

# ***Ideological Betrayal: Analysis of Political Dynamics of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf before 2018 Elections***

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## **ABSTRACT**

*Holding a strong ideology against status quo and the inherited political trends, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) was founded by Imran Khan in April 1996. During that era, lack of strong ideological political parties was acutely felt. Making a political ideology and running political movement under that ideology is much easier than its implementation. It is noted that political parties in Pakistan did not deeply apprehend the socio-economic factors of the state. More often their political ideologies did not match with the ground realities and the aspirations of the masses. In contemporary political discussion, the PTI's very ideology pertaining to the status quo has been a hot debate among the analysts and thinktanks. In this context, the present research seeks to highlight two aspects; At first, the present socio-economic and political system of Pakistan needs structural reforms. The reforms too, are not meant to strengthen a particular*

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class or a political party's vested interests. Therefore, the reforms aim to cover socio-political and economic problems at a wider level. Secondly, the political parties are supposed to formulate their manifestos/ideologies or future programme that is plausible to the current fragile institutional setup. Hence, in the light of historical evidences, slogans and implementations, the research provides a reasonable comprehension of PTI's ideology of socio-political change. Therefore, the PTI leadership's shortcomings and ideological betrayal are highly debatable issues which raised a question; why Imran Khan bowed before existing paralysed system? The unfavourable institutional setup is also emphasised for future reforms. Descriptive method has been adopted to highlight the ideological shift of PTI before and after coming to power. For a complete understanding of the reader, structural reforms have also been suggested to implement a particular ideology in a post-colonial state.

### Introduction

Ideology refers to "a system of ideas concerning religious, social and political phenomenon, and characteristics of a particular class or a segment of a society."<sup>1</sup> It is understood that the masses evolve into a particular ideology when they are deprived from their socio-economic and political rights.<sup>2</sup> In case of Pakistan, most often the ideologies have been emerged on the pretext of religion only.<sup>3</sup> It is seen that the ideologies lacked a concrete economic plan for future developments. Economists argue that an ideology not only pertains to a system of notions, conceptions, and ideas but has always been a reflection of contemporary economic

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1 Henry Aiken, *The Age of Ideology* (New York: The New American Library, 1962), 14.

2 Saeed ud Din Ahmed Dar, *Ideology of Pakistan* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 2000), 4.

3 Nasir Islam, "Islam and National Identity: The Case of Pakistan and Bangladesh," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 13, no. 1 (1981): 55.

system.<sup>4</sup> In a democratic setup, political parties come forward with future plan (manifesto) and distinct ideologies. As far ideological politics is concerned, division of the subcontinent and the creation of Pakistan was itself a conundrum of ideological politics led by the All India Muslim League (AIML).<sup>5</sup>

The PTI was founded in Lahore on April 25, 1996.<sup>6</sup> Initially, it went through embryonic stages and took almost a decade to break the influence of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N). After 2009, it became a fastest growing party. It defined its ideology in its preamble 'the party is founded on the core principle of justice and equality'.<sup>7</sup> It was committed to establish a socio-political and economic order premised on a just system without any discrimination. The 2018 manifesto ensures rights of minorities, women and poor strata of the society. It was observed that the PTI had developed its narrative in particular social circumstances. It was aimed to assimilate its ideology with resentments of a common man. Imran Khan, as its Chairman, created a particular language of meaning, e.g. *Tsunami, Tabdeeli a rahi ha* [Urdu: Change is about to come] to encourage the people for being a part of a greater social reform. These words acted as 'triggers' among the dispossessed and deprived segment of the society.<sup>8</sup>

Nonetheless, the PTI's ideological beliefs and the claims of the proponents were beyond rational testing, but to a larger extent such claims had performed a social role in provocation of stagnant segment of the society to get them

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4 Joseph Femia, *Gramsci's Political Thought, Consciousness, and Revolutionary Process* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1981), 333.

5 Stephen Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan* (Washington: Brookings Institute Press, 2006), 111.

6 Samson Simon Sharraf, "Foundation of PTI: From an Idea to Social Revolution," *GVS*, April 27, 2018. Accessed on April 27, 2020.

7 Sharraf, "Foundation of PTI: From an Idea to Social Revolution,".

8 Sharraf, "Foundation of PTI: From an Idea to Social Revolution,".

deeply influenced by party's manifesto and charismatic leadership.<sup>9</sup> The critics believe that the PTI's political ideology is nothing but simply a cloak for the pursuit of political power and tactics to mentally enslave those who trust them. However, the voters of PTI rejoiced that they were the proponents of an ideological party in an era when the conventional parties have become less ideological. The two leading parties i.e., the PPP and the PML(N) were inclined to run the political affairs in an underhand way to keep the democracy on track. Consequently, the ideological division between the parties had been obsolete. The other regional parties have their own political pursuits with parochial approach and low-profile leadership.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, the slogan of 'socio-political change' had become PTI's party identification before 2018 general elections. The political scenario before 2018 election, reminisced the political approach of Z. A. Bhutto in 1967.<sup>11</sup> It was argued that the era of populism mustered with the ideological politics has been revised after four decades. Socio-political ills might have been eradicated during 1970s through strict reforms. However, in contemporary era, these ills (corruption, nepotism, injustices etc.) are so deep-rooted for which solely ideological politics is not workable. Overhauling of all major institutions e.g. parliament, judiciary, military and bureaucracy is a pre-requisite before any revolution. Therefore, in laying out party manifesto the PTI leadership had to be more specific. There is a need to diagnose the plagues that inflicted the aforementioned institutions. For this purpose, impartial political leadership is needed to implement heavy weight ideologies.

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9 Author's interview with the eminent political analyst Hassan Nisar, December 16, 2020.

10 Amna Mahmood, "Regional Political Parties: Challenge to Political Stability of Pakistan", *Pakistan Vision* 2, no.15 (2013): 1.

11 Muhammad Ibrar Zahoor, "Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto: Political Behavior and Ouster from Power", *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society* 30, no. 2 (2017): 99.

The political system in Pakistan since 1947 has been victimized by the usurpers at home and abroad. Due to these forces, the political system has not grown as it should have been in the modern technological world. However, only three political governments in Pakistan have so far been able to complete their terms of rule. For more than three times, the Martial Law regimes have worked upon the rule of Pakistan. The political system of today's Pakistan is not that had been dreamt of by the founder of Pakistan—Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. International forces have actually worked upon the whims of International Monetary Fund, Asian Development Bank and the World Bank to manipulate their own designs to affect the forms and kinds of the political system they wanted in Pakistan. It is clear that the system of democracy that the Quaid had envisioned could not be implemented. A mock design of other countries was being followed to pursue democratic track. It should have been the Islamic democracy in Pakistan which was in grave danger to come up as a real force of the government to rule the people. In this context, a great responsibility lies on PTI, as an emerging political power to develop a true Islamic form of democracy in Pakistan, so that the system could get rid of the pro-British form of government within the folds of Pakistan.

First ever 21-point agenda of the PTI was presented in 1996.<sup>12</sup> Later in 2008, 2013, and 2018, the manifestos of the party were determined to rebuild the state by reforming the entire socio-political structure on the pattern of Madinah State. Formally, it aimed to create a welfare state to dismantle socio-political and economic discrimination in Pakistan.<sup>13</sup> The notion of welfare state has created a ray of optimistic hope among the masses for a genuine transformation of the society. The electoral setup presented

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12 Peter Waldman, "Imran Khan Bowls them over with populist Pakistani pitch", *The Wall Street Journal*, ISSN, 0099-9660.

13 Adeela Khan, "An Egalitarian Society Inspired by Madinah State," *Express Tribune*, January 02, 2019.

a view that the influential electables reigned over electoral politics of Sindh and Punjab. They remained in winnable position in various constituencies since independence.<sup>14</sup> The electables reinstated their previous position to contest against their rival candidate for upcoming polls. Therefore, the political history testifies that the party ideology did not dominate the electoral process. Instead, the electables had overshadowed the elections as winning candidates. After the 2013 General Elections, the PTI leadership undertook a decisive ideological twist by welcoming seasonal politicians. It aimed at political pursuits to get avenues of power. Therefore, the ideological priorities turned into political pursuits. However, when the PTI swore in power it got obviously revealed that those agenda points were either barely perceived by the party leaders or may not be implementable in available socio-political setup. Most of the things remained unchanged when the government of PTI covered first three years of rule from 2018 to 2021.

### **Impacts of Colonial Inheritance on Political System of Pakistan**

The history of mankind contains two types of societies;<sup>15</sup> (i) tyrannical societies and (ii) democratic societies. The later introduced ideologies to bring new reforms. The people asked about their fundamental rights promised by the social contracts. The institutions started working for the welfare and wellbeing of people. Legislation meant to resolve problems of the masses. The quality of life improved as the state obliged to propitiate general public whereas the former carried rotten authoritative system. The dictators were unwilling to share their power. In such systems, the socio-political revolutions have altered the shape of the society from the 180 angle. Revolutionary mindset was a basic element and prerequisite for nation building and reformation.

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14 Iftikhar Ahmad, *Pakistan General Election 1970* (Lahore: South Asian Institute Punjab University, 1976), 77.

15 Yuval Noah Harari, *A Brief History of Mankind* (Israel: Dvir Publishing House Ltd, 2011), 21.

In case of colonial societies, the political leaders emerged circumstantially. The socio-political situation sets the stage for the creation of political leadership. The signs of revolution as identified by the history are yet to be appeared on the political horizon of Pakistan. Amidst such grounds, the PTI's slogan to bring 'change' within few years seemed as a far-fetched dream.

### **PTI Aimed to break *Status Quo***

#### **Definition of *Status Quo***

The word '*status quo*' has been derived from the Latin root which means 'dignified status of the governed ones'.<sup>16</sup> It has been a popular slogan of the PTI to break the *status quo* in Pakistan in terms of development. Therefore, the government has only been 30 percent successful in breaking the long-drawn-out *status quo* in the country. Following facts are main hurdles in breakup of *status quo*.

- Decentralized leadership does change the system.
- Political interference of the establishment.
- Strong influence of electables in their respective constituencies.
- Party chairman's centralized power in the selection of ticketholders without merit.

### **Imran Khan—From an Ideologue to Robust Pragmatist**

It is essential for the political leadership of PTI to take appropriate steps against those who spread corruption or pessimism in the country even if they belong to its own party. When it's the question of accountability, it should be across the board. The PTI should not forget its manifesto that the prosperity of a country is linked with the rule of justice. Well, if PTI was embracing the form of *status quo* against whom it once founded the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, it is then believed to be its safest policies. Having taken some action

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<sup>16</sup> *Status quo* refers to the existing state of affairs pertaining to social, political, economic and religious issues. The sociologists regarded it as a current state of social values and structure.

against the 'big names' within its ranks, it was noted that the PTI was serious about promoting the culture of accountability in the country.<sup>17</sup>

### **Why Imran Khan Bowed Before the System?**

The question why Imran Khan bowed before the system, was crucial for the wellbeing of Pakistan and the nation. So far there was no way that Imran Khan was coming out of the deep ditch of problems ever since he reigned into power. Ranging from Pulwama to Covid-19 to the later catastrophe of international loans and their heavy interests to be paid and the state of poverty in the country, he had hardly stood up to straighten the things right. But he could not be relieved of the responsibility of implementing a new system of governance as he promised in 2018.

It was true that Imran Khan was beset with a host of new and difficult problems. He visualized inventing a new form of 'Madinah State' model of governance; instead, he was forced to continue into the same stream of political system that was going on for more than seven decades. To cope up with the ongoing system of governance for the time being, Imran Khan had to follow the current system with structural loopholes. So as to keep the country going and focus his attention on those matters that needed his judicious attention to further promote the will of the nation and continue the national interests to make Pakistan stand with the comity of nations with pride and distinction.

### **Ideological Politics in Pakistan**

The current political system in Pakistan, to a greater extent, does not support the ideological politics on account of a number of reasons, and foremost is; its citizenry lacks political consciousness. For instance, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto formed the PPP as an ideological party. It tried to uplift the poor strata by inclusion of ideological workers. Therefore, it

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17 Zulqarnain Tahir, "FIA Registers Cases against Shahbaz Sharif and Jahangir Tareen," *Dawn*, November 16, 2020.



was noted that before 1977 elections all the influential electables became the dominant members of the party.<sup>18</sup> Hence, its claim of being an 'ideological party' did not serve the nation due to its ideological diversion. It was widely believed that the electables made no attention to carry the spirit of the party's ideology. After three decades, a same sort of ideological shift is observed in the PTI's future prospects.

The people of Pakistan supported Imran Khan's vision but did not vote his ideological workers in the general election of 2013; mainly because of two reasons:

1. Lack of political consciousness among the masses; and
2. In rural Punjab and Sindh, people give priority to their local influentials/electables

For more than seven decades, no political party has ever worked upon its predefined ideology in its true letter and spirit.

### **Reforms Vs Adversaries**

A great amount of political and ideological loss has been brought to the soil of Pakistan and its people by the tussle between the reformists and its adversaries. The reformists want to work on the ideological lines and reap the fruits of prosperity whereas the adversaries of reforms do not simply bother about the prosperity of the state. This is the main issue amongst the political parties that has not been resolved since independence. It is obvious that the political parties themselves do not want to get this issue resolved because of their devious designs. The selfish motives never let the reformists promote the true vision amongst the masses of Pakistan. Primarily, due to this menace, the PTI failed to resist the influence of pressure groups. Therefore,

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18 Asma Fiaz, *In Search of Lost Glory: Nationalism in Pakistan* (London: Hurst Publishers, 2021), 42.

the tussle between the reformists and the electables has made it hard for the party to pursue its visionary tasks.

### **Imran Khan in Power and Pressure Groups in Demand**

After coming into power, Imran Khan remained confused on his political ideology as to which ideology he should employ to put the country on road to prosperity. At times, he used to idealize China's model of governance. Later, he was seen to admire Turkey and Malaysian models of governance. However, most often he raised the slogan of the 'State of Madinah' as a welfare state as a future practicable phenomenon in Pakistan. Now, which model may be practicable in Pakistan for its rapid socio-economic and political development needs a logical understanding of its ground veracities? It is for sure that Pakistan needs such a system that can culminate into the general welfare and common prosperity of the nation. A system which works for the betterment of its people and pays attention towards the development of its infrastructure, is always admired.

### **PTI—A Novel Party or Just a Party**

After the formation of PTI, Imran Khan aimed to alleviate the problems of the nation and once said, "for all the past years, I will break down the frustration of the poor nation and give them the relief that they deserve."<sup>19</sup> However, once he came into power, the problems kept on increasing and gave him no chance to do the novice things; left him wondering how to fight the mounting challenges. Because his party's actual platform was defined in vague terms.<sup>20</sup> His rise would have happened without influential candidates or he would have not been catapulted by usurpers' support during and after 2018 elections.

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19 Shahid Javed Barki, "Imran Khan's Political Rise," *Institute of South Asian Studies* 148, no. 2, (2011): 1.

20 Lionel Barber, "Cricket with FT: Imran Khan," *Financial Times*, November, 5, 2010, 5.

Despite Imran Khan's top claims, his team and some of his advisors lack the spirit and skills that were required to execute that level of change needed to bring in Pakistan. It was not the fault of the Pakistani nation that they have chosen PTI to rule and change their fate, rather it was the failure of the party for not finding the appropriate persons and expertise that could engineer the element of change and do the needful for the nation to give them the much-needed relief.

### **Populist Ideology of PTI**

Politics in developing countries revolve around interesting metaphors, phrases and appeasing people with bandwagon arguments.<sup>21</sup> Imran Khan raised the phenomenon of change in a highly troubled economic situation as the economy under former president Asif Ali Zardari and former prime minister Nawaz Sharif-led government was not up to the mark.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, there was a necessity of a new leadership after interchangeable rules of two parties. Imran Khan—a philanthropist, former cricketer, Oxford graduate, owner of Shaukat Khanum cancer hospital and Namal University—emerged on political horizon with the slogan of 'end corruption and elite culture'.<sup>23</sup>

Before Lahore rally held on October 30, 2011 by the PTI,<sup>24</sup> the thinktanks and common men of the country could never imagine that the political horizon of Pakistan was going to change so rapidly in coming days. Imran Khan said,

All Politicians should declare their assets, PTI intends to form a special cell to probe about the assets of PML(N) and PPP

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21 B.J. Sadiq, *Let There Be Justice: The Political Journey of Imran Khan*, (UK: Fonthill Media, 2017). p.11.

22 Sadiq, *Let There Be Justice*: 13.

23 Walsh, Declan, "When You Speak out People React," *The Guardian*, September 30, 2017.

24 "Imran Khan Tsunami Sweeps Lahore," *The Express Tribune*, October 30, 2011. Available at: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/285058/pti-rally-in-lahore-live-updates>, accessed on October 10, 2020.

leaders which they had accumulated by money laundering or other means. They will have to declare their assets otherwise we will launch civil disobedience movement throughout the country. I am not raising political slogans but want to make you sure that PTI is the only party that stands with the weaker class and minorities. We will de-politicized the police in order to ensure a just system. The former government had colonized and subjugated the rights of Baluchistan. I pledge that we will divert all developmental projects to your province, as did West Germany to East Germany by giving it a special status.<sup>25</sup>

It was for the ideology of PTI, a novel political approach that resonated among discontented citizens, fortuitous timings, usurpers backing and charismatic power which had altogether contributed to hit the stride in 2018 elections.<sup>26</sup> The election results manifested a significant political change which indicated clear diversion of electorate's mind from conventional to the relatively new stratum of leadership.<sup>27</sup>

However, after winning the elections, the PTI government did not follow its ideology and the masses have gradually started losing their faith in the government of PTI. The ideological differences among PPP, PML(N) and PTI had almost vanished till 2018 general elections.<sup>28</sup> Henceforth and after coming into power, it has been observed, that there was hardly any difference remained between the government of PTI or any other political parties that previously ruled Pakistan.<sup>29</sup> It was for this reason that makes

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25 Imtiaz Shah, "Massive Khan Rallies defied Pakistan Ruling Party," *Reuters*, December 25, 2011.

26 Huma Yusaf, "The Imran Khan Phenomenon," *Foreign Policy*, October 31, 2011, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/10/31/explaining-the-rise-of-imran-khan/>. Accessed on 12 January 2021.

27 Ayesha Mulla, "Broadcasting the Dharna: Mediating 'Contained' Populism in Contemporary Pakistan," *International Journal of Communication* 11 (2017): 4195.

28 Hassan Javed, "Patronage, Populism and Protest: Student's Politics in Pakistani Punjab," *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal* 33, no. 2, (2019): 99.

29 Sarwar Barri, "Hybrid Movements, Hybrid Regimes," *The Express Tribune*, June, 21, 2021, Accessed on June 21, 2021.

most of the people believe that the PTI has lost its popularity amongst the citizens. It was, therefore, believed that it could be the first and last time that the PTI came into power and that for the rest of the time the other political parties will conventionally rule Pakistan. However, the PTI may have a last chance to mend its ways in order to revive the economy and control the price hike and give ease to the citizens of Pakistan. If these objectives are achieved, then there will be a possibility that the government of PTI may be made for the second term. However, if these reliefs are not given to the general public, nobody is going to vote for PTI for the next term. It is for this reason that the nation is losing hope against the popular slogan of change spelt out by PTI ever since it came to power. Even the 50 percent agenda had been met by the PTI government in the ruling time or even by the end of 2021, still it could have been an ideal situation but not even 25 percent agenda points have been met from 2018 to 2021. However, it is realized that Imran Khan had severe political problems in the country and across the border when he came to power, but it was his ultimate duty to find out the way out of problems. Weighing the seriousness of governance issues within the country and across the borders at both Indian and Afghan fronts, the analysts have given some edge to Imran Khan on these issues surrounding him right since forming the government in 2018. The inherited institutional problems did not let him work properly as he faced problems right from the start of his government in terms of low budget in the country and problems of international level including that of Corona pandemic.

### **PTI's Empty Populist Demagoguery Exposed after 2018**

Practical implementation of all pledges was the only way through which the government of PTI could revive its position and value in the eyes of the Pakistani nation. It has a chance to initiate welfare projects and inflation control to restore its trust. It was felt that Imran Khan promised too much more than he might be able to deliver or the political

system might be favourable for the execution of his plans.<sup>30</sup> After two years of his government, masses started arguing that either he overpromised or the welfare programme were still under delivered.<sup>31</sup> Otherwise, the vote bank will fall to the point of danger in next general elections.

### **Hybrid Government of PTI on Conducive Pitch with Establishment**

It is noted that the establishment had provided a favourable electoral pitch earlier in 2018 election and later patronized the PTI government.<sup>32</sup> Contrary to the past pre-conceived considerations, when uncontrolled popularity of a political party has been considered as a threat for country's larger interest.<sup>33</sup> It was evident that the military establishment had been dominant in its underlying struggle to decide about 'who will run the political affairs of the state'. They honed their capabilities to manage, shaped the tools to control media and engineered elections. By using aforementioned techniques, they were considered to be expert in overthrowing or raising the vote bank of a political party.<sup>34</sup> Following measures were adopted by the military establishment in past to marginalize the political activities:

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- 30 Muhammad Asif Ayub, Abdul Zahoor Khan, "The Role of Leadership of Imran Khan in the Genesis and Evolution of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf," *Journal of Applied Environmental and Biological Sciences* 7, no.11 (2017): 242.
- 31 Ayub & Khan, "The Role of Leadership of Imran Khan in the Genesis and Evolution of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf."
- 32 Arifa Noor, "The Pathan Suits: Can Imran Khan Lay a New Path for Pakistan Fractured Polity?" *Outlook*, July 30, 2018.
- 33 Madiha Afzal, "Democracy in Pakistan: Elections Tell us why Politicians behave Badly," *Brooking*, August 15, 2017.
- 34 Ayesha Siddiqia, *The Military Inc: Inside Pakistan Military Economy* (London: Pluto Press, 2016), 85.

- EBDO and PRODA are the classic examples of deterioration of the image of political parties during 1960s.<sup>35</sup>
- Non-party based election during Zia-ul-Haq military regime aimed to denounce the popular vote bank of PPP.<sup>36</sup>
- General Pervez Musharraf's National Security Council (NSC) and National Accountability Bureau (NAB): The former aimed to bring the parliament under military influence and the later was founded for strict accountability of the politicians.<sup>37</sup>

The political parties, too, always sought to keep up with these adjustments by formulating policies and tactics to attain maximum electoral success. The smooth functioning of civil-military relationship should be within the constitutional framework.<sup>38</sup> The emergence and progress of a political party shall be solely on its own footings without the help of non-political forces. The same principle applies if a party intends to launch socio-political reformists movement. Instead of natural birth of a party through popular vote or natural demise through electoral or constitutional process, almost all the parties projected by the military establishment. Similarly, almost all mainstream political leaders had been catapulted by the establishment.<sup>39</sup> Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto considered president Ayub Khan as his mentor and owed his

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35 Khalid Bin Saeed, *The Political System of Pakistan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967), 11.

36 Saeed, *The Political System of Pakistan*, 25.

37 Zahoor Ahmed, Manzoor Khan Afridi, "Controlled Democracy and Political Opposition in Pakistan," *Meditation Journal of Social Sciences* 5, no.14, (2014): 560.

38 Muhammad Salim, et. al., "Civil Military Relations in Pakistan: A Case Study of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf from General Election 2108 to Senate Elections 2021," *JRSP* 58, no. 2 (2021): 247.

39 Salim, et. al., "Civil Military Relations in Pakistan".

political ascent to him.<sup>40</sup> Nawaz Sharif raised his political journey to leadership during Zia-ul-Haq regime. Benazir Bhutto had inherited the political legacy of her father and Asif Ali Zardari became *de facto* chairperson of the PPP after the sudden demise of Benazir Bhutto in 2007. The novelty emergence of Imran Khan had tried to break new grounds for new cadre of politicians. However, the PTI government had to do a lot to make itself a popular political party and to win the hearts of the people of Pakistan in order to come up for the next term. For instance, in the areas of education, jobs for everyone, skill development, infrastructure development, reforms in the areas of human development, rights of people in the country, the relief funds for those who can't do or have jobs in the country. The Chinese expression says, "If you feed a person with a fish in a plate, you feed him for a day but if you teach him how to fish, you feed him for lifetime", therefore, we need to teach our people how to fish rather than to just feed them for a day. It might be a good idea to give food to people who are hungry but we need to teach our nation how to produce food for future. Thus, the PTI needs to do a lot in these areas so that the nation can stand on its firm footing.

### **Conclusion**

To surmount the challenges discussed above, a sustainable policy was needed for reconstruction of socio-political fibre. Contrary to this, Imran Khan remained confused about his political ideology. Sometimes he used to idealize China's model; somewhere he admired Turkey and Malaysia. Most often he raised 'State of Madinah' as a practicable phenomenon in Pakistan. He made things even more complicated, sometimes equated two distinct ideologies or conflated two opposite phenomena. It is argued that the cocktail of ideologies neither represent the true intentions of leader nor define the future perspectives. Nevertheless, a political ideology may be practicable in Pakistan for its rapid

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40 Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarian in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Analysis*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 55.



socio-political developments, needs logical understanding of ground realities.

As far institutional reforms are concerned, the reforms could be introduced without violence/unrest or revolutions. Reformation policies may be implemented through constitutional means and peaceful negotiation among all the stakeholders. Mainstream politics is believed to be democratic and is supposed to hail negotiating skills to resolve conflicting issues. Contrary to this optimism, political parties' primary objective was to overthrow the incumbents come what may.