



Analysis of Manifestos of Ruling Political Parties of Pakistan



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A comprehensive analysis of manifestoes political parties, with regards to climate change has been conducted by Individualland Pakistan. The focus of the analysis was on the estimation of the basic understanding of the political parties about climate change. The analysis highlighted the perception of the political parties of climate change as a process and its progression throughout the years. It points out the various measures that the political parties have defined in their manifestoes for the mitigation or reduction of the effects of climate change.

For a thorough understanding of the opinions of individuals on the subject of climate change, IL also conducted interviews with various experts, politicians and working journalists. These interviews aimed to record their opinions about climate change and its importance for the various political parties of Pakistan. The basic understanding of the interviewed individuals regarding climate change as a process and the actions characterized in the manifestoes was gauged.

Methodology

This paper is based on quantitative and qualitative research. The quantitative research was conducted on the basis of a word search carried out in four tiers; core, primary, secondary and tertiary words. As part of the qualitative research, the frequencies of these indicators at each level and the context of the word use was linked to see how the parties under study have addressed the issue of climate change in their political manifestos.

Analysis of Political Manifestos

The approach to climate change at the provincial level implies that the political parties recognise it as a provincial issue and therefore have drafted policies on the basis of its impact on the respective regions. However, the present policies do not dissect all the aspects that affect the climate directly or indirectly.

- Out of the 15 ruling parties both at the centre and the provinces manifestoes of two parties i.e. Baluchistan National Awami Party (BNAP) and Pakistan Muslim League – Zia were not available. Only 3 political parties including Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz (PML-N), Pakistan People’s Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) and Pakistan Tehreek-e Insaf (PTI) could be termed as truly national political parties. The manifestos of 12 political parties were analysed for frequency of core, primary, secondary and tertiary words. The context in which these words were mentioned was also noted and analysed.

Core Words

The four tier analysis started with quantitative word search for the two core words i.e. “Climate Change” and “Environment” in the political manifestos of the selected parties. It was surprising to find out that only the national level political parties had mentioned the word “climate change”, which points towards their knowledge of the term.

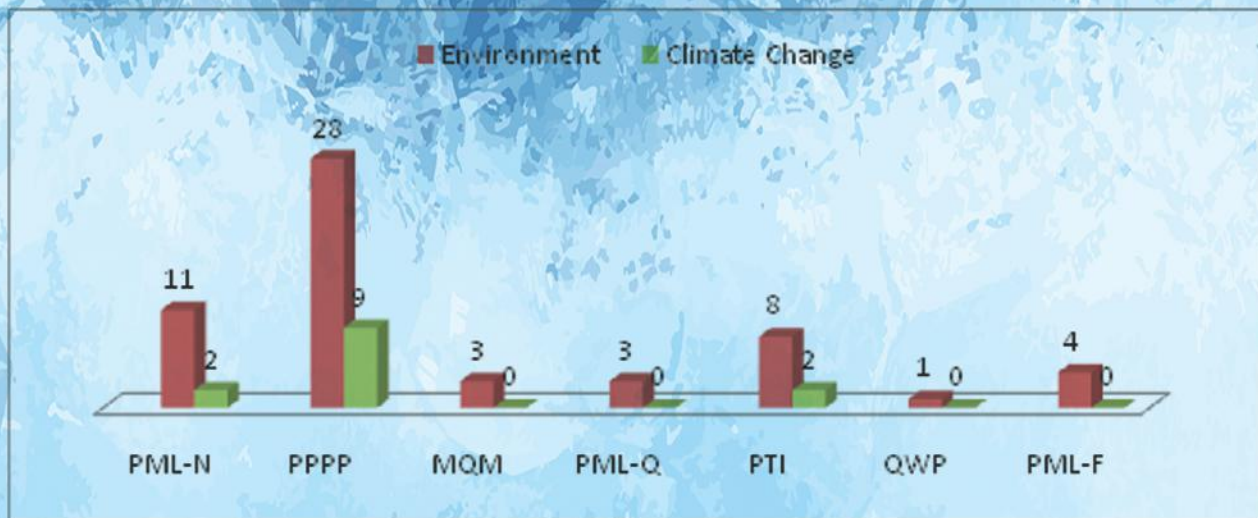
Climate Change

- PPPP accepts that the phenomenon poses threats to the country and clearly states that Pakistan is a water stressed country. The party further states that in order to cope with the threats, there is a dire need to build dams either small or large. The majority of climate change mitigation measures mentioned in the political manifesto of PPPP is related to water and floods management;
- PML-N links Climate change with business opportunities that Pakistan has lost or will lose due to the threat posed by this phenomenon;
- PTI mentions that the party will strive to turn the country from most vulnerable to most adaptive. It further mentions that it will setup a climate change fund to promote climate compatible development.

Environment

The word environment was mentioned in the political manifestoes of 7 political parties. However, the context in which the word was mentioned varied:

- PML-F clearly mentioned that it would work for the implementation of the National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP) and the enforcement of the Environment Protection Act of 1997. It further mentions other measures to improve the environment of the country;
- PPPP mentions the word in varying contexts ranging from climate change, protection of environment and sustainable development to health sector, family planning and education.
- MQM mentions that it would undertake various initiatives to improve the environment including introduction of environment friendly buses, making efficient use of natural and energy resources and protection of wildlife and environment;
- PML-N mentions the word environment in varying contexts ranging from protection of environment and climate change to Inter-provincial drainage accord, speedy and inexpensive justice, economic revival and tax reforms etc.
- PTI displays a thorough understanding of the word environment i.e. ranging from protection from natural disasters, clean air and potable water, green development agenda, disaster management and other environmental and climate change related contexts.

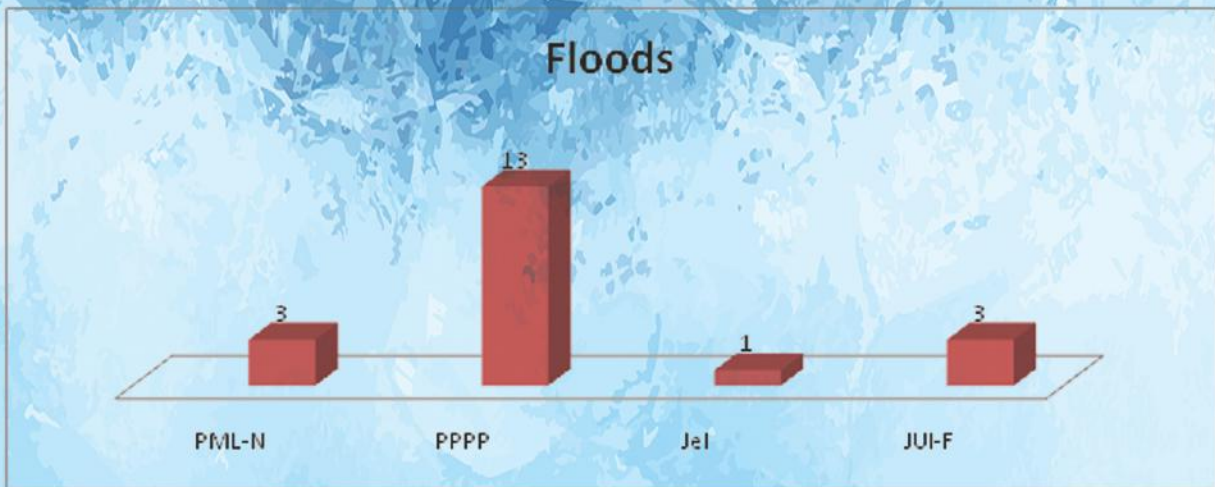


Primary Words

Twelve primary words were selected for the second tier analysis. These words are directly linked with the phenomenon of climate change and therefore their presence or absence from the manifestos of political parties indicates the political party's knowledge or lack of knowledge of underlined phenomenon, respectively.

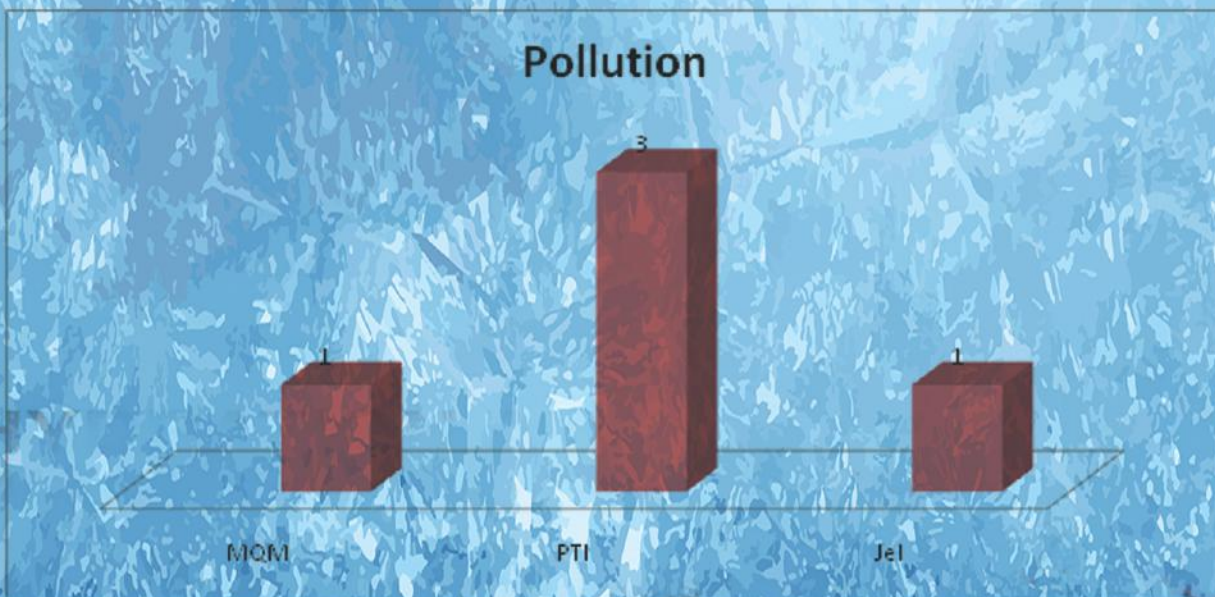
Floods

- JUI-F has mentioned floods thrice in their manifestos. The context in which the word has been mentioned is directly linked with mitigation of damages caused by floods and disaster risk management;
- PML-N mentioned floods thrice. The party has mentioned floods in the context of measures taken by the party in its previous terms to safeguard the flood hit population. It also mentions that model villages will be built in districts affected by floods especially in the southern Punjab region;
- PPP has mentioned floods 13 times. The phrase disaster risk reduction has been mentioned in the context of climate change and natural disasters and the steps taken by the party in their last term to alleviate the problems faced by the flood hit population of the country. The word flood has also been mentioned in a similar context;
- JI mentioned floods once in context of its impact in relation to climate change and environment.



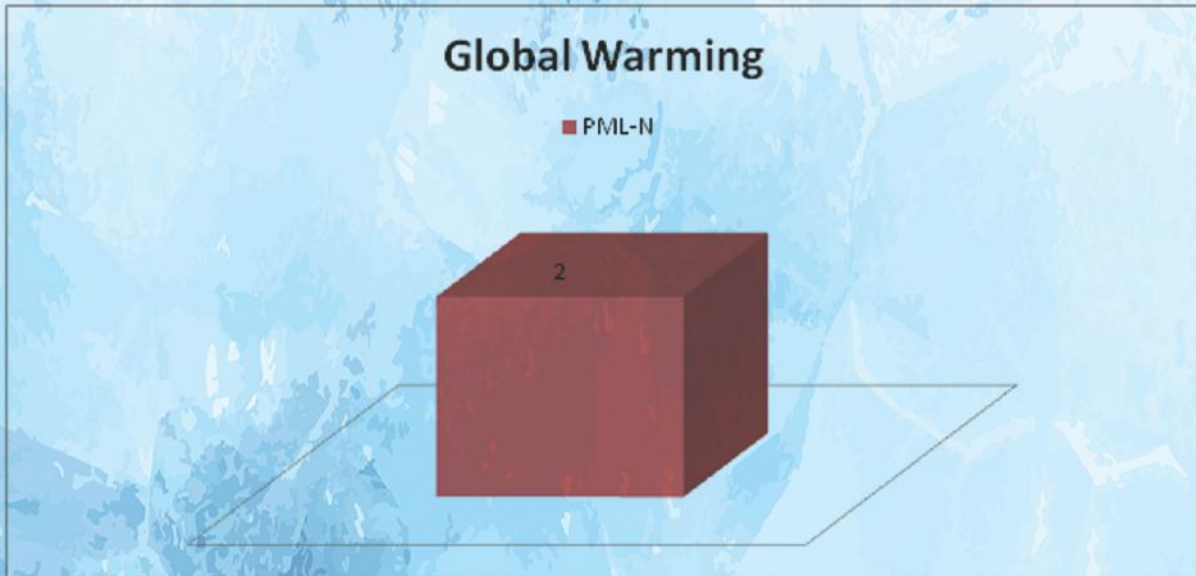
Pollution

- MQM has mentioned the word pollution once. The context describes pollution in an urban context, related to unplanned infrastructure development, growth of slums and excessive urban pollution;
- PTI mentioned pollution thrice. The context in which the word “pollution” has been mentioned shows that the party has an understanding of climate change as a process;
- JI mentioned pollution once in relation to climate change and environment.



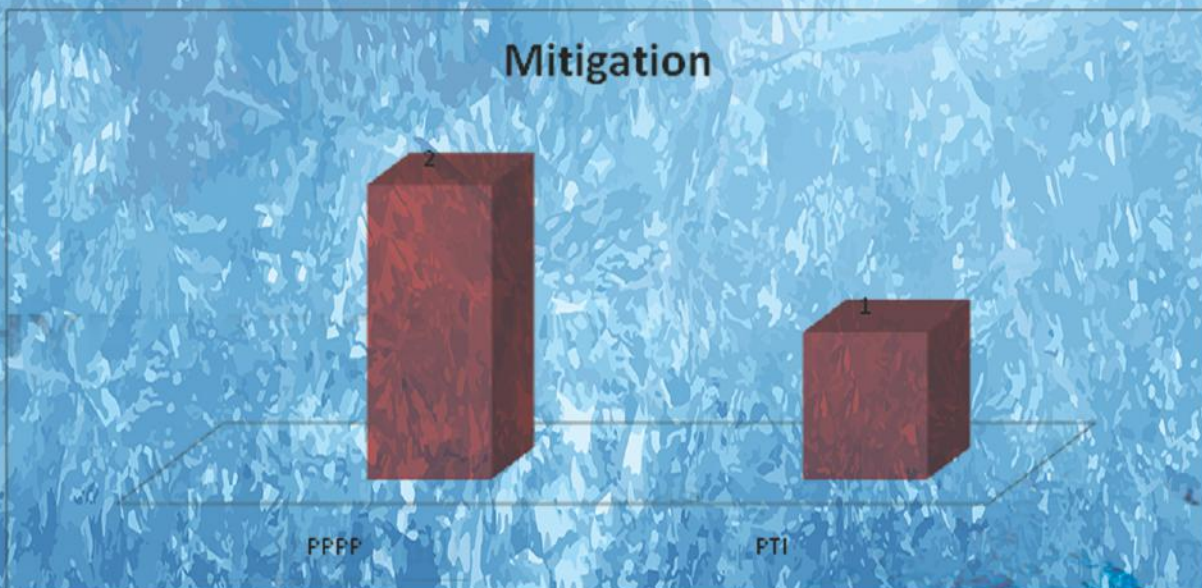
Global Warming

PML-N mentioned global warming twice. The party clearly mentions that the affects of global warming will be curtailed through ecologically sound development practices. No other party mentioned word “global warming”.



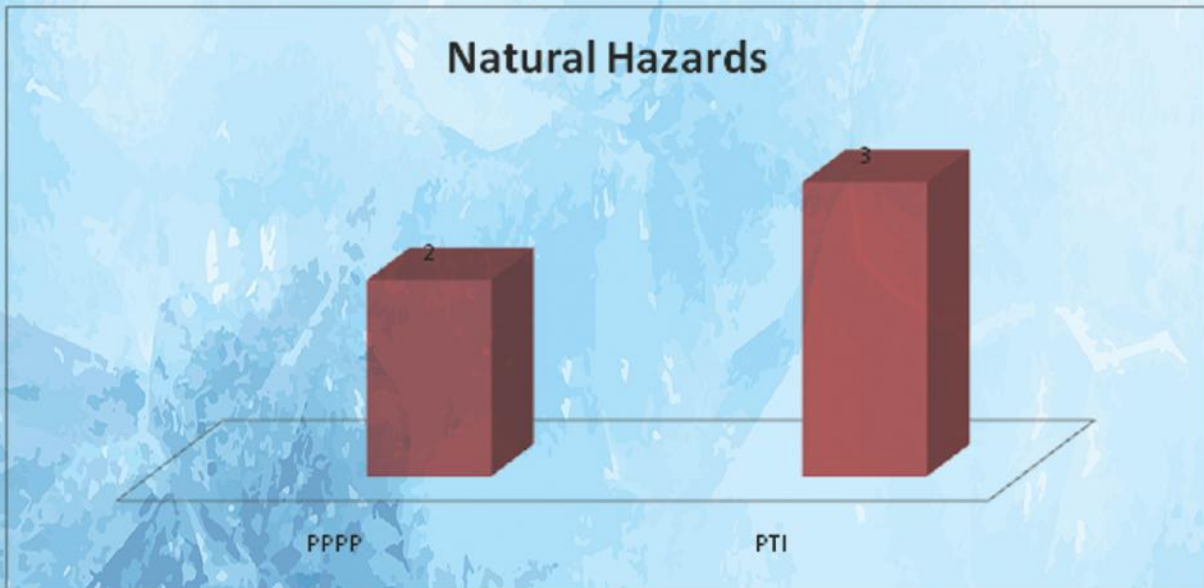
Mitigation

- PPPP has mentioned mitigation twice. The party displays an understanding of the word mitigation i.e. mitigation of affects caused by climate change and natural disasters;
- PTI has mentioned mitigation once. However, not in climate change’s context. The words natural hazards, pollution and floods mentioned in the manifesto are in relation to climate change and reflect the party’s knowledge and understanding of climate change and environment;



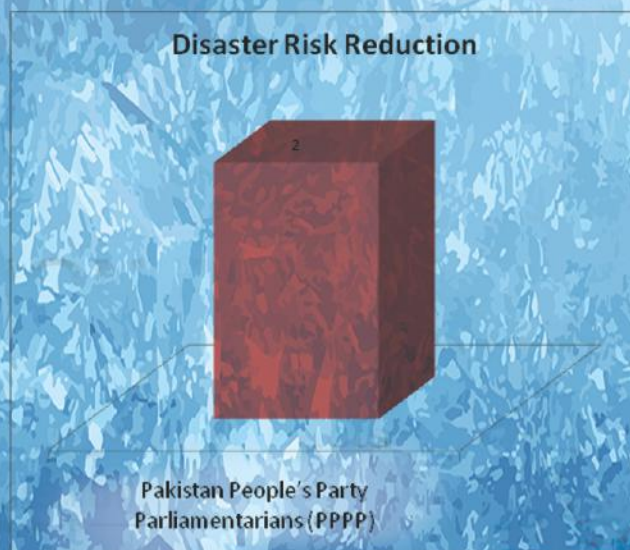
Natural Hazards

- PTI mentioned natural hazards thrice and PPPP has mentioned twice, reflecting the party's knowledge of climate change and environment.



Disaster Risk Reduction

PPPP has mentioned disaster risk reduction twice. The phrase disaster risk reduction has been mentioned in the context of climate change and natural disasters and the steps taken by the party in their last term to alleviate the problems faced by the flood hit population of the country;



Secondary Words

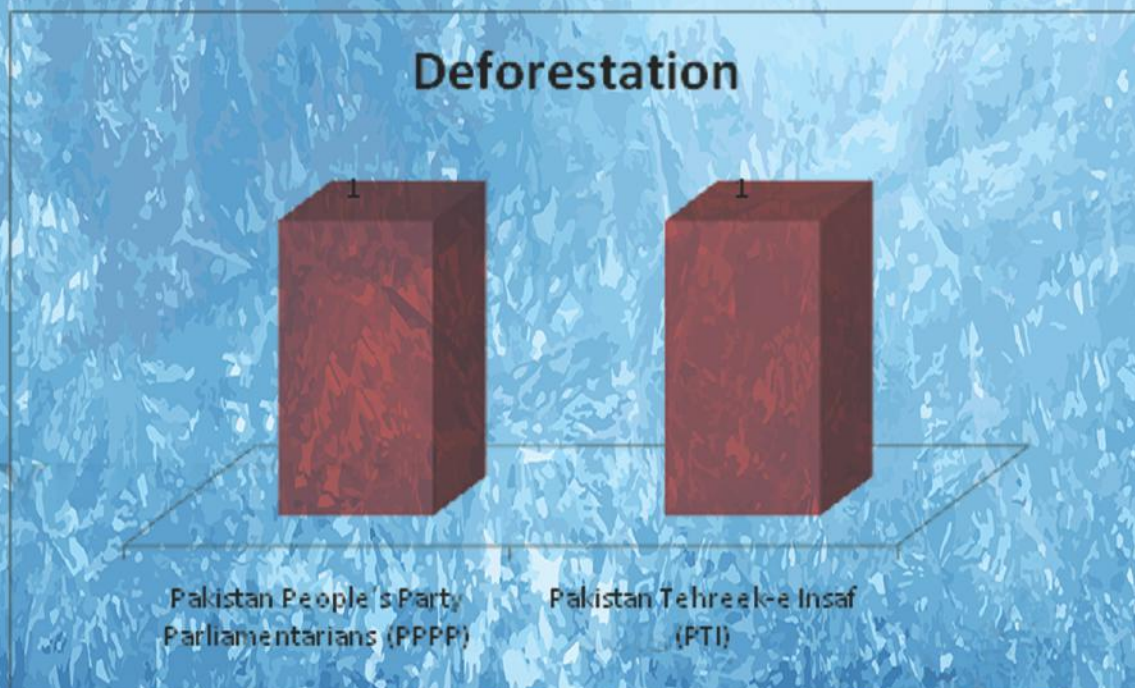
15 secondary words were selected for the third tier analysis. All these words were related to climate change and environment, however, not as directly as the primary words.

Indicators Not Mentioned in the Manifestos

Green Climate fund, Climate investment fund, Adaptation Fund, Climate finance, Climate induced migration, Omission, Epidemics, Groundwater, Municipal waste, rising temperatures or rise in temperature, fossil fuel, sea level, drought and famine.

Deforestation

PPPP and PTI both mentioned deforestation once. The word has been mentioned in context of measures to reduce unchecked cutting of trees.

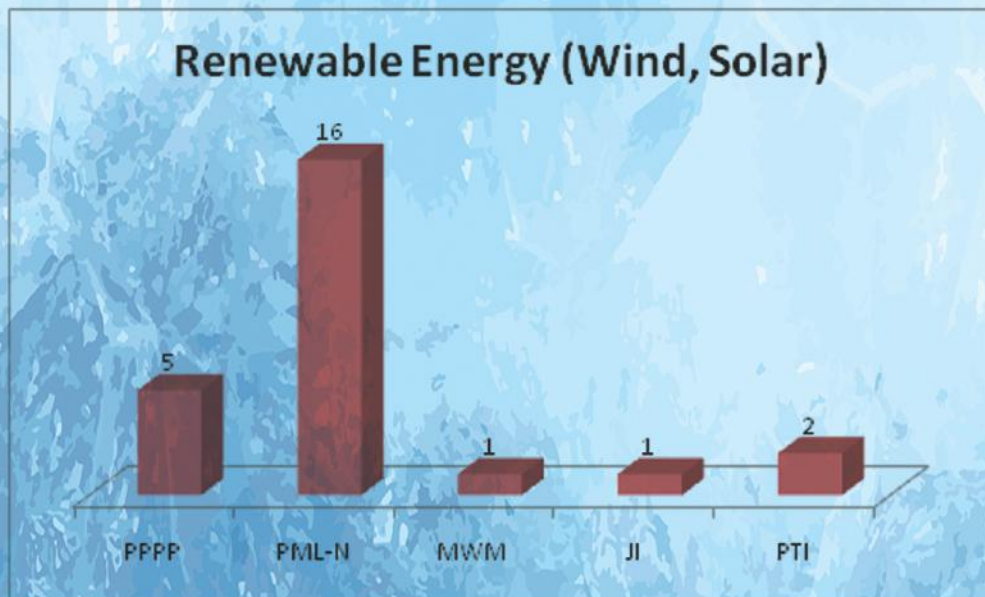


Glacial lakes/glaciers

PTI mentioned glacial lakes/glaciers once in relation to its impact on environment and climate change.

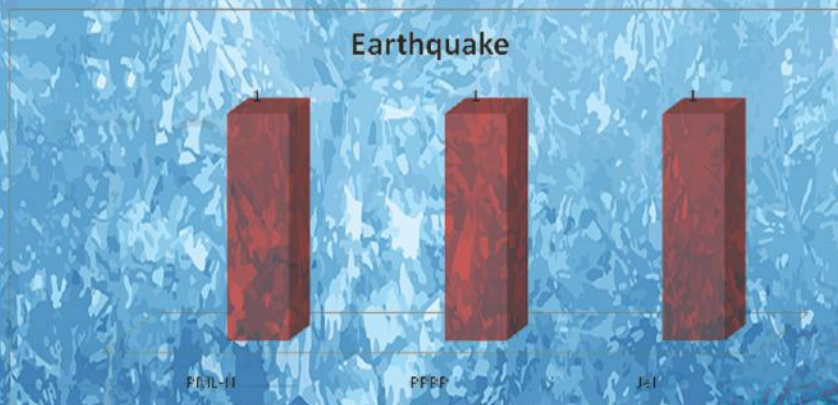
Renewable energy

PPPP mentioned renewable energy including wind and solar 5 times, PML-N mentioned it 16 times, PTI mentioned it twice and MWM and JI once. All these words have been mentioned in relation to climate change and the measures taken by the parties to mitigate or reduce the effects of climate change.



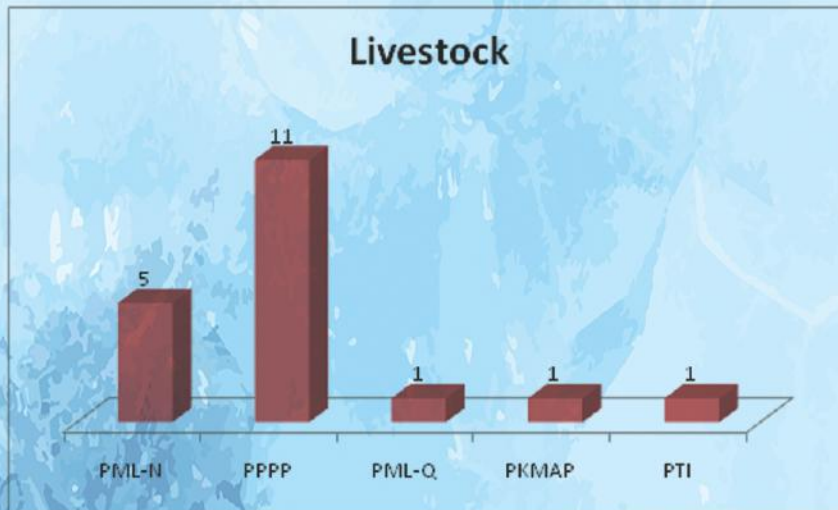
Earthquakes

JI, PPPP and PML-N mentioned earthquakes once each. The words have been mentioned in context of natural disasters, which have been linked to climate change and climate induced disasters.



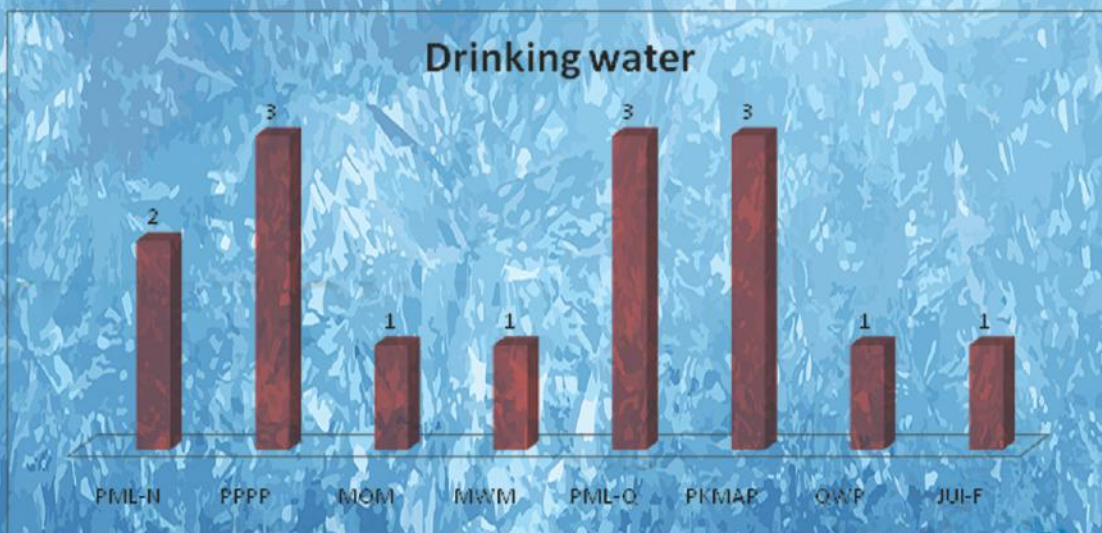
Livestock

PML-Q mentioned livestock once, PPPP 11 times, PML-N 5 times and PTI and PKMAP once. The mention of livestock is indirect and mostly reflects the policies and measures taken by the parties to improve the production of livestock in the country.



Drinking water

PML-Q, PKMAP and PPPP mentioned drinking water thrice while MQM, QWP, JUI-F and MWM mentioned it once each and PML-N mentioned it twice. The mention of clean drinking water is also indirect and has not been linked to climate change or environment.

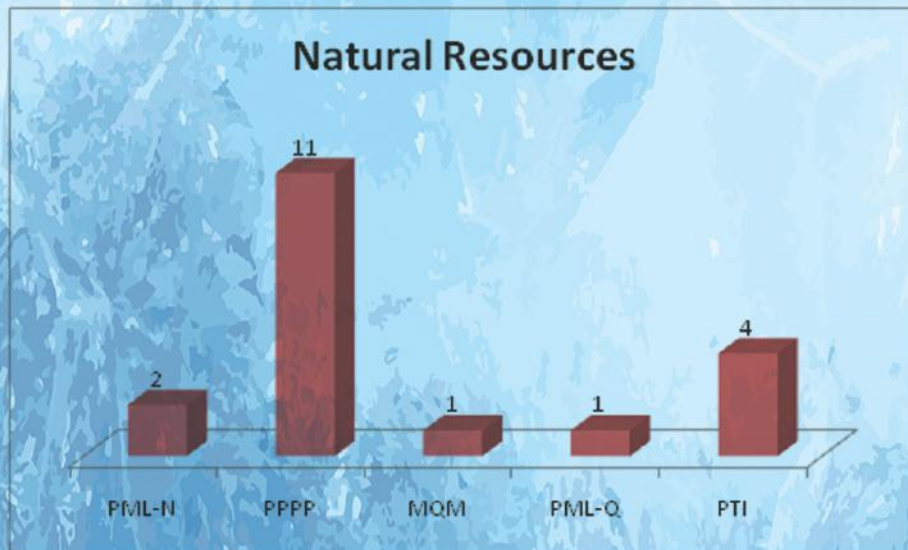


Land-slide/soil erosion

Only PTI mentioned landslide/soil erosion once. The word has been indirectly linked with climate change in the context of disaster risk management.

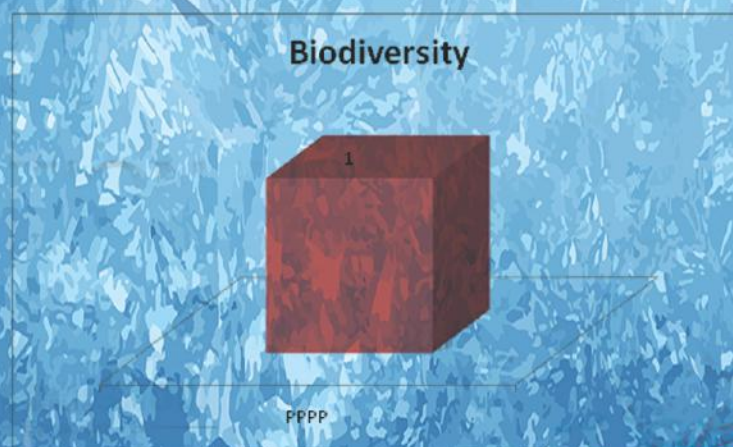
Natural resources

PML-Q and MQM mentioned natural resources once, PPPP 11 times, PTI 4 times and PML-N twice. The mention of natural resources by all these parties is in varying contexts i.e. some have linked it to climate change while others (JI, PML-F, NP, MWM, PK-MAP, QWP and JUI-F) have not.



Bio-diversity

PPPP mentioned bio-diversity once, which can be linked directly with climate change, as it mentions the protection of bio-diversity.

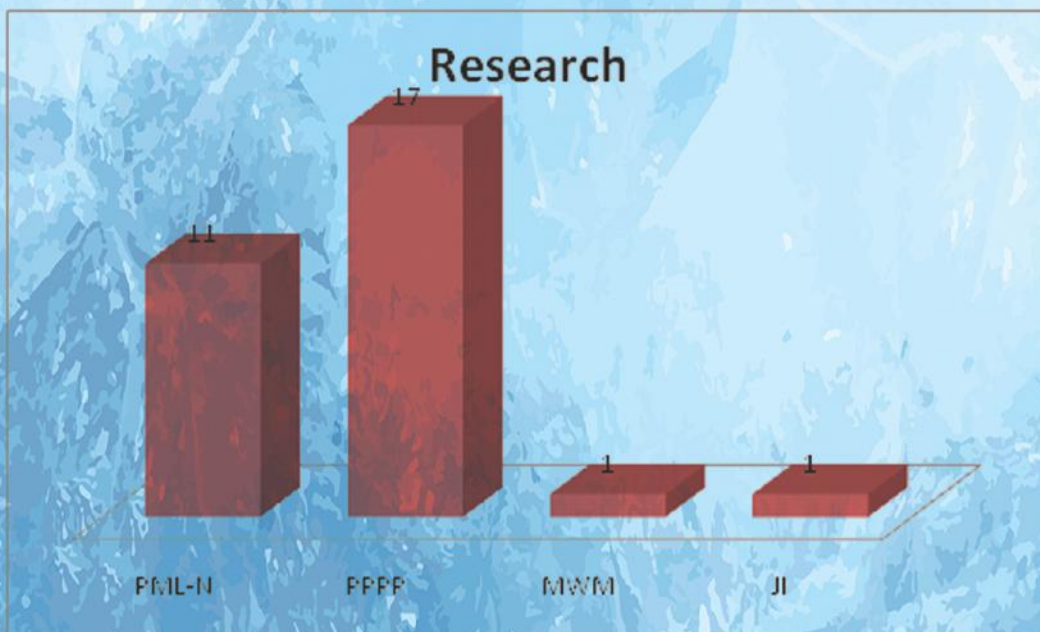


Tertiary words

24 indirectly related words were included in the fourth tier analysis.

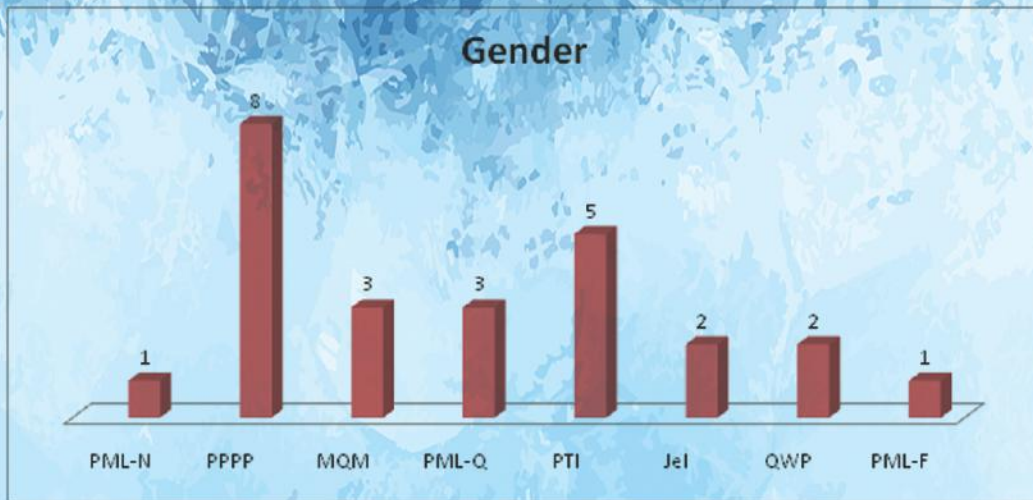
Research

PPPP mentioned Research 17 times, PML-N mentioned 11 times and MWM and JI mentioned it once. The mention of the word research by all the above mentioned parties remained indirect. All of them have mentioned promotion of research related activities in various sectors, but none have linked it with climate change or environment.



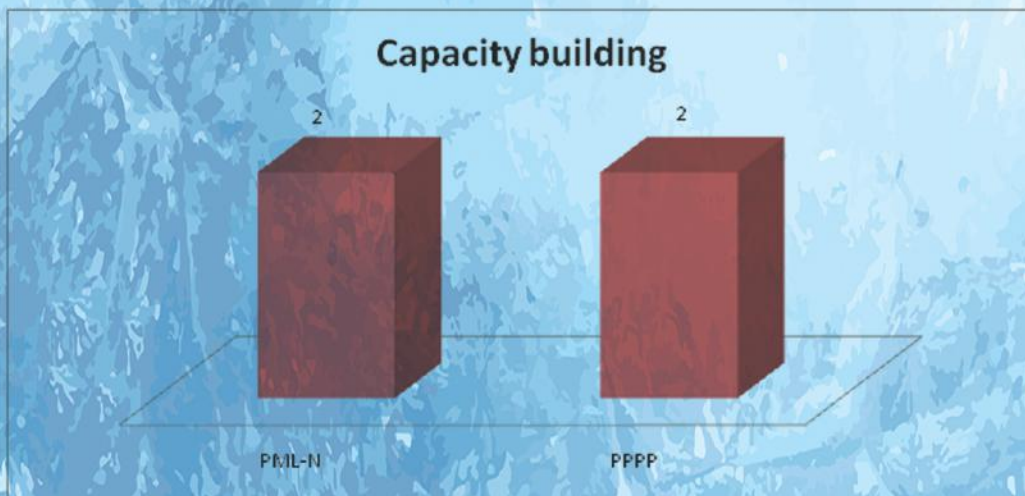
Gender

PPPP mentioned word Gender 8 times, PTI five 5 times, MQM and PML-Q thrice, Jel and QWP twice and PML-F and PML-N once. The word gender has been mentioned in context of reducing gender discrimination and gender gap and promoting gender equality. However, it has not been linked with climate change or environment.



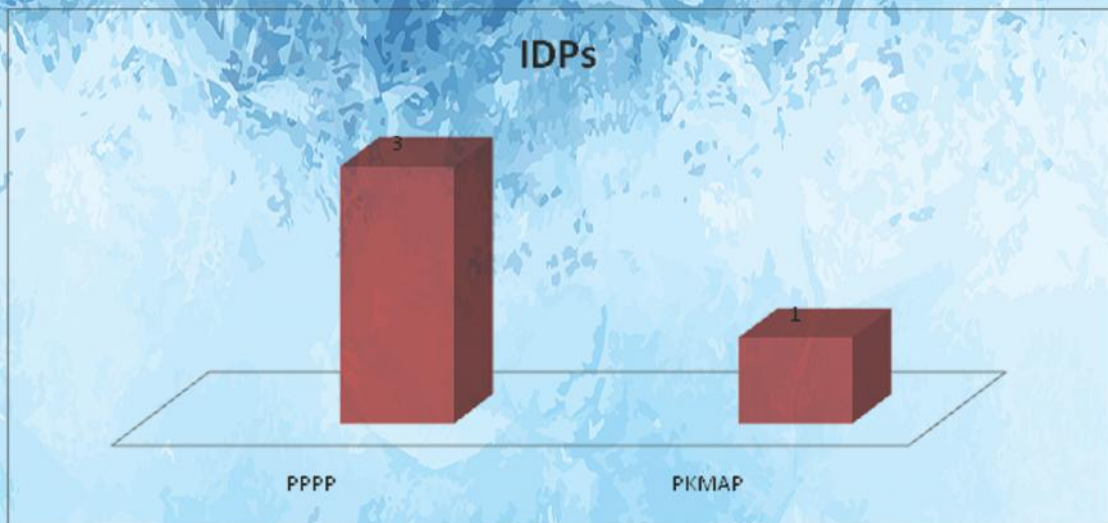
Capacity building

PPPP and PML-N mentioned capacity building twice. The mention of the word capacity building has not been linked to climate change.



IDPs

PPPP mentioned IDPs thrice and PKMAP once. However, none of the parties linked it to climate change.



Inclusive growth, Micro insurance, Resilience, Urban Planning and Vulnerability

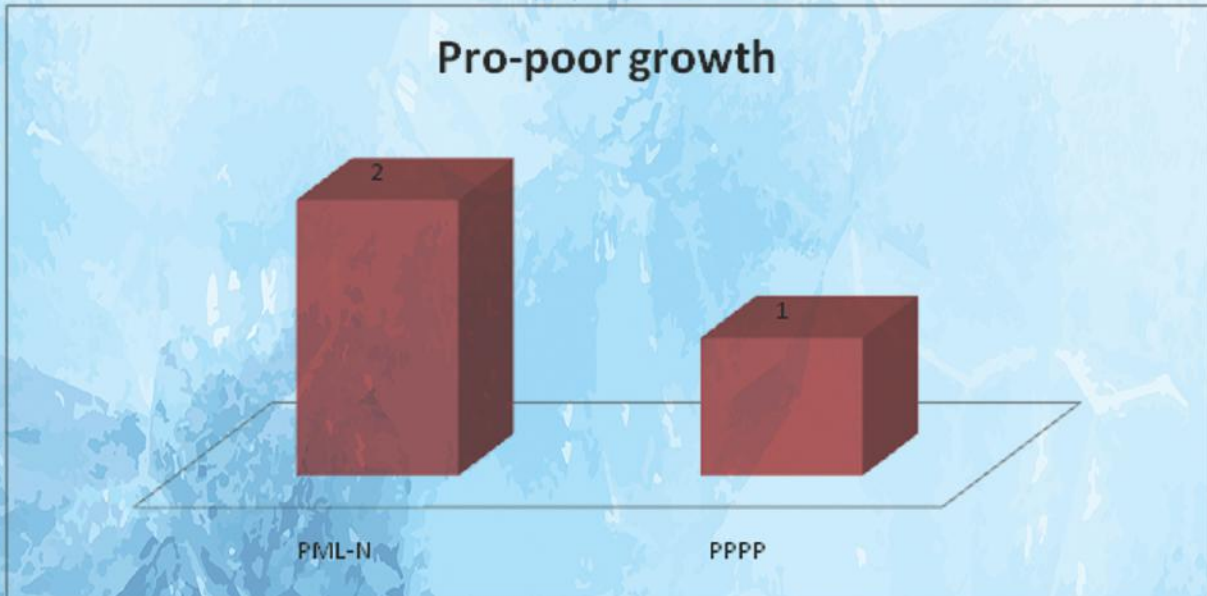
Only PPPP mentioned inclusive growth and Resilience once, Micro insurance Twice and Urban Planning and Vulnerability 4 times. Except for the word resilience, all the other words have no association with climate change. The word resilience has been indirectly linked with climate change.

Green Jobs and air pollution

PTI has mentioned green jobs once, in context of conservation of climate. Air pollution has also been mentioned once, by PTI only. It has been used in context of tackling the issue.

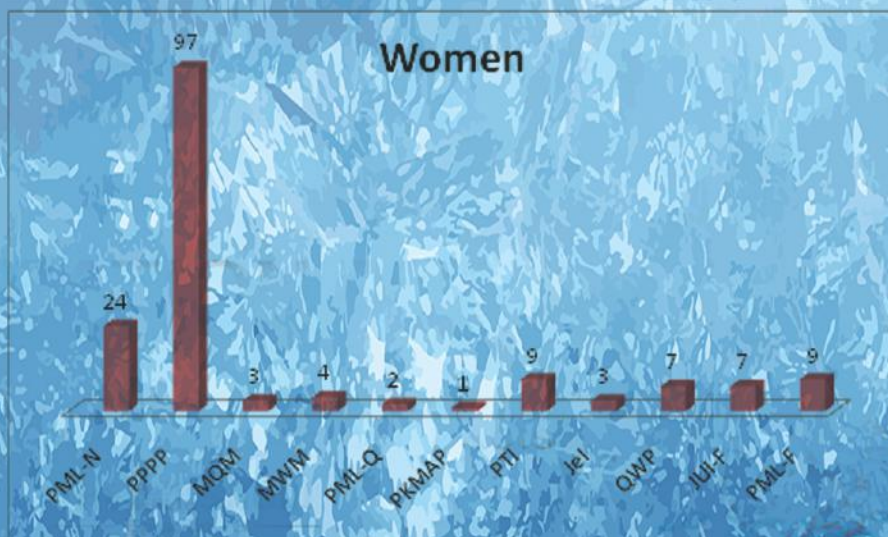
Pro-poor growth

PML-N mentioned pro-poor growth twice and PPPP mentioned once. The mentioned words have no association with climate change.



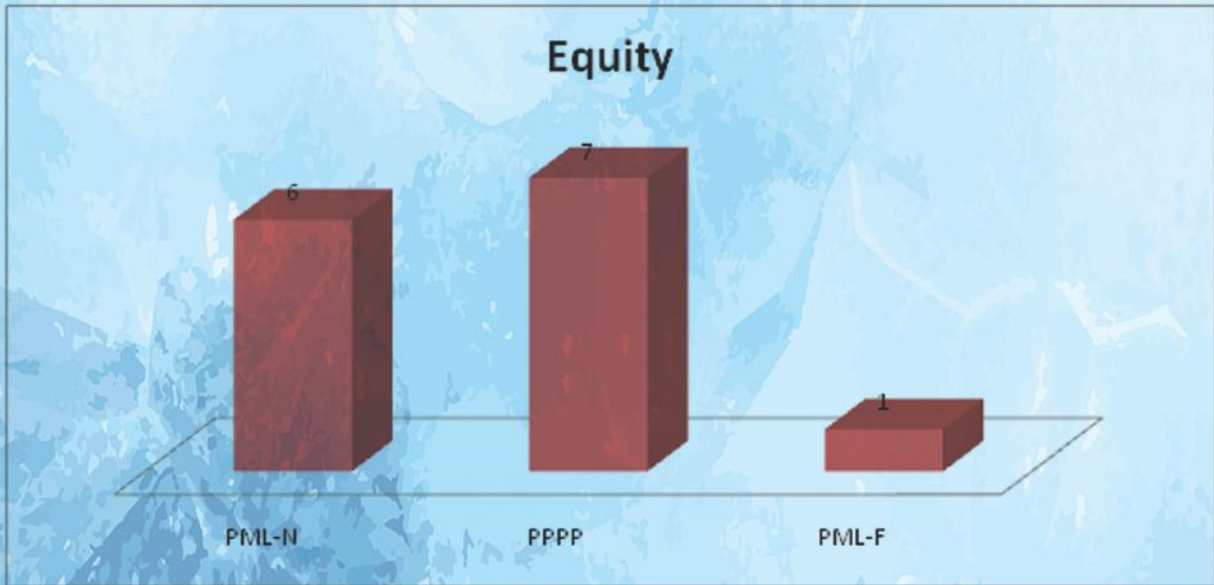
Women

PPPP mentioned Women 95 times, PML-N 24 times, PTI and PML-F 9 times, QWP and JUI-F 7 times, MWM 4 times, MQM and Jel thrice, PML-Q twice and PKMAP once. The word women mentioned by all these parties have no association with climate change and are usually associated with women friendly policies and measures.



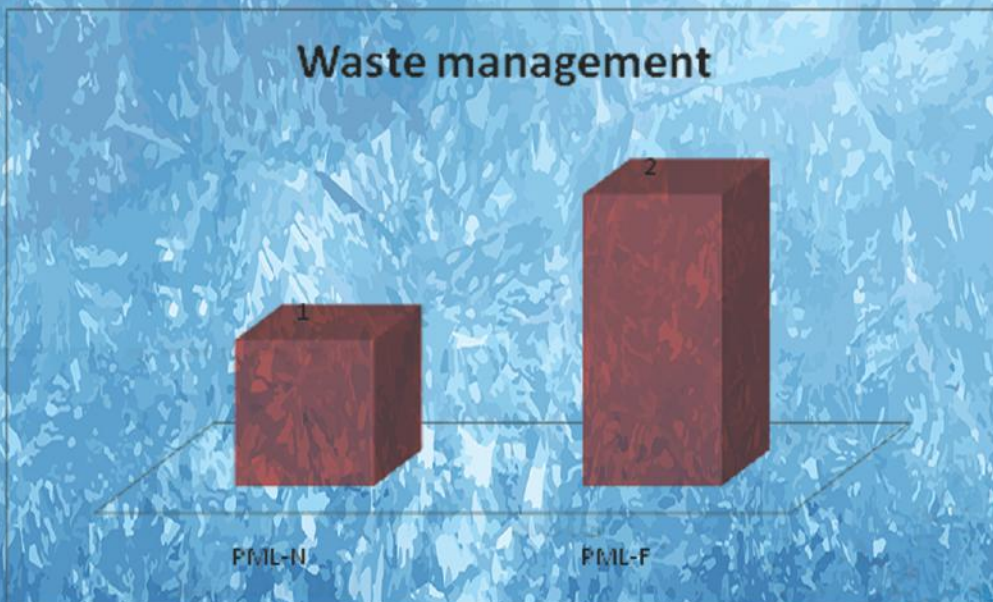
Equity

PPPP mentioned Equity 7 times, PML-N 6 and PML-F once. The mention of the word equity by all these parties is a different context not linked with climate change or environment.



Waste management

PML-F mentioned waste management twice and PML-N once. The term waste management has not been linked to climate change.



Perception of Political leaders about Climate Change and its effects

After carefully analysing the manifestos of leading political parties of Pakistan Individualland Pakistan took the next important step of talking to the politicians personally to get an idea of how do they perceive climate change, especially as one of the leading issues affecting the country.

Except for the Bahawalpur National Awami Party, every other person interviewed was well aware of the various developments regarding climate change and environment. Mushtaq Ahmed Khan, Ameer Jamat-e Islami KPK, was of the view that “climate change has become a reality. In 2016 the month of May was the hottest and climate change is affecting human life, agriculture, wild life and environment alike.”

He further touched upon the various reasons for climate change both at the national and the global level. He blamed the developed countries and industrialization for driving climate change, which is now affecting less developed and most vulnerable countries like Pakistan. Talking about the importance of trees and forests, Mr. Mush-taq Ahmed Khan was of the view that “there is a dire need to grow more plants and trees and take care of our national forest resources.” However, he added that since Pakistan is surrounded by a number of different issues, therefore, climate change re-mains a less priority area for the government.

Mr. Ishtiaq Umar of Pakistan Tehreek-e Insaf was aware of the fact that Pakistan is in the list of most vulnerable countries to climate change. He talked about the “The Billion Tree Tsunami” campaign being run by the KPK government. He informed that so far 18 carore trees have been planted. Mr. Ishtiaq Umar was also of the view that developed countries’ carbon footprint is the main reason why the climate is changing so fast. He further added that changes in rain cycle and pattern are also the result of climate change. Talking about the importance of alternative energy resources he added that “due to unavailability of electricity, we are aiming to shift towards alternative energy resources like solar energy.” He further added that KP’s water resources have the capacity to generate upto 40 Megawatts of electricity. He also touched upon the devastation caused by the earthquake and floods in Chitral.

Senior Vice President of the Qoumi Watan Party, Mr. Tariq was of the view that rampant and unplanned development has caused a lot of damage to the environment, which is a leading reason for climate change. He particularly mentioned that a change in climate of Swat and Abbottabad is quite visible now. He added that “disease outbreak has become a common phenomenon.” He also mentioned that “there is a dire need of proper waste management system.” Mr. Tariq further added that “climate change is not on the agenda of QWP political party that is one of the reasons why it is ignored on various forums.”

Mr. Javed Khan of Bahawalpur National Awami Party (BNAP) was of the view that Climate change is a technical issue and he or any other member of his party is not aware of the issue.

Mr. Zia-ul Haque of PML-Z vowed to focus on the issue of climate change and to include it in the party's agenda. He added that all the development projects that result in increasing pollution should be banned and only such projects should be allowed to operate that don't cause pollution. An environmental impact assessment (EIA) of every development project should be necessary before its final approval. Talking about the change in climate he added that "offseason rain is increasing, so the duration of summers. On the other hand, the duration of winters is decreasing." He also added that the follow up on the climate change conference is necessary.

Pakistan Peoples' Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) Qamar-uz Zaman Kaira was of the view that Climate Change is one of the most important contemporary issues. He added that because of this issue, the whole system is disturbed. He was of the view that "PPPP focuses on the issues that are directly or indirectly related with the welfare of the people. Since climate change poses a serious challenge to the lives of citizens, therefore, it becomes a challenge for the party." He was of the view that people should be made aware about the seriousness of the issue, so that they can play their due role." He particularly highlighted that when during PPPP's second tenure, a National Environmental policy was drafted by the government.

PTI plans to plant a billion trees in Khyber Paktunkhwa province by 2018

So far 180 million trees have been planted and another 250 million are ready to be planted

The party is particularly focusing on planting local or non-invasive plant species.....

Mr. Usman Kakar of Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP) was of the view that although Pakistan is in the top ten high risk countries being affected by climate change, yet it is very difficult for us to cope because of a lack of resources. He stressed on the need of more resources to fight this issue.

He also emphasized that Environmental Impact Assessments should always be conducted before commissioning any project. However, it doesn't happen in practice and that is one of the reasons why our development projects are not environment friendly. He also talked about the incompetency of various government departments in tackling the issue of climate change.

Recommendations from Political Parties

- Mr. Mushtaq Ahmed Khan, Amir Jamat-e Islami was of the view that “there is a dire need to grow more plants and trees and take care of our national forest resources”;
- Senior Vice President of the Qoumi Watan Party, Mr. Tariq mentioned that “there is a dire need of proper waste management systems”;
- Mr. Zia-ul Haque of PML-Z and Mr. Usman Kakar of Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP) was of the view that environmental impact assessment (EIA) of every development project should be necessary before its final approval;
- Pakistan Peoples’ Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) Qamar-uz Zaman Kaira was of the view that people should be made aware about the seriousness of the issue, so that they can play their due role”;
- Ms. Naeema Kishwar Khan of Jamiat-e Ulema Islam at a meeting of the National Assembly Standing Committee was of the view that it is very important to increase forest cover to tackle climate change.

Mr. Vikas Mokal of PML-Q termed climate change a global issue. However, he was of the view that in Pakistan, it is not even considered as an issue. He stated that “no one is willing to talk about it and most importantly there is a serious lack of education and awareness on Climate Change.” Pollution and smoke emitting vehicles should be banned.

Ms. Naeema Kishwar Khan of Jamiat-e Ulema Islam at a meeting of the National Assembly Standing Committee was of the view that it is very important to increase forest cover to tackle climate change. PMAP’s MNA Mr. Abdul Qahar Khan Wadan was of the view that “cutting of trees was not possible without involvement of local forest departments.” Similarly, PML-N’s legislator Mr. Muhammad Moeen Watoo was of the view that “climate ministry’s forest wing officials and provincial forest departments are doing nothing to control deforestation.”

Recommendations from a Subject Expert

Individually and Pakistan also talked to Dr. Fahad Saeed, Head of the Environment and Climate Change Unit at the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI). In the informal telephonic conversation, Dr. Fahad Saeed provided the following recommendations for the political parties, media, citizens and other stakeholders to increase the understanding of climate change as a process and the steps required for adaptation and mitigation:

- He was of the view that sensitization sessions are necessary to create awareness. Similarly, media should be taken on board to create awareness on the issue;
- Analytical assessment of human health, ecosystems, social and cultural systems, and economic development in accordance with climate change should be done in the political manifestos;
- Adaptation measures should be included as part of the mitigation strategy;
- Various chapters of the political parties should be taken on board to review the measures taken across various regions regarding climate change;
- There is a dire need to review the policies and institutional capacities relevant to climate change impacts;
- Budget allocation for climate friendly innovative ideas should be done in all the government departments;
- Environment specialists should be given an important role in the policy making process;
- All the infrastructural, technological, social and economic development should always be done keeping in view climate change as an important process;
- Social, economic and technological changes and development should be climate friendly;
- The implementation of Climate change policies should be a priority.

Timeline of various environment and climate change related developments in Pakistan

Initiative	Timeline (Year/Government)	Department
Pakistan Environmental Protection Ordinance	1983	GoP
Environmental protection Act, 1997	1996-1997	GoP
upgraded the Environment Ministry with a full time Minister	1997	GoP
'Task Force on Climate Change' (TFCC)	2008	Planning Commission of Pakistan
National climate change policy draft	April 2011	Ministry of Environment
National climate change policy	September 2012	Ministry of Climate Change
Framework for implementation of climate change policy (2014-2030)	2013	Climate Change Division

Conclusion

The four tier analysis of the political manifestos of ruling political parties of Pakistan both at the centre and peripheries yielded that mostly the national level parties are directly addressing the phenomenon of climate change. These parties have also mentioned different measures to mitigate the effects of climate change and have defined the various measures they intend to take once they will assume power. The national parties remained consistent at all four tiers of analysis and used the various words and terminologies used in the analysis. However, the frequency of word use reduced as the analysis progressed i.e. the frequency of the words used in four tier analysis was less as compared to words used in the first three tiers of analysis with the exception of the word women which has been used indirectly.

Telephonic and Face to Face interviews with politicians further revealed the stance of their respective parties about climate change, its understanding and the measures that their parties intend to take.

The expert opinion of subject experts have also be added at the end to draw a comparison of how the various political parties need to change their priorities keeping in view the effects of climate change.

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