



THE STRUGGLE FOR REPRESENTATION: A STUDY OF ELECTORAL SYSTEM IN PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT

Democracy refers to such a system of government where elected members of a state run the affairs of government. There are different electoral systems used around the world to choose public representatives. The choice of electoral system is considered as one of the most important institutional decisions which has significant effects on the future political life of the country. Pakistan is currently using First Past The Post (FPTP) system which is the form of plurality system. The prime objective of an electoral system is to produce the true and factual representation which reflects all classes of the society. A qualitative and case study based research was conducted to find out whether the current electoral system of Pakistan is best suited to ensure true and factual representation for the people of Pakistan? Findings of the study show certain problems in the current electoral system of Pakistan due to which, National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies are not truly representative. Major issues highlighted by the study were the absence of poor or working class in legislature and political apathy among the voters. Only elites constitute the legislature, and in this way the interests of the poor class are seriously undermined. Thus, there is a need to make poor class, part of the parliament and assemblies. The study also revealed that the current electoral system is not fully fair and free, the influence of the powerful people i.e. feudal and industrialists always remain on the system in manipulating the elections results. Mixed-Member System as electoral formula is proposed by the study to provide a chance of representation to smaller political parties in legislature as well as the requirement of qualified legislators in assemblies. Findings of the study also indicated that there should be a difference of the power of vote of an educated and an illiterate voter in making the choice of public representatives.

Keywords: Electoral System, Public Representatives, Elections, Legislature, Voter

1. INTRODUCTION

Democracy is the most widely used and praised system of the government in the world. The spirit of democracy is the rule of people rather than monarchy or the authoritarian rule. Democracy became more prominent after the World War II, when several states got freedom and became independent from the colonial rules. Pakistan is also the country with democratic setup of government since its independence in 1947. In democracy, the power is exercised by the citizens through their elected representatives from the general public of the country. Democracy refers to the rule of people or the rule of majority. It is based on the fundamental principle that people are the citizen of the state and not its subjects and the government is formed to serve the people. Therefore, state is responsible to protect the rights of the citizen. Whereas, the authoritarian form of government is based on the principal of blind submission to the authority. It refers to a political system which concentrates the authority and power in the hands of a leader or a group of elites who often exercise the power arbitrarily without regarding law. The leader is not constitutionally accountable and answerable to the people for his actions and the individual liberty and freedom is subordinate to the state.

More precisely, the democracy ensures the basic human rights of the citizens i.e. freedom of speech, freedom of expression, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly and the right of equality before the law which are mostly given in the constitutions of the democratic states. The list of rights is not exhaustive one and it constitutes a sum of basic rights which must be upheld by a democratic government. The basic elements of the democracy are:

- a) Rule of majority
- b) Rule of law
- c) Individual rights, liberty and freedom
- d) Free and fair elections
- e) Public participation in political affairs
- f) Cooperation and cohesiveness among the citizens

Democracy is argued as the most trusted system of government which truly represents the wishes of the people. The essence of the democratic actions is the peaceful and freely chosen representation among the people of the country. Every adult citizen is given the right of vote in order to make the choice of public representatives. The elected representatives then make laws and devise policies on behalf of the individuals of the constituency or district where he

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won with the majority of votes. Democracy is an evolutionary process which promotes the cooperation and acceptance among the members of the society. Democratic institutions are responsible to ensure that the human rights must be granted to every citizen of country. Yamin (2015) in his work (Electoral Politics in Pakistan) says that one of the important objectives of the democracy is to uphold dignity and the fundamental rights of individuals to ensure social justice, raise the level of social and economic development and establishment of a cohesive society.

Democratic process varies in many ways in different countries. People directly choose their political leaders through adult franchise system under Direct Democracy. Whereas under Representative Democracy, first people chose their representatives at constituency or district level and then the elected representatives chose the leadership for the country. Electoral politics is a vibrant part of political system of a country and the elections are considered among the most significant political activities that provide the formal way of electing public representatives and concluding the choice of representatives.

1.1. ELECTORAL SYSTEM

As the process of democratization carry on, the country faces the issue how to conduct the elections and more importantly which electoral formula should be adopted by the country. The debate on electoral systems has increased due to adoption of democracy as the system of government by most of the states of the world. An electoral system consists of laws, rules and procedures which deal with the voting process i.e. when elections are to be held, the eligibility criteria of the voter, eligibility of candidate to contest in the elections, how ballots are marked and counted, limits of spending on elections campaign etc. Electoral systems are mostly defined in constitutions and in electoral laws. Elections are typically conducted by election commission of the country. Electoral system decide how well voters can hold the politicians accountable. Electoral system is aimed to calculate the number of positions in government which are held by the individuals elected through public vote. It is the process which translates the public choice into seats in legislature.

There are different types of electoral systems which are used around the world. Electoral system matters a lot as it influences the key governance dimensions, economic development and policy making in the country. An electoral system must be designed in such a way that it accurately reflects the choices of the voters (Blais & Massicotte, 1997). Choosing an electoral system is considered as one of the most important democratic decision. The effect of choice of an electoral system is very significant for the future political life of the country. Once adopted, the electoral system often remains fixed for the whole life of the country (Oxford University Press, 2018).

In 1980s and 1990s, the global movement towards democratic governance stimulated a new insistence for an appropriate model of electoral system and a fresh re-evaluation of the existing electoral systems. It was realized, that the choice of the electoral systems has a significant influence on political system of a country. Today, electoral system is regarded as one of the most prominent political institutions.

Electoral system aims to constitute a stable and proficient government, coherent coalition and strong party system in the country. Following are some guiding principles as important consideration to design an electoral system:

1.2. REPRESENTATION

An electoral system aims to translate the public votes in seats in legislature according to the will of the citizens of the country.

1.3. TRANSPARENCY

Transparency is the hall mark of an electoral system. Therefore, the mechanism of the electoral system must be transparent. The system should be well known to the parties and the voters very clearly.

1.4. INCLUSIVENESS

Electoral system should be as concerned to the society as possible, so that it can match with the particular needs of the society in question.

There are a number of electoral systems in use in the world with small variations, but for the purpose of simplicity, these can be classified into four broad categories.

- Plurality Systems
- Majority Systems
- Proportional Representation
- Mixed System

1.5. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Electoral system plays an important role towards making democracy 'work', but in some cases, they could not be able to embody the democratic ideals. In developing countries like Pakistan, the individuals of a particular class (feudal, industrialists) are elected time and again who are unaware with the problems of the poor class. In such a case, the elected representatives pursue their own interest instead of the welfare of the public. It has been seen that the objectives of the elected representatives remain the enjoyment of the political powers and use of authority for their own interests.

1.6. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study is carried out with the focus to answer the following questions;

- Is the current electoral system of Pakistan ideal to produce factual representation?
- Should the current electoral system be improved and modified?

1.7. RESEARCH DESIGN (METHODS AND PROCEDURES)

This research carried out an analytic and explanatory investigation of the current electoral system of Pakistan. As to research methodology, the qualitative research was adopted to probe the research questions.

1.8. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

This study undertook an analytic and explanatory investigation of the current electoral system of Pakistan and tried to propose the most suitable electoral system for Pakistan which can truly represent the preferences of all classes of the society to produce a higher level of responsive governing team in line with the requirements of the 21st century Pakistan in the comity of the nations of the world.

1.9. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Present electoral system has been enforced since independence of Pakistan, but has not been successful yet to help in bringing a team of leaders that would steer Pakistan towards the required level of development and achieve an honorable and respectable spot among the nations of the world. However, it is seen that due to the present electoral system, same representatives time and again make their way to the echelons of power and when they are incapacitated or retired, the power is transferred to their legacies. It has become a family affair to rule in Pakistan. The present electoral system has yet to prove itself to be the most effective, efficient and tailored electoral system for Pakistan that would ensure development of the country. Even political parties compromise in awarding tickets to electable thus compromising on manifestos and ideologies, in order to achieve majority to form the government. True representation from middle and lower middle class is not possible as the current system requires massive amounts of resources in terms of money and contacts to ensure the seat in the legislature for a candidate. Certain families are ruling by turns. Therefore, it is very important to identify the problems in existing system and find their solutions to such problems so that the necessary adjustments and modifications can be made in the current system to promote a fair representation to all classes and to provide opportunities to fresh and productive representation all over the country.

2. THE IMPORTANCE OF ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Electoral systems are responsible to shape rules to make the democracy workable. Electoral system determines which candidate or party will gain the power, by translating the votes casted by the citizens into seats. Even with same number of votes, the results may differ under different electoral systems. One system with the same number of votes can form a coalition government, while the other may result in a single party government with complete majority control (Reynolds & Reilly, 2002).

Menocal (2011) argued in her study “Why Electoral Systems Matter” that electoral system has a great impact on the level of fragmentation of party system and the overall effectiveness of the government and policy outcomes. It also affects the behavior of political actors and the degree of accountability towards voters. It is pertinent to mention that a particular electoral system does not essentially perform in the same way in different countries. However, there are nearly similar experiences in different regions. The effects of an electoral systems largely depend upon the socio political context in which they operate (Vleeschhouwer, 2014). The important factors influence the consequences of electoral systems includes how a particular society is ordered in term of religious, ethnic, regional, racial and ideological divisions. Whether there is an established democracy, newly emerging or transitional one in the country. Is there an established party system or embryonic? Whether a party has geographically concentrated or dispersed over at large area. There are a number of other concerns of an electoral system which go beyond these primary effects. One of them is the party system i.e. the relative size of the political parties and the number has a great concern with the electoral system. Electoral system has also effects on the way of political campaign by the parties and the behavior of political elites. It also helps in determining the overall political climate in a country. An electoral system is not considered fair if it does not make the opposition feel like that they can win the elections next time. An effective electoral system should also encourage the loosing candidate to work and win for the next time. Finally, an electoral system also determine the complexity and ease of the voting process. This is more important particularly in those societies where there are a number of illiterate and inexperience voters (IDEA, 2014).

2.1. ELECTORAL SYSTEM OF PAKISTAN

The study of electoral system has not been much focused in Pakistan. Very few researchers and institution have worked on electoral system in Pakistan. Dr. Sadiq (2013) has elaborated the electoral system of Pakistan with detail in his report “Electoral System in Pakistan” under Pakistan Visionary Forum. He writes that in electoral history of Pakistan, the elections have been held often on the basis of the objectives and interests of then ruling parties and groups of the time. The electoral systems varied in different manners considerably during the martial law regimes and to somehow, during

the civilian governments regimes. Following are some popular systems experienced by Pakistan during different regimes in its electoral history:

- i. Basic Democracy in earlier period of elections
- ii. Majlis e Shura preceded by non-party elections
- iii. First Past the Post System or Majority Rule with some variations e.g. different number of special seat for women, joint electorate for minorities, seats allocation to parties in Senate (Sadiq, 2013).

Yamin (2015) advocated Dr. Sadiq by putting that Pakistan has an inconsistent and volatile political history and has experienced different forms of democracy. He is of view that the country inherited the British system of government. After partition, Pakistan has been experiencing both democracy and the dictatorship producing mixed results. Dr. Yamin in his work "Electoral Politics in Pakistan" has given following observations on electoral system of Pakistan:

- i. Element of unfairness in elections
- ii. Old techniques of voting
- iii. Biased staff in elections
- iv. Winner not attaining absolute majority
- v. Biasness in delimitation of constituencies
- vi. Interference in elections by government

First Past the Post System is the most implemented system in the electoral history of the country. However most of the times, the system was not allowable to be continued due to the intervention of the Army, having the justification of possible threat to the national security due to political instability and inefficient civilian governments. Under democracy, during the civilian regime, the Army intervention also was desired and encouraged by some weak politicians in order to change the government. Taking over of power by Army has always been with good intention and to meet the short term political goals but these short terms objectives harmed the long term objectives to improve and refine the electoral system.

Dr. Sadiq (2013), President Pakistan Visionary Forum and Head of Electoral System Committee is of view that the First Past the Post System which is currently being used by Pakistan is the oldest one, having its roots in twelfth century. Although the system is also being used in some other countries but it is not found completely satisfactory. The FPTP is under consideration in some countries for necessary reforms.

In recent times, most of the newly emerged democratic countries as well as old democracies have departure from FPTP and PR systems and have opted for Mixed System. The prevalent FPTP system in Pakistan has a number of weaknesses especially with reference to political and geographical conditions of the country. Sadiq (2013) has pointed out some of the weaknesses of the system which are given as under:

2.1.1. LOW VOTER TURNOUT

Sadiq (2013) has pointed out that a major weakness of the FPTP system is that it produces very low voter turnout. One of the reason is that some people of the community particularly educated community perceive that their vote has no impact on the results where a large number of people particularly uneducated class has been influence under tribal and cast association to support an incompetent candidate for representation. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2019) has given the compiled figures of voter turnout in general elections of Pakistan from 1977-2018 elections as given in the following table. The voter's turnout table given below shows that the voters turnout in from first general elections in Pakistan i.e. General Elections 1977 to General Elections 2018 never exceeded 56% of the total registered votes. The highest voter turnout was in General Elections 1977 that was 55.02%.

Table 1: Voters Turnout (Elections 1977-2018)

Voters Turnout (Elections 1977-2018)					
Year	Voter Turnout	Total Vote	Registration	Voting Age Population	Population
2018	50.14%	53,123,733	105,955,409	130,632,404	207,862,518
2013	53.62%	46,217,482	86,189,802	114,309,516	193,238,868
2008	44.55%	35,610,001	79,934,801	91,856,744	164,741,924
2002	41.80%	29,829,463	71,358,040	76,627,450	144,616,639
1997	35.17%	19,058,131	54,189,534	60,565,705	137,649,330
1993	40.28%	20,293,307	50,377,915	54,032,880	122,802,000
1990	45.46%	21,395,479	47,065,330	49,301,560	112,049,000
1988	43.07%	19,903,172	46,206,055	46,379,960	105,409,000
1985	52.93%	17,250,482	32,589,996	41,357,400	96,180,000
1977	55.02%	17,000,000	30,899,152	36,213,120	75,444,000

Date Source: (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2019)

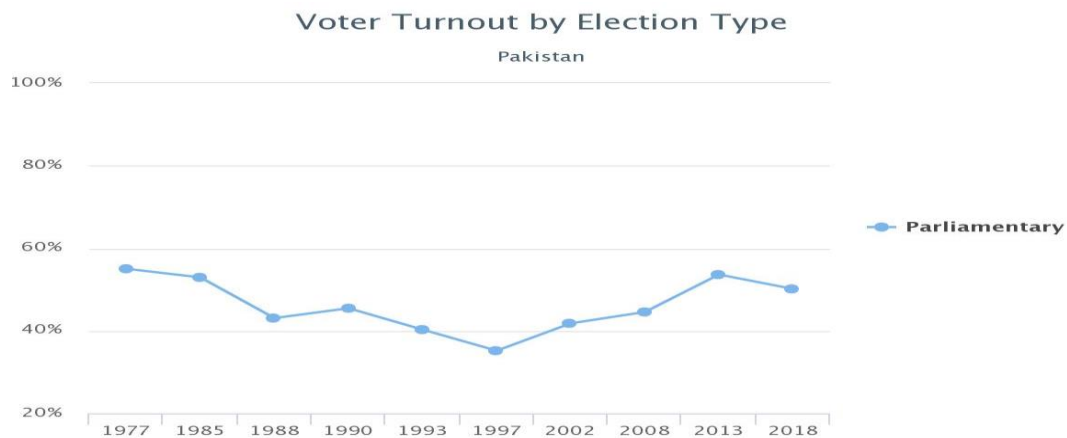


Figure 1: Voter Turnout by Election Type
Data Source: (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2019)

2.1.2. LOW MINIMUM THRESHOLD TO WIN

Sadiq (2013) has said that in elections, a candidate might be elected for office even if he gets as less as 15% to 20% of the total registered votes. Almost 50% of the registered voters do not cast the vote to choose the public representatives and remaining 50% of the vote is further divided among other candidates or the parties. Under such an electoral system where a party can form the government with only 15% to 20% of the vote and rule the entire population is questionable in a democratic setup. The system needs some changes that will make sure the representations of the absolute majority of the people that rules on the country.

2.1.3. THE ABSENCE OF OPINION OF EDUCATED AND WELL TO DO CLASS IN CHOOSING REPRESENTATIVES

A significant number of educated people and well to do community do not vote in elections. Therefore, the legislature does not reflect the opinion of educated community. Thus the FPTP system does not ensure the participation of educated community in the elections (Sadiq, 2013).

2.1.4. SEATS ALLOCATION TO SMALLER PARTIES

Smaller parties perusing their regional interest, having support which is concentrated in their smaller region can get some seats in legislature, on the other hand, smaller parties perusing national appeal and have speared supporters throughout the country cannot secure seats even the total number of votes they bagged is higher than those of the parties which have concentrated regional support (Sadiq, 2013).

2.1.5. THE DEFENSIVE POSITION OF THE LARGER PROVINCES

The situation is different in Pakistan from the other countries, where in the other countries, the provinces with large number of population play greater role in formulation of the national policies. But in Pakistan, the case is different. For example, Punjab province has to defend itself against smaller provinces when exercising political powers. Likewise, the province of Sindh with second largest population is placed in defensive position when it comes to the interest of Baluchistan Province.

2.1.6. DOMINATION OF REGIONALISM INSTEAD OF NATIONALISM

The current system supports and encourage the domination of regionalism instead of nationalism. One of the major reasons of the disintegration of Pakistan in two parts i.e. Pakistan and Bangladesh is the weakness of electoral system. If the electoral system would have been properly designed, India could not help in the disintegration of Pakistan where both the parties i.e. Awami League and PPP had captured 15% to 20% seats in East Pakistan and West Pakistan respectively.

2.1.7. DICTATION BY SMALLER PARTIES TO FORM THE GOVERNMENT

Most of the times, the support of regional and smaller parties is crucial to form the majority in assemblies to form the government. In such condition, usually the smaller parties dictate the government's policies in the interest of their own region. In this way the national interest of the country is compromised. Under current system, the smaller parties can muster the support of local citizens by criticizing the rest part of the country. Such a system should be designed where these smaller parties are not able to dictate the regional interest by ignoring the national interest (Sadiq, 2013).

There are two major kinds of electoral systems prevalent all over the world. One is plurality system, FPTP which is being followed in Pakistan. The other one is proportional representation (PR) which has also been followed by many countries. Pakistani people are well aware with the FPTP system due to its long being in practice, however, there is a need to understand the PR system for the meaningful comparison between these systems. The basic principal of PR

System is that in PR Systems, the seats are divided in the entire country or the province according to proportion to the number of votes received by a political party. A party winning 40% of the votes would be getting 40% seats in the parliament or assembly. Likewise, the FPTP system, there are a number of variations as to the implementation of the PR system but the fundamental principal remains the same. Both the systems have their own advantages and disadvantages. An important drawback of FPTP system that is structural and inherent, it ignores the preference of the voters who casted the votes for losing candidates. In other words, the votes casted to the losing candidate are wasted in this way. Sadiq (2013) further have noted that there are also some structural weaknesses in PR system and the most important is that the PR system usually gives high power to the party leadership. The leader of the political parties determines the fate of candidates whether an individual candidate will participate in the elections or not. The candidates are totally left on the mercy of the leadership. Such phenomena can lead to use the financial resource for the confirmation of participation of an individual in elections which ultimately can result in large scale corruption.

2.1.8. ELECTORAL LAWS AND CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS IN CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN

The Constitution of Pakistan (1973) provides briefly regarding electoral laws and conduct of elections. Article 50 of the constitution provides for the establishment of Majlis e Shura which shall consist of the President and a bi-cameral legislature i.e. Senate and National Assembly. Article 51 (1) defines that the National Assembly of Pakistan shall be comprised of 342 members and in addition to that seats, it will also include reserve seat for non-Muslims and minorities for the protection of their rights.

2.1.9. ELIGIBILITY OF VOTER

Section 51 (2) of the Constitution 1973 describes the criteria of eligibility of the voter as:

- a. A voter must be the citizen of Pakistan
- b. He must be eighteen-year-old
- c. He must be registered as voter in electoral roll
- d. He must not be declared as unsound mind by a competent court of law.

2.1.10. ALLOCATION OF SEATS IN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The allocation of seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan is given as under:

Table 2: Allocation of seats in National Assembly

Province/Territory	General Seats	Women	Total
Baluchistan	14	3	17
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	35	8	43
Punjab	148	35	183
Sindh	61	14	75
Federally Administer Tribal Area	12	0	12
Federal Capital	2	0	2
Total	272	60	332

Source: (Constitution of Pakistan, 1973)

In addition to the seat given in above table, 10 seats are reserved for minorities.

The constitution does not exclusively provide for electoral formula to elect the representatives for legislature. It only provides:

"[226. All elections under the Constitution, other than those of the Prime Minister and the Chief Minister, shall be by secret ballot]" (Constitution of Pakistan, 1973)

2.1.11. ELECTORAL LAWS IN PAKISTAN

The Election Commission of Pakistan is responsible to conduct the elections and to deal with all the matters regarding free, fair and transparent conduction of elections. The commission has cited the Acts of legislature for the conduction of general elections in Pakistan on its website i.e. Representation of the People Act, 1976 and the Representation of the People (Conduct of Election) Rules, 1977 which provide regarding major laws for the conduction of elections to elect the public representatives for National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies.

Senate (Upper House) elections are held according to the provisions of Senate (Election) Act, 1975, Senate (Members from Federal Capital) Order, 1985 and 1988 and the Senate (Election) Rules, 1975 (Election Commission of Pakistan, 2019).

The procedure and rules of elections for the office of the President are contained in Second Schedule of the Constitution 1973 and are given in the Presidential Election Rules, 1988.

The Elections held for the general seats of National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies are conducted by FPTP formula. However, the elections on reserved seats for technocrats and women are held on the party list system. Senate elections are conducted under the principle of single transferable vote (Election Laws, 2019).

3. CONCLUSION

The spirit of democracy is the rule of people through elected representatives. Elections are the way to achieve this objective. People are given the right of vote to elect the individuals among them who receive the support of the majority of voters. Electoral system plays an important role in the whole process of elections to achieve the spirit of democracy. The study concludes that majority of the people of Pakistan have a lack of trust in current electoral system in producing factual representation. The people have many reservations on the effectiveness of the current electoral system. One of the prominent issues in the electoral system that is highly observed during this study is that the current system does not allow the factual representation. Elected representatives mostly belongs to elite class and it is rare that an individual belonging to poor class is elected as public representative. Therefore, the problems of the poor class are not addressed in assemblies in a true sense. The elected representatives are more likely to enjoy the power and authority of their positions. Hence, there is a need of such a system that can encourage the poor class to be the part of parliament and assemblies to focus on the interests of poor class. Moreover, there is a need of making election process fair and free without any influence of the feudal, industrialists, elites and the people in power. The level of apathy which has been seen in elections in form of low turnout also owes to the lack of people confidence in the electoral system. Voters do not feel the worth of their vote in producing results of elections because the majority of the poor population votes under the pressure of feudal and landlords, therefore, the votes of independent and wise voters could not result in electing the competent candidates. The voters also perceive that the worth of the vote of an educated voter and an illiterate voter should have some difference. Consequently, it is suggested for future researchers to work out on this field to introduce a practical mechanism or solution to determine the weightage of the vote according to the level of education of the voter. Additionally, public representatives must hold a sufficient level of education to meet the requirements of the modern times. People of Pakistan strongly need improvements and some degree of electoral reforms in the current electoral system to achieve the objective of factual and true representation of the people of the country.

3.1. RECOMMENDATIONS

A detail analysis of the findings of the study has exposed that certain steps should be taken to address the problems and shortcomings of the current electoral system of Pakistan. In view of the subject study, the researcher has placed the following recommendations:

3.2. PARTICIPATION OF POOR CLASS IN LEGISLATURE

The government of Pakistan should take steps in such a manner that the individuals from poor class would also constitute a significant part of Parliament and Provincial Assemblies to devise the policies for the welfare and development of poor class and can address the problems of poor class in a true spirit. The income criteria should be set for a particular number of seats in legislature and proper scrutiny of the wealth of the candidates must be ensured, so that the individuals belonging to poor class are given enough seats to represent the poor class in a true sense.

3.3. ADOPTION OF MIXED-MEMBER SYSTEM AS ELECTORAL FORMULA

Mixed system should be used as electoral formula instead of FPTP system. As it is discussed earlier in the types of electoral systems, in FPTP system, the highest vote getters won the seats and the votes casted to the losing candidates are not translated into the parliamentary seats. Those votes are considered as wasted votes. On the other hand, in PR System, the seats are given to the parties in proportion to the share of votes they received in elections. Mixed Member System (MMP) combines the advantages of both FPTP system PR system. MMP system compensates the disproportionality accruing in districts seats. For example, two parties receiving 30% of the votes end up with 30% of seats. Even if a party won more seats at constituency level, the final result will be in getting the number of seats according the percentage of votes they received in elections. Another example is that, if a smaller party gets 10% overall votes at national level but winning no seat in constituencies, would be given enough seats approximately 10%, to represent that party in the parliament.

The table given below is showing the results of parliamentary elections of Pakistan 2018 conducted under FPTP system. There are total 342 seats of National Assembly, out of which, 272 general seats are contested under FPTP formula i.e. the candidate getting highest votes in a constituency is declared as winner regardless of securing absolute majority and the parties gets as many seats as won at constituency level.

In the above table, the data regarding seats won by the parties (given in section "Seats Won under FPTP") in General Elections 2018 was taken from the website of Election Commission of Pakistan and then, the comparison was made by the researcher (given in section "Seats Allocation under PR System") to elucidated the effects of both the systems, how both the systems work. Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf won 116 general seats by getting 31.82% votes under the current FPTP formula. Whereas the party would have got 87 general seats instead of 116 seats in National Assembly with 31.82% share of party vote under PR system. Consequently, 60 reserved seats for women and 10 reserve seats for minorities which were allocated with proportion to the general seats won by the party were also to be allocated as 19 reserved seat for women instead of 28 seats and 3 reserved seats for minorities instead of 5 seats.

Another effect under PR System was also that the parties Allah-o-Akbar Tehreek, Sindh United Party, Pashtunkhwa Milli Awami Party, Pak Sarzameen Party which could not win any seats in constituencies under FPTP system would also had been allocated 1 seat for each party mentioned above according to their share in national vote.

Comparison of Seats Allocation Among the Parties											
Under FPTP and PR Systems											
Example of General Elections of Pakistan 2018											
Sr. No.	Party	No. of Votes	%	Seats Won under FPTP				Seats Allocation under PR System			
				General	Women	Minorities	Total	General	Women	Minorities	Total
1	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf	16,903,702	31.82	116	28	5	149	87	19	3	109
2	Pakistan Muslim League (N)	12,934,589	24.35	64	16	2	82	66	15	2	83
3	Pakistan Peoples Party	6,924,356	13.03	43	9	2	54	35	8	1	45
4	Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal	2,573,939	4.85	12	2	1	15	13	3	0	17
5	Tehreek-i-Labbaik Pakistan	2,234,316	4.21	0	0	0	0	11	3	0	14
6	Grand Democratic Alliance	1,260,147	2.37	2	1	0	3	6	1	0	8
7	Awami National Party	815,998	1.54	1	0	0	1	4	1	0	5
8	Muttahida Qaumi Movement	733,245	1.38	6	1	0	7	4	1	0	5
9	Pakistan Muslim League (Q)	517,408	0.97	4	1	0	5	3	1	0	3
10	Balochistan Awami Party	319,348	0.6	4	1	0	5	2	0	0	2
11	Balochistan National Party (Mengal)	238,817	0.45	3	1	0	4	1	0	0	2
12	Allah-o-Akbar Tehreek	172,120	0.32	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
13	Sindh United Party	140,303	0.26	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
14	Pashtunkhwa Milli Awami Party	134,846	0.25	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
15	Pak Sarzameen Party	126,128	0.24	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
16	Awami Muslim League	119,362	0.22	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
17	Pakistan Awami Raj	115,226	0.22	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
18	Pakistan Muslim League (F)	72,553	0.14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	Qaumi Watan Party	57,249	0.11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	Pakistan Rah-e-Haq Party	55,859	0.11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	Balochistan National Party (Awami)	55,206	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22	Tehreek-e-Labbaik Islam	55,155	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	All Pakistan Muslim League	36,566	0.07	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	Pakistan National Muslim League	35,415	0.07	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Sr. No.	Party	No. of Votes	%	Seats Won under FPTP				Seats Allocation under PR System			
				General	Women	Minorities	Total	General	Women	Minorities	Total
25	Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam Nazryati	34,247	0.06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	Pakistan Human Party	34,246	0.06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	National Party	33,432	0.06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	Mutahidda Qabail Party	28,469	0.05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
29	Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam Pakistan (S)	24,582	0.05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	Jamhoori Wattan Party	23,274	0.04	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
31	Jamiat Ulama-e-Pakistan (Noorani)	22,145	0.04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	Mohajir Qaumi Movement Pakistan	21,521	0.04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
33	Majlis Wahdat-e-Muslimeen	19,615	0.04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
34	Awami Workers Party	17,935	0.03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35	Pakistan Justice and Democratic Party	12,637	0.02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	Pakistan Kissan Ittehad (Ch. Anwar)	12,255	0.02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
37	Pakistan Peoples Party (Shaheed Bhutto)	10,032	0.02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
38	Hazara Democratic Party	7,942	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
39	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Nazriati	6,755	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
40	Pakistan Muslim Alliance	6,703	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
41	Pakistan Siraiki Party (T)	6,523	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
42	Pakistan Sunni Tehreek	5,943	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
43	Sunni Ittehad Council	5,939	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
44	Tehreek Jawanan Pakistan	5,841	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
45	Pakistan Awami Inqelabi League	5,046	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
46	Roshan Pakistan League	4,267	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
47	Tehreek Tabdili Nizam Pakistan	4,161	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
48	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf-Gulalai	4,146	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Sr. No.	Party	No. of Votes	%	Seats Won under FPTP				Seats Allocation under PR System			
				General	Women	Minorities	Total	General	Women	Minorities	Total
49	Balochistan National Movement	3,971	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
50	Tabdeeli Pasand Party Pakistan	3,698	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
51	Amun Taraqqi Party	3,646	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	Jamote Qaumi Movement	3,269	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
53	Barabri Party Pakistan	2,702	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
54	Move On Pakistan	2,580	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
55	All Pakistan Muslim League (Jinnah)	2,418	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
56	Pakistan Falah Party	2,167	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
57	Pasban Pakistan	2,154	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
58	Pakistan Awami League	1,780	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
59	Pakistan Aman Tehreek	1,718	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60	Pakistan Peoples Party	1,587	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
61	Pakistan Quami Yakjehti Party	1,571	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
62	Pakistan Muslim League (Z)	1,406	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
63	Pakistan Muslim League (Sher-e-Bangal)	1,332	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
64	Pakistan Freedom Movement	1,096	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
65	Mustaqbil Pakistan	1,053	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
66	Humdardan-e-Watan Pakistan	936	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
67	Pakistan Aman Party	852	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
68	Aam Admi Tehreek Pakistan	828	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
69	Awami Justice Party Pakistan	730	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70	Saraiskistan Democratic Party	724	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
71	Pakistan Supreme Democratic	708	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
72	Aam Log Party Pakistan	606	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
73	Tehreek-e-Suba Hazara Pakistan	545	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
74	Awam League	493	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Sr. No.	Party	No. of Votes	%	Seats Won under FPTP				Seats Allocation under PR System			
				General	Women	Minorities	Total	General	Women	Minorities	Total
75	Pakistan Welfare Party	426	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
76	Aam Awam Party	364	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
77	Jannat Pakistan Party	248	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
78	National Peace Council Party	242	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
79	Front National (Pakistan)	233	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80	Pakistan Muslim League Organization	211	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
81	All Pakistan Tehreek	155	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
82	Pakistan Human Rights Party	139	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
83	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaniat	98	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
84	Pakistan Muslim League Council	91	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
85	Peoples Movement of Pakistan (PMP)	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
86	Independents	6,087,410	11.46	13	0	0	13	31	7	1	39
		53,123,733	100	272	60	10	342	272	60	10	342

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

Tehreek-i-Labbaik Pakistan who could not win any seat in spite of getting 4.21% of national vote would also had been given 11 seats in the National Assembly under PR system. In this way, the PR system allow the small parties to get a chance to represent in the National Assembly on the basis of their scattered support at national level.

3.4. EDUCATED MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE

In line with the requirement of 21st century, where information highway and technological advancements have been progressing so high, the effective law making and policy decisions can only be ensured by educated legislators who will be in a position to meet the aforementioned requirement. In this way the county can progress in effective law making and policy formulation to lead the country on way of prosperity and development among the leading nations of the world.

3.5. TRAINING OF THE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE

It is also recommended that the elected representatives should be trained in law making and policy formulation in order to devise effective policies and to priorities them according the contemporary needs of the time. A trained legislature will be more able to make effective laws and to devise efficient policies.

3.6. POWER OF VOTE

"Are those who know equal to those who do not know? (Az Zumr - 9)

As cited above from the Muslim Holy Book of Quran, In Surah Az Zumr at Ayat No. 9, it is clearly stated by Quran that the knowing and not knowing cannot be equal in any way. In the 21st century how is it possible that an illiterate person equates to the capabilities of a learned and a knowledgeable person. This system of democracy is flawed in this very sense that countries like Pakistan where the poor and illiterate are greater in number and in contrast the literate are few. In the paradigm of 21st century it in not credible that an illiterate person will be in a position to make laws for implementation in the society, keeping the requirements of the 21st century in mind. It should be an individual with a knowledge, who is equipped with the right information to counter the effects of the 21st century.

Keeping the aforementioned in view, it is proposed that proportional voting power should be given to voters basing on the number of years of education they have earned. For example, if an illiterate is given one vote, a matriculation should have more votes and subsequently the same ratio can be further enhanced till the degree of PhD.

In a very simple manner it is proposed that; today National Database & Registration Authority (NADRA) has the details of entire population of Pakistan and this data can be processed on constituency level as well for the purpose of determining the power of vote. This will result in equal weightage between the literate and illiterate and this will help

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the literate to play an important role in defining the government to take power in Pakistan. This method will also induce that group of educated voter who do not cast vote due to the perception that their vote does not make the difference in the results of elections, as it has been seen that the turnout in elections is often low and the parties with even 20 % votes rule the entire population and resources of the country.

3.7. FUTURE RESEARCH

The subject of determining power of vote of an educated and an illiterate voter for giving it a practicable and feasible way out how the weightage should be determined, is left open so that future researches may be carried on this aspect of voting.

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