Non-Muslims

in Pakistan's

Electoral System

A study to understand non-Muslims' views on prevailing election system and politics in Pakistan and to assess their electoral significance

By Tahir Mehdi

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Pakistan / Afghanistan

PART 1:

Minority Voices

A qualitative research

PART 2:

Electoral significance of non-Muslims

A statistical research

First edition: This report has used the statistics made available in preliminary lists of voters and will be revised and updated after the Election Commission of Pakistan publishes final electoral rolls.

Minority Voices

What do non-Muslim community leaders say about democracy, elections, representation of minorities in elected houses and their participation in politics?

A qualitative research

Introduction

This research was designed to identify and understand the issues of non-Muslims related to electoral politics and electoral processes in Pakistan. Its methodology involved semi-structured interviews of community leaders. Any non-Muslim who is directly involved in politics or social work or is a religious leader qualified as a community leader. While involvement in politics meant that the person is either an office bearer of a political party and/or is a member of an elected house and/or has at least once contested an election for a position in local government, provincial and national assembly or senate. Similarly, involvement in social work meant being employed by or having membership of a non-governmental organization.

A team of researchers held focus group discussions after literature search; the draft checklist of points for interview was run through a pilot testing. The interview questions had the following focal points:

- The current electoral system both for general seats and for representation of non-Muslims in elected houses – its appreciation, critique, benefits, problems, solutions and suggestions along with the reasons.
- Do non-Muslims vote of their own free will and to what extent? What factors or groups such as community elders, religious leaders, and political parties play a role in this regard both in a positive and negative way?
- What specific problems do non-Muslims face regarding electoral processes, both as candidates and as voters? This includes all election-related activities from participation in a rally to queuing up at a polling station on election day to putting up banners. Are there any rules, procedures or other instruments that hamper their participation?

We had planned 60 interviews but went on to conduct 82 to make the sample diverse in terms of kind of community leaders, religions and geographical areas. Since Hindus and Christians are the biggest minorities, they are the most in our sample. In Sindh we covered Karachi, Hyderabad, Tando Allah Yar and the desert districts of Tharparkar, Umerkot and Mirpur Khas. In Punjab our focus was the central districts of Lahore, Faisalabad, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Sahiwal. We, however, could not miss Multan and especially Rahim Yar Khan as they are home to the majority of Punjabi Scheduled Caste persons. Rawalpindi and Islamabad have central secretariats of most of the parties besides being the destination of all parliamentarians, so it was natural that we spent many days there. A trip to Peshawar was essential to cover Sikhs of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and those who have migrated from tribal areas besides conferring with local political parties there.

In terms of religions the sample covers Christian, Hindu, Scheduled Caste, Sikh and Baha'i. While interviewed persons include past and present members of national and provincial assemblies, heads of minority wings of major political parties, elected members of local governments from district to union council level, workers of non-governmental organizations, rights activists, members and office bearers of community-based social organizations, media persons, religious leaders, government employees and businessmen. Despite our efforts the gender gap in the sample is quite wide. However, that we think is reflective of the overall male dominance in the field of politics in our country. We have tried to bridge

this deficiency by including a brief of the research conducted and recently published by National Commission for Justice and Peace that specifically focuses on issues of non-Muslim women.

We are very confident that the sample is exhaustive and the results cover all aspects of minority issues and problems related to elections. We had planned to include a one-page brief of all the interviews but after summarizing 33, we noticed that they have started repeating each other's views and no new points were coming up. The next 23 interviews were shrunk to 100-word paragraphs, mostly seconding the opinions in the one-pagers with only minor differences. The last 26 were, however, a complete repetition of what had already been covered and thus were not selected for summaries.

Findings

Findings of the research are presented in two different ways. First is the following write-up that summarizes the findings of all 82 interviews. The second offers one-page summaries of interviews of 33 persons and excerpts from another 23. The latter adds the real voices to our understanding and interpretation of the entire situation.

A: Structural obstacles

The debate over the electoral system

Joint electorate yes, party list system no

Minority community views are heavily tilted in favour of joint electorate. Everyone is appreciative of the change including those who contested elections under the separate electorate system and were elected members of various assemblies. People easily identify the benefits of the joint electorate system:

- It integrates Muslim and non-Muslims making us one nation.
- Non-Muslim voters are not ignored by parties and local candidates anymore and in fact valued at par or even more than the majority community.
- It is easy for non-Muslims to approach local members compared with the previous system when a non-Muslim member represented his community spread over the entire country or the province.

However, all those who appreciate the joint electorate slam it in the same breath too. The target of their wrath is the party list system for election to seats reserved for non-Muslims. Many in fact fail to differentiate between 'the joint electorate' and 'the party list system' and -- considering them inseparable parts of one system -- reject the party list system altogether. Here is their criticism of the system:

- Since these members do not get there through direct vote, they do not bother about the communities that they are supposed to represent.

- Parties look for yes men to boost their numbers in the elected houses. Many members were unknown to the community before being nominated. Parties do not follow any objective criteria to nominate these members. They ignore party workers and those who have long-standing experience and commitment. These members thus are incapable of representing their communities.
- Parties even sell these seats to the highest bidders; the proof is that there are more 'rich banyas' in parliament than any other non-Muslim community member.

Separate electorate no, direct elections yes

A good number of community leaders understand that the separate electorate was detrimental to the interests of non-Muslim minorities. They say the following about the system:

- It divided society along religious lines and strengthened and promoted discriminatory attitudes and traditions.
- It defined the entire country as one constituency for the whole population belonging to a specific religion. For example, Christians from Karachi to Peshawar voted for the same set of candidates. This resulted in the following problems:
    - It was humanly impossible for any candidate to approach and address all of his/her potential voters.
    - Similarly, after elections he could not make himself available to all his electors. If the elected member lived in Karachi and one of his voters living in Sialkot needed his help, it would very difficult for them to meet.
    - Since the entire country was one constituency, candidates from bigger pockets of minority population dominated the political scene and non-Muslims living elsewhere became insignificant. For example, if Lahore had 50,000 Christian voters, all candidates would focus on this city to optimally utilize their limited resources ignoring 5,000 living in Multan or 500 residing in Dera Ghazi Khan.
- Non-Muslim voters were of no value to the more numerous general or Muslim seat candidates and they thus ignored their demands and needs completely. Non-Muslims, while living in the same constituency as their Muslim neighbors, did not figure on the priority lists of elected members when development projects were awarded.

On the other hand, in the opinion of others the separate electorate was a near perfect system because:

- It was the only system that facilitated persons of minority communities to reach parliament
- Since members were elected through direct votes of minority communities, they were answerable to them and took care of their needs and problems as much as they could
- Since seats were reserved for each religion separately (within the non-Muslim quota), small minority communities like Sikhs or Parsis were also able to reach parliament

Suggestions:

Few community leaders had the foresight, resolve or confidence to say that the joint electorate would result in something positive over time, and that everyone should bear with it until then. Other more restive, apprehensive or ambitious leaders forwarded the following proposals to give non-Muslims proper representation in elected houses:

1: Non-Muslims should be awarded double vote

Non-Muslims should be awarded dual franchise. They should be given two ballot papers. They should cast one to a general seat candidate and the second to a member of their own community. This way they would remain integrated with the mainstream polity and be true representatives of their communities. They would be answerable to them and take keen interest in the welfare and development of their communities.

Community leaders believe that their general seat representatives would take care of most of their communities' needs but they also think that the general seat representative would always be a Muslim who would not be sympathetic to non-Muslims when it came to their religious matters. This they thought would be especially true for controversial issues where Muslim and non-Muslim might be pitched against each other. One person mentioned a situation where a non-Muslim could be wrongly implicated in a case of alleged blasphemy and the general seat/Muslim member would not intervene fearing a backlash from Muslim voters or the propaganda by his local political opponents. Others however said that in such a situation there is very little or nothing that a non-Muslim representative could do. They gave the example of the Gojra incident where the general seat Muslim member played a positive role in support of the Christian community in the aftermath of the sad incident that resulted in the deaths of many Christians. This, they believe, does away with the need to have additional non-Muslim representation.

The proponents of double vote cite the example of the inhabitants of Azad Jammu & Kashmir who cast votes both in their AJK hometown constituencies and in Pakistani constituencies where they reside. One woman also referred to the double vote awarded to women in the 1950's provincial elections to elect general and women seat members.

Some non-Muslims hesitate making a full-fledged demand for double vote saying it would be asking too much. "How can we ask for greater franchise than the majority community?" Others reject the comparison with AJK saying that it is a geographical entity. "We are not residents of a separate land."

Many, however, find it feasible quoting the example of the local government system of the past decade where all voters of a union council were handed over six ballot papers to choose members for various seats. A few, though were not very articulate, suggested that double vote should be extended to the entire electorate. They supported the previous local government elections when both non-Muslims and Muslims voted together for general and minority seats candidates (besides others like women, labor

seats, etc). They called this cross-voting -- especially Muslims voting for non-Muslim candidates to fill minority seats -- very helpful in political and social integration of people of different faiths.

Some double vote supporters added a few conditions. These are related to distribution of seats over geographical areas and among specific religions within the broader non-Muslim bracket. First of these conditions was by Christians of Saraiki area (or South Punjab) where they are few and far between. These people feel that persons from Lahore had dominated Christian politics and Saraiki Christians were neglected. They want that Christian members should be elected through direct vote of their community members and the previous practice of declaring the entire country as one constituency should not be revived. Instead, they suggest, that the country should be divided into as many non-Muslim (or Christian) geographical constituencies as there are seats for them. This way no one area, with higher concentration of non-Muslim population, would be able to dominate the entire non-Muslim political scene, and areas with fewer and thinly spread non-Muslims would also be represented.

The second condition is advocated by the Sikhs and the Scheduled Caste persons of South Punjab. They think that since Christians and Hindus outnumber them by such a large margin they stand no chance of ever being elected to a non-Muslim seat through direct vote by non-Muslims. They thus want the quota of non-Muslim seats divided among various religions just as it was under the separate electorate system along with an additional second vote that they can cast for general seat candidates.

2: Parties should have non-Muslim office bearers and award them tickets for general seats

This demand has as wide support as that of a double vote. In fact, persons who are not enthusiastic about a double vote emphasize this demand arguing that if non-Muslims reach elected houses on party tickets, the feeling of being not represented and the consequent demand for a double vote will die down.

Most of the persons making this demand limit it to the constituencies where they think non-Muslims have a majority or a casting vote. Some even have estimated that such constituencies number around 100.

Two further aspects of this demand were presented by the interviewed persons. The first was the difficulty that the parties could face in securing Muslim votes for their non-Muslim candidate on a general seat. Most thought it would be difficult, if not impossible, for Muslim voters to "have the moral courage to cast their votes to non-Muslims". Between the lines, they suggested that if a party does award its ticket to a non-Muslim, the opponents or the Muslim religious parties would find it easy to lead Muslim voters away from that particular candidate.

One person was bold enough to suggest that parties could award tickets to non-Muslims for the constituencies that they know they will lose anyway. "You can't win everywhere. Some seats are supposed to be lost." The nomination of non-Muslims on these seats would be like breaking the silence that in fact would lead eventually to nomination of candidates without considering their religion.

The second aspect of 'parties nominating non-Muslims on general seats' discussed by the interviewed persons is about whether the parties should be morally bound to oblige or should there be legislation making it mandatory for them. A senior and seasoned former minority elected member believed that legislation is the way to go, and that the parties should be bound to award a percentage (3 to 5 per cent) of their tickets to non-Muslims. The current system of proportionate distribution of minority seats among parties and nominations through party list system has resulted in many hardline religious parties like Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Fazal) and Jamaat-e-Islami to have minority wings and give party membership to non-Muslims. A mandatory award of certain number of general seats tickets to non-Muslims would have a similar impact and provide non-Muslim candidates many entry points into political parties and, possibility, into elected houses.

A number of persons complained that political parties do not consider non-Muslims for party membership and offices. They say that a few minority personalities are inducted into the parties only to showcase them as evidence of their sincerity with issues of minorities and they are not given important offices. They complain that these few 'decorative' members are not included in decision-making processes.

Minority community leaders however acknowledge that all political parties now have set up 'minority wings'. But they say that these wings are activated only before elections and put into cold storage immediately afterwards. Some do not agree with the idea of putting minorities into separate wings and forcefully plead the case for their integration with the main mother parties.

3: Remove discriminatory laws, provisions to make joint electorate effective

It is the well considered opinion of many thoughtful community leaders that joint electorate is but one instrument to facilitate equal participation of non-Muslims in politics, and that it cannot by itself bring a major change unless other forms and tools of discrimination are not dealt with in the same spirit. They believe that if the state continues to discriminate non-Muslims in other matters, the overall social and political environment would remain non-conducive to and unsupportive of the ideals of equality. They say that 'equality of vote' is good but the environment of fear, coercion and harassment must end as well; the state should declare itself non-partisan in matters pertaining to religion.

Community leaders want Quaid-e-Azam's Pakistan. They say that Jinnah had promised a secular welfare state and not an Islamic security state. The rulers that followed, however, reneged on their words. One quoted an incident when the resolution supporting Pakistan was being debated in one of the state assemblies and the Muslim League needed Christian votes to secure victory over the opposing Congress. Jinnah had told Christian leaders that since Muslims know what it means to a be minority, they should trust that Muslim League would be sympathetic to their needs and take care of their rights in the new countries. These leaders believe that the Objective Resolution proved to be the anti-climax of this short-lived romance and the status of non-Muslims since the passage of the resolution, is continuously being pushed down. They say that the Resolution should be disowned and the state should consider every citizen equal regardless of their beliefs.

Various leaders identified the following constitutional instruments that are discriminatory in nature and thus must be corrected.

1: Constitutional provisions making it mandatory for the President to be a Muslim

2: Constitutional provisions making it mandatory for the Prime Minister to be a Muslim

Ironically, this provision was added to the Constitution through the 18th Amendment.

3: Members of National and Provincial Assemblies and Senate, federal/provincial ministers, ministers of state, speakers and deputy speakers of National and Provincial Assemblies and Chief Ministers can constitutionally be non-Muslims but they have to take Oath given in the Third Schedule of the Constitution that includes a line "That I will strive to preserve the Islamic Ideology which is the basis for the creation of Pakistan".

4: There are a number of laws that either proactively discriminate against non-Muslims (like the laws specific to Ahmedis) or are frequently used against non-Muslims like Blasphemy Laws. The latter laws though do not specifically target non-Muslims in their text but around half the cases registered under these laws involve non-Muslims who are a miniscule 4 per cent of the total population.

Human rights activists and minority leaders have a well-defined and stated position about these laws. They believe that these laws have been used very successfully by petty interest groups at village level to settle scores with economic or social rivals and can very easily be exploited against political opponents too. These laws make non-Muslims inherently insecure, and one cannot expect that in the presence of these laws they can ever make use of the equality made possible in the election laws and rules.

4: Non-Muslim women need representation too

Non-Muslim women are the most marginalized of the minorities as they have to bear double discrimination. The reserved seats members are supposed to represent the views of their communities on issues presented in parliament but they cannot be expected to represent the gender divide within their community too. Similarly, members elected on seats reserved for women represent women's interests but whether this includes the interests of minority women is questionable. It seems logical then that minority women should be given representation in parliament.

One suggestion is that some of the seats reserved for women should be shifted to those reserved for non-Muslims, for example, reserving three women's seats among those set aside for non-Muslims. In this way, the number of women in parliament will not decline and number of non-Muslims will rise from 10 to 13 while presence of non-Muslim women in parliament will also be ensured.

5: Number of reserved seats be raised

A number of community leaders complained about 'fewer' seats reserved for non-Muslims. Their argument was that there were ten reserved seats when the number of general seats was 207. When general seats were increased to 272 in 2002, the number of seats reserved for non-Muslims remained the same, i.e. 10. They demand that these be proportionally raised.

Another line of argument is that the number of seats is not proportionate to the population of non-Muslims and must be made so. Our own working on these proportions is:

How many seats for non-Muslims?

Non-Muslims in Pakistan are 3.7 per cent (4,918,870/132,352,279; census 1998) of the population. The seats reserved for non-Muslims in the National Assembly are 2.9 per cent of the total seats (10/342). If the number of reserved seats has to reflect exactly the non-Muslim share in population, there should be 13 seats.

But looking at it from another perspective, directly-elected general seats in the National Assembly are 272 and the ten seats reserved for non-Muslims are 3.7 per cent of these which is exactly equal to their proportion in population.

B: Procedural impediments

Difficulties in obtaining identity cards

The well-off urban community leaders do not see the obtaining of a Computerized National Identity Card an issue any more but all those from rural areas and the urban poor have repeatedly raised this issue which they say impedes their participation in elections. They list the following issues:

1: A number of non-Muslims are homeless laborers who move place in search of work. They settle down in small makeshift tents where ever they find work and stay there till they have work. They thus do not have a permanent address and Nadra does not entertain them for this very reason. No identity card means no vote.

2: Nadra demands a birth certificate from all applicants to ascertain their age and develop a pedigree or family record. Most of the poor do not have the certificate as they were born in their homes with or without the assistance of traditional birth attendants. There might be a procedure laid down for such persons but then these offices are not very friendly and make further demands of other documents, attestations and/or some cash in bribes. The poor find it difficult to chart their way through these offices and procedures and that too at the cost of one or more day's worth of their wage. Many poor people who do have a card had got it either with the support of a local political leader or of an NGO or through participation in some poverty alleviation program like Benazir Income Support Program.

3: A woman has to produce a birth certificate or Form B showing that she is the daughter of Mr xyz or she has to attach a marriage certificate to prove that she is the wife of Mr abc. It is extremely difficult for poor non-Muslims to produce a Form B and absolutely impossible to attach a marriage certificate. There is no law in the country as yet that provides for registration of marriages of non-Muslims. Their marriages thus are not legal contracts backed by any document. This has grave implications for a number of legal matters involving non-Muslim marriages. This issue has been raised by Hindus, Scheduled Castes and Sikhs. A draft law on the subject is pending in parliament. Incidentally, the Supreme Court took up this issue following a complaint by a Scheduled Caste woman with the support of some NGOs and Nadra amended its rules to enable these women to obtain an identity card without a legal marriage certificate. This should technically settle the issue for good and these women with identity cards should automatically be registered as voters.

4: The applicants need to get the filled out identity card forms attested by a gazetted officer of Basic Pay Scale 17 or above. Many non-Muslims say they do not have easy access to such persons or that such local officers hesitate to attest their forms. Sikhs from a number of areas particularly raised this concern. Unlike Hindus and Christians, Sikhs are very few in numbers where ever they live in Pakistan and local officers think it 'risky' to approve of information related to them. They demand that an elder of their own community be authorized to attest their forms.

Misspelled names in voter lists

This is an issue that was raised by almost every person interviewed. Most of the non-Muslim names, Hindu or Christian or Sikh, do not have standardized spellings in local Perso-Arabic script. The names are mostly unusual for the Muslim voter-lists enumerators. Since a large number of non-Muslims are illiterate, they are unable to make the enumerators correct these. Thus, the spellings of these names as written in voter lists do not match with those written on identity cards. The polling agents of parties that suspect him/her to be a voter of the opposite party raise objections and the voter is denied the right to vote.

Some sceptics claim that this is intentionally done in certain areas to disenfranchise non-Muslims. Their argument is that even though voter lists contain the identity card number but the polling staff reject them as voters if the two spellings do not match even though the two numbers do.

We may not face this problem in the next elections as now for making the electoral rolls, the Election Commission has copied the names and particulars of all voters from the Nadra database. Since these have not been hand written on voter lists by enumerators, they should have the same spellings as on identity cards. But it would still be prudent for the Commission to instruct the polling staff that a person should be allowed to cast vote if his/her name or identity card number matches with that in the voter list.

C: Socio-political barriers

Non-Muslim voters in Sindh are forced to vote for *wadera*-sponsored candidates

This was the most repeated statement in the interviews of minority community leaders. The Sindhi were unanimous and embedded this assertion in a narrative depicting wadera (feudal lord) as the one who holds sway over every aspect of the life of his bonded employees. This is how it goes:

"Most of the non-Muslims in Sindh are poor, landless farm laborers (called haree). They are so destitute that many do not even have a place to live and thus roam around in search of labor and live in makeshift tents whenever and where ever they find work. Many are however allowed by the wadera to settle in hutments on his land in return for the service that they have to render him, mostly related to agriculture.

Waderas maintain bands of armed goons and run a parallel system of justice that, of course, holds their interests supreme. The state's law institutions, police and local courts remain paralyzed and completely ineffective. These poor Hindus thus live a life completely dependent on and controlled by waderas.

Waderas order them to vote for a candidate of his liking and they cannot dare disagree. His armed guards ensure that all eligible voters appear at the polling stations; they may be facilitated or just forced to go there and vote for the same candidate. Polling staff is almost always complicit with the wadera's men.

If at all a voter disobeys the order, he or she may be punished in several ways: kicked out of his hut, dismissed from employment or just roughed up."

This is a strong narrative that is repeated by a number of non-Muslim persons. Though the majority of those interviewed raised similar points, some added the following exceptions:

- Hindus of southern Sindh are poor harees and this relates to them, but Hindus in upper Sindh are mostly rich traders and this is not true for them.
- This is also not true for all Hindus of southern Sindh as those living in cities like Hyderabad are well-educated and respectable citizens. This phenomenon is confined to rural areas.
- One person even identified some geographical areas where this coercion is prevalent like constituencies in desert districts Tharparkar and Umerkot where Arbab's are landlords and parts of Dadu where Jatois dominate.
- The most vociferous supporters of this narrative are the former councilors of local government who had contested elections on tickets of Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) but they are certainly not the only subscribers.

Non-Muslim voters are forced to stay away from polling stations

Some community leaders said that if the local wadera thinks that non-Muslims will not support the candidate of his liking, he can force them to stay away from polling stations. His armed band will guard the road to the polling station or will create a situation in a residential area, like aerial firing, so that voters are scared of coming out of their houses. Votes of these persons are then either wasted or are fraudulently cast in their name by the wadera's stooges.

Many Christians of Karachi repeated the above narrative but replaced 'wadera' with 'opposite party'. Some were bold enough to name Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM). They say that the party uses violent means and scare tactics to keep Christian voters away if it believes that they will not vote for their candidate. The absent voters' ballots are then cast fraudulently.

In some cases, feudal lords either purchase identity cards from their subjects for a small amount of cash or simply snatch these from them. This is done when there are doubts that the harees might disobey them and not vote as told. The waderas thus either manage to have these 'negative votes' wasted or, if they control the polling stations as well, use those identity cards to poll fake votes.

Non-Muslim candidates are harassed

Most Hindu candidates who have contested local government or provincial assembly elections on general seats say that they are intimidated and harassed by opponents. They say they are threatened not to enter the area that is considered the main support base of the leading Muslim opponent. They are not allowed to raise banners and hoardings in their areas and thus are left with the limited option of having face to face corner meetings with their potential supporters.

Details of Non-Muslim candidates of 2002 and 2008 elections:

Non-Muslim voters are deceived and corrupted

Most Punjabi Christians do not support the forced-to-vote narrative that dominates the discourse in Sindh. They instead blame high level of illiteracy, abject poverty and deplorable traditions of giving them low social status as the actual culprit. They say that parties and individual candidates do not lend the minority voters a hand to help them come out of their miserable condition and instead exploit their weaknesses to their advantage.

The most-used method of disenfranchising minorities is to buy their votes. They are offered petty benefits in return like small amounts of cash or even a square meal for their vote.

Some community leaders say that the phenomenon shows how depoliticized these sections of society are. They are so dejected by and disconnected from politics that they do not value its worth as more than a few hundred rupees.

Two aspects of this vote buying are important. One, that the candidates do it through brokers that belong to the same community. The brokers deal directly with the candidate on behalf of a certain group. They assure casting of certain number of votes at an agreed rate and against a fixed commission. Two, identity cards play the role of collateral in these dealings. For example, the broker will show 200 cards and demand a certain rate per card and negotiations will begin. In some cases, the candidate can collect identity cards from the vote sellers and himself arrange for fraudulent polling against them.

Humiliation in polling station queues

This is one of the strangest, most startling and touching finding of this research. Under the separate electorate, Muslim and non-Muslim voters chose from different sets of candidates. Non-Muslims were further divided into four groups: 1: Hindus and Schedule Castes 2: Christians 3: Sikhs, Parsi's, Budh, Bahai and others 4: Ahmedi/Qadiani/Lahori. The ballot papers for these five sets of candidates were printed separately and on papers of different colors. The same polling stations and the same ballot boxes, however, served all the voters. The voters were required to queue up in as many lines as there may be voters belonging to those five groups. One desk would thus serve one type of ballot papers to one queue.

That has been the practice since 1985 and one of its 'benefits' was that there was no possibility of Muslims and non-Muslims accidentally coming into physical contact with each other. Now it's a problem with Muslims and non-Muslims queuing up in the same lines. They can fall over each other if someone pushes from behind; or if one misses a step the undesirable touch may become inevitable. Another scenario that came to the fore is that even if they do not touch anyone, they are told to keep off and scolded and scorned by everyone so many times that standing in the queue itself becomes a mental torture and the voter sooner or later decides to quit without casting his/her vote.

One of the 'solutions' that some polling staff or polling agents or both have invented is that non-Muslims are asked not to stand in queue and wait till everyone has been through. The non-Muslims are then asked to line up and take turns to cast their votes.

Non-Muslim voters have to face similar humiliation when Muslim voters are asked to share with them the space in vehicles arranged by the candidates to ferry voters between their residences and polling stations.

The sharing becomes a problem if and when a candidate serves them the promised meal. One community leader was so annoyed at the treatment meted out to women of his family in the past elections that he demanded that while the electorate should be joint, people belonging to different religions should be made to stand up in different queues.

This issue was raised by people from Sindh and Rahim Yar Khan which are dominated by Hindu and Schedule Caste voters. Christians from Punjab did not specifically mention it. But this probably cannot mean that such discriminatory attitude is not prevalent there and that it does not come up on the

polling day. We know from our base understanding of the mainstream social attitudes toward non-Muslims that such practices are quite common. The fact that they (Punjabi Christians) did not mention it may be because the non-Muslims consider these as normal social practices not worth a mention.

When a community leader mentioned it for the first time, we could not comprehend what he actually meant and ignored it. It was only when the complaint was repeated, and later many times, that we went back and reconsidered the skipped points to analyze this phenomenon.

Suggestions:

The community leaders forwarded the following suggestions to help address the above-discussed socio-economic and political barriers.

Political parties taking initiative

Laws and rules can facilitate a positive change but what everyone finds as the most important and longs for is a change of heart of political parties. If political parties begin valuing their non-Muslim voters, the election culture and polling etiquettes will undergo a dramatic change. Independent non-Muslim candidates who have contested an election at any level admit that they stand no chance at all unless a political party decides to support them.

Unbiased polling staff

The ability of feudal lords or the governing party candidate to have polling staff of their liking appointed at various 'important' polling stations is a root cause of many polling day maladies, something that was also mentioned. A number of community leaders said that the infamous and recent case of PPP MPA-elect Waheeda Shah who slapped a polling staff member on camera and was later disqualified by the Election Commission when TV channels repeatedly played the video, making it a national issue. They say that if governing party candidates do not abstain from such unwanted acts while on camera, one can imagine what they are capable of doing when under no such constraint.

Polling staff is either bribed or harassed or both. They come from the middle rung of bureaucracy and are mostly teachers from public sector schools and colleges. Since they are regular government employees, their jobs are secure but quite low paid. Their jobs become economically viable only when they are appointed in their home town/village where one has other secondary social and economic support available too. They thus dread being transferred to a remote place. Transfers of government employees are not governed by any justifiable rules, neither are these done following a transparent procedure. Influential candidates with links in education and other relevant departments can thus have their way with the polling staff. No irregularity in polling is possible without the active or forced

collaboration of the polling staff. Thus ensuring that the polling staff stays neutral and does what it is duty bound to is of utmost importance for fair elections in general and equal participation of non-Muslims in particular.

Secrecy of ballot

There are no or very little arrangements at polling stations to ensure that people cast their ballots in secrecy. This loophole is exploited by the feudal lords to ensure that their bonded laborers vote as they are told. If the wadera's men are watching from close range, who can dare disobey them, is what they say. Lack of secrecy makes the entire polling procedure a farce.

This complaint was mostly raised by those leaders who are firm on their wadera-rules-the-roost narrative. They suggest that the assurance of secrecy of ballot can help hapless harees make free use of their vote.

Identity cards curfew

A voter and his or her identity card are two 'entities' that together make voting possible. So it is essential that both are present on the polling day and any systematic efforts to separate the two to influence voting be checked. Many employers now keep their employees' identity card permanently with them as security against any misappropriation that they suspect these persons might do or just as an assurance that they don't run away. Some candidates buy identity cards from voters to ensure that they do not cast them in favour of their opposing candidate or for fraudulently casting votes in their own favour against these cards. In either case, custody of identity cards is important. It can deprive one of their right and helps promote irregularities in election processes.

We suggest that a law be made that makes it illegal for anyone to hold in his/her possession an identity card of any other person whoever they may be. This law should be strictly implemented in the days close to polling; this period should be declared 'identity card curfew' and any violation firmly punished.

Minority of the minorities

These include Sikhs, Parsis and Bahais and generally so few in number at any single location that they can be counted easily on one's fingers. They are generally reclusive and shy away from commenting on political issues. This may be because they feel insecure or completely insignificant as a community, as articulated by a Sikh community leader.

Bapsi Sidhwa, the world-renowned novelist and winner of many awards, belongs to the tiny Parsi community of Lahore. We are here reproducing some excerpts of an interview with her published on a website moonsonmag.com

Julie Rajan's interview with Bapsi Sidhwa

JR: Why do you feel that Parsis adapt to the customs that dominate the land in which they reside?

Bapsi Sidhwa: Lahore was a city of five million when I was growing up and there were only 200 Parsis. Naturally, one adopts the mores of the dominant society. This is particularly true of Parsis; we are a people who have no land, so we have to adapt to whichever culture we find ourselves in. I would describe myself as a Punjabi-Pakistani-Parsi woman, because all three societies influenced me. I guess I actually have a whole medley of identities. And that's wonderful because this combination made me the writer I am.

JR: How did your religion impact your career aspirations, or do you think it had any impact?

Bapsi Sidhwa: Yes, it did. In different ways. I felt marginalized as a Parsi in a predominantly Muslim society: Some people, very few really, would say things like: "Can you be Pakistani if you're Parsi?" Whereas, to Indians, I am a Pakistani. If I was a Parsi in India I don't think I would have felt as marginalized-simply because there are so many Parsis there.

Another important aspect is that communities like Parsis are well educated and their younger generations have made good in Europe and America so they have little stakes in the country's politics. Some wealthy families with extensive business interests in the country however do take keen interest in such matters. In fact one of these have been contesting, and winning, elections to the seat reserved for Sikhs, Parsis, Budhists, Baha'i and others under the separate electorate system between 1985 and 1997.

One important concern raised by them is that they stand no chance of reaching the parliament or a provincial legislature under the current system of filling in the seats reserved for non-Muslims. They think that Christians and Hindus are just too many compared to them.

General remarks

Almost everyone interviewed expressed faith in democracy and pointed at elections as the only way forward. Though most attached conditions like 'if elections are made fair and transparent' or 'if all voters are literate and educated' or 'when the tyrannical hold of feudal lords over the populace ends' to realize the true potential of democracy. A few voices however did insist that a bloody revolution is the way to a just system.

We noticed a considerable level of confusion in people's minds about the existing electoral system. Although most persons interviewed had the basic facts right, only a few had a complete picture in their minds. Almost everyone knew that reserved seats members are nominated by parties and not elected through popular vote, and that Muslims and non-Muslims cast their ballots for the same set of candidates. However, confusion reigned when it came to number of seats, their distribution among religions and between provinces.

We also noted a general tendency among the interviewed persons to exaggerate numbers in support of their argument. A person suggested that the population of Meghwarr tribe in Sindh is 4-5 million and therefore qualifies for a separate reserved seat within the non-Muslim quota. A candidate calculated the number of Christian voters in one of Islamabad's constituencies at 60,000. The Schedule Caste persons of Rahim Yar Khan also claim to have a population in hundreds of thousands although the 1998 census counted no more than 121,000 in entire Punjab. All these persons discredit the census figures and term it a conspiracy against their communities.

Interview briefs

Why can't a non-Muslim be President of Pakistan?

Dr Jaipal Chabbriya is an eye specialist working in a Karachi hospital. A PPP loyalist, he had applied for a party ticket for the recently held elections for a non-Muslim seat in Senate but it was awarded to Hari Ram who he says is "a good worker and a good choice".

Dr Jaipal is optimistic about democracy as he sees it getting stronger in the country. "Non-Muslims are represented now everywhere in assemblies, in ministries, and thanks to the 18th Amendment in Senate as well," he says but quickly adds that there is still a lot to be done to end discrimination. He points to the constitutional bar on non-Muslims for higher offices, such as president and prime minister, and expresses his anguish in a poem. Dr Jaipal is a poet and columnist too.

He thinks that political parties need not have separate minority wings; they should instead be integrated in the mother party. He longs to see the day when Muslims are able to vote for non-Muslim candidates and vice versa.

Dr Jaipal is an enthusiastic supporter of the joint electorate system and cites the example of his hometown, Kandhkot, where the general seat candidates approach non-Muslims and promise them development and security. He acknowledges that the reserved seat members do not relate with communities as they acquire their positions without the direct support of communities but subdues his criticism of the party list system by saying that parties will realize in due course the need to nominate people who are close to communities. Dr Jaipal also hopes that the mechanism to appoint members of the Election Commission as devised in the latest constitutional amendments will have an impact on quality of elections.

Reserved seats are part of the problem, not the solution

Anthony Naved is proud that he was nominated by Pakistan People's Party as the party candidate for a general seat of Sindh Assembly in 2007. Although he could not contest because his papers were rejected owing to a technical glitch, he is convinced that this is the way to go. "We are better off without the reserved seats. This is tantamount to keeping our status confined to second-class citizens. Please, let us be normal Pakistani citizens," he pleads.

Anthony was the joint candidate of Pakistan People's Party and Jamaat-e-Islami for Town (Karachi) Nazim in 2005. He believes that if not interrupted and distorted by long authoritarian rules, democracy has the potential to solve most of our problems. He has been active against the discriminatory laws of Pakistan, and campaigned against the separate electorate system in the 1990's.

He stresses that for democracy to bear fruit and produce results, the electoral process has to continue unhindered, and cites the example of India where regular elections have matured democracy. He feels that with the few past elections under joint electorate the distance between the majority and the minority communities has reduced somewhat. "The minorities must try and compete confidently [with the majority community] on equal footing instead of seeking their sympathies which actually weakens them." He suggests that the communities need to be strategic in approach, pointing out that there are a number of constituencies where non-Muslims are in such numbers that they can actually compel parties to give tickets to their candidates.

A die-hard supporter of PPP, he knows that non-Muslims face harassment at every step and are not free to exercise their political will. But what he considers more discouraging is that contesting elections has become a matter of investing millions of rupees. Anthony hopes that too will change if democracy takes root. "I am neither a wealthy man nor a landlord, yet Ms Bhutto gave me a party ticket because that was in the party's interest in that constituency," he says claiming that non-Muslims in his provincial constituency are a little less than half the total electorate.

Joint electorate with party list system is double trouble

Christina Peter heads an NGO, Award, which campaigned for end to the separate electorate system. Her organization has also actively participated in voter education programs with the aim of helping minority voters join mainstream politics. She finds the separate electorate system highly discriminatory. Christina is however disappointed that the new system did not come up to her communities' expectations. She is critical of the party list system adopted to fill the seats reserved for non-Muslims. She says that neither the general seat member of national or provincial assembly attends to their demands nor does the reserved seat minority member pay any attention to them.

She says that earlier under the separate electoral system the non-Muslim community had some claim on the elected representative, but now "as we don't vote for the minority representative, we don't get our issues resolved. This area is semi-urban and leaders used to bring development projects here but not anymore." She thinks that a double vote may help solve this problem.

Christina does not plead for a return to the previous system; she thinks that the present system can deliver good results and points out that their problems stem from dishonest implementation of the system. "I feel it is not the system that is flawed, it is always people who run it, and corrupt leadership that is responsible for its failure and our miseries." She says that her community is a victim of political wrangling between the government and the opposition parties. Leaders don't bother about people's issues and are very pragmatic. "The MNA that we voted for belongs to PPP and he does not bother to visit us. Since the provincial government is in opposition to PPP, the development projects in our area have been abandoned. They consider us the other party's voters and hence not important to make any investment."

System needs three to four consecutive elections to mature

Zahid Farooq has been on the forefront of civil society campaigns that opposed division and discrimination on the basis of one's religious beliefs. Be it the matter of column on religion in identity cards, separate electorate or discriminatory laws, Zahid has contributed with whatever he could over the last 25 years.

Zahid recognizes the shortcomings of the joint electorate system and understands the community's frustration. He thinks that voters' expectations of the members elected from general seats are too high, and he cannot possible arrange for a job for all of his voters nor can he wish away the energy crisis. On the other hand, the reserved seat members "do not need us, saying that they were nominated by the party head".

Zahid however believes that if three or four elections are held consecutively with the prescribed gap, voters will get educated and the system will stabilize. He stresses the need for the parties to be more responsive to minorities' issues and suggests that they should evolve positions on these issues and make them part of their manifestos. Moreover, he says that there are over 100 constituencies in Sindh and Punjab where non-Muslims have casting votes; political parties should nominate non-Muslim candidates from these general seat constituencies.

Zahid has monitored general elections as part of the team of Human Rights Commission of Pakistan and served as polling agent in other two elections. He suggests that voting should be spread over more than one day and electronic systems should be introduced so that voter turnout is increased. He thinks that low voter turnout makes elected persons less legitimate than they deserve.

We only need to be recognized as equal citizens

Naseer Gill has been involved in minority politics since the 1980's and had been associated with Pakistan Christian Party, National Christian Party and Pakistan Minorities Revolutionary Movement. He has also served as the joint secretary of Karachi chapter of the Communist Party and now works with Free and Fair Elections Network (Fafen), an NGO that specializes in monitoring elections and governance matters.

Gill is all for the joint electorate system. "The minorities at least get a chance to end their isolation and join mainstream politics. This makes them feel like a full citizen of Pakistan," he says with confidence. He is not sure that the double vote can work. "The only example of dual vote is that of Kashmir," he argues. "They have their own assembly, so should the minorities demand an assembly for themselves as well?" He does not find the demand sensible and instead wants that the focus should be on equal treatment. "I would prefer such conditions where we are considered a part of society, and a part of mainstream politics and citizens of this country. We are no foreigners here, nor are we immigrants. We were born on this land and this is where we will die."

He has first-hand knowledge and thorough understanding of the metropolitan's politics. "Most non-Muslims are employed with city district government that is under the control of one political party since long. The minority voters are maneuvered and coerced by the party through union leaders and sanitary inspectors," he believes. Gill is depressed that mafias rule the city. "We can't do a thing about it. In 2009 I placed banners in a constituency inviting people to get their CNICs, and get registered as voters. Soon afterwards, some people came to my house to threaten and question my intentions," he says.

Our representatives do not perform in Assemblies

Jagdesh is an advocate working in Hyderabad for the past three decades. He has been a supporter of Pakistan People's Party, which he says he quit after the assassination of Benazir Bhutto. Jagdesh is critical of the party list system to fill seats reserved for minorities.

"They only say what the party tells them to. While in assemblies, they do not speak of minorities' problems or their difficulties. No bill has over been presented by them to safeguard minorities' rights," says Jagdesh. "Joint electoral system is fine, but our representatives don't perform in assemblies; they should be empowered by the parties for this."

Jagdesh believes that non-Muslims are neither free to contest elections nor in exercising their right to vote. "Minority members cannot contest as independents in the midst of party candidates and their workers. They are bullied, tortured and blackmailed till they back out," says Jagdesh. He says non-Muslims are under-counted in census and in voter lists; besides, their name are misspelled in the voter lists and often do not match with those on their identity cards. Jagdesh says that these 'mistakes' are so numerous and occur so consistently that he believes these are done on purpose. He believes that there is a conspiracy to under-count non-Muslims to deprive them of their political rights and due share in public resources like jobs.

Reserved seat members need to keep their patrons happy, not their communities

Liaqat Munawar is a political worker and a human rights activist. He lives in Isanagari in Karachi, which has a considerable number of Christian voters. Liaqat has also contested local government elections and believes that for democracy to deliver results, it is imperative that it be left to work smoothly and uninterrupted..

He however thinks that the joint electorate system offers no political space to non-Muslims. "If I contest the general seat from Isanagri, which has an estimated 50,000 Christian votes, I would not win as I would not get the Muslim vote. The moulvi elements would slate me for being a Christian. They would not consider my services as a social worker, or political activism, however good I may be."

Liaqat is of the view that the reserved seat minority members are good for nothing. When asked whether they pay attention to the minority communities, he quipped, "Why would they? They don't need our votes. They need to build relationships with those influential people who can get them the seats." He is very critical of the reserved seat members and says that "totally unaware, uninformed people become our representatives on the basis of their cultivated relationships with the men at the top. Such people are callous toward their community and are not obliged to do anything for them."

"These representatives need to keep their patrons happy, not the communities… These people don't even need to run an election campaign. The number one nominee on the party priority list doesn't even need to move an inch and gets elected," he laments. "They are in politics not to serve the common people but to carry out the wishes of their masters. Doing both is impossible."

Maybe the next generation will reap the benefits

Naila Joseph Dayal contested the 2008 election from two National Assembly constituencies (NA48 Islamabad 1 and NA 129 Lahore 12) as an independent candidate. She founded, and currently chairs, Christian Progressive Movement. She is bitterly opposed to the party list system and wants an immediate end to it. "If the ruling party can amend the Constitution to legitimize its members that won in by-elections, why can't they amend it to make the system just for minorities?" she asks. Naila is critical of erroneous voter lists as well and believes that it diminishes the chances of victory of Christian candidates.

Naila condemns the party list system saying that under it Muslim majority has actually been given the power to impose minority persons of their liking on her community. She suggests a mix of both the separate and the joint electorate systems and demands double vote for minorities. Moreover, she wants the parties to take the initiative in ending politics of segregation. She does not like the minority 'wings' within parties and instead wants them to bring in non-Muslims as general party officials.

Naila understands that mainstreaming of minorities in Pakistan is a huge task that requires changes at all levels. "A Christian votes for a Muslim candidate on general seat election but do Muslims have a big enough heart to reciprocate?" she questions and hopes that this may happen yet. She admits that she could not perform at the ballot box but insists that she will contest the next elections as well. "I may lose in the elections but it will be a learning experience for us. I may win next time. It may, in fact, be the next generation who reaps the benefit, who knows?" she says.

Double vote for non-Muslims can solve the problem of their democratic representation

Ramesh Jaipal is head of the Scheduled Caste Rights Movement that started from Rahim Yar Khan and which, according to him, now operates in 31 districts of the country. Ramesh is concerned that the scheduled castes are not represented in the Punjab Assembly as the ruling party has filled all the seats with its Christian members. He complains that South Punjab even otherwise is denied its due share and equal rights in the biggest province of the country.

Ramesh does not want a rollback of the joint electorate system of elections but his desire that minority community members should be in parliament in unflinching too. Moreover, he thinks that they should be elected through direct vote. "We want our leaders, our representatives, to be selected from us, the people who can understand our miseries and find remedies. Minority leaders need to be aware of our issues," he says.

In his view, the only plausible solution to the present problem of minority representation in elected houses is that they be given double vote so that they directly elect both the general member and the minority member.

Ramesh told us that his community faces discriminatory attitudes on a daily basis, as they are considered untouchable; people do not share food or space with them. "The biggest example of discrimination is that we are separated as a 'minority wing' within each political party. This is painful for us as we vote for the same leaders in general elections. Why can't we just be equal Pakistani citizens?"

Parties should nominate non-Muslims on general seats

Khalil Tahir Sindhu is a member of the Punjab Assembly and belongs to Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz). He is currently parliamentary secretary for law, interior and parliamentary affairs. Khalil is an advocate who has time and again briefed meetings of UN Commission on Human Rights on the situation of minorities in Pakistan and has delivered lectures in many universities on the same subject.

Khalil hails from rural Toba Tek Singh and says he can only dream of becoming a member Punjab Assembly. He is thankful to his party for this favour and believes that he is lucky to have achieved the status he has. He thinks that General Zia's act of separating non-Muslims from the mainstream was a disservice to the interests of minorities. Khalil, however, is not satisfied with the joint electorate system as being currently practiced. "I totally disagree with this system. Although I am part of it, I am in it only to struggle for change," he asserts. "We want parties to award us tickets (for general seats) and we will contest. This is a solution that can fill the gap that separate electorate has created between us and the majority," he says adding that double vote can be even better and an ideal solution of this problem. Khalil told us that reserved seats members are often ridiculed as 'charity members' by their parliamentary colleagues.

In Khalil's view, the importance of non-Muslim voters in not yet fully understood by the parties. "To be honest, most of our people were with PPP but now the trend is changing as the minority vote has a strong impact on every candidate's tally," he says and hopes that party leaders will soon realize the value of their vote.

Khalil believes that discriminatory clauses in the Constitution only give Pakistan a bad name. He says that demographically non-Muslims cannot be serious political challengers to Muslims but these legal instruments pointlessly go overboard in retaining some positions exclusively for Muslims. For example, the 1973 Constitution says that a non-Muslim shall not be the president of Pakistan, and then the 18th Amendment bars them from becoming prime minister of the country as well. Khalil considers this as blatant religious discrimination and condemns it.

I would prefer that my party get me elected on a general seat

Manohar Lal, an MQM Member National Assembly, belongs to Ghotki. He does not favour the system that has helped him reach parliament. "Being a Pakistani I would prefer that my party gets me elected on a general seat. I don't like somebody giving it to me as charity, considering me a minority member," he says claiming that his party does not want to divide the people into majority and minority sections. "Our party chief Altaf Bhai has said a number of times that whenever our party comes to power, we will amend the Constitution and will remove the word 'minority' from it. We consider ourselves Pakistanis and not minorities."

Manohar says that his party follows an elaborate procedure to nominate members on the party list. "Every party has a different procedure. In MQM the lists are prepared totally on merit. We start working on it six months in advance. Party workers are given a pro-forma to suggest names of their favourite minorities' representatives. These are then scrutinized by a minorities' committee, which follows certain criteria. Next comes the Rabita Committee, which then sends the names to our UK secretariat after due process. Our sector officials run checks on nominees' family background, any criminal record or cases registered against them. The individuals are also checked against their personal or even their family's involvement in any criminal activities. Once an individual is cleared, only then is his nomination form filled."

Manohar Lal rejects the allegations that minority members avoid meeting people or that they are arrogant. "Some voters do have this complaint but then there will always be some people whom the representative will not be able to meet. It is human that if someone favours you ninety-nine times you will be happy and when on the hundredth time he does not, you will be unhappy."

Non-Muslims should be given positions in party hierarchies

Bhiya Ram Anjum of Rahim Yar Khan is a staunch supporter of Pakistan People's Party. He was awarded a party ticket for non-Muslim seats in Punjab Assembly in 1993 and 1997 but lost as he says covering the entire province was beyond his means. He is an avid supporter of joint electorate system and in fact regrets that the separate system was ever introduced. "It was Zia, the dictator, who wanted to deprive PPP of one of its valuable support base," he told us confidently.

But Ram Anjum is not at all satisfied with the current system either. He thinks that the reserved seats for non-Muslims are too few. "There were ten non-Muslim seats in the 217-member House, and when these were raised to 272, the non-Muslim seats quota should have been increased as well." He is unhappy that parties now do not nominate members on merit. Party workers should be given preference he says adding that middle-class nominees can do a much better job. He laments that all eight seats reserved for non-Muslims in Punjab go to Christians while other non-Muslims like Schedule Castes of Rahim Yar Khan are ignored.

Bhiya Ram is also of the view that parties should nominate non-Muslim candidates on general seats and give them party offices as well. "We need to come out of this special seats issue," he says adding that non-Muslims hold a casting vote in 50 national and 100 provincial assembly constituencies. He is unhappy that parties field non-Muslim candidates on general seats only when they are sure that they will lose.

Competition among parties for non-Muslim votes is increasing

Dilber Jani began his political career with the youth wing of Pakistan People's Party, and has served the party in various positions over the past two decades. He assists Christian community members, spread everywhere in Sahiwal districts, in dealing with day to day governance related issues. Taking a lead from mainstream local leaders, he switched sides in 2008 to support the PML (Quaid-e-Azam) but as the local scene changed afterwards he is back with the PPP.

Dilber believes that earlier it was only the PPP who could claim a support base among non-Muslims but now PML (N) is also quite influential; while Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, too, is making inroads. With so many parties vying for power, it seems that the non-Muslim vote has gained value. Dilber recalls that a candidate who had lost elections with a narrow margin believed that he lost because he had ignored a Christian pocket of his constituency. But he also thinks that the thinly spread non-Muslim population can easily be pressurized by local brokers of power. He gave the example of a village with seven Christian families who voted for a particular candidate without even knowing who he was.

In Dilber's view, poverty and lack of education among non-Muslims creates many additional problems for them. He stresses that they need proper education and information on election matters and churches can be used for this purpose. He complains that Christians are only given the lowest paid, menial jobs from the minorities' quota in the public sector. "Christian citizens never get a job other than that of a sanitary worker or sweeper. This is a big issue and I am against this approach," Dilber says.

Parties should be legally bound to give non-Muslims a share in tickets

George Clement is a seasoned politician as he has contested all elections since 1988. He could have contested the 1985 election as well but he boycotted it following the decision of the Movement for Restoration of Democracy. He comes from the famous village of Samundri tehsil, Khushpur, which has produced a number of prominent Christian leaders. George says he was born with Pakistan in 1947, graduated from Government College, Lahore (now university) and later trained as a priest in Italy. But he resigned from that post to join politics in 1979.

George contested four general elections for a National Assembly seat under the separate electorate system and was victorious in two, 1988 and 1993. Since the entire country was his constituency, he has travelled all around to muster support. He claims that he was the only non-Muslim candidate to have visited the Federally Administered Tribal Agencies (FATA) when adult franchise was extended to those areas for the first time in 1997.

He is disgusted by both the separate and the joint electoral systems. "In the first we voted only for our co-religionists and that alienated us from the mainstream. Now we can only vote for a Muslim and that is making communities disinterested in politics." He does not suggest a return to the separate system but is scathing about the party nominated members. He believes that they are puppets and represent no community. "If a few members of a community are given seats in parliament that does not mean the community has gained its political rights," he says.

George Clement suggests there should be legislation that should bind political parties to give a certain percentage (3 to 5 per cent) of tickets to non-Muslims. He believes that joint electorate is the way to go but ironically this reduces the chances of non-Muslims reaching parliament to almost nil. This negative aspect needs to be countered by making it mandatory for political parties to nominate non-Muslim candidates on general seats.

Muslims and non-Muslims should cross-vote each other

Javed Gull is a journalist and publishes a weekly newspaper Akhbar-e-Sialkot. He interacts with people of his community and officials of various political parties on almost a daily basis. He is critical of the party list system adopted to represent non-Muslims in elected Houses yet he does not want a return to the separate electorate system. "It divided the society. It was harmful," he believes and suggests that minority members should also be elected through direct vote. "Double vote is a good idea," he says but what he likes most is the system adopted for the election of minority members in the local government system introduced during the Musharraf government. He says it was very beneficial as Muslims voted for both the general member and the minority member and so did the non-Muslim voters. This cross-voting, he suggests might solve the problems of the present system.

Javed thinks that political consciousness among non-Muslim voters is increasing. One reason for this is that because of the joint electorate system all mainstream parties now have stakes in issues of non-Muslims. He says that he saw this change in the 2008 elections. He is also of the view that administration of elections was better in the past elections compared to previous ones.

Javed Gull also spoke about the difficulties that the Christian community faces in getting an identity card. He however thinks that the problem is not insurmountable. "We met the NADRA executive body and they agreed on issuance of ID cards through church's attestation in presence of our religious leaders. Now our church issues a card which has family record of the person and on its basis Nadra issues ID cards. But this is an outcome of our struggle and is practiced in our area only, not across Pakistan."

Non-Muslim women are represented neither in non-Muslim nor in women seats

Mrs. Catherine Nazir says she is the first-ever Christian women to contest an election on a general seat. She was the PML (N)'s candidate for Punjab Assembly seat PP-225 Sahiwal VI in 2008 that includes the town of Chichawatni and some surrounding villages. That she polled about 2,000 votes is not of great concern to her as she has other means to engage with her community. She is the chairperson of Pakistan Christian Awami League and involved in many initiatives for social development of Christians.

Though her faith in democracy is unflinching, she says that a lot needs to be done to make it really work for the masses. She thinks that violent groups using scare tactics, feudalism and corruption in the system of election administration deprive us of the fruits of democracy. Mrs. Nazir is critical of the party list system. "They are yes men of party leaders selected through a secretive process. These leaders are not concerned with the common man."

Mrs. Nazir wants double vote for minorities and believes that if double vote could work for Muslim women in 1935, why it cannot be the same today for non-Muslims. She complains that parties have distributed seats reserved for women among the families of their members. "All of them are either wives or daughters or other relatives of known political leaders," she complained, saying that if the increased number of seats (60) were distributed justly, minority women would have been elected as well. She says that minority women are neither represented in reserved seats for women nor in those for non-Muslims and this needs to be addressed.

Ending other forms of discrimination will make the joint electorate system effective

Peter Jacob is a well-known political activist and a rights campaigner. His association with National Commission for Justice and Peace, which he now heads, is a quarter of a century old. Peter believes that separate electorate was a scourge that worsened the lot of non-Muslims in Pakistan. He has campaigned for the return of joint electorate system for long and is happy that it has borne fruit.

Peter says that it is not an imperative for a political representative to be a believer of the same religion as his. He thinks that joint electorate system is but one step toward creating a non-discriminatory and peaceful society. "Equality in votes has been achieved," he says adding, "Other forms and instruments of discrimination are still an impediment in making full use of this opportunity."

He says that roots of discriminatory attitudes can be traced back over decades and in some cases over centuries. "You cannot expect these to be corrected over one or two elections time. Being a die-hard democrat he says, "Discrimination on the basis of religion can be found everywhere including politics but then politics is the platform that is going to provide a solution to this menace." Peter Jacob thinks that political parties should give non-Muslims party offices and nominate them as their candidates on general seats especially in the constituencies where non-Muslim voters are sizeable. He believes that this will be an important step toward mainstreaming of non-Muslims in the body politic of Pakistan.

Peter is of the view that the present reserved seat system is a temporary arrangement for a short period and it should become redundant as non-Muslims are mainstreamed over the next decade or so and win equal representation in all avenues of society and state.

Peter pointed out that non-Muslim members of any assembly have to take an oath that requires them 'to preserve Islamic ideology'.

Poor non-Muslims vote under duress

Raju Mal thinks that non-Muslims are neither free to contest elections nor can they practice their right to vote freely. He was elected a town councilor from Latifabad taluka of Hyderabad district, and has a small shoe-making business. He favours the joint electorate system as minorities vote alongside majority community. "We would hardly ever see our representative (elected under the separate system) as he was based so far away," he says. He isn't impressed by the double vote suggestion either as he thinks the minority member elected through the second vote would again be out of reach for most of the non-Muslims.

Raju Mal laments that there are fewer non-Muslims contesting elections in the joint system and blames this on the prevalent feudalism which he also holds responsible for stifling participation of non-Muslims in elections. "Minorities live under constant pressure of the majority and cannot freely express themselves for fear of reprisals. Things are worsening day by day. A successful non-Muslim is eyed suspiciously or resented. We cannot speak openly about injustice and discrimination that we undergo," he told us.

When asked how non-Muslims decide whom to vote for, he says, "It is more likely that they vote keeping in mind which party is stronger in their constituency. Waderas have command over their freedom; panchayats make decisions that people follow."

Raju Mal believes that non-Muslim candidates are subjected to pressure tactics too so that they withdraw. "I speak from personal experience. They also did not let me hold corner meetings nor was I allowed to put up banners."

Raju complained about the wrong and missing entries in voter lists and said that one reason for this is the common practice of having two names, one formal and the other a nickname and people at times confuse which one is which. He says that though he was a contestant, his name was missing from the lists once. Raju said that on election day non-Muslims have to wait in line for long hours as mostly their turn to vote is last.

It is difficult to please everybody. People are not happy even with God

Lal Chand is a medical doctor associated with Pakistan People's Party since "his childhood". He quit his government job at Benazir Bhutto's suggestion and became a Member National Assembly in the 2008 elections.

He supports the present electoral system and claims that his party gives adequate representation and importance to minorities. "In PPP, selection of individuals for awarding tickets and their grading are decided on merit. It is an individual's long-term commitment to the people and the parties, his past performance, and his capacity as a worker or a leader are the factors that are considered before including a name in the candidates list," he says.

Lal Chand rubbishes allegations that parties are selling reserved seats. "This is incorrect because in PPP, both the rich as well as poor persons have been nominated. Buying a party ticket is just propaganda. In fact, tickets are not sold by any of the parties," he asserts. He launches a counter complaint: "People want quick results these days. If someone rings me up, and I do not pick up the phone, he will tell everybody that doctor sahib does not respond, not realizing that I might be busy attending a session or a meeting. It is difficult to please everybody. People are not happy even with God," he concludes.

Lal Chand is also of the view that PPP, and other parties do nominate non-Muslim candidates on general seats and that their decisions mostly depend on percentage of non-Muslim population in various constituencies.

Parties are not yet confident that non-Muslims can win on general seats

Nelson Azim, a medical doctor from Sialkot, became a member National Assembly on Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)'s nomination in 2008. He is satisfied with the present system of non-Muslim representation in parliament and says that the selection for reserved seats by a party is based on the loyalty of the individual with the party and the time that he has been with it. Other factors are also considered such as whether he has ever changed his party association and how popular he is within his community. "Then there is a Parliamentary Board, which evaluates the minority candidate," he says clarifying that, "Money does not play any role in this process."

Explaining why followers of certain religions are missing from some elected houses, he says: "In Sindh the population of Hindus is greater than of Christians, so every party prefers a Hindu candidate to represent minorities there. While in Punjab Christians outnumber Hindus so a Christian is selected. This impression that anybody who pays money will get his name included in the list is just propaganda spread by those whose names are not included in the list."

Nelson thinks that the number of seats reserved for non-Muslims is not enough. "There were ten seats when the total strength of the National Assembly was 207 and the number is the same even when general seats have now been increased to 272," he argues. He however believes that political parties should award tickets to non-Muslims on general seats as well, especially from the constituencies where their number is considerable. "Parties want their nominee to win. Maybe they are not yet confident enough that a minority or a female candidate can win," he says.

Non-Muslims just can't contest without parties supporting them

Dado Mal Bheel switched over from PPP (Shaheed Bhutto) to MQM in 2001 and was elected a councilor. He resents the fact that parties talk of improving the lot of the poor but provide opportunities to the rich only. "There is no MNA or minister who is poor or from the scheduled castes, they all belong to the *baniya* class," he says. "All parties -- MQM, PPP, PML -- put their tickets for sale and go for the highest bidder. No poor man's son can come forward. They will not allow it."

Dado says that non-Muslims are not free to vote. "They are mostly harees (bonded laborers) and thus cast votes according to the wishes of their jagirdar. At times they might not even be allowed to vote. The polling staff and agents also pressurize them," he says adding, "Sometimes they do vote for themselves and suffer hardships and torture in retaliation; sometimes they are even forced to leave their homes."

Dado says that it is extremely difficult for non-Muslims to contest elections. "He can't just go into the stronghold of an influential person. Putting up banners is impossible. They won't even let him speak a word to the people. The wadera's men would tell him to go back, or even beat him up to scare him off. He cannot hold corner meetings or rallies without permission. He can only visit houses and that too in a secretive manner," he says adding that only candidates with a party ticket can run an election campaign openly.

Dado talks about the difficulties that the poor face in getting an identity card for themselves. "They keep asking for this certificate or that. Proof of residence is a big hindrance. Some of these harees do not have permanent addresses. They keep moving from field to field; from one village to another. The city dwellers do not face these problems," he explains and demands that Nadra relax or amend its rules to facilitate such people.

The poor are not free to cast their vote in feudal-dominated parts of Sindh

Khatu Mal Jeewan, a medical doctor, is a seasoned PPP parliamentarian. He was elected member Sindh Assembly in 1988 and member National Assembly in 1990, 1993 and 1997. He has served the Sindh government during the current tenure of PPP and was elected member National Assembly on the seat vacated because of the assassination of Federal Minister Shahbaz Bhatti.

Dr Jeewan understands the concerns of the minority voters regarding the reserved seats and is himself critical of the party list system. "In all parties rich people with lots of money find places in these lists," he says admitting that such people had infiltrated his party as well. "But now it is not the case and an eligible individual has to be a founder member; he is scrutinized and assessed for his service to the party."

He does not agree that Hindus are being preferred over Christians by the PPP government. "This is a wrong impression. All the three or four representatives of PPP from Punjab are Christians and from Sindh Saleem Khokar is a Christian. Both our federal ministers are Christians," he points out.

Dr Jeewan agrees with the common perception that the poor voters in general and the non-Muslims in particular in certain areas of Sindh are under the tutelage of feudal lords and cannot freely exercise their right to vote. He says that in Hindu-majority areas (desert districts of Mirpur Khas, Umerkot and Tharparkar) communication and transport infrastructure is poor and media does not have easy access. "Minority voters here are not allowed by powerful locals -- who use force and power tactics -- to cast their vote to opponents. Bogus votes are cast in their place," says Dr Jeewan.

He says that general seat representatives do not always entertain voters of their constituencies and instead refer them to the other (reserved seat) representative causing anguish and frustration to the voter. Dr Jeewan does not favour the double vote suggestion and instead mentions, without elaborating, an electoral rule that he says is followed in India which disallows high caste Hindus to contest elections from constituencies where majority voters belong to the Scheduled Castes.

Feudalists hold democracy hostage

Aju Lal is bitter and blunt. He is frustrated that feudalism has denied the people the fruits of democracy. "Where is it?" he quips, "They say it is a democracy but we can't see or feel that it exists." A tailor by profession, he also owns a small cloth shop. Aju Lal was elected on the minority seat of Union Council 3, Tando Allahyar, Sindh in 2003.

He believes that the electoral process has been hijacked by local landlords who employ most of the poor non-Muslims. "The decision of selection of a candidate is taken by these influential people who then instruct their people to vote for such and such person." He understands that Hindu community of Tando Allahyar is sizeable enough to have an impact on election results but what annoys him is that most non-Muslims are dependent on some wadera and they have to vote as per his wishes. "If they don't do what they are told to, they face hardships." If a candidate of any side suspects that a certain group will not vote for them, they use scare tactics to frighten them away. Talking about the powerlessness of minority communities he says, "Even our petty issues remain unresolved. I was a councilor yet I could not manage to get even a 15-foot drain constructed in my street."

Aju Lal is annoyed at the apathy of elected members toward their electors and the post election 'forgetfulness' of the winning candidates. He complained that during and after the recent floods, no minority representative visited to console or help the affected people.

Aju Lal pointed out that as minority communities are among the poorest of the poor, they work as seasonal laborers and move places in search of work. Since they do not have residential addresses, there is no way they can get identity cards and thus their names are not entered in voter lists either.

Electoral procedures are cumbersome and time consuming

Ansar Javed is wary of electoral processes being cumbersome and time consuming. Well-educated and running a school in Karachi, Javed has served as the Minorities' Town Councilor. He has performed election-related duties for his party, MQM, many a times and is well versed in related procedures yet complains that he found it difficult to get his wife registered as a voter.

"We were told to go from one office to another, then another. Verifications were required and then papers were sent to a magistrate for further verification," he says. All this may be necessary from a legal point of view but then laws should be made to facilitate and not hinder participation. Javed is right when he says, "A person can take off from his work for a day or two for this purpose but when he is asked to come again and again four or five times, he is likely to give up."

He is a staunch believer in democracy and says that elections are the way forward. Suggesting improvements, he points at incidents of violence at polling stations that need to be curbed. "I have seen that in certain areas a voter is asked to vote for a certain candidate at gunpoint or if he voted for, let's say, an MQM candidate in a Pathan-majority area, his vote is removed from the ballot box."

He is satisfied with the joint electorate system but not with the party list system which is adopted to fill reserved seats for non-Muslims. He feels that minority communities do need to have a representative from their own ranks and suggests that the system practiced in the previous local bodies system is the way to go where the entire electorate elects general, women and minority members.

Abraham Azeem Daniel has been nominated member of the recently formed National Commission for Minorities. He has served as member Evacuee Trust and as non-parliamentarian member of the Standing Committee of Senate on Minorities' Affairs. Daniel is chairman and moderator of his church, Gospel Mission Pakistan, in Sahiwal and is involved with all issues affecting his communities be they related to electoral politics or day to day petty matters involving line departments.

He sees political consciousness growing among his communities. "Call it fortunate or unfortunate for religious leaders," he says poking fun at himself adding, "People now don't follow their Father's advice while casting their ballot. They exercise their own free will." He says he felt this change in the past elections. Daniel also believes that under the joint electorate system, non-Muslims have become the most valued voters as they hold the casting ballot in many constituencies. Although, he says regretfully, in post-election situations elected members pay more attention to majority community issues and ignore those of non-Muslims.

Daniel told us that most government-appointed enumerators find it difficult to spell out and write Christian names correctly. "Our children are teased daily because Muslims find their names odd sounding or alien," he says adding that it is very common that Christian names are spelt differently on the identity card and the voter lists; the difference deprives these persons of their right to vote.

Daniel believes that the minority members elected under the current system cannot relate with non-Muslim communities and, in fact, their relationship soon turns into a negative one. Minority communities compare him with the general seat member and lambast him for doing nothing for his people. While he hardly gets any development funds, he is expected to satisfy the demands of minority communities from all over the country, which is impossible. So the elected member finds it best to detach himself from the community, says Daniel.

Non-Muslims living close to borders are not trusted by security agencies

Ashotama is coordinator of the Hyderabad office of Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. A medical doctor by training, he has been involved in leftist politics since he was a student. He is in favour of joint electorate system but finds it insufficient and thinks that more needs to be done to give equal political rights to non-Muslims. "Discrimination on religious basis discourages these communities from participating in elections," he laments, and adds that political parties do not nominate non-Muslims on general seats.

Ashotama is concerned about the low level of participation of the masses in elections. He blames the long experience of separate electorate for depoliticizing minorities. Moreover, he calls the assemblies aloof and insensitive to the sufferings of minority communities. "That makes them dejected and so they stay away from politics," he says. He thinks people need to be educated about electoral processes as he finds many non-Muslims still confused about the system. "Though they will be in the same queue at the polling station but confused and unsure, they tend to slip out," he says.

Ashotama thinks that majority of non-Muslims in southern Sindh are poor farm laborers employed by rich feudal lords who "have murderers and criminals on their payrolls and use them to harass and coerce minorities into subjugation." In other parts, where non-Muslims engage in businesses and are economically well-off, they are often looted and kidnapped for ransom by organized gangs. In urban areas, mafias and terrorist outfits also find non-Muslims as the most gullible. Ashotama also pointed out the worse insecurities that the non-Muslims living close to border areas face. "They are still not trusted as loyal citizens," he says adding that the local agents of the border security agencies hound them on a daily basis.

Non-Muslim voters are made to wait until all others have polled

Rano Singh is a small farmer from Daulatpur area of Mirpur Khas. He has once contested, and won, local councilor elections on Muttahida Qaumi Movement's ticket and has been attached with the party ever since. He is critical of the hold of feudal lords on society in general and the electoral process in particular. He believes that poor voters, and especially the non-Muslims, are hapless subjects of big landlords who make all the decisions on their behalf and make them accept these. "If they dare disobey them, they are subjected to all kinds of maltreatment," he tells us.

Rano feels that the minorities are not secure. "They are forced to renounce their religion and accept Islam. They are kidnapped in broad daylight," he says. "Non-Muslim voters suffer humiliation on election day too. They are taken to the polling station early in the morning but then are made to wait it out until all the Muslim voters have polled their votes. The Muslim voters are given preference. Non-Muslims' turn is always last," he complains.

Rano believes that the polling agents of political parties also sometimes do not behave well. "If they know who the minorities will be voting for, as local people generally do, they create hurdles and try to get their votes wasted," he tells us. "They will become fussy and raise petty issues. For example, if instead of Rano Mal my name on the list is written as just Rano, they will get it cancelled even if the CNIC number matches."

He is critical of the party list system. "The whole system is corrupt. The seats are given to rich men who can pay the parties huge amounts. Millions of rupees exchange hands for these seats," he says accusingly.

Absence of marriage documents makes many official procedures difficult for Hindus

Hindus face indignation in polling day queues

Bhao Singh dropped out from school after class five and now drives a rickshaw. He was elected councilor from Goth Lalulashari in the suburbs of Hyderabad on MQM's ticket. "I canvassed on my rickshaw as I can't afford a car," he told us. Bhao Singh believes that the panchayat, the traditional council of elders, holds sway over his community as they listen to them and mostly tow their line.

He told us that identity cards do not come easy for them as they are asked to produce a number of documents first. "Where will a poor person who doesn't even have bread to eat get his birth certificate from?" he asked and pointed out that Hindu marriages in Pakistan are not governed by any law. "We don't have any 'nikahnama'; we only have witnesses." This complicates a number of matters related to legal documents.

Bhao also mentioned recurring spelling mistakes in Hindu names in voter lists that deprive them of voting rights. His own name was misspelled in the lists in the previous elections. "My name in the lists was written as Pav instead of Bhao."

Bhao gave a strange suggestion, which probably indicates how insensitive the electoral system in particular, and the entire society in general, is about non-Muslims. He said that the minorities should be asked to queue up separately on election day and their polling booths should be separate as well, although they will be voting for the same candidates under the joint electorate system. He thinks that lining up in the same queue they and especially their women have to face indignation and insults. With a separate door and a queue "nobody would be able to harass them; they will feel easy and not under duress," Bhao believes.

Muslims do not share public transport with us

Guru Sukh Dev belongs to the Bheel community , which is a Scheduled Caste, and one that belongs to the lowest order in the Hindu caste hierarchy. Traditionally, they are not allowed to get education or own any property and are categorized as 'untouchables'. Besides Bheel, the Scheduled Castes of Menghwal and Balmik form the main non-Muslim community in the southern-most districts of Punjab.

Sukh Dev is involved in a number of initiatives to help these communities get formal education. He is also striving for restoration of mandirs. "We have no mandir, no graveyard of ours here. Since the Babri Mosque incident, people are afraid of even considering having one," he tells us and complains that all historical mandirs in Pakistan have been destroyed.

He says that people of his community live on a feudal lord's land and cannot refuse him their vote. He is not sure about which electoral system suits his community best but he has no doubts that the reserved seat members do not represent them. "Seven of the ten are Hindus but all of them belong to higher castes. They won't even like to shake hands with us. How can we count on them?" he says. The majority Muslim community also considers these castes untouchable. "If on election day Muslims have to share space with us in a pick and drop vehicle, they complain and at the end our people have to get off and walk to the polling stations," he says.

Sukh Dev also raised the issue of misspelling of their names in voter lists. "Mistakes may be trivial like misplaced dots, changing a tay into a yay, but the procedure for their correction is very complicated and these poor, illiterate people cannot take all that trouble," he says.

Voters should be identified only by CNIC number and not by name

Mithu Bhai is the head of a community organization, All Sindh Ghar Sudhar Hindu Panchayat and was elected councilor on MQM's ticket. He says that he is a social worker at heart; he joined politics only to win development projects for his community.

Mithu says that the panchayat does try to play a positive role in elections. "Panchayat (Council of Elders) of our community is called to deliberate on the question of who to support," he tells us. "They do come asking for our votes. Anyone who wants to contest will come calling. But we cannot vote for someone who has little chance of winning. What would be the use of betting on a losing horse? We take the side of the one who has more chances of winning."

He believes that after a decision is reached and announced, none of the community members go against it. Mithu complains that the parties continue to pursue and pressurize them even after they have announced their final decision which he finds unjustified and immoral.

Mithu complains that non-Muslim candidates are intimidated and harassed and are not free to put up even their banners. "Even if one is nominated by a party, he remains apprehensive about the reaction of the opposing party," says Mithu, and demands that the environment of coercion end.

He is also wary of the Hindu names being spelled differently in identity cards and on voter lists. He says that voter lists are incorrect many times. "This is a hurdle and wastes the voter's time. These mistakes are done deliberately, most of the time, resulting in loss of our vote," he says. Mithu suggests that there should be just one criterion for voting: the Computerized National Identity Card number and authorities should do away with the need to tally the correct spelling on the voter lists.

Minorities in low concentration areas are the most ignored

Abid Chand, chairman of Pakistan Minorities' Democratic Party, finds no system practiced in the country to date effective in representing minorities. He says that all of them are incomplete and fall short of delivering them their democratic rights. He contested elections on general seat of Punjab Assembly, PP-198 Multan V, in 2002. He thinks that electoral systems are devised to suit majority communities and non-Muslims are treated as mere appendages.

Abid Chand says that the present system of minority representation is a mockery of democracy. "Consult any dictionary; it won't fit into any definition of democracy," he says and then mocks, "A party head can call me today to say that I will be an MNA from tomorrow morning. Is that democracy?" He believes that if there have to be non-Muslim members in parliament, they must get there through popular votes.

Chand, however, is quick in pointing out a problem with the previous system of direct and separate electorate. Although the minority members were chosen through direct vote, the system defined the entire country as one constituency for minority seats in the National Assembly and the whole of a province as one constituency for non-Muslim seats in that provincial assembly. Now non-Muslim population is not evenly distributed across the provinces, and instead concentrated in certain areas. Hindus of Sindh are concentrated in desert districts and Christians in central districts of Punjab. Chand complains that whoever had a popular support base in these areas could actually ignore other areas where non-Muslims are thinly spread and fewer in number. South Punjab has usually been overlooked as Christians from Lahore have dominated minority politics. He suggests that the country be divided into geographical constituencies for minorities' quota of seats and direct elections be held on these. He, however, finds the demand for a double vote for non-Muslims as asking too much.

Sikh turnout is low as they find their vote worthless

Sardar Kalyan Singh Kalyan's family had to migrate from the tribal areas in the aftermath of the 1971 civil war. "As non-Muslims were generally considered disloyal to the country and blamed for its troubles, we took refuge in and later settled down in Nankana Saheb." His family members have been active in minority politics since long; his name, too, was included by Pakistan People's Party in 2008 in the party list for seats reserved for minorities but he could not qualify as his name fell short of the party's proportionate quota. He works with All Pakistan Minorities' Alliance.

Kalyan says that few among his community are interested in elections. "When I asked them to vote for my party, they said what difference would 40-50 votes make," he tells us and counts many reasons behind it. He believes security is a major concern when it comes to participating in election-related activities. Many Sikh families have migrated many times over after being hounded by criminals and have been deprived of their property and assets. Many among the youth are focused only on how to get out of here, legally or illegally, he says. Kalyan considers the humiliation at polling stations another major factor. "Polling agents' influence is most disturbing. Because of this, people don't come out of their homes to cast votes. When they do, they have to overcome many fears as most people call us non-believers, make fun of us and discriminate against us in disgusting ways which hurts. Then there are security concerns which prevent us from voting.

The acquiring of identity cards is another problem that this miniscule minority finds difficult to surmount. Kalyan complained that there is no law providing for registration of Sikh marriages, which remain undocumented. "This makes it almost impossible for our women to get identity cards," he says.

Kalyan favours dual vote for non-Muslim communities but is sceptical that any system would improve their lot. He believes that electoral politics should be devoid of religious considerations.

There is no Sikh in any of the elected Houses

Sahib Singh is a pharmacy graduate and a homeopathic doctor and runs a medicine business in Peshawar. He is vice president of Pakistan Sikh Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. He has been elected member district assembly twice on Awami National Party's platform, and has recently joined Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf.

Sahib is critical of the party list system. He says that the reserved seat members are neither answerable to their communities nor do they bother about their problems. "This system of selection is absolutely wrong and is detrimental to the interests of the poor minorities," he said. He says that parties do not nominate common party members to these seats. He is, however, confident about his new party saying, "PTI has a very clear procedure for selection of candidates in its constitution. Anyone who works more and brings more members and serves the party better will be selected without reference."

Sahib says that since these members are obliged by their parties, they do not dare raise an issue of minorities in the Assembly. He supports the double vote suggestion for minorities. He also complains about non-representation of Sikhs in parliament. "Hindus dominate and then there are Christians. There is no Sikh, not even in any of the provincial assemblies," he laments.

Sahib Singh says that Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa is different from Sindh and parts of Punjab where non-Muslims vote under duress. "Here they vote of their own free will," and cites the example of a union council in the tribal areas where over 2,000 non-Muslim families, "are registered and vote for their respective parties".

Sahib says that minorities face considerable difficulties in obtaining identity cards, getting access to voter lists and at passport offices. "They ask us to get the documents attested by a grade 17 officer which we find difficult to manage," he says suggesting that these departments should authorize one of the responsible persons of their own community to do the attesting.

Briefs of views

Chaudhry Nasir Pervaiz has been contesting, and winning, local government elections in Sahiwal since the early 1980's. He says that joint electorate system does treat voters equally but if there is a competition between a Muslim and a non-Muslim candidate, Muslim voters will always favour their co-religionist. "Pakistani voters' minds are not mature enough yet," he says adding that it is difficult for the majority community to ignore this factor and vote only for the deserving candidate. "Muslim candidates can expect support from Christians but not vice versa."

Shahid Gill was elected councilor from Boson Town, Multan. He agrees that the joint electorate system provides an opportunity to bridge the gap between the minority and the majority communities but he mistrusts it for failing to provide them sufficient representation in the elected houses. He suggests that non-Muslims be given double vote to solve this problem. Gill is part of Pakistan Minorities Democratic Party and believes that people vote for personalities and not parties. He is of the opinion that a local government system is badly needed in the country.

Shakuntala Devi is a lady health worker and a singer at Radio Pakistan, Multan. She was associated with Pakistan People's Party for over a decade but has moved to Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz). She complains that party leaders hardly pay any attention to non-Muslim workers. Shakuntala believes that the joint electorate system is beneficial for non-Muslims as they can approach local MPAs and MNAs for their problems while the minority members elected under the previous system were located far away and were inaccessible. "Secondly," she says, "it provides us more opportunities to interact with our Muslim community."

Tariq Javed Tariq is proud that he was elected Nazim on a general seat in the union council of Youhanabad area of Lahore. "Around half of the voters here are Muslims and the rest Christians," he tells us, adding that his naib nazim was a Muslim. For Tariq, the joint electorate makes perfect sense. He says that separate electorate was divisive and dangerous for national harmony. "Christians populate every constituency and now all the candidates approach them and give them attention and respect," he says adding that this will help both the communities understand and cooperate with each other.

Naveed Walter is associated with an NGO which strives for minorities' rights in Pakistan and engages in advocacy and lobbying activities. He thinks that political rights of minorities are of utmost importance because if these are achieved everything else will be fixed automatically. Walter says that minorities want a Pakistan of Quaid-e-Azam that has peace, harmony and tolerance; where the state does not own one religion and instead considers followers of all religions as equal citizens. He suggests that non-Muslims should be granted a double vote so that their representatives reach the Houses through direct vote.

Akram Waqar Gill has twice been elected member District Council Pakpattan, and has long been associated with Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Fazal). He is critical that within the minorities seats there are more Hindus than Christians, although their voting strength is at par with them if not greater. He cites

the example of recent elections to the four new seats reserved for non-Muslims that resulted in return of one Christian and three Hindus. Akram says that he has also heard the stories of parties selling reserved seats to the highest bidder but says that his party strictly follows merit and considers only the hard-working members whatever their class or creed.

Aman Das was elected tehsil member from Qasimabad area of Hyderabad. He began his political career with Pakistan People's Party but after complaining about its support for rich waderas, he moved to Pakistan Muslim League (Q) and is now with MQM. He believes elections can deliver good results only if voters are allowed to exercise their right freely. He says that parties are overbearing, exert undue pressure and even use scare tactics to force voters in their favour. He also complains about biased polling staff and says that polling stations should not be staffed by local persons, and instead officials from different areas should be cross-posted to ensure neutrality.

Sohail Romi's association with PPP began when he joined People's Student Federation some two decades ago. He now works in the party's minority wing and plans to contest in the next elections. He is critical of his party for "ignoring Christians" and preferring rich Hindus instead. "A rich and well-off person can never understand the problems of the poor," he believes. He is critical of the party list system as well and says, "We do not want to go back to the separate electorate; instead we should be given the right of double vote so that we vote for our minority representative as well as our Muslim brother."

Premchand has been elected councilor twice and is with MQM. He is all for the current joint electorate system and says, "When we go to an MPA or MNA they at least listen to our problems, considering that we could be their voters. This has brought about a good change." He also appreciates that "previously we could not participate in the Senate elections whereas now we can." He is certain that this Muslim and non-Muslim voting each other is a very healthy thing. He identifies the feudal lords' ability to secure appointment of polling staff of their choice in certain areas as one major source of electoral irregularities and demands an end to it.

Peter John Bheel belongs to a Scheduled Caste of Hindus and is deeply involved with the Marwari politics of Rahim Yar Khan. He tells us that the main reason for the problems that his community faces is that the majority community considers them 'untouchable' and do not eat with them. Bheel also points out the difficulties that they face in getting an identity card. "Since there is no law for registration of our marriages and hardly anyone can produce a birth certificate, our women find it extremely difficult to get an identity card," he tells us adding that this also denies them the right to vote.

Ashir Kamran is Bishop of Methodist Church Pakistan and chairman of All Pakistan Minority Movement. He has twice been elected member district council Multan. Ashir thinks that the joint electorate system has bridged the gap between minority voters and Muslim candidates. But he also complains that reserved seat members are puppets in the hands of their parties and do not represent them. He suggests that the minority seats should be allocated to geographical constituencies so that non-Muslim communities from across the country get representation.

Qaiser Afraheem Saroya has twice been elected member Punjab Assembly (1988, 1990) under the separate electorate system. Rejecting his defeat in the 1993 elections, he took legal recourse "but by the time the case was decided, it was already too late to take the oath." Regarding the joint electorate system, he thinks that things are way too different from what they look on paper. "A majority candidate gets votes from his people but to understand and represent the minority community and cater to their issues, there should be a leader from within them," he argues and suggests a dual vote franchise is the solution.

Raja Yusuf Bhatti is active on many social and political fronts in Isanagari, Karachi where he had lost the councilor election to the MQM nominee in 2005. He favours the separate electorate saying that it would have helped a Christian leadership emerge, sooner or later. "We are not yet ready for joint elections as we are a nation of illiterates. Bhatti believes that minority voters are not free to exercise their right as powerful persons and parties use scare tactics to dictate them. "If they do not vote for a certain group, they can be beaten up and badly injured," he says.

Naseem Anthony has served with organizations that have campaigned for joint electorate system and engaged in voter education campaigns. He believes that joint elections are having an impact on political behaviors. "All parties have set up women wings and minority wings," he says, adding that it is however disappointing that these wings are activated only before elections and then disappear immediately afterwards. He also complains that the nominations on the reserved seats through party list system are not justified. He says that voters' demands from candidates are petty and they lack the foresight to make demands that have greater and long-term impact of their conditions.

Munawar Chand, a Hindu businessman from Lahore, is involved with a number of social welfare initiatives. He terms the separate electorate system as a complete failure and the joint electorate system a partial success. He argues that the double vote for non-Muslims can make the system perfect. He complains that in Punjab there is no representation of non-Muslims other than Christians as they are the biggest minority. "It is claimed that we all have equal rights but this is not practiced," Munawar says, reminding us that Quaid-e-Azam had promised equality but if compared with the early years of Pakistan's history, non-Muslim representation has gone down continuously.

Bhoralal Khemchand and his family have been active in electoral politics for the last 50 years. He favours joint electorate system saying that under it "my community has also gained some importance. Earlier we were mostly ignored and our MPAs, MNAs were located far away. We could not approach them with our problems. He, however, finds it unjust that PPP has awarded all non-Muslim seats to "rich banyas" and totally ignored his community, Meghwarr. Bhoralal is of the view that non-Muslim seats should be further divided among various *biradaris* (clans) within each religious group.

Hari Chand Hariya of Hyderabad is a cobbler by profession. He won councilor elections as an independent candidate in 2001 and as an MQM candidate in 2005. He believes that MNAs and MPAs do not attend to local issues and that the local government system be revived. Hariya says that his first tenure as councilor was almost consumed by "just getting to know the system but during the next tenure I got sewerage and water supply pipelines laid in my area and roads and streets were paved too."

He says that panchayats can influence people's choices but if they themselves see a person engaged in welfare work, they will vote for him.

Walgee Megh is a teacher in a government school of Hanuman-nagar of Mirpur Khas. He has performed polling station duties many times. He says that the polling staff in rural areas is either lured to his side by the local feudal lord or they are harassed and coerced to tow his line. He thinks that the whole system is run with dishonesty which is why it does not deliver. He says that it is not rare that voters are forced to cast their vote against their will. He tells us that non-Muslims of the area are poor and illiterate, and if their names are not included in voter lists, they cannot go to offices and follow procedures to become voters.

Daleep Kumar Doltani is a medical doctor and businessman from Hyderabad. He contested the 2008 general election for Sindh Assembly as an independent candidate. Doltani believes that since most non-Muslim voters in Sindh are bonded laborers of local landlords, they are not free to cast their votes. He is critical of the party list system and says that parties have converted the seats reserved for women and minorities into a business. He says that those nominated are all rich people who have bought these seats. He suggests that political parties should somehow be made to nominate real representatives of minorities or they should be awarded dual vote.

Jamil Khokhar is general secretary of Jamaat-e-Islami, Islamabad. He is also a founder head of an NGO that is engaged in social and development work in slum areas of the federal capital. He says, "If they (the major political parties) want to be fair to the minorities then they should award party tickets to them in constituencies where they are in greater number." He thinks that the interests of minorities will be looked after this way. He says that currently the reserved seats members get elected because of their personal relationships with the heads of parties and suggests that party workers should have a say in this regard. "We have requested the Jamaat's Majlis-e-Shoora to look into the matter so that good workers, who understand the common man's problems, can get into the system."

Karamat Ilyas Chaudhary is a Christian journalist and edits a magazine named 'Sada-e-Aqliyat' (Voice of the Minority). He is also secretary information of the newly registered Pakistan National Party. Karamat is happy that the recent amendments to the Constitution have given minorities representation in Senate but he thinks that parliament is still not sufficiently representative of non-Muslims. "The number of seats should be raised from 10 to 20 and minorities should be given double vote so that they can directly elect their representatives," he says. He builds his case for more seats on a comparison with tribal areas (FATAs) that had 3.2 million inhabitants (1998) and had 12 general seats in the National Assembly while non-Muslims were 4.9 million (1998) and thus should get 20 seats.

Sankeet Singh is a businessman from Peshawar and an enthusiastic member of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. He says that his party has the will to rid the country of tried and tested politicians that are an impediment to bringing about a positive change. He says that he and others from his community will appeal to Imran Khan to include it in his agenda that the number of seats for non-Muslims should be raised and allocated among various non-Muslim groups. He says that non-Muslims face various

problems and are discriminated against. He pointed out the fact that their children have to study Islamiat in schools and colleges, and that the cases of forced conversion of their girls are common.

Asif Bhatti is member Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Assembly elected on the nomination of Awami National Party. He favours the joint electorate system because it facilitates the non-Muslims to contest elections to general seats. He, however, says that minority voters are far and few in between which is one reason that parties hesitate to award tickets to non-Muslims for general seats. "They will get minority votes but they will not get the majority votes and hence will not win," he says. In Bhatti's view, parties nominate reserved members based on one's loyalty to the party and duration of one's association with the party.

Other persons interviewed for the research

1	Ashok Kumar
2	Bishop Yousaf Sohail
3	Charanjeet Singh
4	Dr Aziz Gill
5	George Paul
6	Ghani Masih Gill
7	James Masih
8	Javed Akhtar Bhatti
9	Kaju Mal
10	Kishor Patel
11	Mohanlal Dherag
12	Mukhi Udamal
13	Nasrin Jouis
14	Noman Peter
15	Rehana Yasmin
16	Safeena Javed
17	Shamsheer Ali
18	Shazia
19	Shazia George
20	Sohail Ishtiaq
21	Tariq Masih Sony
22	Tariq Tabassum
23	Thakur Mal
24	Wasu Dev
25	Younas Masih Gill

Electoral significance of non-Muslims

How much do the non-Muslims matter as voters?

What is their voting strength and in what constituencies their role is electorally significant and where do they have a casting vote

A statistical research

Introduction

This statistical study aims at ascertaining the electoral significance of non-Muslim voters in Pakistan. The term 'electoral significance' here means the numerical strengths of non-Muslims that they can translate into political clout to further their community interests on the one hand and on the other help the society at large become more tolerant towards people with different faiths. Looking at it from another perspective the political parties can see the numerical strengths of non-Muslims, revealed through this research, as a potential electoral capital that they can tap into and mobilize for electoral gains. We believe that this process will result into mainstreaming of non-Muslims, as opposed to marginalization, into the body politics of Pakistan.

The 'electoral significance' of non-Muslims has three aspects:
1: Voter strength or the number of non-Muslim voters in a constituency with the obvious understanding that higher the proportion greater the significance.
2: History and nature of contests in a constituency: If the margin of victory in the constituency has been narrow and less than number of non-Muslim votes, they assume greater significance. If the situation has been more or less the same for the past two elections, the non-Muslim voters gain additional significance. (The same does not hold for even older elections as the geographical limits of the constituencies was different then. The country was divided into 207 constituencies (1985-1997) while now it has 272 (2002, 2008.)
3: A National Assembly constituency limits generally have two or more provincial assembly constituencies. If the non-Muslim voters of a national constituency are more concentrated in one of these provincial constituencies (and not evenly spread), they acquire greater direct significance in the provincial assembly elections and indirect importance in National Assembly elections. The parties may prefer to appease non-Muslim voters of this area for a possible double gain.

Methodology

The above understanding has set the following **tasks** for this study:

- Find out number of non-Muslim voters in each National Assembly constituency
- Identify pockets of non-Muslim population and the pattern of their distribution within each constituency
- Workout victory margins for each national constituency
- Workout the distribution of non-Muslim population of the National Assembly constituency into provincial assembly constituencies that lie within its limits
- Workout victory margins for each of these provincial assembly elections

The **datasets available** to get to these numbers are:

1. District Census Reports (DCR) 1998 with a Muslim and non-Muslim population breakup for each village and urban locality
2. Detailed results of past two elections (2002, 2008) for National Assembly and all four provincial assemblies
3. Number of registered voters for each national and provincial constituency for 2002, 2008 and draft electoral rolls for 2012
4. Detailed description of the limits of national and provincial assembly constituencies in terms of villages and towns (or their parts) that tallies with the area description followed in DCRs

Following are the **limitation** the above datasets posed to our effort to complete the task

1: Pakistan practiced a separate electorate system for five general elections held in 1985, 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997. Voter lists used in these elections obviously had separate columns and tallies for Muslim and non-Muslim voters. Since this system was abandoned in 2002, the electoral rolls now do not identify voters by their religion. The Election Commission does document religion of each voter and so does the identity card issuing authority, NADRA, but this information is not made part of public documents. The number of non-Muslim voters for each constituency is thus not available.

The number of non-Muslim voters available from the separate electorate period cannot be projected to arrive at the present day numbers as besides the change in electoral system, the geographical limits of constituencies were also changed while their number was raised from 207 to 272.

2: The population census organization provides tallies for believers of different faiths though the details are limited to district and tehsil/taluka level with urban-rural breakup. Another table in District Census Reports however provides 'Muslim' and 'Non-Muslim' population for each village, town and their parts as well. This data dates back to 1998 and as no new census has been conducted since then this is the only available "percentage of non-Muslims" in any given area of the country.

3: The electoral rolls that will be used in the upcoming elections are available only in draft form yet. The Election Commission was scheduled to make public the final rolls by end of May 2012 but it did not. Moreover, the ECP will keep revising these till the general elections and that means that number of voters in elections will be more than what it is now.

Moreover, the draft electoral rolls 2012 provide voter tallies for districts and not for individual constituencies of National and Provincial Assemblies.

4: The Election Commission breaks down the big urban areas into Charges and Circles that are recognized by a number. There is no publicly available 'legend' that can help decipher a charge and a circle into a commonly identifiable name of a neighborhood.

Considering the datasets available and the limitations they pose, we followed the process detailed below:

We processed the above datasets in following manner:

Step 1: The delimitation definition of each national and provincial assembly constituency was deciphered into villages, towns and/or parts of towns that they contain

Step 2: Muslim and non-Muslim population figure for each of the above locality was noted from population census of 1998 and then totaled to find out Muslim and non-Muslim population of each national and provincial assembly constituency.

Step 3: The totals were cross checked with ECP totals for 1998 population of each constituency

Step 4: We found out that the 1998 population of a district and the number of registered voters in the same district in 2002 exhibits a near perfect correlation. A district generally has more than one national constituency. We worked out the 2002 proportions of a district's population in each of its national and provincial constituencies.

Step 5: The number of registered voters for each district as in draft electoral rolls 2012 was distributed among its national and provincial constituencies using the proportions worked out in Step 4. This gave us a current estimate for number of registered voters for each national and provincial constituency.

Step 6: The proportion of non-Muslims for each constituency worked out in Step 2 were then applied on number of registered voters worked out in Step 5 to estimate number of non-Muslim voters in each national constituency.

Step 7: All figures were rounded-off to the nearest hundred.

Step 8: The national constituencies then were arranged in descending order for number of non-Muslim voters. The following table offers a summary:

Statistics

These calculations give us the following tables

TABLE 1: Estimated number of Non-Muslim voters in 2012
provincial breakup with number of total voters (preliminary)

TABLE 2: Various ranges of number of non-Muslim voters and number of National Assembly constituencies falling in each; with provincial breakup

TABLE 3: List of National Assembly constituencies with estimated number of non-Muslim voters in each

(Constituency with highest number of non-Muslim voters on top)

TABLE 4: Various ranges of non-Muslim voters and number of Provincial Assembly constituencies falling in each; for all four provincial assemblies

TABLE 5: List of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly constituencies with estimated number of non-Muslim voters in each (highest on top)

TABLE 6: List of Punjab Assembly constituencies with estimated number of non-Muslim voters in each (highest on top)

TABLE 7: List of Sindh Assembly constituencies with estimated number of non-Muslim voters in each (highest on top)

TABLE 8: List of Balochistan Assembly constituencies with estimated number of non-Muslim voters in each (highest on top)

TABLE 9: Victory margins for general elections 2002 for national seats that have more than 10,000 non-Muslim voters

TABLE 10: Victory margins for general elections 2008 for national seats that have more than 10,000 non-Muslim voters

TABLE 1
Estimated number of Non-Muslim voters in 2012
(Total voters as publicized by ECP and Non-Muslim voters estimated)

	Voters 2012 All	Non-Muslims	Non-Muslim per 1000 voters
KPK	11,642,122	65,000	6
FATAs	1,250,231	5,500	4
Punjab	46,401,450	1,281,500	28
Sindh	17,773,043	1,471,500	83
Balochistan	3,004,464	42,000	14
All	**80,071,310**	**2,865,500**	**36**

TABLE 2

Various ranges of number of non-Muslim voters and number of National Assembly constituencies falling in each

Non-Muslim voters	KPK	FATA	Capital	Punjab	Sindh	Baloch	Pak
More than 100,000	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
99,999 to 50,000	0	0	0	0	7	0	7
49,999 to 25,000	0	0	0	7	5	0	12
24,999 to 20,000	0	0	0	6	2	0	8
19,999 to 15,000	0	0	0	17	5	1	23
14,999 to 10,000	1	0	0	27	12	0	40
9,999 to 5,000	1	0	0	26	16	2	45
4,999 to 2,500	4	0	0	30	10	2	46
Less than 2,500	29	11	0	35	1	9	85
Data not available	0	1	2	0	0	0	3
Total	**35**	**12**	**2**	**148**	**61**	**14**	**272**

TABLE 3

List of National Assembly constituencies with estimated number of non-Muslim voters in each
(Constituency with highest number of non-Muslim voters on top)

1	Sindh	NA 228 Umerkot	137,000
2	Sindh	NA 227 Mirpurkhas-cum-Umarkot II	123,500
3	Sindh	NA 229 Tharparkar 1	111,000
4	Sindh	NA 235 Sanghar-cum-Mirpurkhas-cum-Umarkot	81,500
5	Sindh	NA 226 Mirpurkhas-cum-Umarkot I	81,000
6	Sindh	NA 224 Badin-cum-Tando M. Khan I	80,000
7	Sindh	NA 223 Tando Allah Yar-cum-Matiari	73,000
8	Sindh	NA 230 Tharparkar 2	72,000
9	Sindh	NA 222 Tando M. Khan-cum-Hyderabad-cum-Matiari	53,000
10	Sindh	NA 225 Badin-cum-Tando M. Khan II	50,000
11	Sindh	NA 234 Sanghar I	48,500
12	Punjab	NA 125 Lahore 8	42,000
13	Sindh	NA 251 Karachi 1	36,500
14	Sindh	NA 218 Matiari-cum-Hyderabad	35,000
15	Sindh	NA 236 Sanghar II	35,000
16	Punjab	NA 129 Lahore 12	32,000
17	Punjab	NA 127 Lahore 10	29,000
18	Sindh	NA 250 Karachi 2	28,500
19	Punjab	NA 83 Faisalabad 9	28,000
20	Punjab	NA 126 Lahore 9	27,500
21	Punjab	NA 92 Toba Tek Singh 1	26,000
22	Punjab	NA 128 Lahore 11	25,000
23	Punjab	NA 88 Jhang 3	24,500
24	Sindh	NA 221 Hyderabad-cum-Matiari	23,500
25	Punjab	NA 98 Gujranwala 4	21,000
26	Punjab	NA 113 Sialkot 4	21,000
27	Sindh	NA 254 Karachi 3	21,000
28	Punjab	NA 66 Sargodha 3	20,500
29	Punjab	NA 122 Lahore 5	20,000
30	Punjab	NA 196 Rahim Yar Khan 5	20,000
31	Punjab	NA 117 Narowal 3	19,500
32	Sindh	NA 200 Ghotki I	19,000
33	Sindh	NA 201 Ghotki II	18,500
34	Punjab	NA 79 Faisalabad 5	18,000
35	Punjab	NA 97 Gujranwala 3	18,000
36	Punjab	NA 121 Lahore 4	17,500
37	Punjab	NA 112 Sialkot 3	17,000
38	Punjab	NA 135 Sheikhupura 5	17,000
39	Sindh	NA 231 Jamshoro	17,000
40	Punjab	NA 56 Rawalpindi 7	16,500
41	Punjab	NA 81 Faisalabad 7	16,500

42	Punjab	NA 130 Lahore 13	16,500
43	Sindh	NA 252 Karachi 4	16,500
44	Punjab	NA 80 Faisalabad 6	16,000
45	Punjab	NA 139 Kasur 2	16,000
46	Punjab	NA 99 Gujranwala 5	15,500
47	Punjab	NA 110 Sialkot 1	15,500
48	Punjab	NA 114 Sialkot 5	15,500
49	Punjab	NA 133 Sheikhupura 3	15,500
50	Balochistan	NA 259 Quetta	15,500
51	Punjab	NA 82 Faisalabad 8	15,000
52	Punjab	NA 100 Gujranwala 6	15,000
53	Sindh	NA 249 Karachi 5	15,000
54	Punjab	NA 67 Sargodha 4	14,500
55	Punjab	NA 75 Faisalabad 1	14,500
56	Punjab	NA 84 Faisalabad 10	14,500
57	Punjab	NA 131 Sheikhupura 1	14,000
58	Punjab	NA 138 Kasur 1	14,000
59	Punjab	NA 158 Khanewal 3	14,000
60	Sindh	NA 219 Hyderabad I	14,000
61	Punjab	NA 55 Rawalpindi 6	13,500
62	Punjab	NA 101 Gujranwala 7	13,500
63	Punjab	NA 111 Sialkot 2	13,500
64	Sindh	NA 239 Karachi 7	13,500
65	Sindh	NA 256 Karachi 6	13,500
66	Punjab	NA 54 Rawalpindi 5	13,000
67	Punjab	NA 162 Sahiwal 3	13,000
68	Punjab	NA 187 Bahawalpur 5	13,000
69	Punjab	NA 197 Rahim Yar Khan 6	13,000
70	Punjab	NA 85 Faisalabad 11	12,500
71	Punjab	NA 134 Sheikhupura 4	12,500
72	Sindh	NA 253 Karachi 8	12,500
73	Punjab	NA 144 Okara 2	12,000
74	Sindh	NA 248 Karachi 9	12,000
75	Punjab	NA 118 Lahore 1	11,500
76	Punjab	NA 76 Faisalabad 2	11,000
77	Punjab	NA 142 Kasur 5	11,000
78	Sindh	NA 199 Sukkur-cum-Shikarpur II	11,000
79	Sindh	NA 247 Karachi 10	11,000
80	Sindh	NA 257 Karachi 11	11,000
81	Punjab	NA 93 Toba Tek Singh 2	10,500
82	Punjab	NA 132 Sheikhupura 2	10,500
83	Punjab	NA 136 Sheikhupura 6	10,500
84	Punjab	NA 193 Rahim Yar Khan 2	10,500
85	Sindh	NA 213 Nawabshah 1	10,500
86	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 2 Peshawar 2	10,000
87	Punjab	NA 119 Lahore 2	10,000
88	Punjab	NA 120 Lahore 3	10,000
89	Punjab	NA 123 Lahore 6	10,000

90	Punjab	NA 141 Kasur 4	10,000
91	Sindh	NA 214 Nawabshah 2	10,000
92	Sindh	NA 215 Khairpur 1	10,000
93	Sindh	NA 238 Thatta 1	10,000
94	Punjab	NA 96 Gujranwala 2	9,500
95	Sindh	NA 216 Khairpur 2	9,500
96	Sindh	NA 220 Hyderabad II	9,500
97	Sindh	NA 237 Thatta 2	9,500
98	Punjab	NA 124 Lahore 7	9,000
99	Punjab	NA 137 Sheikhupura 7	9,000
100	Punjab	NA 157 Khanewal 2	9,000
101	Sindh	NA 208 Jacobabad	9,000
102	Punjab	NA 160 Sahiwal 1	8,500
103	Punjab	NA 161 Sahiwal 2	8,500
104	Sindh	NA 209 Jocobabad-cum-Kashmore	8,500
105	Sindh	NA 245 Karachi 13	8,500
106	Sindh	NA 246 Karachi 14	8,500
107	Sindh	NA 258 Karachi 12	8,500
108	Punjab	NA 195 Rahim Yar Khan 4	8,000
109	Sindh	NA 198 Sukkur-cum-Shikarpur I	8,000
110	Sindh	NA 210 Kashmore	8,000
111	Punjab	NA 53 Rawalpindi 4	7,500
112	Punjab	NA 105 Gujrat 2	7,000
113	Punjab	NA 107 Gujrat 4	7,000
114	Punjab	NA 63 Jhelum 2	6,500
115	Punjab	NA 102 Hafizabad 1	6,500
116	Punjab	NA 140 Kasur 3	6,500
117	Punjab	NA 151 Multan 4	6,500
118	Punjab	NA 167 Vehari 1	6,500
119	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 1 Peshawar 1	6,000
120	Punjab	NA 70 Khushab 2	6,000
121	Punjab	NA 77 Faisalabad 3	6,000
122	Punjab	NA 95 Gujranwala 1	6,000
123	Punjab	NA 115 Narowal 1	6,000
124	Punjab	NA 145 Okara 3	6,000
125	Punjab	NA 181 Layyah 1	6,000
126	Punjab	NA 185 Bahawalpur 3	6,000
127	Sindh	NA 202 Shikarpur	6,000
128	Sindh	NA 204 Larkana	6,000
129	Sindh	NA 240 Karachi 15	6,000
130	Sindh	NA 255 Karachi 16	5,500
131	Punjab	NA 52 Rawalpindi 3	5,000
132	Punjab	NA 72 Mianwali 2	5,000
133	Punjab	NA 94 Toba Tek Singh 3	5,000
134	Punjab	NA 163 Sahiwal 4	5,000
135	Sindh	NA 217 Khairpur 3	5,000
136	Sindh	NA 242 Karachi 17	5,000
137	Balochistan	NA 260 Quetta-cum-Chagai-Naushaki	5,000

138	Balochistan	NA 266 Nasirabad-cum-Jaffarabad	5,000
139	Punjab	NA 60 Chakwal 1	4,500
140	Punjab	NA 62 Jhelum 1	4,500
141	Punjab	NA 159 Khanewal 4	4,500
142	Punjab	NA 176 Muzaffargarh 1	4,500
143	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 6 Nowshera 2	4,000
144	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 14 Kohat	4,000
145	Punjab	NA 57 Attock 1	4,000
146	Punjab	NA 65 Sargodha 2	4,000
147	Punjab	NA 69 Khushab 1	4,000
148	Punjab	NA 106 Gujrat 3	4,000
149	Punjab	NA 108 Mandi Bahauddin 1	4,000
150	Punjab	NA 143 Okara 1	4,000
151	Punjab	NA 149 Multan 2	4,000
152	Punjab	NA 150 Multan 3	4,000
153	Sindh	NA 207 Larkana-cum-Shikarpur-cum-Kambar Shahdadkot	4,000
154	Sindh	NA 211 Naushero Feroze 1	4,000
155	Sindh	NA 212 Naushero Feroze 2	4,000
156	Sindh	NA 243 Karachi 18	4,000
157	Punjab	NA 183 Bahawalpur 1	3,500
158	Punjab	NA 190 Bahawalnagar 3	3,500
159	Punjab	NA 191 Bahawalnagar 4	3,500
160	Sindh	NA 203 Shikarpur-cum-Sukkur-cum-Larkana	3,500
161	Sindh	NA 205 Larkana-cum-Kambar Shahdadkot	3,500
162	Balochistan	NA 270 Awaran-cum-Lasbela	3,500
163	Punjab	NA 68 Sargodha 5	3,000
164	Punjab	NA 78 Faisalabad 4	3,000
165	Punjab	NA 104 Gujrat 1	3,000
166	Punjab	NA 116 Narowal 2	3,000
167	Punjab	NA 166 Pakpattan 3	3,000
168	Punjab	NA 168 Vehari 2	3,000
169	Punjab	NA 169 Vehari 3	3,000
170	Punjab	NA 182 Layyah 2	3,000
171	Punjab	NA 186 Bahawalpur 4	3,000
172	Sindh	NA 233 Dadu II	3,000
173	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 9 Mardan 1	2,500
174	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 24 D.I. Khan	2,500
175	Punjab	NA 61 Chakwal 2	2,500
176	Punjab	NA 64 Sargodha 1	2,500
177	Punjab	NA 90 Jhang 5	2,500
178	Punjab	NA 109 Mandi Bahauddin 2	2,500
179	Punjab	NA 155 Lodhran 2	2,500
180	Punjab	NA 192 Rahim Yar Khan 1	2,500
181	Sindh	NA 206 Kambar Shahdadkot	2,500
182	Sindh	NA 232 Dadu I	2,500
183	Sindh	NA 244 Karachi 19	2,500
184	Balochistan	NA 265 Sibi-cum-Kohlu-cum-Dera Bugti-cum Hernai	2,500
185	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 3 Peshawar 3	2,000

186	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 17 Abbottabad 1	2,000
187	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 19 Haripur	2,000
188	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 26 Bannu	2,000
189	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 32 Chitral	2,000
190	Punjab	NA 51 Rawalpindi 2	2,000
191	Punjab	NA 58 Attock 2	2,000
192	Punjab	NA 89 Jhang 4	2,000
193	Punjab	NA 146 Okara 4	2,000
194	Punjab	NA 148 Multan 1	2,000
195	Punjab	NA 156 Khanewal 1	2,000
196	Punjab	NA 165 Pakpattan 2	2,000
197	Punjab	NA 173 D.G. Khan 3	2,000
198	Punjab	NA 184 Bahawalpur 2	2,000
199	Punjab	NA 189 Bahawalnagar 2	2,000
200	Punjab	NA 194 Rahim Yar Khan 3	2,000
201	Sindh	NA 241 Karachi 20	2,000
202	Balochistan	NA 267 Bolan-cum-Jhal Magsi/Kacchi	2,000
203	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 4 Peshawar 4	1,500
204	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 5 Nowshera 1	1,500
205	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 7 Charsadda 1	1,500
206	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 8 Charsadda 2	1,500
207	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 25 Tank-cum-D.I. Khan	1,500
208	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 28 Buner	1,500
209	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 29 Swat 1	1,500
210	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 35 Malakand	1,500
211	Punjab	NA 50 Rawalpindi 1	1,500
212	Punjab	NA 59 Attock 3	1,500
213	Punjab	NA 71 Mianwali 1	1,500
214	Punjab	NA 73 Bhakkar 1	1,500
215	Punjab	NA 74 Bhakkar 2	1,500
216	Punjab	NA 86 Jhang 1	1,500
217	Punjab	NA 91 Jhang 6	1,500
218	Punjab	NA 103 Hafizabad 2	1,500
219	Punjab	NA 147 Okara 5	1,500
220	Punjab	NA 154 Lodhran 1	1,500
221	Punjab	NA 164 Pakpattan 1	1,500
222	Punjab	NA 170 Vehari 4	1,500
223	Punjab	NA 172 D.G. Khan 2	1,500
224	Punjab	NA 179 Muzaffargarh 4	1,500
225	Punjab	NA 180 Muzaffargarh 5	1,500
226	Punjab	NA 188 Bahawalnagar 1	1,500
227	Balochistan	NA 269 Khuzdar	1,500
228	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 10 Mardan 2	1,000
229	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 11 Mardan 3	1,000
230	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 12 Sawabi 1	1,000
231	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 13 Sawabi 2	1,000
232	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 16 Hangu	1,000
233	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 18 Abbottabad 2	1,000

234	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 20 Mansehra 1	1,000
235	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 21 Mansehra 2	1,000
236	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 22 Battagram	1,000
237	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 27 Lakki Marwat	1,000
238	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 30 Swat 2	1,000
239	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 34 Lower Dir	1,000
240	FATA	NA 44 Bajaur-TA 9	1,000
241	Punjab	NA 87 Jhang 2	1,000
242	Punjab	NA 152 Multan 5	1,000
243	Punjab	NA 153 Multan 6	1,000
244	Punjab	NA 171 D.G. Khan 1	1,000
245	Punjab	NA 174 Rajanpur 1	1,000
246	Punjab	NA 175 Rajanpur 2	1,000
247	Punjab	NA 177 Muzaffargarh 2	1,000
248	Punjab	NA 178 Muzaffargarh 3	1,000
249	Balochistan	NA 261 Pishin-cum-Ziarat	1,000
250	Balochistan	NA 262 Killa Abdullah	1,000
251	Balochistan	NA 263 Loralai-cum-Musakhel-cum-Barkhan	1,000
252	Balochistan	NA 264 Zhob-cum-Killa Saifullah-cum-Sherani	1,000
253	Balochistan	NA 268 Kalat-cum-Mastung	1,000
254	Balochistan	NA 271 Kharan-cum-Panjgur-cum-Washuk	1,000
255	Balochistan	NA 272 Gwadar-cum-Kech	1,000
256	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 15 Karak	500
257	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 23 Kohistan	500
258	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 31 Shangla	500
259	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NA 33 Upper Dir	500
260	FATA	NA 36 Mohmand - TA 1	500
261	FATA	NA 37 Kurram - TA 2	500
262	FATA	NA 38 Kurram - TA 3	500
263	FATA	NA 40 North Waziristan - TA 5	500
264	FATA	NA 41 South Waziristan - TA 6	500
265	FATA	NA 42 South Waziristan - TA 7	500
266	FATA	NA 43 Bajaur - TA 8	500
267	FATA	NA 45 Khyber - TA 10	500
268	FATA	NA 46 Khyber - TA 11	500
269	FATA	NA 39 Orakzai - TA 4	0
270	FATA	NA 47 FR Areas - TA 12	NA

TABLE 4

Various ranges of non-Muslim voters and number of Provincial Assembly constituencies falling in each

	KPK	Punjab	Sindh	Balochistan	All 4 PAs
More than 50,000	0	0	8	0	8
Less than 50,000 but more than 25,000	0	0	10	0	10
Less than 25,000 but more than 20,000	0	3	4	0	7

Less than 20,000 but more than 15,000	0	7	7	0	14
Less than 15,000 but more than 10,000	0	19	9	0	28
Less than 10,000 but more than 5,000	1	78	31	2	112
Less than 5,000 but more than 2,500	3	53	28	2	86
Less than 2,500	95	137	33	47	312
Total	99	297	130	51	577

TABLE 5

List of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly constituencies with estimated number of non-Muslim voters in each (highest on top)

1	PF 4 Peshawar 4	6,000
2	PF 3 Peshawar 3	3,500
3	PF 38 Kohat 2	3,000
4	PF 5 Peshawar 5	3,000
5	PF 64 D.I. Khan 1	2,000
6	PF 14 Noshera 3	2,000
7	PF 2 Peshawar 2	2,000
8	PF 44 Abbottabad 1	1,500
9	PF 89 Chitral 1	1,500
10	PF 23 Mardan 1	1,500
11	PF 16 Noshera 5	1,500
12	PF 1 Peshawar 1	1,500
13	PF 6 Peshawar 6	1,500
14	PF 70 Bannu 1	1,000
15	PF 52 Haripur 4	1,000
16	PF 24 Mardan 2	1,000
17	PF 12 Noshera 1	1,000
18	PF 13 Noshera 2	1,000
19	PF 80 Swat 1	1,000
20	PF 69 Tank	1,000
21	PF 45 Abbottabad 2	500
22	PF 46 Abbottabad 3	500
23	PF 47 Abbottabad 4	500
24	PF 48 Abbottabad 5	500
25	PF 72 Bannu 3	500
26	PF 73 Bannu 4	500
27	PF 59 Battagram 1	500
28	PF 77 Buner 1	500
29	PF 78 Buner 2	500
30	PF 79 Buner 3	500
31	PF 17 Charsadda 1	500
32	PF 18 Charsadda 2	500
33	PF 19 Charsadda 3	500
34	PF 20 Charsadda 4	500

35	PF 21 Charsadda 5	500
36	PF 22 Charsadda 6	500
37	PF 65 D.I. Khan 2	500
38	PF 66 D.I. Khan 3	500
39	PF 68 D.I. Khan 5	500
40	PF 42 Hangu 1	500
41	PF 43 Hangu 2	500
42	PF 49 Haripur 1	500
43	PF 50 Haripur 2	500
44	PF 51 Haripur 3	500
45	PF 40 Karak 1	500
46	PF 41 Karak 2	500
47	PF 37 Kohat 1	500
48	PF 39 Kohat 3	500
49	PF 74 Lakki Marwat 1	500
50	PF 76 Lakki Marwat 3	500
51	PF 94 Lower Dir 1	500
52	PF 95 Lower Dir 2	500
53	PF 97 Lower Dir 4	500
54	PF 98 Malakand 1	500
55	PF 99 Malakand 2	500
56	PF 53 Mansehra 1	500
57	PF 54 Mansehra 2	500
58	PF 55 Mansehra 3	500
59	PF 56 Mansehra 4	500
60	PF 57 Mansehra 5	500
61	PF 58 Mansehra 6	500
62	PF 25 Mardan 3	500
63	PF 26 Mardan 4	500
64	PF 27 Mardan 5	500
65	PF 29 Mardan 7	500
66	PF 30 Mardan 8	500
67	PF 15 Noshera 4	500
68	PF 7 Peshawar 7	500
69	PF 8 Peshawar 8	500
70	PF 9 Peshawar 9	500
71	PF 10 Peshawar 10	500
72	PF 11 Peshawar 11	500
73	PF 31 Sawabi 1	500
74	PF 32 Sawabi 2	500
75	PF 33 Sawabi 3	500
76	PF 34 Sawabi 4	500
77	PF 35 Sawabi 5	500
78	PF 36 Sawabi 6	500
79	PF 87 Shangla 1	500
80	PF 88 Shangla 2	500
81	PF 81 Swat 2	500
82	PF 82 Swat 3	500

83	PF 83 Swat 4	500
84	PF 84 Swat 5	500
85	PF 85 Swat 6	500
86	PF 86 Swat 7	500
87	PF 71 Bannu 2	0
88	PF 60 Battagram 2	0
89	PF 90 Chitral 2	0
90	PF 67 D.I. Khan 4	0
91	PF 61 Kohistan 1	0
92	PF 62 Kohistan 2	0
93	PF 63 Kohistan 3	0
94	PF 75 Lakki Marwat 2	0
95	PF 96 Lower Dir 3	0
96	PF 28 Mardan 6	0
97	PF 91 Upper Dir 1	0
98	PF 92 Upper Dir 2	0
99	PF 93 Upper Dir 3	0

TABLE 6

List of Punjab Assembly constituencies with estimated number of non-Muslim voters in each (highest on top)

1	PP 80 Jhang 8	23,500
2	PP 159 Lahore 23	23,500
3	PP 156 Lahore 20	23,000
4	PP 152 Lahore 16	19,500
5	PP 153 Lahore 17	19,000
6	PP 155 Lahore 19	19,000
7	PP 68 Faisalabad 18	16,000
8	PP 160 Lahore 24	16,000
9	PP 294 Rahimyar Khan 10	16,000
10	PP 161 Lahore 25	15,000
11	PP 84 T.T. Singh 1	14,500
12	PP 34 Sargodha 7	13,500
13	PP 35 Sargodha 8	13,500
14	PP 98 Gujranwala 8	12,500
15	PP 64 Faisalabad 14	12,000
16	PP 67 Faisalabad 17	12,000
17	PP 147 Lahore 11	12,000
18	PP 135 Narowal 4	12,000
19	PP 59 Faisalabad 9	11,000
20	PP 95 Gujranwala 5	11,000
21	PP 158 Lahore 22	11,000
22	PP 33 Sargodha 6	11,000
23	PP 128 Sialkot 8	11,000
24	PP 216 Khanewal 5	10,500

25	PP 149 Lahore 13	10,500
26	PP 154 Lahore 18	10,500
27	PP 101 Gujranwala 11	10,000
28	PP 136 Narowal 5	10,000
29	PP 129 Sialkot 9	10,000
30	PP 99 Gujranwala 9	9,500
31	PP 178 Kasur 4	9,500
32	PP 191 Okara 7	9,500
33	PP 85 T.T. Singh 2	9,500
34	PP 32 Sargodha 5	9,000
35	PP 125 Sialkot 5	9,000
36	PP 276 Bahawalpur 10	8,500
37	PP 61 Faisalabad 11	8,500
38	PP 65 Faisalabad 15	8,500
39	PP 69 Faisalabad 19	8,500
40	PP 97 Gujranwala 7	8,500
41	PP 11 Rawalpindi 11	8,500
42	PP 13 Rawalpindi 13	8,500
43	PP 127 Sialkot 7	8,500
44	PP 51 Faisalabad 1	8,000
45	PP 214 Khanewal 3	8,000
46	PP 148 Lahore 12	8,000
47	PP 150 Lahore 14	8,000
48	PP 157 Lahore 21	8,000
49	PP 9 Rawalpindi 9	8,000
50	PP 14 Rawalpindi 14	8,000
51	PP 122 Sialkot 2	8,000
52	PP 62 Faisalabad 12	7,500
53	PP 103 Gujranwala 13	7,500
54	PP 176 Kasur 2	7,500
55	PP 151 Lahore 15	7,500
56	PP 224 Sahiwal 5	7,500
57	PP 130 Sialkot 10	7,500
58	PP 60 Faisalabad 10	7,000
59	PP 94 Gujranwala 4	7,000
60	PP 123 Sialkot 3	7,000
61	PP 124 Sialkot 4	7,000
62	PP 52 Faisalabad 2	6,500
63	PP 66 Faisalabad 16	6,500
64	PP 72 Faisalabad 22	6,500
65	PP 96 Gujranwala 6	6,500
66	PP 104 Gujranwala 14	6,500
67	PP 175 Kasur 1	6,500
68	PP 184 Kasur 10	6,500
69	PP 138 Lahore 2	6,500
70	PP 145 Lahore 9	6,500
71	PP 198 Multan 5	6,500
72	PP 221 Sahiwal 2	6,500

73	PP 223 Sahiwal 4	6,500
74	PP 166 Sheikhupura 5	6,500
75	PP 53 Faisalabad 3	6,000
76	PP 70 Faisalabad 20	6,000
77	PP 71 Faisalabad 21	6,000
78	PP 100 Gujranwala 10	6,000
79	PP 177 Kasur 3	6,000
80	PP 182 Kasur 8	6,000
81	PP 296 Rahimyar Khan 12	6,000
82	PP 170 Sheikhupura 9	6,000
83	PP 171 Sheikhupura 10	6,000
84	PP 86 T.T. Singh 3	6,000
85	PP 115 Gujrat 8	5,500
86	PP 105 Hafizabad 1	5,500
87	PP 26 Jhelum 3	5,500
88	PP 137 Lahore 1	5,500
89	PP 139 Lahore 3	5,500
90	PP 142 Lahore 6	5,500
91	PP 297 Rahimyar Khan 13	5,500
92	PP 162 Sheikhupura 1	5,500
93	PP 131 Sialkot 11	5,500
94	PP 275 Bahawalpur 9	5,000
95	PP 54 Faisalabad 4	5,000
96	PP 92 Gujranwala 2	5,000
97	PP 102 Gujranwala 12	5,000
98	PP 143 Lahore 7	5,000
99	PP 144 Lahore 8	5,000
100	PP 295 Rahimyar Khan 11	5,000
101	PP 8 Rawalpindi 8	5,000
102	PP 10 Rawalpindi 10	5,000
103	PP 12 Rawalpindi 12	5,000
104	PP 172 Sheikhupura 11	5,000
105	PP 121 Sialkot 1	5,000
106	PP 126 Sialkot 6	5,000
107	PP 87 T.T. Singh 4	5,000
108	PP 63 Faisalabad 13	4,500
109	PP 111 Gujrat 4	4,500
110	PP 179 Kasur 5	4,500
111	PP 183 Kasur 9	4,500
112	PP 41 Khushab 3	4,500
113	PP 141 Lahore 5	4,500
114	PP 190 Okara 6	4,500
115	PP 290 Rahimyar Khan 6	4,500
116	PP 293 Rahimyar Khan 9	4,500
117	PP 222 Sahiwal 3	4,500
118	PP36 Sargodha 9	4,500
119	PP 167 Sheikhupura 6	4,500
120	PP 168 Sheikhupura 7	4,500

121	PP 169 Sheikhupura 8	4,500
122	PP 55 Faisalabad 5	4,000
123	PP 181 Kasur 7	4,000
124	PP 186 Okara 2	4,000
125	PP 287 Rahimyar Khan 3	4,000
126	PP 6 Rawalpindi 6	4,000
127	PP 225 Sahiwal 6	4,000
128	PP 165 Sheikhupura 4	4,000
129	PP 15 Attock 1	3,500
130	PP 217 Khanewal 6	3,500
131	PP 40 Khushab 2	3,500
132	PP 140 Lahore 4	3,500
133	PP 134 Narowal 3	3,500
134	PP 292 Rahimyar Khan 8	3,500
135	PP 163 Sheikhupura 2	3,500
136	PP 164 Sheikhupura 3	3,500
137	PP 232 Vehari 1	3,500
138	PP 233 Vehari 2	3,500
139	PP 271 Bahawalpur 5	3,000
140	PP 272 Bahawalpur 6	3,000
141	PP 263 Layyah 2	3,000
142	PP 46 Mianwali 4	3,000
143	PP 199 Multan 6	3,000
144	PP 253 Muzaffargarh 3	3,000
145	PP 189 Okara 5	3,000
146	PP 289 Rahimyar Khan 5	3,000
147	PP 220 Sahiwal 1	3,000
148	PP 20 Chakwal 1	2,500
149	PP 93 Gujranwala 3	2,500
150	PP 110 Gujrat 3	2,500
151	PP 112 Gujrat 5	2,500
152	PP 219 Khanewal 8	2,500
153	PP 146 Lahore 10	2,500
154	PP 262 Layyah 1	2,500
155	PP 230 Pakpattan 4	2,500
156	PP 7 Rawalpindi 7	2,500
157	PP 226 Sahiwal 7	2,500
158	PP 29 Sargodha 2	2,500
159	PP 90 T.T. Singh 7	2,500
160	PP 235 Vehari 4	2,500
161	PP 282 Bahawalnagar 6	2,000
162	PP 283 Bahawalnagar 7	2,000
163	PP 268 Bahawalpur 2	2,000
164	PP 274 Bahawalpur 8	2,000
165	PP 21 Chakwal 2	2,000
166	PP 56 Faisalabad 6	2,000
167	PP 109 Gujrat 2	2,000
168	PP 79 Jhang 7	2,000

169	PP 24 Jhelum 1	2,000
170	PP 25 Jhelum 2	2,000
171	PP 180 Kasur 6	2,000
172	PP 218 Khanewal 7	2,000
173	PP 116 M.B. Din 1	2,000
174	PP 45 Mianwali 3	2,000
175	PP 194 Multan 1	2,000
176	PP 132 Narowal 1	2,000
177	PP 185 Okara 1	2,000
178	PP 291 Rahimyar Khan 7	2,000
179	PP 31 Sargodha 4	2,000
180	PP 173 Sheikhupura 12	2,000
181	PP 88 T.T. Singh 5	2,000
182	PP 89 T.T. Singh 6	2,000
183	PP 236 Vehari 5	2,000
184	PP 279 Bahawalnagar 3	1,500
185	PP 281 Bahawalnagar 5	1,500
186	PP 284 Bahawalnagar 8	1,500
187	PP 269 Bahawalpur 3	1,500
188	PP 22 Chakwal 3	1,500
189	PP 57 Faisalabad 7	1,500
190	PP 58 Faisalabad 8	1,500
191	PP 114 Gujrat 7	1,500
192	PP 106 Hafizabad 2	1,500
193	PP 77 Jhang 5	1,500
194	PP 81 Jhang 9	1,500
195	PP 27 Jhelum 4	1,500
196	PP 42 Khushab 4	1,500
197	PP 264 Layyah 3	1,500
198	PP 207 Lodhran 1	1,500
199	PP 117 M.B. Din 2	1,500
200	PP 119 M.B. Din 4	1,500
201	PP 196 Multan 3	1,500
202	PP 254 Muzaffargarh 4	1,500
203	PP 133 Narowal 2	1,500
204	PP 228 Pakpattan 2	1,500
205	PP 3 Rawalpindi 3	1,500
206	PP 37 Sargodha 10	1,500
207	PP 38 Sargodha 11	1,500
208	PP 16 Attock 2	1,000
209	PP 17 Attock 3	1,000
210	PP 18 Attock 4	1,000
211	PP 19 Attock 5	1,000
212	PP 277 Bahawalnagar 1	1,000
213	PP 267 Bahawalpur 1	1,000
214	PP 270 Bahawalpur 4	1,000
215	PP 273 Bahawalpur 7	1,000
216	PP 49 Bhakkar 3	1,000

217	PP 50 Bhakkar 4	1,000
218	PP 23 Chakwal 4	1,000
219	PP 244 D.G. Khan 5	1,000
220	PP 246 D.G. Khan 7	1,000
221	PP 91 Gujranwala 1	1,000
222	PP 113 Gujrat 6	1,000
223	PP 107 Hafizabad 3	1,000
224	PP 73 Jhang 1	1,000
225	PP 83 Jhang 11	1,000
226	PP 212 Khanewal 1	1,000
227	PP 213 Khanewal 2	1,000
228	PP 215 Khanewal 4	1,000
229	PP 39 Khushab 1	1,000
230	PP 265 Layyah 4	1,000
231	PP 266 Layyah 5	1,000
232	PP 118 M.B. Din 3	1,000
233	PP 120 M.B. Din 5	1,000
234	PP 44 Mianwali 2	1,000
235	PP 197 Multan 4	1,000
236	PP 200 Multan 7	1,000
237	PP 202 Multan 9	1,000
238	PP 259 Muzaffargarh 9	1,000
239	PP 187 Okara 3	1,000
240	PP 192 Okara 8	1,000
241	PP 229 Pakpattan 3	1,000
242	PP 231 Pakpattan 5	1,000
243	PP 285 Rahimyar Khan 1	1,000
244	PP 288 Rahimyar Khan 4	1,000
245	PP 1 Rawalpindi 1	1,000
246	PP 2 Rawalpindi 2	1,000
247	PP 5 Rawalpindi 5	1,000
248	PP 28 Sargodha 1	1,000
249	PP 237 Vehari 6	1,000
250	PP 238 Vehari 7	1,000
251	PP 239 Vehari 8	1,000
252	PP 278 Bahawalnagar 2	500
253	PP 280 Bahawalnagar 4	500
254	PP 47 Bhakkar 1	500
255	PP 48 Bhakkar 2	500
256	PP 240 D.G. Khan 1	500
257	PP 241 D.G. Khan 2	500
258	PP 242 D.G. Khan 3	500
259	PP 243 D.G. Khan 4	500
260	PP 245 D.G. Khan 6	500
261	PP 108 Gujrat 1	500
262	PP 74 Jhang 2	500
263	PP 75 Jhang 3	500
264	PP 76 Jhang 4	500

265	PP 78 Jhang 6	500
266	PP 82 Jhang 10	500
267	PP 208 Lodhran 2	500
268	PP 209 Lodhran 3	500
269	PP 210 Lodhran 4	500
270	PP 211 Lodhran 5	500
271	PP 43 Mianwali 1	500
272	PP 195 Multan 2	500
273	PP 201 Multan 8	500
274	PP 203 Multan 10	500
275	PP 204 Multan 11	500
276	PP 205 Multan 12	500
277	PP 206 Multan 13	500
278	PP 251 Muzaffargarh 1	500
279	PP 252 Muzaffargarh 2	500
280	PP 255 Muzaffargarh 5	500
281	PP 256 Muzaffargarh 6	500
282	PP 257 Muzaffargarh 7	500
283	PP 258 Muzaffargarh 8	500
284	PP 260 Muzaffargarh 10	500
285	PP 261 Muzaffargarh 11	500
286	PP 188 Okara 4	500
287	PP 193 Okara 9	500
288	PP 227 Pakpattan 1	500
289	PP 286 Rahimyar Khan 2	500
290	PP 247 Rajanpur 1	500
291	PP 248 Rajanpur 2	500
292	PP 249 Rajanpur 3	500
293	PP 250 Rajanpur 4	500
294	PP 4 Rawalpindi 4	500
295	PP 30 Sargodha 3	500
296	PP 174 Sheikhupura 13	500
297	PP 234 Vehari 3	-

TABLE 7

List of Sindh Assembly constituencies with estimated number of non-Muslim voters in each (highest on top)

1	PS 61 Tharparkar 2	65,500
2	PS 68 Umerkot 1	60,500
3	PS 70 Umerkot 2	55,500
4	PS 62 Tharparkar 3	55,000
5	PS 69 Umerkot-Mirpurkhas	53,500
6	PS 80 Sanghar-Mirpurkhas 1	53,500
7	PS 66 Mirpurkhas 2	53,000
8	PS 67 Mirpurkhas-Umerkot	52,000

9	PS 65 Mirpurkhas-Sanghar 1	48,500
10	PS 60 Tharparkar 1	45,500
11	PS 81 Sanghar-Mirpurkhas 2	43,000
12	PS 52 Tando Allayar-Matiari 2	41,000
13	PS 57 Badin 1	34,000
14	PS 51 Tando Allayar-Matiari 1	33,000
15	PS 55 Badin-Tando Mohammad Khan 1	32,000
16	PS 114 Karachi 26	30,000
17	PS 56 Badin-Tando Mohammad Khan 2	28,000
18	PS 54 Tando Mohammad Khan	25,500
19	PS 59 Badin-Tando Mohammad Khan 3	24,500
20	PS 53 Tando Mohammad Khan-Hyderabad	24,000
21	PS 44 Matiari-Hyderabad	23,000
22	PS 78 Sanghar 1	21,000
23	PS 82 Sanghar 3	19,500
24	PS 79 Sanghar 2	19,000
25	PS 124 Karachi 36	19,000
26	PS 64 Mirpurkhas 1	18,000
27	PS 63 Tharparkar 4	17,000
28	PS 112 Karachi 24	15,500
29	PS 7 Ghotki 3	15,000
30	PS 50 Hyderabad 6	14,000
31	PS 58 Badin 2	13,000
32	PS 110 Karachi 22	13,000
33	PS 113 Karachi 25	13,000
34	PS 43 Matiari	12,000
35	PS 119 Karachi 31	12,000
36	PS 47 Hyderabad 3	11,500
37	PS 116 Karachi 28	11,500
38	PS 90 Karachi 2	10,500
39	PS 72 Jamshoro 2	9,500
40	PS 6 Ghotki 2	9,000
41	PS 8 Ghotki 4	9,000
42	PS 49 Hyderabad 5	9,000
43	PS 83 Sanghar 4	9,000
44	PS 103 Karachi 15	8,000
45	PS 14 Jaccobabad 2	7,500
46	PS 17 Kashmore 1	7,500
47	PS 104 Karachi 16	7,500
48	PS 27 Nawabshah 4	6,500
49	PS 33 Khairpur 5	6,500
50	PS 71 Jamshoro 1	6,500
51	PS 86 Thatta 3	6,500
52	PS 115 Karachi 27	6,500
53	PS 108 Karachi 20	6,000
54	PS 109 Karachi 21	6,000
55	PS 126 Karachi 38	6,000
56	PS 3 Sukkur 2	5,500

57	PS 36 Larkana 2	5,500
58	PS 48 Hyderabad 4	5,500
59	PS 84 Thatta 1	5,500
60	PS 106 Karachi 18	5,500
61	PS 130 Karachi 42	5,500
62	PS 4 Sukkur 3	5,000
63	PS 24 Nawabshah 1	5,000
64	PS 25 Nawabshah 2	5,000
65	PS 29 Khairpur 1	5,000
66	PS 45 Hyderabad 1	5,000
67	PS 117 Karachi 29	5,000
68	PS 127 Karachi 39	5,000
69	PS 129 Karachi 41	5,000
70	PS 32 Khairpur 4	4,500
71	PS 46 Hyderabad 2	4,500
72	PS 1 Sukkur 1	4,000
73	PS 2 Sukkur-Shikarpur	4,000
74	PS 11 Shikarpur 1	4,000
75	PS 5 Ghotki 1	4,000
76	PS 18 Kashmore 2	4,000
77	PS 92 Karachi 4	4,000
78	PS 97 Karachi 9	4,000
79	PS 118 Karachi 30	4,000
80	PS 121 Karachi 33	4,000
81	PS 87 Thatta 4	3,500
82	PS 96 Karachi 8	3,500
83	PS 107 Karachi 19	3,500
84	PS 128 Karachi 40	3,500
85	PS 16 Jaccobabad-Kashmore	3,000
86	PS 28 Nawabshah 5	3,000
87	PS 31 Khairpur 3	3,000
88	PS 85 Thatta 2	3,000
89	PS 89 Karachi 1	3,000
90	PS 105 Karachi 17	3,000
91	PS 37 Larkana-Shikarpur	2,500
92	PS 41 Larkana-Kambar Shahdadkot 2	2,500
93	PS 22 Naushero Feroze 4	2,500
94	PS 30 Khairpur 2	2,500
95	PS 34 Khairpur 6	2,500
96	PS 111 Karachi 23	2,500
97	PS 120 Karachi 32	2,500
98	PS 10 Shikarpur-Sukkur	2,000
99	PS 40 Kambar Shahdadkot 2	2,000
100	PS 15 Jaccobabad 3	2,000
101	PS 74 Dadu 1	2,000
102	PS 91 Karachi 3	2,000
103	PS 123 Karachi 35	2,000
104	PS 9 Shikarpur-Larkana	1,500

105	PS 12 Shikarpur 2	1,500
106	PS 39 Kambar Shahdadkot 1	1,500
107	PS 13 Jaccobabad 1	1,500
108	PS 19 Naushero Feroze 1	1,500
109	PS 20 Naushero Feroze 2	1,500
110	PS 21 Naushero Feroze 3	1,500
111	PS 23 Naushero Feroze 5	1,500
112	PS 26 Nawabshah 3	1,500
113	PS 73 Jamshoro-Dadu	1,500
114	PS 75 Dadu 3	1,500
115	PS 93 Karachi 5	1,500
116	PS 95 Karachi 7	1,500
117	PS 100 Karachi 12	1,500
118	PS 122 Karachi 34	1,500
119	PS 125 Karachi 37	1,500
120	PS 75 Dadu 2	1,000
121	PS 74 Dadu 2	1,000
122	PS 88 Thatta 5	1,000
123	PS 102 Karachi 14	1,000
124	PS 35 Larkana 1	500
125	PS 38 Larkana-Kambar Shahdadkot 1	500
126	PS 42 Kambar Shahdadkot 3	500
127	PS 94 Karachi 6	500
128	PS 98 Karachi 10	500
129	PS 99 Karachi 11	500
130	PS 101 Karachi 13	500

TABLE 8

List of Balochistan Assembly constituencies with estimated number of non-Muslim voters in each (highest on top)

1	PB 1 Quetta 1	5,000
2	PB 4 Quetta 4	5,000
3	PB 3 Quetta 3	3,000
4	PB 40 Naushki	2,500
5	PB 2 Quetta 2	2,000
6	PB 21 Sibi	2,000
7	PB 45 Lasbela 2	2,000
8	PB 5 Quetta 5	1,500
9	PB 6 Quetta 6	1,500
10	PB 25 Jaffarabad 1	1,500
11	PB 44 Lasbela 1	1,500
12	PB 38 Mastung-Quetta	1,000
13	PB 26 Jaffarabad 2	1,000
14	PB 27 Jaffarabad 3	1,000
15	PB 29 Nasirabad 2	1,000

16	PB 31 Kachhi 2	1,000
17	PB 34 Khuzdar 2	1,000
18	PB 8 Pishin 1	500
19	PB 9 Pishin 2	500
20	PB 10 Pishin 3	500
21	PB 11 Killa Abdullah 1	500
22	PB 16 Loralai 2	500
23	PB 19 Zhob	500
24	PB 20 Killa Saifullah	500
25	PB 22 Sibi-Hernai	500
26	PB 24 Dera Bugti	500
27	PB 28 Nasirabad 1	500
28	PB 30 Kachhi 1	500
29	PB 32 Jhal Magsi	500
30	PB 37 Kalat 2	500
31	PB 41 Awaran	500
32	PB 42 Panjgur 1	500
33	PB 46 Kharan	500
34	PB 49 Kech 2	500
35	PB 51 Gawadar	500
36	PB 7 Ziarat	0
37	PB 12 Killa Abdullah 2	0
38	PB 13 Killa Abdullah 3	0
39	PB 14 Loralai 1	0
40	PB 15 Musakhel	0
41	PB 17 Barkhan	0
42	PB 18 Zhob-Sherani	0
43	PB 23 Kohlu Agency	0
44	PB 33 Khuzdar 1	0
45	PB 35 Khuzdar 3	0
46	PB 36 Kalat 1	0
47	PB 39 Chagai	0
48	PB 43 Panjgur 2	0
49	PB 47 Washuk	0
50	PB 48 Kech 1	0
51	PB 50 Kech 3	0

TABLE 9

Victory margins for general elections 2002 for national seats that have more than 10,000 non-Muslim voters

NA	Winner Party	Runner-up Party	Victory Margin
NA 228 Mirpurkhas 3	PPP	NA	9,256
NA 227 Mirpurkhas 2	PPP	MQM	35,510
NA 229 Tharparkar 1	NA	PPP	51,854
NA 235 Sanghar 2	PML (F)	IND	26,783

NA 226 Mirpurkhas 1	PPP	MQM	28,417
NA 224 Badin 1	PPP	IND	4,327
NA 223 Hyderabad 6	PPP	IND	22,014
NA 230 Tharparkar 2	NA	PPP	22,854
NA 222 Hyderabad 5	PPP	NA	19,078
NA 225 Badin 2	PPP	PML (Q)	38,137
NA 234 Sanghar 1	PML (F)	PML (N)	37,267
NA 125 Lahore 8	PML (Q)	PML (N)	1,219
NA 251 Karachi 13	MQM	MMA	1,811
NA 218 Hyderabad 1	PPP	MQM	98,444
NA 236 Sanghar 3	PML (F)	PPP	9,915
NA 129 Lahore 12	PML (Q)	PML (N)	19,309
NA 127 Lahore 10	PAT	PML (Q)	4,404
NA 250 Karachi 12	MMA	MQM	2,048
NA 83 Faisalabad 9	PML (Q)	PPP	847
NA 126 Lahore 9	MMA	PPP	29,572
NA 92 T.T. Singh 1	PML (J)	PML (N)	10,330
NA 128 Lahore 11	PPP	PML (N)	1,493
NA 88 Jhang 3	PPP	PML (Q)	10,765
NA 221 Hyderabad 4	PPP	PML (Q)	31,933
NA 113 Sialkot 5	PML (Q)	PPP	4,886
NA 98 Gulranwala 4	PPP	PML (Q)	8,132
NA 254 Karachi 16	MQM	MMA	26,155
NA 66 Sargodha 3	PPP	MMA	1,496
NA 122 Lahore 5	PML (N)	PTI	18,893
NA 196 Rahimyar Khan 5	PPP	PML (N)	18,520
NA 117 Narowal 3	PML (Q)	PML (N)	15,669
NA 200 Ghotki 1	PPP	IND	33,170
NA 201 Ghotki 2	IND	MMA	59,835
NA 79 Faisalabad 5	PML (Q)	PPP	4,377
NA 97 Gulranwala 3	PML (Q)	PPP	4,914
NA 121 Lahore 4	MMA	PML (Q)	12,370
NA 231 Dadu 1	PPP	IND	37,248
NA 112 Sialkot 4	PML (Q)	PML (N)	27,217
NA 135 Sheikhupura 5	PML (Q)	PPP	9,848
NA 130 Lahore 13	PPP	PML (Q)	12,604
NA 81 Faisalabad 7	PPP	PML (Q)	7,730
NA 252 Karachi 14	MMA	MQM	10,227
NA 56 Rawalpindi 7	IND	PPP	11,063
NA 80 Faisalabad 6	PML (N)	PML (Q)	1,600
NA 139 Kasur 2	PPP	IND	3,595
NA 114 Sialkot 7	PML (Q)	PPP	8,780
NA 99 Gulranwala 5	PML (Q)	PPP	16,184
NA 133 Sheikhupura 3	PML (Q)	PML (N)	5,236
NA 259 Quetta 1	MMA	PKMAP	4,871
NA 110 Sialkot 1	PML (N)	PML (Q)	3,786
NA 249 Karachi 11	MQM	MMA	7,485
NA 100 Gulranwala 6	PML (Q)	PML (J)	23,852

NA			
NA 82 Faisalabad 8	PML (N)	PPP	761
NA 75 Faisalabad 1	PML (Q)	PPP	20,047
NA 67 Sargodha 4	PML (Q)	MMA	46,783
NA 84 Faisalabad 10	PML (N)	NA	9,363
NA 138 Kasur 1	PML (Q)	PML (N)	6,455
NA 158 Khanewal 3	PPP	PML (Q)	17,019
NA 131 Sheikhupura 1	PML (Q)	PML (N)	6,230
NA 219 Hyderabad 2	MQM	MMA	19,769
NA 101 Gulranwala 7	PML (J)	PPP	4,816
NA 256 Karachi 18	MQM	MMA	17,054
NA 239 Karachi 1	MMA	PPP	703
NA 111 Sialkot 2	PML (Q)	PML (N)	1,617
NA 55 Rawalpindi 6	IND	PPP	11,764
NA 187 Bahawalpur 5	PPP	PML (N)	35,885
NA 162 Sahiwal 3	PML (Q)	PPP	29,111
NA 197 Rahimyar Khan 6	PPP	PML (Q)	35,847
NA 253 Karachi 15	MMA	MQM	2,880
NA 134 Sheikhupura 4	PPP	PML (N)	11,960
NA 85 Faisalabad 11	PML (N)	PPP	4,159
NA 248 Karachi 10	PPP	MMA	17,724
NA 144 Okara 2	PPP	PML (Q)	30,347
NA 118 Lahore 1	IND	PML (Q)	3,843
NA 247 Karachi 9	MQM	MMA	25,038
NA 199 Sukkur 2	PPP	NA	5,412
NA 257 Karachi 19	MQM	MMA	21,812
NA 76 Faisalabad 2	PML (Q)	PML (N)	14,970
NA 142 Kasur 5	PML (Q)	IND	14,499
NA 193 Rahimyar Khan 2	PPP	PML (Q)	3,829
NA 213 Nawabshah 1	PPP	PML (Q)	46,413
NA 136 Sheikhupura 6	PML (Q)	PPP	22,913
NA 93 T.T. Singh 2	IND	PPP	31,010
NA 132 Sheikhupura 2	PML (N)	PML (Q)	9,935
NA 141 Kasur 4	PML (Q)	PML (N)	14,545
NA 119 Lahore 2	PML (N)	PPP	21,973
NA 123 Lahore 6	PML (N)	PPP	10,781
NA 214 Nawabshah 2	PPP	NA	14,079
NA 120 Lahore 3	PML (N)	PPP	14,258
NA 237 Thatta 1	PML (Q)	PPP	3,579

TABLE 10

Victory margins for general elections 2008 for national seats that have more than 10,000 non-Muslim voters

NA	Winner Party	Runner-up Party	Vitory Margin
NA 228 Mirpurkhas 3	PPP	IND	45,001
NA 227 Mirpurkhas 2	PPP	PML	51,538

NA 229 Tharparkar 1	PML	PPP	107,286
NA 235 Sanghar 2	PML (F)	PPP	36,125
NA 226 Mirpurkhas 1	PPP	MQM	40,234
NA 224 Badin 1	PPP	PML (F)	49,733
NA 223 Hyderabad 6	PPP	PML	40,167
NA 230 Tharparkar 2	PML	PPP	66,144
NA 222 Hyderabad 5	PPP	PML	57,650
NA 225 Badin 2	PPP	PML	64,495
NA 234 Sanghar 1	PML (F)	PPP	26,536
NA 125 Lahore 8	PML (N)	PPP	46,160
NA 251 Karachi 13	MQM	PML (N)	61,233
NA 218 Hyderabad 1	PPP	PML (N)	71,207
NA 236 Sanghar 3	PPP	PML (F)	40,828
NA 129 Lahore 12	PPP	PML	7,546
NA 127 Lahore 10	PML (N)	PPP	31,904
NA 250 Karachi 12	MQM	PPP	7,633
NA 83 Faisalabad 9	PPP	PML (N)	1,049
NA 126 Lahore 9	PML (N)	PPP	44,662
NA 92 T.T. Singh 1	PML	PML (N)	12,624
NA 128 Lahore 11	PML (N)	PPP	28,119
NA 88 Jhang 3	PML	PPP	15,270
NA 221 Hyderabad 4	PPP	PML	92,128
NA 113 Sialkot 5	PML (N)	PML	38,633
NA 98 Gulranwala 4	PPP	PML (N)	21,517
NA 254 Karachi 16	MQM	PPP	118,346
NA 66 Sargodha 3	PPP	PML (N)	4,923
NA 122 Lahore 5	PML (N)	PPP	54,543
NA 196 Rahimyar Khan 5	PPP	IND	4,885
NA 117 Narowal 3	PML (N)	PML	30,402
NA 200 Ghotki 1	PPP	PML	8,799
NA 201 Ghotki 2	IND	PPP	22,820
NA 79 Faisalabad 5	IND	PML	29,296
NA 97 Gulranwala 3	PML (N)	PPP	7,156
NA 121 Lahore 4	PML (N)	PPP	44,293
NA 231 Dadu 1	PPP	SUP	104,959
NA 112 Sialkot 4	PML (N)	PML	49,469
NA 135 Sheikhupura 5	PML (N)	PPP	4,151
NA 130 Lahore 13	PPP	PML (N)	3,651
NA 81 Faisalabad 7	PPP	PML	9,676
NA 252 Karachi 14	MQM	PPP	61,943
NA 56 Rawalpindi 7	PML (N)	PPP	50,713
NA 80 Faisalabad 6	PML	PML (N)	11,797
NA 139 Kasur 2	PML (N)	PPP	7,434
NA 114 Sialkot 7	PML (N)	PML	6,019
NA 99 Gulranwala 5	PML (N)	PPP	15,514
NA 133 Sheikhupura 3	PML (N)	PML	16,781
NA 259 Quetta 1	PPP	PML	13,549
NA 110 Sialkot 1	PML (N)	PPP	40,850

NA 249 Karachi 11	MQM	PPP	30,522
NA 100 Gulranwala 6	IND	PML	4,035
NA 82 Faisalabad 8	PML (N)	PPP	7,816
NA 75 Faisalabad 1	PPP	PML	15,503
NA 67 Sargodha 4	PML	PPP	17,202
NA 84 Faisalabad 10	PML (N)	PPP	21,195
NA 138 Kasur 1	PML (N)	PML	18,846
NA 158 Khanewal 3	PML	PPP	956
NA 131 Sheikhupura 1	PML (N)	PML	9,740
NA 219 Hyderabad 2	MQM	PPP	142,793
NA 101 Gulranwala 7	PML (N)	PML	22,979
NA 256 Karachi 18	MQM	PPP	99,662
NA 239 Karachi 1	PPP	MQM	32,827
NA 111 Sialkot 2	PPP	PML	32,553
NA 55 Rawalpindi 6	PML (N)	PPP	39,583
NA 187 Bahawalpur 5	PML (N)	PML	17,781
NA 162 Sahiwal 3	PPP	IND	5,194
NA 197 Rahimyar Khan 6	PML (N)	PML	28,582
NA 253 Karachi 15	MQM	PPP	49,872
NA 134 Sheikhupura 4	PML (N)	PML	14,997
NA 85 Faisalabad 11	PML (N)	PPP	25,736
NA 248 Karachi 10	PPP	IND	74,566
NA 144 Okara 2	IND	PML	44,268
NA 118 Lahore 1	PML (N)	PPP	31,188
NA 247 Karachi 9	MQM	PPP	154,044
NA 199 Sukkur 2	PPP	PML	59,190
NA 257 Karachi 19	MQM	PPP	88,414
NA 76 Faisalabad 2	PPP	PML	2,226
NA 142 Kasur 5	PML	PML (N)	1,654
NA 193 Rahimyar Khan 2	PPP	PML	21,551
NA 213 Nawabshah 1	PPP	PML (F)	61,277
NA 136 Sheikhupura 6	PML (N)	PML	10,310
NA 93 T.T. Singh 2	PML (N)	PML	19,774
NA 132 Sheikhupura 2	PML (N)	PPP	14,109
NA 141 Kasur 4	PML (N)	PML	14,339
NA 119 Lahore 2	Terminated	Terminated	Terminated
NA 123 Lahore 6	PML (N)	IND	48,900
NA 214 Nawabshah 2	PPP	PML	34,119
NA 120 Lahore 3	PML (N)	PPP	41,566
NA 237 Thatta 1	PPP	PML	29,086