

Manifestos' Analysis Report

APNA Pakistan

(Advocacy for Population and National Advancement of Pakistan)

Table of Contents

| Exe | cutiv | e Summary | 2 | | |
|-----|--------------------|---|----|--|--|
| 1. | Intr | oduction | 4 | | |
| | 1.1 | Objectives | 5 | | |
| | 1.2 | Methodology | 6 | | |
| | 1.3 | Rationale for categorization | 7 | | |
| 2. | Ana | lysis of Individual Parties | 9 | | |
| | 2.1 | Awami National party | 11 | | |
| | 2.2 | Muttahida Quami Movement | 12 | | |
| | 2.3 | Jamat-e-Islaami | 15 | | |
| | 2.4 | Pakistan People's Party | 17 | | |
| | 2.5 | Pakistan Tahrik-e-Insaf | 20 | | |
| | 2.6 | Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam (PML Q) | 24 | | |
| | 2.7 | Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML N) | 26 | | |
| | 2.8 | Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam | 30 | | |
| 3. | Disc | cussion and Conclusion | 31 | | |
| Anr | nex 1: | Standard for Manifesto Analysis | 38 | | |
| | Rep | roductive Health | 38 | | |
| | Population Welfare | | | | |
| Dof | oronc | | 40 | | |

List of Acronyms

CPR- Contraceptive Prevalence Rate

PTI- Pakistan Tehreek -e -Insaf

MQM- Muttahida Quami Movement

PPP- Pakistan People's Party

JI- Jamat-e-Islaami

JUI- Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam

PML N- Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)

PML Q- Pakistan Musli League (Quaid e Azam)

ANP- Awami National Party

PPM – Party Position Matrix

Executive Summary

How can one assess the change a political party would bring about once it assumes the office? What is the ideology behind the inception of a particular party? The answer to these questions and many more can be found in a political party's manifesto, which is a succinct documentation of a political party's ideology, goals, priorities and theory of change. A political manifesto lays to the fore, the difference that a particular party envisages to bring about and how it plans to mobilize capital, task force and policy makers and other influential personnel into attaining the desired results. A deep study of a party's manifesto can thus allow one to gauge how a political party views various pressing national issues and concerns.

The content in this report is bolstered by the evidence that has been gathered from analyzing the manifestoes of eight of the most eminent political parties in Pakistan namely Muslim League Quaid-e- Azam (PML Q;, Pakistan Tehreek- e- Insaf (PTI); Pakistan Mulsim League Nawaz (PML N); Awami National Party (ANP); Pakistan (PPP)People's Party; Jamiat Uleme-e- Islam (JUI); Jamat-e-Islami (JI) and Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM). Subsequently, this report essays to establish how each political party attempts to address issues pertaining to population growth in Pakistan (increasing population growth rate is one of the main barriers to economic advancement and growth). The rationale behind this exercise is to get grips on the current stance of each political party on the harrowing issue of population proliferation in Pakistan, and to develop party specific recommendations. Moreover, this report will also serve as a baseline against which each party will be later assessed to determine whether a change has been brought about with respect to the party's understanding and prioritization of population issues in Pakistan.

This report is part of a large scale national awareness campaign that attempts to bring about a change in the population profile of the country by influencing the political leadership. In order to conduct the analysis, a manifesto analysis criteria and a Party Position Matrix (PPM) has been developed based on international models and best practices. The analysis is both inter party and intra party, so that there is ample room for introspection and comparison. Each party is assessed on the level of commitment it has showcased for areas pertaining to population and reproductive health, and recommendations have been proposed for each party in the light of the analysis. This report thus aspires to bring a change in the demographic layout of the country by influencing political leaders to change the status quo.

1. Introduction

With a population of more than 180 million, Pakistan is the world's sixth most populous country. 1,2 A population growth rate of 2.05³, the highest in the region, puts the country on course to be the fifth most populous in the world by 2050 with a population of 300 million⁴.

Pakistan's demographic trends underlie a number of socio-economic problems – increasing unemployment, energy crisis, food inflation, lack of access to health and education for large parts of the population, and social strife. At the same time, Pakistan's large population of young people and low dependency ratio offer opportunities for rapid economic growth. However, this demographic dividend is conditional on young people having the opportunities to acquire education and skills, as well as having employment to become economically productive.

Either of these scenarios can materialize for Pakistan in the future depending on the policies adopted in the next few years. Past trends show that apart from brief periods in the 60s and the 90s, population growth has not been high on the political agenda⁵. Because of inconsistent attention to the sector, Pakistan lags behind most regional countries in population stabilization. Contraceptive prevalence rate in Pakistan in stagnant at about 32%. Twenty eight percent of married women who would like to use contraceptives are unable to access them⁶. Even where contraception is used trends are skewed towards traditional methods and sterilization, use of modern contraceptive methods being still low. These trends are in contrast to those in other regional countries that have been more successful in slowing their population growth.

Clearly, population growth and its attendant issues need to be high on the political agenda to achieve consistent progress. To assess the current stance of mainstream political policies on these issues, this report analyzes their manifestos to gauge how much attention each party accords to this critical area and related socio-economic factors.

The presence of any particular issue in a party's manifesto depicts that it is considered to be an important national issue. Furthermore, specific targets provide constituents the basis for making informed decisions when casting their vote as well as a means of public accountability later. Thus for the National Advocacy Campaign, manifesto analysis is an initial step in analyzing various political parties' commitment to highlighting and solving population-related issues in Pakistan. The analysis will then contribute to advocacy aimed at highlighting population-related issues in the parties' manifestos for the next elections. Overall, the manifestos of eight major national-level political parties are analyzed in this report. These include Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam), Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf, Muttahida Qaumi Movement, Awami National Party, Jamaat-e-Islami, and JamiatUlama-e-Islam. The analysis focuses on developing an understanding of the current political stance of these parties regarding attitudes to issues of population growth and their relationship with social sector issues and national development.

Objectives

The manifesto analysis has been conducted with the following objectives

- Assessing each political party's current stance on population growth and related issues
- Creating a baseline of each party's commitment to population issues in their manifesto
- Developing recommendations for incorporation in Manifestos for general elections of 2013

1.2 Methodology

A thorough review was done of national, regional and international literature to study various frameworks used for analysis of political part manifestos. Visits to offices of political parties were conducted to collect

¹⁻ http://www.census.gov.pk/

²⁻ Sathar Z, Zaidi B. Fertility prospects in Pakistan. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 2011.

⁴⁻ Demographic Transition in Pakistan. The Imperatives of Family Planning in Attaining Fertility Transition: Exploring Future Prospects. Rahnuma. 2009

⁶⁻ Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey 2006-2007

their current manifestos, and for rapport building and networking with the party staff. The analytical framework was developed from comprehensive literature review. A number of documents were consulted to analyze appropriate framework for analysis, The framework consists broadly of three levels of text analysis:

- Categorization of political parties according to the level of importance given to issues of overpopulation and reproductive health in their manifesto.
- II. Analysis of the relative importance given to population growth, reproductive health and

related issues within each party's manifesto. This aspect is studied under the following two heads:

- Population mentioned as a separate area of focus in the manifesto
- Population growth targeting and related policies given equivalent focus as other main sectors
- III. Analysis of whether political parties have drawn linkages between population growth and other development issues such as poverty, education, health and economic development.

Box 1: Manifesto Analysis Criteria

To facilitate the analysis a manifesto analysis matrix was developed. The analysis was based on four core questions/areas (relevant to population issues) with three answer choices listed for each. Below is a detailed description of the manifesto analysis criteria:

- 1. Overall importance given to population growth as an issue
 - 1.1 no reference to issues of population growth
 If the manifesto does not entail any information relevant to population growth in Pakistan then the answer choice will fall within this category
 - the manifesto alludes to the problem of population growth in Pakistan but does not fully display its commitment to curtailing it (parties that fall under this category have mentioned at the most (2<=) two of the following options: expected future population target rate, budgetary allocations for population services, FP/reproductive health initiatives to address population issues and have proposed population control programs)
 - 1.3 If the party has set a target for curtailing population growth and it has also specified policies/strategies to decrease it
 - * The level of commitment has been determined by looking at whether the party has set a future target population growth rate that they expect to achieve, have policies relevant to reproductive health issues that promote contraceptive prevalence in their manifesto, have proposed budgetary allocations for population issues and have also put forward population control programs
- 2. Population listed as a separate area of focus
 - 2.1 Population has not been listed as a separate issue
 - 2.2 Population growth has been mentioned but as a sub domain that falls under the category of health

An Analysis of Political Parties' Constitutions/Policy Documents/Manifestos in the SADC Region from a Gender Perspective Study. 2009.

Party manifestos for Indian elections 2009.http://electionaffairs.com/GE2009/party_manifesto_main.html.

Election manifestos of major parties in Bangladesh.

http://femabd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=109:election-manifestos-of-the-major-parties&catid=25:the-project

- 2.3 Mentioned as a separate area of focus
 - This would mean that the party has included population issues as under a separate head like other major areas of focus in the party's manifesto.
- 3. Is the importance given to population growth issues commensurate with the significance given to other main sectors?
 - 3.1 Population growth issues not mentioned
 - 3.2 Population issue mentioned but not as adequately represented as other areas of focus
 - 3.3 Specific targets and/or policy/strategy for achieving population goals proposed in the manifesto in this case it would be deemed that population issues have been given adequate attention.
 - *this criterion has been constructed on the following notion: population welfare initiatives have been compared with the targets, strategies, resource allocation and policies for other sectors. The number allotted to theme of population welfare has also been looked at in order to assess where population issues fall in each party's priority list
- 4. Population growth issues: Link and impact on other sectors e.g. health, education, etc.
 - 4.1 No linkages drawn with other sectors
 - 4.2 Population issues mentioned with at the most (2<=) two of the following options: health, economic development, poverty, unemployment and literacy
 - 4.3 Linkage with health, economic development, unemployment, poverty and literacy adequately drawn (the manifesto shows that the party sufficiently understands the issues related to population growth as seminal- one that takes its toll on many other sectors).

1.3 Rationale for categorization

Categorization of political parties according to the above criteria will crystallize each party's stance towards population related issues in their manifestos. It separates the parties that have put little focus on FP in their manifestos from those who have delved more into population related issues. Even those parties that have mentioned various aspects of population growth have been split into categories based on the specificity of their aims. This is important because: I) It gives a specific goal against which to measure a party's performance, even if that goal is partially achieved, and ii) And because it is an important distinction to differentiate between a broad non-specific goal and a specific target which can be assessed whether it is achievable and realistic thus depicting the seriousness of purpose in setting these goals.

Population growth and family planning trends have consequences far beyond just health. It impacts many

other social sectors as well as overall national economic development. The fact that some parties recognize this in their manifestos represents a breadth of vision that could form the basis of a comprehensive population policy encompassing the complex causes and effects related to population growth. Hence the parties that recognize those linkages in their manifestos are given a higher category.

The categorization will ultimately facilitate in assessing each party's progress and effectiveness of advocacy efforts aimed at convincing them to highlight population related issues in their manifestos. For instance, for a party in category 1 that doesn't even mention population as an issue, going to category 2 would mean that that they have now mentioned population issues in their manifesto; a change likely to representative a similarly changed focus in matters of policy. Progress from category 2 to 3 would represent a similar transformation.

2. Analysis of Individual Parties

A Political manifesto is a public declaration of a party's intentions, over arching goals, policy plans and other party pursuits. Craig Allen Smith and Kathy B. Smith (2000-458, citing Birch 1980) aptly declare a political manifesto as "texts through which parties characterize themselves and their differences with their rivals". Although one cannot definitely pin down the purpose of a manifesto, as there has been a noticeable amount of variance in the design, content and the vigor with which each respected manifesto has been drafted and developed, it can however serve as a reliable source of information on a particular party's ideology and stance on various issues. In fact Leonard Ray captures this variance in the purpose of a political manifesto and describes it as "a contract, an advertisement or a statement of principle." (2007-16:17)

The following section entails the analysis of the political manifestoes (2008) of eight of Pakistan's most influential political parties. The information for this report has been retrieved from the political data base for each party, interviews taken from various political party office bearers and consultative meetings with influential persons from each respective party. The content of each of the manifesto has been screened for information on population issues in Pakistan. Since population growth rate has spiked despite efforts to contain it, it has become a national imperative to mitigate the problem immediately. Unfortunately, population welfare is still off the radar for many political parties, and therefore it is seminal to conduct an exercise that could streamline a party's orientation and efforts pertaining to population welfare in Pakistan. This report is thus an effort to bring to attention the loopholes and the missing information in the political agendas of different political parties in

Pakistan. Concurrently, under the flagship of the same project other initiatives (political profiling and televised debates) on this theme have also substantially shaped up, so that these pursuits can together have an amplified result in changing mindsets and informing policy and practice.

Each subsection below has been dedicated to a particular political party. Excerpts from its health policy and population welfare policies have also been copied to make the analysis more relevant. Furthermore, each manifesto has been analyzed in accordance with the criteria specified above, and party specific recommendations have also been proposed in the light of the evidence provided in the analysis.

2.1 Awami National party

The Awami National Party is a nationalist (leftist) political party of Pakistan dedicated to narrowing the income gap prevalent in the society, it focuses primarily on relieving the society of the poverty trap situation. Currently led by Senator Asfandyar Ali Khan, predominantly the party has a Pashtun following and is popular in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Khyber Pakhtunkha and Balochistan. The party is hinged on four principals namely: gender equity and equality; democracy free from religious and feudalistic constraints; peace and no terrorism. In the last legislative elections of 2002 the Party won 1.0% of the popular vote but failed to secure any seats in the lower house of Parliament.

The following has been borrowed from the ANP's manifesto, and the highlighted portions are indicative of its commitment to addressing population issues:

Manifesto of 2008

- ANP will strive to provide health facilities for all citizens. In this respect various options including insurance schemes, privatization etc. will be considered. ANP will aim to allocate at least 6 percent of the GDP to health.
- Health services will be decentralized to bring them to the doorstep.
- ANP will emphasize on child & mother care, provision of clean drinking water and preventive medicine.

| Criteria | Party Standing |
|---|--|
| Overall importance given to population growth as an issue | No reference to issues of population growth |
| Population listed as a separate area of focus | Population has not been listed as a separate issue |
| Is the importance given to population growth issues commensurate with the significance given to other main sectors? | Population growth issues not mentioned |
| Linkages of population growth issues with other sectors e.g. Health, Education, Economic development etc | No linkages drawn with other sectors |

A scrutiny of the ANP manifesto brings to attention the fact that issues relevant to population issues have not been addressed within the program/policy continuum of the party's manifesto. In fact increasing population growth rate in Pakistan has a direct impact on many socio economic variables including poverty; given the party's commitment to achieving an egalitarian society, it is a matter of grave concern that population, as an exclusive topic, has not been dealt with by the party. From the ANP manifesto analysis the following points can be gleaned

- Issues relevant to population issues have not been addressed within the program/policy continuum of the party's manifesto
- Efforts need to be orchestrated to bring to the party's attention, the importance of Population issues in Pakistan
- Attempts to be made via verbal and written discourse to engage the influential leaders of ANP to bring about a change in the current

demographic situation in Pakistan.

2.2 Muttahida Quami Movement

Founded by Altaf Hussain in 1978, MuttahidaQaumi Movement (MQM) is a liberal political party in Pakistan- one that represents the sentiments of the working class and advocates equal rights and opportunities for all. The core goals of the party are: to eradicate political authoritarianism, abolish feudal systems, promote cultural pluralism, devolve power to the grass root level and achieve maximum provincial autonomy. Although the party marked its inception with the name 'MuhajirQaumi Movement', the term Muhajir was replaced by the term Muttahida, so that the party was representative for all not for a select few.

The following excerpt has been borrowed from the MQM's manifesto, and the highlighted portions are indicative of its commitment to addressing population issues:

Manifesto of 2008

Health:

"Health for all" remains a slogan that needs to be reduced into projects and programs by following measures:

- Public Expenditure on health would be increased from 0.6 % to 4% of GDP during next five years.
- Hospitals would be established in every district and health care centers in every village of the country.
- Adequate staff, equipment and medicines would be provided to primary and secondary health centers throughout the country.
- Institutions for training nurses, lady health-visitors, midwives and other Para-medical staff in every district would be established.
- A Liver Institute, Trauma Centre and Telemedicine service would be setup in every District.

- Emergency Funds would be reserved for unforeseen circumstances such as Flu (influenza) or Virus outbreaks.
- 2400 non-functional Basic Health Units, Rural Health Centers and Mother and Childcare centers would be functionalized.
- The Government would negotiate with multi-nationals to bring down the medicine prices.
- Import Tax on medicines would be abolished and there would be no Custom Duties for medical equipment.
- Mother and Child-Care Centers with breast screening facility would be setup in each district.
- Purchase and sale of organs for transplantation would be stopped and substituted by establishing Cadaver Banks.
- Health Insurance Schemes would be introduce by the Government for all citizens giving priority to senior citizens.
- Accreditation and Regulation of commercial health facilities would be regulated by the province.

Family Welfare:

The population of Pakistan has increased from 33.82 million in 1951 to 151 million in 2004. By the year 2010, at the existing trend, it would reach about 170 million. The current growth rate is around 1.9 % per anum-the highest in the region and needs to be brought down to 1.6 % by the end of year 2010

| Criteria | Party Standing |
|---|---|
| Overall importance given to population growth as an issue | the manifesto alludes to the problem of population growth in Pakistan but does not fully display its commitment to curtailing it |
| Population listed as a separate area of focus | Mentioned as a separate area of focus |
| Is the importance given to population growth issues commensurate with the significance given to other main sectors? | Population issue mentioned but not as adequately represented as other areas of focus |
| Linkages of population growth issues with other sectors e.g. Health, Education, Economic development etc | Population issues mentioned with at the most (2<=) two of the following options: health, economic development, poverty, unemployment and literacy |

The MQM manifesto covers a wide range of topics including education, health, provincial autonomy, agrarian reforms and many more. When the manifesto was reviewed for content on population, it was discovered that although the party acknowledged the relevance of population growth as a serious issue impeding economic growth, very little detail was provided on how steps would be taken to weed out the problem.

MQM in their manifesto voiced the need to pull down

the prevalent population growth statistic from 1.9% to 1.6%, however there were no proposed activities/policies that could facilitate in bringing about this change. Issues related to population were listed under the broad theme of 'Family welfare' but the linkage of this phenomenon with other areas was not adequately drawn. Population issues were hence not given sufficient coverage in the MQM manifesto. From the MQM manifesto analysis the following points can be gleaned:

- Although the party acknowledged the relevance of population growth as a serious issue impeding economic growth, very little detail was provided on how steps would be taken to weed out the problem.
- The population issue was briefly touched upon, and there was no link drawn between this issue and other issues
- Verbal and written advocacy tools need to be employed to spread awareness regarding this issue in the influential circles of the political party

2.3 Jamat-e-Islaami

Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) was founded on August 26, 1941 in Lahore by a Muslim theologian and socio-political philosopher, Syed Abul A'la Maududi. Jamaat-e-Islami is a well-established rightist and Islamist Party in Pakistan, one that proposes to establish a purely Islamic State, governed by Shariah law.

Currently led by Syed Munawwar Hassan, the Party sees itself as a movement based on an ideology, and the objective of all its efforts and struggle is in practical terms the establishment of the Deen.

The following excerpt has been borrowed from the Jamat-e-Islami's manifesto, and the highlighted portions are indicative of its commitment to addressing population issues:

Manifesto of 2008(Translated Version)

- Increase in health sector budget
- Free emergency services to be provided in all hospitals
- Specialist doctors for all hospitals at districts and tehsil level
- Free medical services in the areas of cardiology, nephrology, hepatology and life threatening diseases such as aids, cancer, Tuberculosis and drug addiction
- Evening OPD services to be provided in all Government hospitals
- Collective Takaful Insurance schemes based on Islamic principles for provision of above mentioned health facilities for all citizens
- High quality drugs and medicines to be produced in country and tax free imported drugs to be provided
- Attention to be paid to homeopathic and herbal medicine practices (hikmat)
- Female Government staff to be allowed 4 months with salary maternity leaves, and also leave with half salary if they have to take care of their family. During this period female staff will be provided complete protection with regards to service and transfers

| Criteria | Party Standing |
|---|--|
| Overall importance given to population growth as an issue | No reference to issues of population growth |
| Population listed as a separate area of focus | Population has not been listed as a separate issue |
| Is the importance given to population growth issues commensurate with the significance given to other main sectors? | Population Growth issues not mentioned |
| Linkages of population growth issues with other sectors e.g. Health, Education, Economic development etc | No linkages drawn with other sectors |

Jamat-e-Islami's manifesto is bolstered by religious injunctions and practices, and its policy actions and political plans are all interspersed with Islamic teachings. There was no evidence of the Party's plan of action for addressing issues relevant to population in their manifesto, and although the health section does give female participants in the labor force the leverage of going for a maternity leave, the party's manifesto had not allotted any space for population related issues. From the Jamat-e-Islami manifesto analysis the following points can be gleaned:

- Issues relevant to population issues have not been addressed within the program/policy continuum of the party's manifesto
- Efforts need to be orchestrated to bring to the party's attention, the importance of Population issues in Pakistan
- Attempts to be made via verbal and written discourse to engage the influential leaders of JI to bring about a change in the current demographic situation in Pakistan.

2.4 Pakistan People's Party

The Pakistan People's party (PPP) marked its genesis at a convention held in Lahore in 1967, at the same convention Zulfiqar Ali Bhutt was elected as the chairperson. PPP is a party that promises to expunge all social evils from the society by chalking out policies that cater not only to the elite but also to the proletariat. The party's theory of change, as highlighted by its manifesto, is hinged upon the following notions: employment, education, energy, environment and equality. It is apparent from the aforementioned, that the space allotted to health in the party's manifesto is comparatively less than that allotted to others. The information below has been extracted from the PPP manifesto and reveals its commitment to health

The following excerpt has been borrowed from the Jamat-e-Islami's manifesto, and the highlighted portions are indicative of its commitment to addressing population issues:

Manifesto of 2008

All PPP Governments have made health a high priority, believing that the welfare of People flows from investing in the health of the people. Basic Principles of the Health Policy are: First, the Guarantee of Access to a Doctor for every Citizen of Pakistan via a National Health Service; Second, the Prevention of Disease; Third, the Guarantee that Affordable Medicines are available to the sick and needy; Fourth, the provision of good Medical Education and Training. The Lady Health Workers (LHW) programme initiated by the PPP government has been the most successful initiative in the preventive health sector in the last two decades; it increased contraceptive prevalence and reduced mother and child mortality ratios. The PPP will further consolidate this programme and take the number of LHWs up to 200,000 in the next 5 years, extending it to KatchiAbadisin urban areas. A scheme for inducting 10,000 male health workers will be introduced in parts of NWFP and Balochistan. The party will initiate a media campaign on various aspects of preventive health measures to increase awareness on health, safe motherhood, hygiene and nutrition. Access to quality drugs has eluded the poor citizens of this country. The Pakistan Peoples Party will initiate a pro-people Drugs policy for the Public Sector Health System and maintain prices within the reach of the common man for the WHO-approved list of 300 essential drugs.

The PPP will introduce competitive measures to ensure parity with regional price levels. As in other Muslim Countries, including Iran, Bangladesh and Indonesia, Pakistan aims to protect the health and care of both Mother and Child through Planned Parenthood.

| Criteria | Party Standing | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| Overall importance given to population growth as an issue | the manifesto alludes to the problem of population growth in Pakistan but does not fully display its commitment to curtailing it | | | | |
| Population listed as a separate area of focus | Population has not been listed as a separate issue | | | | |

| Criteria | Party Standing |
|---|--|
| Is the importance given to population growth issues commensurate with the significance given to other main sectors? | Population issue mentioned but not as adequately represented as other areas of focus |
| Linkages of population growth issues with other sectors e.g. Health, Education, Economic development etc | No linkages drawn with other sectors |

An important area that is interconnected with both health and education and has a direct bearing on the economy is one that pertains to population growth rate in a country. A country's population index is a relevant indicator of its present and future well-being, and is an issue that is seminal to bringing about a positive change in the society. Consequently, when the party's manifesto was screened with the intent of finding material on population issues, it was realized that this area was not developed as a main theme in the manifesto. However, under the banner of its health initiatives the party did talk about increasing contraceptive prevalence and reducing maternal and child mortality rates by inducting 10,000 male health workers for areas in NWFP and Baluchistan, and scaling up their Lady Health Worker (LHW) program up to 200,000 in the next 5 years. Moreover, the party in their manifesto also spell out, their intent to initiate a media campaign that would explore various aspects pertaining to health related issues including reproductive health and contraception. Although all these initiatives would help issues the population growth rate in Pakistan, the Party's manifesto did not overtly benchmark/set a target for future population growth rate that they hoped to achieve. Thus, population as an independent topic was not developed upon in the Pakistan People's Party manifesto, and neither was its relevance and linkages to other important aspects aptly drawn.

From the PPP manifesto analysis the following points can be gleaned:

 The Pakistan People's party is committed to addressing the issue of population growth in Pakistan, as it can be seen by some of its proposed interventions in the area of reproductive health and maternal and child care facilities

- The manifesto however shows a lack of direction as there is no future population growth rate that the party expects to achieve once they assume the office- without a benchmark the impact of innovations and interventions in the area of population control would be difficult to gauge
- In the light of the analysis it is felt that there is a need to actively engage with the influential members of the party to discuss with them the relevance of population issues in Pakistan, and the need for them to benchmark a target and subsequently plan activities to achieve the decided target rate so that the problems pertaining to this harrowing issue can be addressed.

2.5 Pakistan Tahrik-e-Insaf

Formed under the leadership of the former Pakistan cricket team captain and philanthropist, Imran Khan, in 1996, the Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf (PTI) is a political party whose dictum is to ascertain that basic human rights are not infringed upon, and that the judiciary is free and independent to dispense justice to its constituents. PTI envisages creating a modern, democratic Islamic republic which advocates complete political, religious, and economic freedom and hopes to change the status quo in Pakistan.

The following excerpt has been borrowed from the PTI's manifesto, and the highlighted portions are indicative of its commitment to addressing population issues:

Manifesto of 2008

Human Development

Poverty prevails among the masses and there is little improvement in the social indicators. Universal primary education is an elusive dream. Access to basic health care remains poor with infant mortality rate one of the highest in the world. The present population growth rate of 2.2 percent is still amongst the highest in the world. An estimated 8 million children suffer severe malnourishment. Social sector development would thus receive the highest priority from PTI.

Healthy People - Healthy Nation

The PTI plans to revamp and upgrade the public health care system in Pakistanin line with its slogan "healthy people, healthy nation." by putting in place the following reforms:

- 4. Progressively double state spending on health, establish a threshold for
- 5. Setting up of basic health units in order to extend the facility to the village level.
- 6. Target to achieve 100 per cent immunization of children against preventable diseases
- 7. Policy emphasis on preventive healthcare particularly in communicableand infectious diseases, reproductive health care, pre and post-natalhealth care to drastically reduce infant mortality rate and under-five mortality rate;
- 8. Ensure universal access to clean drinking water in all villages and urbanslums by setting up water filtration plants;
- 9. Improving sanitation through better sewerage and drainage schemes in urban areas
- 10. Decentralization of healthcare services with greater management and monitoring role of local councils over basic healthcare centers particularly with facilities for mother and child care;
- 11. Introduce tele-medicine in upgraded rural health centers and hospitalsusing Internet and telecommunications infrastructure;
- 12. Revise the pricing policy for drugs including import duties and levies toensure that essential drugs are available at affordable prices;
- 13. Encourage private-public partnership under a policy which provideaffordable healthcare services;
 - Institutionalize the autonomy of Government hospitals
 - Introduce low-cost health insurance schemes and concessional healthcare schemes for the elderly and poor
 - Bring accountability of doctors, para-medical and non-medical staff in their professional duties at Government and private hospitals and health care centers by formulating a policy in consultation with their representative associations.

Population Welfare

The continuing high population growth rate is a major national concern and strainon national resources. Rapid population growth means greater developmentneeds and stress on the existing physical infrastructure. The PTI will launch a national campaign on population welfare and make it an integral part of the national health policy. Greater access to quality education would go a long way creating greater awareness on population related issues.

PTI will:

- Launch public awareness campaigns on population welfare and reinforce
- Programmes to reduce the population growth rate from 2.2 percent to 1.6percent;
- Introduce integrated comprehensive population welfare Programmes to improve the impact of existing projects by expanding coverage and improved management;
- Introduce modern family planning methods that allow women increased options on family planning services;

| Criteria | Party Standing |
|---|---|
| Overall importance given to population growth as an issue | the manifesto alludes to the problem of population growth in Pakistan but does not fully display its commitment to curtailing |
| Population listed as a separate area of focus | Mentioned as a separate area of focus |
| Is the importance given to population growth issues commensurate with the significance given to other main sectors? | Population issue mentioned but not as adequately represented as other areas of focus |
| Linkages of population growth issues with other sectors e.g. Health, Education, Economic development etc | Linkage with health, economic development, unemployment, poverty and literacy adequately drawn |

Since social development, is one of the core components of the party's overarching goals, when the party's manifesto was reviewed for its plan of action for issues relevant to population issues, it was realized that there were adequate references to the theme. Population as a problem that needed immediate mitigation was recognized in the party's manifesto: "The present population growth rate of 2.2 percent is still amongst the highest in the world." Moreover, under the heading of 'Population Welfare' this theme was further strengthened and consolidated and its relevance to other domains like education and economics was also developed. The party hoped to reduce population growth rate from 2.2 percent to 1.6 percent in the future, and this statistic was to be achieved by the following proposed activities: initiating Population welfare campaigns and programs; strengthening preexisting programs by expanding their coverage and improving their management and introducing Modern family planning methods. The need to address population growth rate issues in Pakistan was also implicitly reiterated in the Health section of the PTI manifesto where the need to propagate policy dialogues on

reproductive health care was voiced. Other relevant insertions in this section included the party's commitment to increasing and strengthening neo natal health care units and mother and child health care centers. Although more detail of the activities / future plan of action for population growth issues could have rendered more clarity to the topic, and more innovations could have been enlisted under this theme. Nonetheless, relative to the other parties, PTI has allotted substantial space to this theme in their manifesto and has recognized the value addition of addressing this issue for the socio economic benefit of the country. The manifesto analysis underlie the need to involve and apprise political representatives of PTI in discourse pertaining to demographics in Pakistan and international models and best practices for demographic shift and improvement, so that it can be expected that they can shape their ideologies subsequently.

From the PTI manifesto analysis the following points can be gleaned:

 The status of Pakistan's demographics reflects the need for immediate mitigation and PTI

- realizes the significance of this issue
- Relative to other political parties, PTI has given adequate space to this issue in their manifesto and have proposed activities that they would engage in to lower this statistic by a few percentage points
- The interventions and activities listed under the heading of 'population issues' could have been more extensive and detailed, in order to facilitate the reader into understanding how the party intended to bring about the population growth rate percentage down to its target

2.6 Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam (PML Q)

The Pakistan Muslim League (Q) is the dissident faction once a part of the PML (Nawaz) group. The party is led by veteran politician Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain and is currently an ally of the PPP led government of Pakistan.

It aspires to promote a culture of reconciliation and accommodation in politics. It has launched a massive campaign to organize itself at the grassroots and plans to introduce reforms in the social, economic and other sectors of the society in order to bring about a real change in the life of the common man. PML-Q rests their party objectives on developing the following areas: Development, democracy, devolution, diversity and defence.

The following excerpt has been borrowed from the PML (Q)'s manifesto to analyze the party's commitment to addressing population issues:

Manifesto of 2008

On the issue of health, the PML aims to have a National Health Service backed by sustained investment in hospitals to provide better treatment to the patients. Doctors will be given special incentives to serve in rural areas.

The PML also plans to upgrade and expand the existing health care structure of the country, specially focusing on the far flung and the less developed regions of the country. This would include expansion and up-gradation of the existing health care network with modern medical facilities and setting up of separate female/gynae units in each hospital and medical centre.

| Criteria | Party Standing |
|---|--|
| Overall importance given to population growth as an issue | no reference to issues of population growth |
| Population listed as a separate area of focus | Population has not been listed as a separate issue |
| Is the importance given to population growth issues commensurate with the significance given to other main sectors? | Population growth issues not mentioned |
| Linkages of population growth issues with other sectors e.g. Health, Education, Economic development etc | No linkage drawn with other sectors |

The section pertaining to Development highlights activities /proposed innovations in the areas of health, education and the economy. From the analysis of this section it can be culled out, that there is no reference

to population growth rate, population issues and the spillover impact of this important statistic on the economy. Moreover, there are no proposed activities related to reproductive health or the health of the

mother and child. PML-Q thus, does not adequately address the issue of population growth issues in their manifesto. From the PML-Q's manifesto analysis the following points can be gleaned:

- Issues pertaining to population do not feature in the activities and policy changes proposed in the manifesto
- A need to apprise the political representatives of this party of the demographic situation in Pakistan was strongly felt
- Material pertinent to population issues should be shared with influential party members so that the relevance of this issue in changing the socio economic predicament of Pakistan can be realized

2.7 Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML N)

The PML (N) is a center right conservative political party in Pakistan. It represents one of the largest political forces in the country and won almost 9.4% of the popular vote in the last general elections. It is currently headed by former prime minister Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif. The party's biggest stronghold is in Punjab where it currently holds the majority vote and leads the provincial assembly.

The following excerpt has been borrowed from the PML (Q)'s manifesto to analyze the party's commitment to addressing population issues:

Manifesto of 2008

Health & Population

Without a healthy nation, there can be neither development nor progress. Pakistan has lagged behind other developing countries in terms of its social development. In the last ten years, due to Social Action Program, initiated by PML-N government, there has been considerable progress in improving the social indicators and controlling the population growth rate as it mandated the provincial governments to make significant allocations for the social sectors, despite the problems it faced due to the frequent change of governments in the 90s. PML-N remains committed to social sector and will pursue policy of providing quality health care to all citizens whether poor, rural, or urban.

- Main Teaching Hospitals both in the Federal Capital and Provincial headquarters will be modernized and
 equipped with the state of the art medical equipment and facilities especially in the field of
 Cardiovascular surgery, Cancer, Organs transplant, Brain surgery and Burn and Dialysis units, so that people
 do not have to seek expensive medical treatment abroad.
- Production of quality generic medicines will be encouraged to provide cheaper medicines to the common man.
- It is estimated that 7 out of 10 deaths in childhood are due to the following main diseases namely diarrhea, malaria, pneumonia, measles and malnutrition especially in the developing countries. Environmental health shall be promoted.
- Cardiac clinics and facilities shall be extended to district level hospitals, and institutes will be provided more advanced technology and modern equipment. Incentives will be provided to
- Cardiac clinics and institutes in the private sector.
- Considering that most instances of heart and the lung diseases, including cancer of the lungs and breast are directly related to smoking, cigarette smoking will not be allowed in most public places while private enterprises will be required to designate "No Smoking" areas. Preventive medicine shall be promoted.
- The Primary health care program will be expanded to provide basic health service facilities to all by making Basic Health Units (BHUs), and Rural Health Centers (RHCs) functional. Thus providing basic health

- care facilities at the doorsteps of the people in the rural areas through community based health care programs.
- To provide better services and coverage, District and Tehsil Hospitals will be improved and upgraded by
 appointing DHOs on merit basis, and providing sufficient financial and administrative powers and better
 living facilities thus ensuring presence of Doctors, Nurses and Para medical staff at primary and secondary
 health care facilities in a given District.
- Fresh medical graduates, after completing their mandatory house jobs, will be required serve for at least one year in vacant posts in primary and secondary health facilities.
- All out efforts will be made to provide clean drinking water and basic hygiene facilities to the rural population.
- AIDS is an incurable, fatal but preventable disease. A national campaign will be launched to make people aware about its possible prevention and dangerous consequences.
- The existing National program of immunization (EPI) will be considerably expanded and well publicized, through print and electronic media especially the campaign against cluster diseases by giving oral vaccine drops.
- A new anti TB program, DOTS (Directly Observed Treatment Short Course), against Tuberculosis will be implemented to control Tuberculosis. Massive vaccination against Poliomyelitis, Neonatal tetanus, Malaria and a cluster of childhood diseases will be carried out, and immunization coverage will be increased to 75 80%. Hepatitis B coverage will be provided in 60-70% of Districts.
- Medical colleges both in the public and private sectors will be required to adopt, in addition to affiliated teaching hospital a District / Tehsil hospital or primary health care center.
- All private medical colleges will be required by law to follow mutually agreed affordable admission and tuition fees and PMDC approved standards before they are allowed to admit students.
- Homeopathy and Tibb will be promoted after they meet the criteria of desired standards for medical education by making amendments in the law.
- The number of hospitals will be increased to meet the growing demand of patients. Likewise, number of medical graduates, nurses and doctors and paramedics will be increased keeping in mind the ever-growing needs.
- Stringent anti drug steps will be taken to control this menace by cracking down on drug dealers, and providing proper rehabilitation program facilities in all provinces to those who are victims of this scourge.
- Senior citizens will be provided special health care facilities like eye glasses, hospitalization and treatment at favorable fee rates and pharmacies will be instructed to provide medicines at discounted prices. Free medical care will be provided to deserving patients.
- The PML government will make sure that every day essential life saving drugs is available to the general public at affordable prices.
- Free medical care will be provided to poor and deserving patients through Zakat fund assistance ear-marked for health care.
- Special education centers shall be opened in all districts.
- Population growth rate shall be brought down to 1.5 percent, and safe motherhood programs shall be promoted.

| Criteria | Party Standing |
|---|--|
| Overall importance given to population growth as an issue | the manifesto alludes to the problem of population growth in Pakistan but does not fully display its commitment to curtailing it |
| Population listed as a separate area of focus | Population growth has been mentioned but as a sub domain that falls under the category of health |
| Is the importance given to population growth issues commensurate with the significance given to other main sectors? | Population issue mentioned but not as adequately represented as other areas of focus |
| Linkages of population growth issues with other sectors e.g. Health, Education, Economic development etc | Population issues mentioned with at the most (2<=) two of the following options : health, economic development, poverty, unemployment and literacy |

An analysis of the party's manifesto for evidence on the amount of importance it allocates to issues related to population, yields the fact that the party acknowledges that population as a vital issue. Furthermore, it also delineates the population growth rate benchmark that it hopes to establish once it assumes the office: "Population growth rate shall be brought down to 1.5 percent, and safe motherhood programs shall be promoted." What seems essentially lacking in their manifesto however, is a detail of how they would achieve the desired drop in the population growth rate. There are no proposed activities that would preclude the population growth rate from increasing, and owing to this, their target setting seems too arbitrary in its making. Population as an independent topic has not been markedly developed in PML-N's manifesto. From the PML (N) manifesto analysis the following points can be gleaned:

- The party acknowledges population as a vital issue and has set a target that it expects to achieve upon assuming office
- Proposed activities and policy initiatives taken to achieve the aforementioned target however have not been specified.
- The manifesto analysis underlie the need to involve and apprise political representatives of PML(N) in discourse pertaining to demographics in Pakistan and international

- models and best practices for demographic shift and improvement, so that it can be expected that they can shape their ideologies subsequently.
- Verbal and written advocacy tools need to be employed to spread awareness regarding this issue in the influential circles of the political part.

2.8 Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam

JamiatUleme-e-Islam is a right wing religious conservative political party, whose goals rest on the edifice of Islamic ideals and principles . JamiatUleme-e-Islam's party background information succinctly describes their struggle and evolution as a political entity, but they do not have a formal party manifesto describing their take on various socio, economic and political issues. There is no evidence of what actions or political changes they would make once they assume the office. Therefore, one cannot be cocksure of their plan of action for assuaging population issues in Pakistan.

The following table has been created from the information gleaned from the JamiatUlema- e- Islam's document on its party objectives. To understand the allotment of answers against each core question, refer to the manifesto Analysis Criteria.

Party Vision 2008

No specific manifesto of JUI could be found. However, an attempt to made to assess the party against following criteria through analysis of party relevant documents,

| Criteria | Party Standing |
|---|--|
| Overall importance given to population growth as an issue | no reference to issues of population growth |
| Population listed as a separate area of focus | Population has not been listed as a separate issue |
| Is the importance given to population growth issues commensurate with the significance given to other main sectors? | Population Growth issues have not been mentioned |
| Linkages of population growth issues with other sectors e.g. Health, Education, Economic development etc | No linkages drawn with other sectors |

Since the party does not have a formal manifesto it becomes difficult to realize the party's priorities and proposed future plan of action. Population related facts and issues did not feature in the party's background information and therefore the need to apprise the party through written and/or verbal means was strongly felt.

3. Discussion

The population growth trend in Pakistan harbingers the need for immediate action to mitigate the status quo. Increasing population growth trends can be noxious for the economic growth of a country as it causes a ripple effect - negatively impacting the lives of not a few but many. Moreover, increasing population trends are directly linked with many socio economic indicators like poverty, illiteracy, unemployment etc. that belabors the need to contain this statistic if the economic predicament of the country needs to be overhauled.

The manifesto analysis revealed that issues pertaining to population growth rate in Pakistan were seldom recognized as significant. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf was the only political party that had addressed this issue aptly and had provided implementable policy action plans in their manifesto. Most of the other political parties on the other hand, had either missed out on representing this issue or had inadequately addressed

this problem. Increasing population growth rate is a harrowing problem, one that needs to be mitigated immediately. Given the limited space that has been allotted to this issue in the manifestoes of the main political parties in Pakistan, it is incumbent upon public health experts, economists, policy makers, the academia and other think tanks to make orchestrated efforts towards addressing this problem.

The following table is a Party Position Matrix (PPM), which elicits the position of the party in terms of the criteria specified in section 1.3. The table allows one to gauge the position of the party independently and in comparison with other parties, which in turn can facilitate one in understanding the current standing of each party, areas to improve on and the relevant changes required for the next manifesto. The PPM is thus a tool that can come in handy when it comes to influencing political leadership.

BOX 2: Party Position Matrix

| Politica I Party | Overall importance given to population growth as an issue | | Population listed as a main area of focus | | Is the importance given to population growth issues commensurate with the significance given to other main sectors? | | Growth issues: Link and impact on other sectors e.g. health, literacy, economic development, & poverty | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|--|--|-----------------------------------|---|---|--|--|---------------------------|------|---|---------------|
| | no reference | Problem specified, but full commitment to curtailing it not shown | target for curtailing population growth mentioned along with policies | not listed as a separate issue | mentioned as a sub domain of health | Mentioned as a separate area of focus | Population issues not mentioned | mentioned but not adequately represented | Adequately represented | none | Population issues mentioned with at the most (2<=) two of the following options: health, economic development, poverty, unemployment and literacy | Linkage drawn |
| ANP | √ | | | V | | | V | | | 1 | | |
| MQM | | $\sqrt{}$ | | | | $\sqrt{}$ | | $\sqrt{}$ | | | $\sqrt{}$ | |
| JI . | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PPP | | | | | | | | $\sqrt{}$ | | | | |
| PTI | | V | | | | V | | V | | | | |
| PML (Q) | $\sqrt{}$ | | | V | | | | | | | | |
| PML (N) | | | | | √ | | | $\sqrt{}$ | | | \checkmark | |
| JUI | $\sqrt{}$ | | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 4 | 4 | | 5 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 4 | | 5 | 2 | 1 |

A critical review of the political manifestoes (2008) of eight of Pakistan's most influential political parties brought to attention the fact that the increasing population growth rate in Pakistan needs to be demarcated as a key priority area, so that steps can be taken to contain the statistic in the years to come. A cross comparison of the political manifestoes understudy, showcased that a majority of the parties -Jamat e Islami (JI), Awami National Party (ANP), JamiatUlema-e-Islam (JUI) and Pakistan Mulsim League Quaid-e-Azam (PML-Q) - did not highlight the significance of addressing population related issues; mention the population trends, issues and spillover effects in Pakistan or set a future population growth target rate that it expected to achieve through its policy interventions.

Overall importance given to population growth as an issue

In this section none of the parties could obtain the highest benchmark set for this criteria, the reason behind this was that in order to be rated the highest in this category the manifesto needed to entail the following: expected future population target rate, budgetary allocations for population services, FP/reproductive health initiatives to address population issues and proposed population control programs. None of the parties had covered all the specified interventions. MQM, PPP, PML (N) and PTI did have policy provisions on a few of the aforementioned.

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML N) mentioned a population growth target rate that it hoped to achieve: "Population growth rate should be brought down to 1.5 percent." However, there were no proposed activities that would facilitate in attaining the desired result, thereby making the set target appear too arbitrary in its construction. MQM also underscored the party's objective to reduce the existing population growth rate by a few percentage points: "The current growth rate is around 1.9% per annum...and needs to be brought down to 1.6% by the end of the year 2010." MQM in its manifesto however, only stipulated increasing training programs for nurses, mid wives and lady health workers in order

to improve family planning and reproductive health services- there were no other population welfare interventions that would strengthen the party's personal and financial commitment to changing the demographic design of the country. Amongst all the other parties, PTI's commitment to population issues was most pronounced they had specified the population growth target rate that they expected to achieve and had proposed activities that could assist in plummeting the prevalent statistic. What was missing essentially in PTI's manifesto was a financial commitment (demonstrated via a budgetary allocation specifically for population welfare activities in Pakistan.

Population listed as a main area of focus

Amongst all the parties reviewed, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf's (PTI) political manifesto stood out as it reflected the party's commitment to mitigate population issues in Pakistan. The party did not only mention the expected target that it hoped to achieve, but also proposed activities that would bring about this change. The manifesto showcased the party's plan to expand the outreach and improve the service delivery of family planning activities; initiate campaigns endorsing a change in the population growth trends in Pakistan; encourage research to improve the status of services provided by various population welfare programs and take measures to tweak the management system of all population related programs for increased impact .Although PTI's manifesto could have accommodated more proposed policy and activity insertions, it's dedication to improving population problems in Pakistan was the most pronounced relative to the other parties assessed. MQM had also specified population issues under an independent heading; however the content (proposed interventions for population related activities) was not as rich as the one in PTI's manifesto.

 Is the importance given to population growth issues commensurate with the significance given to other main sectors? This specific criterion is complex compared to the others, however inclusion of this was imperative as it led one to understand how much a party supported population welfare activities vis-à-vis other pressing issues and concerns. While categorizing the parties under this criterion, one had to look at the targets specified, resources allocated and quantity and quality of policies proposed for 'Population Welfare' activities in comparison with other issues like education, governance etc. This exercise would help in realizing the priorities of a particular party. Unfortunately, none of the parties scored the highest in this section, demonstrated how there was a dire need for priority readjustment. Although PPP, MQM, PTI and PML (N) did show their concerns for containing the population growth rate in Pakistan, it was felt that population was not a primary priority areas.

Population growth issues: Link and impact on other sectors: health, literacy, economic development and poverty

The demographic layout of a country is a pivotal concern for many stakeholders which not only includes the government, policy planners, health specialists, educationists and economists but all the constituents of a country (irrespective of age, profession or status). Population growth is a phenomenon that has a direct and indirect bearing on many other facets of life. Increasing population growth rate means that there would be unequal distribution of resources and services, thereby allowing the society to be stratified in to different social classes. Accessibility will also be a major issue; it would become difficult for service providers to keep pace with the increasing population, leading to a surplus of unmet demand and a shortage of supply (a recipe for economic disasters like inflation which could eventually pave way for increased poverty and unemployment). Thus, linking population issues to other issues is very important- this exercise belabors the significance of addressing the problem. While conducting the manifesto analysis, evidence that reflected a party understanding of population proliferation issues and impact was sought. The parties were evaluated on whether they had drawn adequate linkages between population issues and other issues (refer to the

Manifesto Analysis Standard in the Annex 1).

While reviewing the political manifestoes it was realized that most of the parties assessed- Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Pakistan Muslim League Quaid (PML Q), Awami National party (ANP), JamiatUlema-e-Islam (JUI) and Jamat-e-Islami (JI)- did not draw any linkage between population growth issues and other issues. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (rated highest in this criterion) was the only party that dealt with the subject matter substantially by linking population issues to issues pertaining to education, health, development needs and national resource allocation. Pakistan Muslim league Nawaz (PML N) and Mutahida Quami Movement (MQM) on the other hand, very briefly mentioned the link between population growth rate and other social indicators-it was felt that the political manifestoes of both the parties required more detailing on the issue.

Reproductive Health (Provision of maternal, ante & post natal, infant and child care services)

The provision of quality maternal, new born and child health care services (specifically at the primary level of care) across the country is the need of the hour. It is something that needs to be incorporated in the manifestoes of all the political parties of Pakistan so that the status of reproductive health in Pakistan is overhauled. The manifesto analysis however, brought to the fore the fact that the response to the provision of maternal and child health care services differed from party to party.

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) strongly specified their intent to strengthen policy provisions on reproductive, pre and post natal maternal and child health care. Pakistan People's party's (PPP) manifesto stated that steps would be taken to ensure maternal and child health care. Awami National Party (ANP) and Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM) proposed to set up mother and child health care services in all districts in Pakistan. Jamat-e-Islaami (JI) did not have any insertions on the provision of these services; it did however endorse granting female government staff members a four month with salary maternity leave. Pakistan

Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam (PML Q) in the health section of their manifesto, specified setting up Gyne units in all hospitals and medical centers -there were no other reproductive health initiatives stated .The manifesto for Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz's (PML N) stressed on the party's commitment to increasing the immunization coverage of a cluster of childhood diseases from 75-80%, but did not offer any maternal and new born health care services/activities. Since JamiatUlema-e-Islam (JUI) did not have a formal manifesto, it was very difficult to decipher how the party intended to approach reproductive health issues in Pakistan. The only document available for review was one that gave a brief introduction to the party and its core objectives, unfortunately this document did not entail substantive evidence which could lead one to the conclusion that the party was committed to providing maternal, new born and child health care facilities in Pakistan.

Conclusion

Conclusively, the manifesto analysis led to the understanding that 'Population Welfare' needed to be developed as a central theme-one that entailed the prevalent demographic trends; the future population growth rate target to be achieved; the impact of population accretion; the linkage between population issues and other issues and proposed policy actions and service provisions for: population welfare, reproductive health, family planning and maternal and child health. The manifesto analysis revealed that issues pertaining to population growth rate in Pakistan were seldom recognized as significant. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf was the only political party that had addressed this issue aptly and had provided implementable policy action plans in their manifesto. Most of the other political parties on the other hand, had either missed out on representing this issue or had inadequately addressed this problem. Increasing population growth rate is a harrowing problem, one that needs to be mitigated immediately. Given the limited space that has been allotted to this issue in the manifestoes of the main political parties in Pakistan, it is incumbent upon public health experts, economists, policy makers, the academia and other think tanks to

make orchestrated efforts towards addressing this problem.

Annex 1: Standard for Manifesto Analysis

Standard for Manifesto Analysis:

This standard has been constructed realizing the gaps, challenges and recommendations put to the fore by the Pakistan Population Policy Report Draft report (2010); the core objectives agreed upon in the International Conference on Population and Development's Program of Action (1994) and the UN's Millennium development Goals (2000). Ideally, a manifesto needs to cover the following components pertaining to population and reproductive health issues in Pakistan:

Reproductive Health

Reproductive health is a seminal part of health. A political manifesto should showcase a party's commitment to ensuring contraceptive security and promoting family planning as a vital issue. There should be insertions on reproductive health services, budgetary allocations for FP activities and other activities that inform reform. Reproductive health should be identified as an area of key priority

 Provision of quality maternal, new born and child health care services (specifically at the primary level of care) across the country

Population Welfare

Population proliferation is a deep rooted problem in many developing countries and is one that needs to be immediately mitigated. Thus deliberate efforts need to be made to alleviate both demand and supply side problems pertaining to population.

The supply side problems not only relate to access to contraceptive services but also access to information regarding the harrowing problem of population proliferation. A political manifesto needs to attend to all supply side factors and should ensure that all stakeholders are actively engaged in improving and expanding their service outreach, and should ascertain that the quality of services are not compromised

on. Moreover, adequate demand needs to be generated to match the supply, and hence a political manifesto should also press on the need to initiate and be privy to (national and local) advocacy campaigns to raise awareness pertaining to the significance of contraception and birth spacing.

A political manifesto should include the following:

- Party's future expected population growth rate target
- Financial Commitment to population issues by increasing budgetary allocations for population activities (at least 0.5% of the National GDP)
- Ensuring the provision of birth spacing services at all public sector service delivery outlets and through outreach teams
- For increased program efficiency and coverage, policy provisions/activities that help strengthen public and private sectors, and also assist in strengthening public private partnerships

Other Areas:

• The demographic status of a country is a product of many socio economic variables. Education for example, plays an extremely pivotal role in shaping the demographic design of a country; literacy (especially female literacy) has a positive correlation with increased use of contraception. Increased urbanization is again an important theme that has taken centre stage when it comes to development related discourse. Also, with the increasing population growth rate, an important fact to consider is the labor market and its inability to adjust the human capital that tends to increase exponentially every year- if the increased labor supply does not meet the labor demand, many people

would be forced to live below poverty line. linkages between population issues and other socio economic issues like economic development, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, governance

In the light of all the aforementioned a political manifesto is expected to include:

- The link between illiteracy and increasing population should be stressed in the manifesto
- The connection between demography ,unemployment and poverty to be stressed

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