives of Imran Khan which came from dharna and he take things on extreme level that opponents are theft and traitors and he excite his followers up to level and produce contempt for the opponents, intolerance is really threat for us and I think democracy says that everyone is equal and good for the country so for honesty and patriotism there should not be monopoly of one party, but they promoted white and black up to level where political spaces are reducing for all political workers

R10:

The chairman PTI promoted the intolerance in the society, you have seen the one twenty six days sit-in outside parliament and use extreme abusive language, he abuse us, not only PML-N but to all sit in the parliament, all parliamentarians like Achakzai and others, he mimic many parliamentarians, he mocked and in reply Mian sahab don't use any single word in all that tenure and even now so who is causing intolerance, and to reduce it I think now the responsibility is on their shoulders and they get to know/aware and conscious in coming days, take the example of radio Pakistan, today they have protest, they supplied people to media and tv, they don't only represent Pakistan in Pakistan but out of the country as well, so they don't get to know/awake yet, have you listen the budget speeches what people are saying about them

R11:

If you talk about the intolerance between the two parties, it is not as it, I think there is one party who generate intolerance and evidence is to pick up

narratives of Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif then you came to know who is promoting intolerance this is one way traffic, before this if we talk about past, the rival parties like PPP, PML-N, JI, JUI and even MQM they didn't use this kind of massive misbehavior and abusive language which is used by the PTI now a days, and we didn't even see this in this country, so please don't say that there is intolerance between two parties, there is only one party promoting intolerance and they have to make it correct and ask them to tolerate others, and don't consider political rivals to their enemy just consider them their opponent and rivals, we don't consider PTI's any worker as enemy, we just consider them the people who are different from our ideology of politics and nothing more but they consider us from the point of view of enemy, secondly they have adopted/choose irresponsible attitude, they have no responsible attitude, as they use to tell lies which is not good so they should not tell a lie, the U-turn is a negative word its mean you tell a lie and you are not standing with your words, to tell a lie is constitutional crime for a parliamentarian, as Fawad Ahmed/Chaudhry is telling lie about me that I appointed people on a jobs in an organization I ask him to go to Chief Justice for reality, it's a crime to allegation someone in assembly floor or outside without any evidence, and they have introduced a new culture that is they are themselves theft and assassinate the characters of responsible citizen and for stopping character assassination rather than suggestions we are practically showing our stance and i.e. we are not doing what they are, and they will get tired because see on social media what they are doing on it how much character assassinating they are and promoting intolerance and hate, so either they will get tired or get isolated from the society, for example all other parties of Pakistan and even media are on this that they are unethical and they used abusive language, media just to show the reality either it's against us or them but we didn't use abusive language and the biggest problem is by seeing them some people are following them and this is wrong, so as far our leadership we are constant in our attitude, what we have before PTI we use same now, we don't reply in their language, we don't give back bad words and

abusive language like Imran Khan give us, so our leadership don't follow the same and don't use the way of hate and intolerance and lie because we know that we are answerable so why we use to tell a lie, a politician or even general people they should not tell a lie but they use to tell a lie to justify themselves,

third the day to day issues of nation if you listen today's senate session there is an issue came that is beating the students in Peshawar university and it is too wrong, either the beating is right or wrong you have to condemn it but nobody from their side condemn it and this is first time there is no condemnation came on the wrong doing, and I was shocked that students are hospitalized after beaten and they are not condemning it and every representative of PTI justify that action that lead to strengthen the police's wrong action and in future they will beat more because you are backing the wrong action, and I think the power is in the hands of wrong people who are dangerous for the country, we never did this, as Fawad Chaudhry says me daily that he will send case to FIA, is we say in our five years that we will use FIA against the politicians, we never used these kind of words, they use to say that we will put you in jail, could opposition say this? government can say this but we never said this during the government in hand and they use to say during opposition and now practically doing the same, so talk to them and educate them about tolerance and intolerance