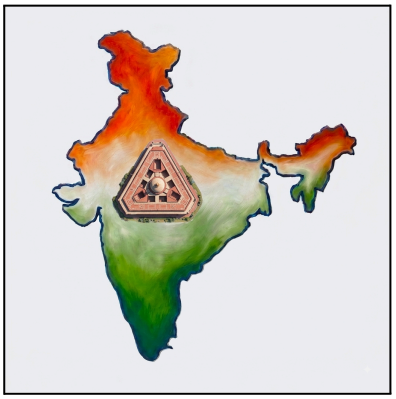
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*Thinking Beyond
First-Past-The-Post and Proportional Representation,
Parliamentary and Presidential Systems.*

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Table of Contents

Introduction 1

Part I: Electoral Models 2

Electoral Models 3

Historic Models 3

First Past The Post (FPTP) 3

Proportional Representation (PR) 3

New Models 4

Inculot Model 4

Top Rankers (TR) Model 4

Multiple Representation (MR) Model 4

Other models 4

A New Voting Process 5

Part II: Local Bodies And National & State Legislatures 7

Inculot Model for Local Bodies 8

MR Model for National And State Legislatures 9

The Shift 9

The Leaders 10

Four Kinds of Leaders that People Seek 10

Broad-based Representation 11

Multiple Representation 11

The Relationships 12

Votes and Marriages 12

Voter Bases 12

Manifestos 13

Public Will 13

The Transformation 13

Communities: The Warp and Weft of Social Fabric 13

From Constituencies To Communities 14

From Political Parties to Communities 14

“Less Political” Parties 16

From Polarization to Pluralization 16

Continuity and Stability 17

From Profit to Purpose 18

The Three Branches 18

Holding the Executive Accountable 18

Organic Legislation 19

The Three Tiers 20

Three-Level Federalism 20

Moving Nominated Seats from Rajya Sabha to Lok Sabha 21

Delimitation Issues rendered Moot 21

Additional Benefits 21

No Delimitation Exerecises 21

No Contesting from Multiple Constituencies 21

No By-Elections 21

Part III: Large Frame Constitution (LFC) 22

Introduction

India has recently inaugurated a new Parliament Bhavan. As we approach the centenary of Independence, it may be time to consider not just a new building, but a new process for what happens inside it: issue-based debates instead of partisan posturing, and merit-based legislation instead of party-line voting.

Articles 75(3) and 164(2) of the Constitution make the executive accountable to the legislature.In practice, however, party discipline prevents ruling-party legislators from holding the executive accountable, while a lack of numbers prevents the opposition from doing so. One won't and the other can't. We need ideas to make the vision of the Constitution work in practice.

In an ironic role reversal, almost all legislation is sponsored today by the executive rather than by legislature itself, something that needs to be balanced.

Many voters are not able to vote for the candidates they truly respect, trust, and value. The number of voters who seek principled and visionary leaders, for example, may actually be substantial nationwide, but under the constituencies-based electoral system, they are fragmented into ineffective minorities. Every citizen holds a vote, yet it is often less powerful than it could be. That should make us pause and look for remedies.

Electoral politics is often shaped by inducements, appeasements, freebies, and sectarian appeals, reducing elections to contests of short-term incentives rather than long-term public purpose. Voting for a political party effectively means endorsing an entire manifesto in order to support a handful of proposals the voter actually prefers. Once elected, parties often claim a mandate for the entire manifesto, taking license to pursue policies and ideologies that the electorate may never have consciously endorsed. These issues too deserve serious attention.

Constituencies reduce elections to national and state legislatures to local contests. These national and state legislatures, consequently, are occupied by leaders who have demonstrated local clout rather than national or state vision, while those with broader vision often struggle to get elected having not focused on developing local clout in any one particular geographical area. Electoral systems are not fully set up to serve the constitutional vision, something we need to look into.

Persistent tensions between the executive and judiciary, and between the Union and the States, reinforce the impression that important structural issues remain unresolved. Such recurring conflicts are neither a source of institutional strength nor of public confidence. They invite us to ask whether our governing arrangements can be improved.

These and many similar problems have gradually bred cynicism, frustration, and apathy among citizens. Recovering from them sooner rather than later is essential if we are to become enthusiastic participants in the advancement of our nation and in the journey of our civilization.

Viewed individually, these problems can appear daunting, even insurmountable. Viewed together, however, they point to only a small number of systemic issues that can be addressed through a few structural innovations.

Businesses routinely improve themselves by reorganizing departments, redefining responsibilities, streamlining processes, and occasionally even revisiting their mission and vision. Institutions of governance should be no different. While they cannot and should not change too frequently, they too must evolve, continuously seeking and adopting better alternatives.

The digital era offers unprecedented opportunities to rethink long-standing practices and methods. Technologies that enabled transformative innovations such as UPI—once considered impractical by many—have become part of everyday life, touching the lives of even roadside vegetable vendors. Why should governance not benefit from the same spirit of innovation to improve the lives of the same citizens?

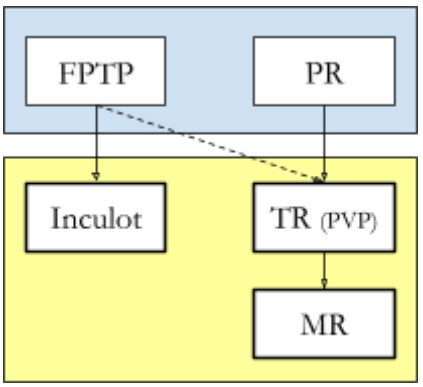
This article is an attempt to answer that question, and an invitation to those who think out of the box to join the conversation.

Part I

Electoral Models

Electoral Models

First Past The Post (FPTP) and Proportional Representation (PR) are the two traditional electoral models used in democracies around the world.



We introduce three additional models that build upon these while addressing their principal shortcomings: the Inculot model (a term coined by combining incumbent and lottery), which improves upon FPTP; the Top Rankers (TR) model, which improves upon PR; and the Multiple Representation (MR) model, which further improves upon the TR model.

Historic Models

First Past The Post (FPTP)

This model, which is in wide use around the world, including in India, applies to situations where the electorate elects a single candidate, such as an MP or MLA from a constituency. It accommodates both party-affiliated candidates and independents.

In this model, the candidate who receives the highest number of votes wins. The phrase First Past The Post is not particularly descriptive, as there is no fixed post to cross, but the name has become established in political science.

The main issue with this model is that when votes are split among multiple candidates, someone can win an election with even thirty percent or less of the total vote. Yet the winner becomes the representative of the entire electorate. Hence, this model is also known as the winner-takes-all model. The winner legally claims the mandate of the entire electorate, while a majority of voters must accept as their representative someone they did not choose and may even have voted against.

A second issue is that, when applied across multiple constituencies, FPTP often produces a mismatch between vote share and seat share. A party can secure a large majority of seats with only a small lead in the popular vote, thereby distorting the people's mandate.

Proportional Representation (PR)

This model, which is also in wide use around the world, does not have constituencies and is built around political parties rather than individual candidates.

Before the election, each party prepares a ranked list of candidates. In some variations of this model, voters can influence the ranking of candidates on the list by indicating their preferred candidates.

After the election, the seats up for election, whether all or some, are allocated to each party in proportion to its share of the vote. Each party then assigns its allocated seats to the highest-ranked candidates on its list.

This model addresses two major issues with FPTP. First, it largely eliminates the vote-share/seat-share mismatch. Second, it enables even smaller parties to gain representation in proportion to the votes they receive.

New Models

Inculot Model

This model is designed by combining FPTP with another electoral model known in political science as the Sortition model. Sortition simply means selection by lottery.

Like FPTP, it applies to situations where the electorate elects a single candidate from among many. The pre-election process is identical to FPTP: voters vote for individual candidates, whether party-affiliated or independent.

After the election, the incumbent, if contesting, is declared elected only if he or she receives both the highest number of votes in the current election and a higher vote share than in the previous election or more than fifty percent of the total vote. Otherwise, the winner is selected by lottery from among the top three non-incumbent candidates ranked by vote count.

This model introduces an element of chance in gaining power while rewarding good performance with re-election. In short: elected by chance; re-elected on performance.

Introducing chance into elections brings its own advantages, which we explain in later sections.

Top Rankers (TR) Model

This model is designed to leverage the simplicity of FPTP while delivering the justice of proportionality of PR by introducing a feature called Proportional Voting Power (PVP).

This model applies to elections involving multiple seats. Like PR, it has no constituencies. Like FPTP, voters vote for individual candidates—whether party-affiliated or independent—rather than for political parties.

After the election, candidates are ranked according to the number of votes they receive. The top-ranked candidates, equal in number to the seats up for election, whether all or some, are declared elected. For example, under this model, the top 543 candidates by vote count would be elected to the Lok Sabha.

In this model, each elected leader's voting power in the legislatures is directly proportional to the number of votes received. We call this Proportional Voting Power (PVP), which ensures the actual support enjoyed by political parties among the electorate is reflected almost exactly in their voting power in the legislature.

In fact, under this model the "543" (or any other chosen number) serves as the minimum membership level. If needed more members will be declared elected, to ensure the PVPs add up to half of the total electorate.

Since there are no constituencies, there are no predetermined electorates. Those who vote for a candidate become that candidate's electorate. Consequently, leaders represent only those who voted for them, and cannot claim the mandate of "all", as there is no "all".

Multiple Representation (MR) Model

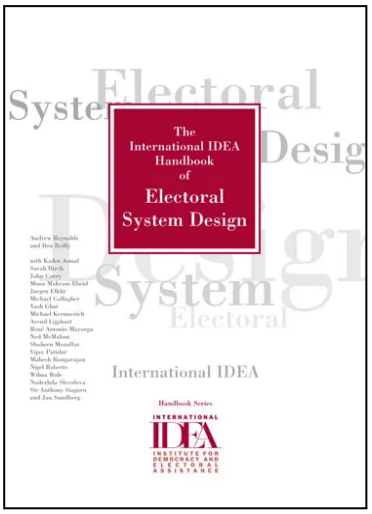
This model applies to elections involving multiple seats, just like FPTP (with constituencies), PR, and the TR model.

It is designed by adding a new feature to the TR model that advances the concept of representation itself: allowing voters to choose multiple leaders, rather than just one, to represent their multiple concerns, interests, and aspirations. Each voter is given multiple votes (say, twelve), which he or she may distribute among one, two, three, four or more candidates in any proportion.

Other models

Designing new electoral models is an ongoing endeavor in democracies around the world. Numerous books and online resources explore this subject. Among them, one stands out for its breadth and depth: ***Electoral System Design: The International IDEA Handbook***, published by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), an intergovernmental organization dedicated to supporting democracy worldwide. (India serves as its Chair in 2026.) The handbook, whose cover is shown here, is available as a free download at:
https://www.idea.int/publications/catalogue/electoral-system-design-international-idea-handbook.

The handbook not only documents the electoral systems in use around the world but also provides a systematic classification of them. The following diagram shows where the proposed Inculot, TR, and MR models fit within that framework.



The Electoral System Families

- **Plurality/Majority**
  - FPTP (First Past the Post)
    - **Inculot**
  - TRS (Two-Round System)
  - AV (Alternative Vote)
  - BV (Block Vote)
  - PBV (Party Block Vote)
- **Mixed**
  - Parallel
  - MMP (Mixed-Member Proportional)
- **Proportional Representation**
  - LIST PR (Proportional Representation)
    - Closed
    - Open
    - Free
      - Panachage Model
        - **TR (Top Rankers)**
          - **MR (Multiple Representtion)**
  - STV (Single Transferable Vote)
- **Other**
  - SNTV (Single Non-Transferable Vote)
  - LV (Limited Vote)
  - BC (Borda Count)

A New Voting Process

TR requires voters to have the ability to vote for any candidate from anywhere in the nation or state, wherever it is used. This means the ballot must contain the names of a very large number of candidates, potentially running into the hundreds or even thousands. As a result, the ballot paper effectively becomes a ballot book, making it impractical for voters to browse through it to locate the candidate they wish to vote for.

MR requires an even more complex ballot, as it must allow voters to cast multiple votes. Consequently, it cannot be implemented effectively unless these practical challenges are resolved.

We address these challenges by taking advantage of today's ubiquitous digital technologies, including QR codes and touch screens. We also replace election symbols with Leader Cards and introduce a new class of voting machines called AVMs (Advanced Voting Machines). Together, these innovations transform what might otherwise seem like a complex voting process into one that is simple, intuitive, and foolproof for the average voter.



Instead of election symbols, the Election Commission of India (ECI), under the MR model, would assign each candidate a unique Leader Identification Number (LIN). Candidates would then design their own Leader Cards (similar to visiting cards), displaying essential details such as photograph, name, date of birth, LIN, party affiliation (if any), and a QR code, as shown in the sample here.

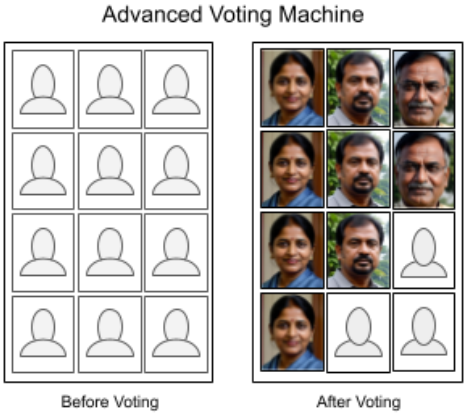
Leaders would distribute these cards physically at public meetings and events, through volunteers, and digitally via websites and social media.

Voters could also obtain printed copies free of cost at local e-Seva centers, download them online, or request delivery by sending an SMS or WhatsApp message to the candidate or the ECI in the weeks and months leading up to election day.

On polling day, voters would carry their Leader Cards along with their voter ID to the booth. The AVM would feature a touchscreen with twelve empty slots arranged in a 3×4 grid, each slot representing one vote. A voter would select a slot, scan the QR code on a Leader Card, and instantly see the candidate's photograph displayed as confirmation. Voters would repeat this process until all votes are allocated. Mistakes could be corrected by reselecting a slot and rescanning the intended Leader Card.

The image below shows a voter allocating four votes to one leader, three to another, and two to a third, while leaving three votes uncast—a valid choice.

To ensure familiarity with AVMs, polling stations would provide dummy machines for practice, and mobile applications would allow voters to simulate the process in advance. Dummy AVMs could also be installed at e-Seva centers and other public locations. Tech-savvy family members, volunteers, and election workers could assist those less familiar with the system, ensuring accessibility across all age groups and backgrounds.



The ECI and others could create instructional videos explaining the AVM-based voting process and post them on social media. Television channels could also broadcast these videos as a public service, while increasing viewer engagement. The same content could be displayed in public spaces such as railway stations and bus stations. Cinema halls, restaurants, and other establishments could also play these videos on their digital displays to inform and engage their customers.

AVMs would also include an interface tailored for mobile-savvy younger voters, closer in experience to e-commerce platforms, where candidates can be searched by name, LIN, or phone number, and votes cast directly.

Since AVMs would be identical across the country or state—each containing the full list of candidates—APS enables delocalized voting. ECI can let voters vote at any polling station in the nation (or state in state elections) using voter authentication systems already developed for Remote Voting Machines (RVMs).

This would significantly benefit migrant workers, nomadic communities, and others living away from their primary residence for work or other purposes. Even voters who are in their native place could choose to cast their ballots at a polling station a few kilometers away from home to avoid potential pressure or influence from local political actors and prying eyes.

Part II

Local Bodies And National & State Legislatures

Inculot Model
for Local Bodies

The local body elections suffer from several issues, which we can address by adopting the Inculot model.

Under this model, an incumbent cannot secure re-election merely by splitting the opposition vote. The incumbent is re-elected only if he or she not only receives more votes than every other candidate but also improves upon the vote share achieved in the previous election.

Challengers do not need inherited privilege, dominant social position, money power, or muscle power to dislodge a weak incumbent, provided they enjoy sufficient public support to finish among the top three. Nor are these advantages of any use in dislodging a strong incumbent. Nor do they help any one challenger secure the office over the others. The bottom line is that the role of extraneous advantages and unfair techniques is greatly diminished under this model.

This model gives candidates of modest means, candidates from smaller or less dominant communities, and candidates whose strengths lie more in leadership than in political maneuvering a realistic opportunity to challenge a weak incumbent.

Moreover, since no candidate knows who among the top contenders will ultimately be elected, maintaining cordial relationships with political rivals becomes more beneficial than treating them as permanent adversaries.

Elections no longer reduce to head-to-head contests between the two strongest candidates or dominant local factions. The political atmosphere cools down across the board.

Another significant benefit is that contestants are spared the lasting stigma of outright electoral defeat—an especially important consideration in close-knit local communities. It can reduce the tendency to gamble away personal fortunes, deepen social divisions, or resort to intimidation and violence merely to avoid humiliation at the polls.

Implementing this model could fundamentally improve the political climate in local body elections and the functioning of local bodies as well. It also carries little political risk for any government, as voters and leaders are generally more concerned with winning the game than with the design of the game. We need to bank on this natural tendency to offer a better game to play rather than merely asking people to play the existing one more responsibly.

Multiple Representation (MR) Model
for National And State Legislatures

The MR model is simple yet powerful. Adopting it for national and state elections would transform our political and governance system in many ways. We shall discuss it in detail in the following sections. For the sake of simplicity, our discussion will be mostly in terms of national elections and the national legislature (Lok Sabha), but the same principles apply equally to state elections and state legislatures (Vidhan Sabhas).

Under this model, voters distribute their votes (say, twelve) among one, two, three, four, or more leaders in whatever proportion they choose. Candidates are ranked according to the total votes they receive, and the top 543 are elected to the Lok Sabha, with the corresponding number elected to each Vidhan Sabha in state elections. The process is very similar to selections made in many other fields. It is like a university or a company filling 543 positions by selecting the top 543 candidates from among thousands of applicants. However, unlike in a university or a company, the voting power of MPs and MLAs in the legislature is proportional to the level of support they receive from voters, as measured by their vote totals, in accordance with the principle of PVP (Proportional Voting Power).

The Shift

Democracy is about people governing themselves. In its simplest form, all we have to do is *elect one leader*. That leader would establish the rules, regulations, institutions, departments, and so on. At the next election, he or she would either be renewed or replaced, based on performance. People would naturally elect someone who would not change things willy-nilly, but would preserve what is working, make it more efficient, and improve what is not working well. This is, for example, how the principal of a college, the CEO of a company, or the chief of an army functions.

The difficulty, however, lies in choosing that individual. If there are two candidates, the one who receives 51% or more of the vote wins, while the rest of the electorate—almost half—may resent the elected leader. If there are three candidates, the winner may secure only 34% of the vote, leaving a clear majority dissatisfied with the outcome.

One way to address this is to use the Inculot model. People can reward an incumbent who has performed well, or let chance decide the next leader from among the top three candidates. This reduces resentment because we can never be certain that we have made the right choice; someone we believe to be good may eventually prove otherwise. Just as we accept the parents and children that life gives us, we accept the next leader—from among our own top three choices. If the leader performs well, we renew the mandate. If not, we elect someone else at the next election. We can also shorten the term from five years to four, three, or even two years, allowing us to replace a poor leader quickly enough.

Even the elaborate and complex current system—with the Lok Sabha, the Rajya Sabha, political parties, and so on—does not consistently produce better outcomes. We sometimes end up with good leaders and sometimes with bad ones anyway. Why, then, all this overhead? Why not adopt the simpler Inculot model instead?

There would be no partisan politics, sectarian politics, vote-bank politics, dynastic politics, or the outsized influence of money and muscle. We would not even need an elaborate catalogue of "fundamental rights." The only fundamental political right we would truly need is the right to renew a good leader and replace a bad one. If a leader takes away any genuine freedoms, we can simply take away the leader's power.

But we should never rush into anything. We should examine every option carefully. Even this model has an important limitation. In a large and diverse country like ours, a single leader cannot possibly understand the full depth and breadth of the people's needs, concerns, and aspirations, however sincere or capable that leader may be. One may understand the macro-level issues, but not how they connect with the countless realities at the micro level. That is simply beyond human capacity.

This is why we need broad-based leadership—to connect micro-level issues with macro-level policies and programs. This is the role that the Lok Sabha (and the Vidhan Sabhas in the states) is meant to play. Political parties, with their grassroots cadres, are reasonably familiar with the needs, concerns, and aspirations of the people. However, they fail in two important ways.

First, they fail to consolidate micro-level issues into sound macro-level policies because the senior leadership is rarely accessible to the grassroots. Instead of channeling ideas upward, the party structure largely turns the cadre into an army that echoes the leadership's vision, or sometimes simply an ideology or agenda.

Second, partisan politics turns policy-making into a contest over which macro-level agenda should prevail and which micro-level issues deserve priority, coloured by vote-bank politics.

What we need is to discard this issue-ridden process of rolling up micro-level issues into macro-level policies through partisan hierarchies. Instead, we need a broad-spectrum national leadership that collectively represents the full spectrum of the people's needs, concerns, and aspirations. The Lok Sabha is an ideal institution for this purpose—provided we can free it from partisan politics and from the distortions introduced by the cadre-to-leader translation process that characterizes political parties.

People often argue that we should eliminate castes because they are concerned about casteism. But viewed differently, castes serve as a naturally evolved mechanism for organically aggregating the concerns, needs, and aspirations of a group of people—precisely what representative democracy needs. This is true not only of castes, but of any group or community of like-minded people with shared interests, concerns, and aspirations. We shall elaborate on this in a later section.

What we really need is to replace the party-based system with a community-based one—replacing polarization with pluralization, and hierarchical aggregation of people's needs with organic aggregation. Every caste and every community should have a seat at the table. The TR model helps us make this shift, and the MR model takes it a step further.

The Leaders

Nations cannot progress without good leaders. Nature continually produces leaders, just as it produces artists, scientists, entrepreneurs, and innovators of every kind. But if the system is not conducive to identifying and supporting them, their potential goes to waste and their contributions remain limited. The MR model transforms that environment, enabling the kinds of leaders people truly seek to come to power.

Four Kinds of Leaders that People Seek

1. Visionary Leaders
2. Principled Leaders
3. Responsive Leaders
4. Representative Leaders

People naturally recognize, seek, and support **four** broad kinds of leaders: Visionary Leaders, who provide a vision for the advancement of the nation (or state, in the case of state elections), or for a particular field, sector, or community. Visionary Leaders, who provide a vision for the advancement of the nation (or state, in the case of state elections), or for a particular field, sector, or community. Principled Leaders, who deal decisively with problems such as corruption and nepotism and ensure that rules and regulations are applied fairly and consistently. Responsive Leaders, who are accessible to people, address their immediate needs and concerns, help advance their aspirations, and champion causes they care about. Representative Leaders, who give their community or identity a voice at higher levels of governance. Implicitly, people also want these leaders to work together harmoniously rather than at cross-purposes.

This pattern holds across society, regardless of people's background, community, occupation, or profession. However, with only one vote to cast, most people prioritize Responsive Leaders over the other three, even though they recognize their importance. As a result, many capable Visionary and Principled Leaders fail to enter the system—not because voters do not value them, but because their supporters are spread too thinly across constituencies. With MR, there are no constituencies. Voters who value Principled Leaders can unite across the nation (or across a state, in state elections) to elect a significant number of them. One can imagine how differently the nation might function if a hundred, or even fifty, T.N. Seshan's are in power.

The same dynamic applies to Visionary Leaders. There are always voters—especially the dreaming youth and the mature elders—who prioritize Visionary Leaders over the others. However, being a minority in almost every constituency, they are unable to elect the leaders they most admire. Under MR, they can come together and elect Visionary Leaders. India's progress in many sectors since Independence has arguably been slower than it could have been because of a shortage of consistent and competent leadership at the top. Few farmers, for example, can readily name even two or three agriculture ministers who significantly shaped the future of Indian agriculture. The same could be said of almost every field, be it sports, tourism, healthcare, or others. Under the current system, with local strongmen

making up the bulk of the Lok Sabha membership, governments are often hard-pressed to find enough visionary leaders to fill the Cabinet. The frequent use of the Rajya Sabha to bring experienced and visionary leaders into the Cabinet is itself an indication that constituency-based elections do not produce enough leaders with the vision and expertise needed at the highest levels of government. Under MR, there would be far less need for such a workaround. With voters who value Visionary Leaders able to elect them in significant numbers, governments would have a much larger pool of Visionary Leaders to choose from when filling Cabinet positions.

When it comes to Responsive Leaders, the dynamics are different. They are never in short supply. Politicians naturally seek to be needed and approached. Being responsive helps them earn votes from ordinary people and support from businesses. Their accessibility is limited primarily by the constraints of time. Even so, there is an issue. The electorate in any constituency is a diverse mix of people from different socio-economic backgrounds, trades, and professions. To win elections, leaders must appeal to all sections of society and therefore tend to become generalists, with neither the commitment nor the expertise to address the specific needs of any one group. As a result, voters often have modest expectations of their leaders' ability to understand and respond to their particular concerns. MR changes this dynamic. It enables people from both traditional and modern professions—farmers, weavers, potters, construction workers, transport workers, media professionals, teachers, and many others—to come together across the nation (or state, in state elections) and elect one of their own who truly understands their profession and is responsive to their needs.

Broad-based Representation

The dynamics surrounding Representative Leadership are in a class of their own. If the calculations and divisive rhetoric of political parties are any indication, one would be led to believe that people prioritize Representative Leaders—that is, leaders belonging to their own social identity—over all others. Yet, in reality, responsive leaders from all castes and religions have always garnered support from across communities.

Nevertheless, it is always desirable for a democratic system to address concerns about adequate representation for all communities. Having Representative Leaders from every community strengthens democracy. It is often said, "Justice should not only be done but should also be seen to be done." The same principle applies to democracy. Whether people value Representative Leadership over Responsive Leadership, or vice versa, the system should give them the opportunity to express that preference.

That is precisely what the MR model enables—and it does so elegantly. Rather than enforcing proportional representation through reserved constituencies and administrative classifications, it enables communities to achieve proportional representation for themselves. Not only SC and ST communities but also the various castes within them can elect Representative Leaders of their own in proportion to their numbers. They no longer need to struggle for sub-classification, a demand that has grown in recent years.

Unlike the current system, which ensures Representative Leadership for SC and ST communities through reserved constituencies, the MR model enables every community—whether classified as BC, OBC, EBC, or otherwise—to elect its own Representative Leaders and thereby secure representation for itself in proportion to its numbers. It does so without requiring reserved constituencies or caste- or religion-based census exercises—measures that risk freezing the political system permanently into a caste framework, directly contradicting the long-term ideal of freeing politics from all parochial concerns.

MR resolves this tension in an elegant and forward-looking manner. It neither reinforces nor suppresses social identities. It accommodates those who value caste or community identities, as well as those who are caste-averse, caste-indifferent, or simply wish to keep such identities separate from politics. As society evolves through urbanization, industrialization, globalization, and inter-caste and inter-religious marriages, representation adjusts automatically—without any need to wait for the next census.

Furthermore, the MR model is not limited to identity-based representation. Any sufficiently large group of people with shared interests and aspirations can elect leaders of its own—whether environmentalists, sports enthusiasts, musicians, or members of the LGBTQ+ community. Smaller groups with related concerns can also come together to elect leaders who represent their collective interests. In this way, MR naturally adapts to identities that are dissolving as well as those that are evolving, allowing representation to evolve along with society.

Multiple Representation

Furthermore, under the MR model, voters do not have to choose between the four kinds of leaders; instead, they can elect all four or three or two of them as they like by distributing their votes accordingly. Even an uneducated woman from an agricultural family in a remote

village can benefit from this flexibility. She may allocate some of her votes to a leader dedicated to farmers' issues, some to another committed to women's empowerment, some to a leader from her own community, and the rest to someone known for tackling corruption.

Though we have discussed four kinds of leaders to put things in perspective, the MR model neither prescribes nor favors any particular kind of leader. Instead, it lets voters not only choose but also define the kinds of leaders they want.

What it does, however, is something truly valuable: it makes society's preferences transparent. It accurately reveals society's true appetite for every kind of leadership. For perhaps the first time, we can observe society as it really is, rather than through the lens of political rhetoric, opinion polls, or the interpretations of analysts. Even a caste census can tell us only how many people belong to each caste, but not how strongly they identify with it or how much importance they attach to it when making their political choices. MR can.

The Relationships

Democracy is not merely about electing leaders once every five years and leaving the nation's destiny in their hands. It is about continuous engagement between voters and leaders, with leaders faithfully transforming public will into public policy. Consolidating, articulating, and faithfully representing the public's concerns, needs, aspirations, values, and priorities is no easy task, let alone translating them into legislation that closely reflects them. The MR model makes this pathway from public will to legislation cleaner, smoother, and more transparent.

Votes and Marriages

Under the current system, the votes a leader receives are generally of four types: positive votes, cast by voters who genuinely like and trust the candidate; party votes, cast by voters who support the party rather than the individual; negative votes, cast by voters who choose a candidate primarily because they oppose a rival or the incumbent; and random votes, cast by voters who make a last-minute, spur-of-the-moment decision.

Casting a positive vote is like entering into a love marriage. Casting a party vote is like entering into an arranged marriage. Casting a negative vote is like entering into a foolish marriage. If you voted for a losing candidate or for NOTA, you are in a forced marriage because of the system. If you cast a random vote—or did not vote at all—you are in a namesake marriage.

The result is that genuine love marriages are relatively few, while the majority find themselves in unhappy marriages. In other words, far fewer voters genuinely trust the winning leaders than those who do not. Expectations are low. Those who do not trust a leader often wait for that leader to fail, even when the leader is sincerely trying to earn the confidence of everyone. Under the current system, this lack of trust works against both voters and leaders. It cannot produce a healthy and resilient democracy. We need a system in which the majority of votes are positive votes—and the majority of political relationships are love marriages.

Voter Bases

That is precisely what happens under the MR model. Leaders depend primarily on the votes of people who genuinely like and trust them, or at least are willing to give them a chance. In turn, voters support leaders whom they genuinely like and trust, or are willing to give a chance.

Under this model, leaders gradually build followers and admirers from across the nation or state through their ideas, work, and actions, eventually developing a stable and enduring voter base. They need not join a political party, surrender their independence, toe the party line, endorse an ideology they may not fully believe in, or constantly engage in party politics simply to survive and grow.

Under MR, leaders and voters can bypass political parties—which essentially function as middlemen—and connect directly. Leaders no longer need to worry about securing party nominations or winning the support of competing factions within the party. Anyone who builds a sufficiently large voter base can rely on its continued support. Except for those near the bottom of the "Top 543" list, they need not fear falling out of office from one election to the next because of minor fluctuations in their voter base.

Voters, too, need not worry about their favorite leaders losing power every five years because of shifting political winds. Instead, leaders and voters can build enduring relationships, allowing both to focus on lasting solutions rather than short-term

appeasement and freebies. Voters can elect Visionary Leaders to pursue long-term national goals while continuing to rely on Responsive Leaders to address their immediate needs.

Leaders learn to trust voters for continued support, and voters learn to trust leaders for sustained leadership. Over time, voter bases evolve into trust bases.

Manifestos

Political parties consolidate their policies and positions into manifestos. Populist measures such as freebies, and parochial measures such as appeasement, tend to occupy center stage as parties seek to broaden their electoral appeal while simultaneously consolidating their vote banks. Bold and far-reaching policies are often avoided because of the political risks they carry. As a result, public will—especially its nuances—gets lost in the broad strokes of high-level policies.

Furthermore, a manifesto is an 'all or nothing' option for the voters. They end up endorsing a host of policies and positions that they do not like for the sake of a few that they truly like. Neither the winning nor the losing party can know which policies or positions contributed to its victory or defeat. Yet the winning party can claim a mandate for its entire manifesto and proceed to implement the policies it intended from the outset. Manifestos are too broad to capture the nuances of public will and make it too easy for parties to distort or even manipulate its expression to suit their agenda.

Public Will

Under the MR model, people can express their will at a much finer level by supporting individual leaders dedicated to specific fields, causes, or communities, rather than an entire party manifesto. A leader passionate about something as specific as cleaner toilets in trains can get elected under the MR model. Voters can allocate as many of their votes as they like to that leader, depending on how important the issue is to them. The same would be true for all issues championed by all leaders. Leaders' vote totals serve as a transparent and direct measure of the importance that society attaches to various issues.

As leaders are elected on the basis of specific policies and positions for which they can be held accountable, they carry those commitments faithfully into the legislature. The gap between public expectations and enacted legislation narrows significantly. People are more likely to welcome new legislation than to resent or resist it after the fact, as often happens today.

The Transformation

Constituencies are artificial constructs. Political parties are opportunistic constructs. Communities, by contrast, are organic constructs. FPTP is constituency-based. PR is party-centric. MR—in fact, TR itself—is community-centered, not by definition but by consequence. It simply enables people to elect the leaders of their choice, and they naturally elect those who serve their communities: the visionary, the responsive and the representative. But what exactly are communities? Read on.

Communities: The Warp and Weft of Social Fabric

We use the term community in its broadest sense. In its narrow sense, it refers to castes and religions in India. But in its broadest sense, it refers to any group that possesses an identity distinct from others. We identify two distinct kinds of communities. For lack of better terms, we shall call them horizontal and vertical communities.

Horizontal communities are bound together by geography. They share Pancha Maha Bhootas- the land, the air, the sky and the others. They are an expression of Prakriti. Everything from an apartment complex, a neighbourhood and a village to a city, a state and the country as a whole is an example of a horizontal community.

Vertical communities, by contrast, are bound together by shared abstract notions—identities, ideas, ideologies, aspirations, interests, goals and pursuits. They are an expression of Purusha. Professional communities such as teachers, lawyers and journalists, traditional communities such as castes and religious groups, occupation-based communities such as farmers, weavers, potters and construction workers, and other communities such as LGBTQ+, nomadic, Divyang and environmentalist communities are all examples of vertical communities.

Horizontal and vertical communities together form the warp and weft of the social fabric. Society becomes strong only when both are strong. However, from here onwards, use the term communities to refer to Vertical communities, unless otherwise specified.

From Constituencies To Communities

At present, our political system gives double political expression to horizontal communities while giving only minimal expression to vertical communities, through the limited provision for teachers' and graduates' constituencies. Horizontal communities find political expression through local bodies, states and, ultimately, the nation. They receive a second layer of political expression through territorial constituencies for the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas. It is like strengthening the warp twice over while leaving the weft with only a couple of strands. That does not make a strong fabric.

MR—and indeed TR itself—makes possible the political expression of all vertical communities. A transition from FPTP to MR effectively frees communities from the artificial cages of territorial constituencies, where almost everyone is a minority. Unable to elect leaders from among themselves, and reluctant to let their votes go "wasted," voters often end up choosing one of the two candidates most likely to win.

This pattern, now accepted as the norm and commonly described as "choosing the lesser of two evils," has two other serious consequences. First, every community except one must settle for representation by someone outside the community, whose understanding of its concerns and commitment to its aspirations can only be limited. Second, even if a constituency were hypothetically composed entirely of a single community, FPTP would still restrict meaningful choice. When the contest is between two strong candidates, the community's options remain limited to those two. When several reasonably strong candidates split the vote among themselves, the winner may secure only a small fraction of the vote, resulting in a weak mandate. The same issue also contributes to the well-known vote-share/seat-share mismatch problem.

We need not live with such a problematic system. That is why many advocate a shift to PR. But PR is party-centric and brings its own set of problems, which we discuss in the following section. That is why we designed TR, which does away with constituency "cages" allowing communities with shared identities, interests, aspirations and goals can come together from across the nation—or across a state, in state elections—to elect leaders of their own. It gives political expression to vertical communities alongside horizontal communities, thereby strengthening the social fabric as a whole.

A Dalit teacher from Hyderabad, for example, is simultaneously a Hyderabadi, a teacher and a Dalit. Along with other Hyderabadis, she would elect a mayor. Along with other teachers, she would elect a leader committed to education and the teaching profession. Along with other Dalits, she would elect a leader dedicated to the upliftment of Dalits.

From Political Parties to Communities

Political parties are opportunistic constructs formed by citizens for the purpose of gaining political power—whether to serve the people or to advance a particular agenda or ideology. We have already seen how they dilute the ultimate expression of the people's will by seeking a bulk mandate for bundled policies called manifestos. But that is only one of many problems with political parties.

Before examining those problems, however, we should bring to light a fact of which people are barely aware. Political parties are not core constitutional constructs, as many assume them to be. Except for references introduced through the anti-defection law—a case of private entities seeking constitutional protection for their inability to hold their own flock together—the Constitution makes no mention of political parties. They are, in reality, nothing more than associations of citizens registered under the Representation of the People Act, 1951.

Political Parties

- Not constitutional constructs
- Dilute and distort people's will
- Tend toward duopoly or monopoly
- Polarize society and divide communities
- Monopolize pathways to power
- Stifles independent voices
- Caps the vision and leadership
- Become shelters for the restless
- Rife with internal strife
- Put self survival over nation's well being

Political parties are not easy to build and grow, and they are even more difficult to sustain. It demands enormous financial resources, vast organizational networks, relentless campaigning and constant public visibility. A party that cannot gain and retain close to 50% of the popular support soon becomes irrelevant. Some ideology-based or identity-based parties may survive indefinitely without broad popular support, but only as minority parties, opportunistically siding with one major party or the other. Charismatic leaders can build parties and propel them to prominence during periods of political vacuum, but such parties

often survive only as long as the leader's charisma endures. Thousands of parties are registered with the Election Commission, yet only a handful have ever gained and retained power.

So, the bottom line is that the political landscape sees only one or two parties at the top at any given time, creating either a monopoly or a duopoly. A monopoly can breed complacency or drift towards dictatorship, eliminating or suppressing political alternatives. A duopoly compresses countless communities into two competing ideological camps or into the "fan bases" of two dominant leaders, distracting them from their own interests and aspirations. Politics degenerates into spectator culture rather than genuine civic participation. Instead of politics serving communities, communities come to serve political parties.

In their struggle for survival, political parties often place public finances, social harmony and even the moral fabric of society at risk through populism, appeasement and the inflaming of sectarian passions. Just as fast-food giants exploit people's taste buds by feeding them greasy, unhealthy food, political parties exploit people's emotions through freebies, divisive rhetoric and appeasement.

The dominance of fast-food giants could extend far beyond restaurants, shaping the entire food ecosystem—from retail distribution to agricultural supply chains, influencing even what farmers grow. Likewise, political party behemoths dominating the political landscape monopolize the pathways to power—controlling the entire "supply chain" of political leadership. Few leaders can realistically get elected without joining a political party, as the meagre and steadily dwindling number of independent representatives in the Lok Sabha and the Vidhan Sabhas demonstrates.

This quietly drives away precisely the kind of people a nation needs most. Those who are genuinely interested in solving problems and providing leadership, but have little interest in party politics, emotional manipulation or compromising their vision, often choose not to enter politics at all. An immense reservoir of leadership talent is thus lost to the nation. We never knew there was such a transformational leader in P. V. Narasimha Rao until circumstances unexpectedly gave him the opportunity to lead. We have no way of knowing how many such leaders remain within or outside the system whose potential is never put to the service of the people.

Some audacious leaders nevertheless choose to enter political parties, hoping to accomplish whatever they can from within. Their optimism is admirable. Yet allegiance to the party requires them to scale down their own vision to fit that of the party and, ultimately, that of its top leadership. The consequence is profound. The overall quality and capability of the party become capped by the vision and capability of those at the top. Aspirational leaders often end up extending the vision of the top leadership, however limited or expansive it may be, instead of complementing it with their own.

But more often, political parties end up serving as shelters for restless politicians—some addicted to power, others to politics itself. They remain in political parties not because the game is fair or easy, but because it is the only way to play it. Someone who loves cricket continues playing despite unpleasant teammates or opponents. Likewise, politicians remain within party structures despite their frustrations. Likewise, politicians remain within party structures despite their frustrations. Even those who rise to the top never stop playing politics. They may no longer face pressure from above, but must continually manage pressures from below. Outstanding leadership that occasionally emerges through party structures therefore does so largely by chance rather than by design.

Political parties also suffer from chronic internal instability. They are marked by factionalism, opportunistic manoeuvring and perpetual competition among their own members. Politicians play nice with one another for their own political survival while simultaneously trying to pull one another down for personal advancement. Hence the familiar saying that there are no permanent friends or enemies in politics. Only strong ideology or strong leadership can hold such organizations together. Strong leadership with weak ideology risks dictatorship. Strong ideology with weak leadership risks parties' decline. When both are strong, the authentic expression of the people's will becomes the casualty.

Electing a political party is, in effect, outsourcing the governance of a nation to a private organization with its own agenda, ideology and chronic internal challenges. We would hesitate to entrust even the construction of a school building to an organization beset by such persistent structural problems. Why, then, should we entrust the governance of an entire nation to one?

Fortunately, we continue to advance despite these shortcomings in politics and governance, as is evident in our economic growth, the millions lifted out of poverty, and our growing strength on the international stage—helped by technological advancements and, above all, by the resilience, creativity and enterprise of our people. Imagine how much more we could achieve with a cleaner political system, more effective governance, and the full spectrum of available leadership talent in the service of the nation.

The story of the United States shows that a nation can become an economic powerhouse despite a duopoly if it creates an environment in which diverse communities—from artists and scientists to technologists, sportspersons and entrepreneurs—can flourish. The story of China shows that even a political monopoly, when backed by determined leadership, can transform a struggling nation into a formidable economic power.

We can do even better. We can move beyond political monopolies and duopolies altogether, putting power back into the hands of communities to shape the policies, programmes and institutions that help them advance in lockstep with one another—lifting one another up rather than pulling one another down. This is the monumental shift we need. Yet it does not require a revolutionary effort. Once adopted, the MR model does much of the work for us. Sometimes, just a few changes in our diet and daily routine relieve us of chronic ailments that have frustrated us for years or decades.

FPTP gives political parties room to dominate. PR legitimizes their dominance. MR, on the other hand, makes them irrelevant and renders their associated problems moot by letting voters and leaders connect directly. It empowers every community to shape its own advancement under its own leadership. When every community—in the broad sense defined earlier—advances itself, the nation advances as a whole.

"Less Political" Parties

One way political parties could remain relevant under MR is by transforming themselves into institutions closer in nature to chambers of commerce, film institutes, professional guilds or sports academies—identifying, mentoring, grooming and supporting aspiring leaders rather than controlling them or directly contesting elections. Entrepreneurs join chambers of commerce not to surrender their independence but to gain support, networks and opportunities. Politicians could do the same.

Parties, if they continue to exist, would become "less political" under the MR model. They would no longer need to identify a candidate in every constituency who satisfies local political calculations and sectarian equations. Instead, they could publish a nationwide or statewide Endorsed List of leaders, much like party lists under PR systems. Such lists could include all four kinds of leaders, drawn from all sections of society.

They could then leave it to voters—party supporters and others alike—to decide who among them deserves support. Endorsed Lists dramatically expand the choices available to party supporters. Instead of being limited to a single candidate in a constituency, the party supporters can choose from hundreds of leaders on the list. They remain free, of course, to support leaders outside it as well.

Endorsed Lists benefit parties too. Under the current one-candidate-per-constituency system, parties risk alienating internal factions whenever the nominated candidate is unacceptable to them. Endorsed Lists allow parties to accommodate leaders from all factions. They can include moderates and radicals, emerging leaders and established leaders, without disappointing anyone or risking the loss of active support. The final choice rests with the voters. In effect, Endorsed Lists compensate for the chronic lack of internal democracy in almost all political parties.

With Endorsed Lists, parties would, in effect, capture nearly all the votes intended for them through one leader or another on the list. Combined with Proportional Voting Power (PVP), this reflects a party's actual support in the legislature far more accurately. The familiar vote-share/seat-share mismatch—where one party is disproportionately rewarded while another is penalized, distorting the public mandate—would largely disappear.

From Polarization to Pluralization

Multiple Representation does more than pluralize representation. It also pluralizes politics itself. In doing so, it acts as a powerful antidote to polarization.

Democracy places power in the hands of the people through the vote. But it works well only when that power is exercised judiciously. In practice, however, voters are influenced by more than careful evaluation of leaders. One powerful instinct is the tendency to take sides. Whenever people witness a contest between two sides—even in something as trivial as a sporting event—they instinctively choose one. Over time, this often turns into loyalty. People continue supporting their side regardless of its performance and even take pride in standing by it through thick and thin.

The same psychology operates in politics. As we have already seen, political parties naturally tend toward a duopoly. Voters gradually identify with one side or the other, often irrespective of changing leaders, policies, ideologies or performance. They often remain loyal even after they begin to realize that their chosen party's ideology, policies or rhetoric run counter to their own interests. In a sense, voters polarize themselves, requiring little effort from the parties. The very presence of a binary choice triggers the instinct to take sides—a psychological trap few can escape. This is why, once a duopoly becomes

entrenched, the vote shares of the major parties change very little from one election to the next.

Instead of asking people to fight their instincts and not to take sides, the MR model removes the conditions that give rise to taking sides in the first place—political duels that continue for decades. It does so in three ways.

First, it transforms elections from recurring Mahabharat-scale spectacles into a simpler choice for voters—whether to renew or replace specific leaders from their own communities. Second, it triggers the instinct to avoid putting all the eggs in one basket by enabling voters, through multiple votes, to support even rivalling leaders or parties. Third, it requires voters to make multiple choices among multiple leaders, broadening their focus beyond any single contentious duel, should one arise. Villagers visiting a town search for the best grocery store for groceries, the best clothing shop for clothes, and the best restaurant for lunch. They focus on what serves them best rather than on competition among the businesses.

The transformation extends to leaders as well. Under MR, leaders no longer compete directly with one another. Everyone who builds a sufficiently large voter base gets elected, regardless of who receives more or fewer votes. Furthermore, as voters distribute their votes among multiple leaders, leaders must learn to live in a new political reality: *sharing voters* rather than monopolizing them. They gain little and stand to lose much by demonizing one another, since doing so only alienates voters who may choose to support them both.

These dynamics apply not only to leaders but also to political parties, should they continue to exist. Their supporter bases would inevitably overlap, making demonization of one another counterproductive. The very nature of legislatures would therefore change. Party-line polarization in debates and voting would gradually give way to issue-based, pluralized deliberation and decision-making. We shall return to this transformation in a later section.

Continuity and Stability

Today's political landscape tends to oscillate between three scenarios—a pattern that may be called the "one-two-many" syndrome. At times, a single party dominates, creating a monopoly. At other times, two major parties dominate, creating a duopoly. At yet other times, power is fragmented among many smaller parties. Each of these scenarios tends to persist for decades because of the enormous effort required to build and grow a political party. Yet each undermines the continuity and stability of governance in its own way.

The 'many' scenario produces coalition governments—often fragile, short-lived, and vulnerable to sudden collapse, disrupting governance altogether. The 'one' scenario, resulting in monopoly, may offer continuity and stability, but of the wrong kind: unchecked power, with party agendas and ideologies taking precedence over the public will, while the natural tendency toward power consolidation decimates struggling and emerging alternatives.

The 'two' scenario—the most common—is the duopoly. In theory, it should work well, with each party striving to outperform the other in governance. In practice, however, the incentives are very different. Uncertain of the people's verdict in the next election and determined to attain or retain power, parties resort to vote-bank politics, inflame sectarian divisions, and compete through populist promises. Every election, which should be a source of hope for better governance, instead becomes a source of disruption and uncertainty.

Governments under duopoly often change less because the challenger inspires overwhelming confidence than because the incumbent has disappointed the electorate. Embarrassingly, people are often left with little choice but to return to the very party they rejected in the previous election.

When renewed, the incumbent may interpret its victory as an endorsement of all its ideologies and agendas and pursue them even more aggressively, whether or not that is what voters intended. When power changes hands, the incoming government may likewise interpret its victory as a mandate to undo the work of its predecessor—abandoning programmes midway, cancelling projects, and reversing policies—disrupting the lives of citizens and businesses alike.

Renewing the incumbent means renewing both the good and the bad that come with the party and its leadership. Replacing the incumbent often means discarding the good along with the bad—whether policies or leaders. In either case, months of uncertainty hang in the air before every election.

It doesn't have to be this way.

Elections should provide an opportunity to renew good leaders and retain good policies while replacing leaders who underperform and policies that fail to deliver. We need control over our destiny, but not surprises. We need improvement, but not disruption. We need choices that are nimble, not coarse.

That is precisely what the MR model offers. As discussed earlier, leaders under this model develop enduring voter bases that extend well beyond a single election cycle. Consequently, most capable leaders are likely to be renewed, and the composition of the Lok Sabha changes gradually rather than dramatically from one election to the next. Citizens can expect to continue seeing the leaders they trust, while businesses and institutions can have greater confidence that successful policies will endure.

The drama over who gets elected, and the trauma that accompanies every possible change of guard, will largely become a thing of the past. Elections will become a simple act of gratefully retiring leaders who no longer meet expectations, renewing those who continue to serve well, and bringing in promising new leaders where renewal is needed. Democracy evolves from periodic upheaval to steady, continuous improvement.

The real purpose of elections, after all, is not to change governments, but to improve governance.

From Profit to Purpose

Politicians are broadly driven by five motivations: Power, Prestige, Popularity, Profit, and Purpose, though the priority they assign to each varies from one leader to another. Of these Five Ps, Profit is naturally the most troubling, because no one should be able to misuse public office for personal gain. The MR model addresses this challenge in three ways.

First, by enabling leaders to build organic, long-term relationships with voters, MR reduces the role of inducements and favours in campaigning. This, in turn, reduces the perceived need to "recover" campaign expenses—a compulsion that drives many politicians to seek personal financial gain from public office.

Second, by enabling leaders to connect directly with voters and reducing the dependence on political parties, MR largely removes the pressure to raise funds to sustain party machinery—another factor that drives even well-intentioned leaders to seek financial gain through public office.

Third, and most importantly, MR enables principled voters to elect principled leaders, creating an institutional check against the misuse of public office for personal enrichment.

In essence, MR transforms the political landscape from the Five Ps to the Four Ps: Purpose, Power, Prestige, and Popularity. Purpose becomes the defining motivation; Power remains the means through which it is pursued; and Prestige and Popularity become, for some, sources of personal gratification and, for others, simply the by-products of public service.

The Three Branches

Of the three branches of the government, Executive, Judiciary and Legislature, MR fundamentally changes the character of Legislature, as it is related to the election of the members to the legislature, and its power over the executive.

Holding the Executive Accountable

The party system that is in place now, fundamentally undoes the constitutional vision. Articles 75(3) and 164(2) of the Constitution say that the executive is answerable to the legislature. In other words the legislature is empowered to hold the executive accountable and that it is its responsibility to do so.

But under the party system, the issue is the majority party legislators elect the executive from among themselves; the executive belongs to their own party. The executive consists of the top layer of the leaders of the party, and the legislatures the second layer. Why would any part call out its own leaders? How could second tier leaders question the top tier leaders of the party? It is a party discipline issue. This is a clear contradiction between government structure and party structure. While government structures are honored in theory, it is the party structures that determine the actions in practice.

People also think that it is the role of the ‘Opposition’ parties to question the government. Few realize that just like political parties are not, opposition parties are also not constitutional constructs. People see them as parties that lost the election, the rejected ones. At best, they should be called ‘minority party’. Calling them ‘opposition’ parties is a fundamentally flawed logic. Why would people pose trust in one party and give the responsibility of questioning it for a party they rejected? But ‘opposition’ parties, lacking power, can only make its presence felt only through questioning the government, a responsibility that is shared by all members of the house. People who voted for the ‘opposition’ parties treat them as their representatives, and do not align themselves with the elected government. Instead of burying the hatchets after the election as they should in a decent democracy and function as one unit of people’s representatives, they continue their

pre-election fights, and long-standing rivalries, and bring them into legislatures. The ruling party uses the enforcement agencies to harass the opposition parties and the opposition parties use the media and activists and sometimes even the support of foreign elements to embarrass the ruling party. People too take sides watching this continuing duel, rather than expecting them to work together, to positively represent their concerns and aspirations.

But in any case, as far as holding the executive accountable, opposition parties can only bark, but cannot bite lacking the numbers. In essence, "ruling party members won't and opposition party members can't" hold the executive accountable. Articles 75(3) and 164(2) are only name sake.

The only way to make these articles work as intended is by making the two branches sufficiently independent. MR does this without needing any changes to the laws or constitutional structure or provisions related to the relationship between the two branches.

Fundamentally, it puts an end to the partisan nature of the legislature. Under MR, with each leader coming from a community, and building one's own voter bases out of them, enjoys full independence, with no obligation to any party. Even if parties continue to exist, as already noted, their support bases overlap because of *shared voters*, and the meaning of ruling and opposition party itself blurs. Everyone is an elected leader. Everyone would have the same obligation to their voters: to elect and hold the executive accountable.

Under MR, being independent, this is precisely what the leaders would do. They would have choose a broadly acceptable executive leader in the mold of statesmen such as P. V. Narasimha Rao or Atal Bihari Vajpayee, and remove that leader from power whenever necessary, without fear or favor, using no-confidence motion. A few additional reforms would make the relationship between legislature and executive even cleaner, which we discuss in Part II of this article.

Furthermore, dedicated to specific causes, communities, or fields, leaders, serving on the parliamentary committees or otherwise, would be able to meaningfully supervise, scrutinise, and hold accountable the related departments and institutions of the executive, giving strengthening the vision of Articles 75(3) and 164(2).

Organic Legislation

The hallmark of a democracy is the extent to which public will, concerns and aspirations are reflected in its legislation. As we have already discussed, political parties compress these diverse concerns into either a bland or a sharply defined set of manifesto promises. They often distort them further by infusing them with ideology, partisan agendas, populism and appeasement.

Under the MR model, with each leader representing specific communities, causes or fields, every concern of the people—major or minor, affecting small or large sections of the population—would find representation in the legislature. Legislators could use the Private Member Bill (PMB) provision to sponsor legislation relating to the communities, causes or fields they represent. Under MR, this provision, which is rarely used today, would become mainstream.

Today, in an ironic role reversal, almost all legislation is sponsored by the executive rather than the legislature itself. That should not be the case. The MR model enables the legislature to reclaim its rightful role.

Under the current system, a party with 300 legislators does not bring 300 minds to generate ideas and 300 pairs of eyes to scrutinize legislation. It functions instead as one mouth and 299 echoes. The result is a tremendous waste of the nation's political talent. Opposition parties often treat it as their solemn duty to oppose everything the government proposes, regardless of merit. Legislative debates are a farce: no one expresses views that depart from the party line, and almost no one changes their mind after debate. Voting on bills becomes largely procedural, as any bill sponsored by the ruling party is passed under the party whip.

The MR model transforms this dynamic completely. It pluralises legislation that is currently heavily polarised. Backed by their own voter bases, leaders can express their genuine positions on any issue more objectively. They can vote on any bill, motion or resolution without fear or favour.

Furthermore, the majority of community-, cause- or field-oriented legislation that does not adversely affect others would often pass unanimously, regardless of the sponsor's PVP, provided they can convince their fellow legislators of its merits. After all, the true art of politics is to convince voters before the election and fellow legislators afterward.

One might reasonably worry that legislators with high PVP could dominate the legislative process. In practice, however, mathematics provides its own safeguard. The combined PVP of the second- and third-ranked legislators is likely to equal or exceed that of the highest-ranked member, creating a natural counterweight.

In fact, higher PVPs have an indirect positive effect on representation: numerically larger sections of the population require fewer seats for representation, leaving more seats available for smaller communities, causes and fields to secure representation in their own right, without having to aggregate into larger voting blocs.

Bills that affect the interests of other communities, causes or fields—for instance, infrastructure projects affecting the environment—would require collaboration among their sponsors. As already discussed, shared voters and overlapping voter bases would nudge leaders towards cordial and constructive cooperation rather than rigidly defending their own positions. They would be compelled to arrive at compromises that both sides can explain convincingly to their respective voter bases.

More importantly, contentious bills of this nature would no longer become partisan flashpoints, as they often do under the current system, where both legislative and public debate are heavily polarised along party lines. Instead, under the MR model, discussions would be confined largely to the relevant members, while others would remain neutral and evaluate the competing proposals and objections more objectively.

The Three Tiers

Today, the power hierarchies of political parties not only override the constitutional relationship between the executive and the legislature, but also distort the constitutional relationship among the three tiers of government—the Union, the States and local bodies—thereby weakening all of them. The MR model, by delocalizing elections to the national and state legislatures, restores the constitutional balance and strengthens each tier.

Three-Level Federalism

MPs and MLAs routinely engage in turf wars with local leaders for local political dominance. Although they possess no statutory authority over local development, they frequently interfere in the functioning of local bodies through the party hierarchy, undermining local governance. The result is an unfortunate situation of, "Neither can I do it, nor will I allow you to do it."

As they build pan-India and statewide voter bases under the MR model, they gradually shed their local identities and assume national or state identities instead. There is no longer any need for them to fight for local political dominance or interfere in the functioning of local bodies.

From a broader perspective, MR produces an even more desirable outcome. Leaders with a national outlook develop pan-India voter bases and are elected to the Lok Sabha. Leaders with a statewide outlook develop statewide voter bases and are elected to the Vidhan Sabhas. Local bodies, in turn, are led by those who are passionate about addressing local issues. Each tier is thus led by leaders with the vision and perspective appropriate to its constitutional role. No more local strongmen dominating the Lok Sabha. The national and state executives would have a much broader pool of leadership talent—leaders dedicated to specific fields, communities and sectors—from which to form their cabinets, helping address the persistent shortage of consistent and competent leadership at the top discussed earlier.

Ironically, MPs and MLAs often weaken the enforcement of the very laws they enact, fearing even mild and isolated local resistance because they depend on local voters for electoral support and local businesses for campaign funding. The MR model frees them from these local compulsions. Furthermore, by being upfront about their policies and positions, and by cultivating enduring and trusted relationships with their voter bases, they would enact only legislation that is broadly welcomed, with little need to worry about resistance or resentment after the fact.

A deeper confusion also exists regarding the role of Lok Sabha members. Are they expected to represent the nation, their state or their constituency? The Constitution offers no clear statutory answer. In practice, ties to territorial constituencies inevitably push them towards local interests. Members of national parties tend to prioritise national interests over state interests, while members of regional parties tend to do the opposite. These conflicting incentives introduce yet another layer of inefficiency into governance and legislation.

The MR model resolves this ambiguity. With the removal of territorial constituencies, Lok Sabha members can devote themselves unambiguously to national legislation, while members of the Vidhan Sabhas focus on state legislation. By building their own pan-India voter bases, Lok Sabha members shed their regional identities and assume a genuinely national identity. No individual State can claim them exclusively any longer. State interests would continue to find representation through the Rajya Sabha—the very constitutional role it was designed to perform.

Moving Nominated Seats from Rajya Sabha to Lok Sabha

The nominated seats in the Rajya Sabha are an anomaly in a chamber intended to represent the interests of the States. Under the MR model, they become unnecessary. Citizens interested in the arts, sports, science and culture can directly elect eminent personalities from these fields to the Lok Sabha, eliminating the need for such nominations. The seats currently reserved for eminent personalities in the Rajya Sabha can therefore be transferred to the Lok Sabha, increasing its strength by the same number. A similar reform could be adopted in States with bicameral legislatures.

Likewise, the MR model eliminates the need for separate constituencies for graduates and teachers. They, too, can elect leaders of their own and secure direct representation in the Vidhan Sabhas, just like every other community. The seats currently reserved for these constituencies in the Vidhan Parishads can therefore be transferred to the Vidhan Sabhas.

Delimitation Issues rendered Moot

The MR model also addresses one of the most contentious constitutional and political issues of our time: delimitation. Under the current system, States that successfully control population growth risk losing representation in the Lok Sabha relative to States that do not, because constituency boundaries are periodically redrawn to equalise population across constituencies. The principle of delimitation is fair in one sense and unfair in another. In practice, however, it has become a growing source of resentment among States that have successfully controlled population growth.

The MR model renders the entire debate—and indeed the issue itself—largely moot. Aspirants to the Lok Sabha would build pan-India voter bases spanning States with both high and low population growth. Lok Sabha members would no longer belong to any particular State; they would derive their legitimacy from a national electorate. They would gradually assume a genuinely national identity, transcending their regional identities.

Additional Benefits

No Delimitation Exerecises

Under the current system, constituency boundaries must be redrawn periodically to accommodate demographic changes and ensure that constituencies have roughly equal populations. The process is expensive, administratively demanding and, at times, politically contentious.

All of this becomes moot under the MR model, since there are no territorial constituencies to redraw in the first place. The Delimitation Commission itself can be decommissioned.

No Contesting from Multiple Constituencies

The current system permits a curious anomaly: high-profile politicians contesting simultaneously from multiple constituencies, only to resign from all but one after winning. This results in entirely unnecessary and costly by-elections.

Under the MR model, a leader with broad geographic appeal simply consolidates that support into a single pan-India voter base—or a statewide voter base in Assembly elections.

No By-Elections

Under the current system, costly by-elections must be conducted whenever a legislator resigns, is disqualified or passes away. Under the MR model, there is no such need. The system simply refers back to the original ranking list, and the next eligible candidate—for example, the 544th-ranked candidate in the Lok Sabha election—is automatically elevated to fill the vacancy.

Part III
Large Frame Constitution

This section is under construction.
The full version will be available soon, at:
nutanvidhan.in

This section will discuss deeper issues
beyond electing leaders to local, state and national bodies:

- Reframing the Preamble
  - To reflect our civilizational journey, offering an inspiring and motivating mission for the nation.
  - To help all sections of people advance themselves, working hand in hand with all others.
  - Easy to understand for the common man.
- Institutional separation of powers, roles and responsibilities
  - Between Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha and the Executive, President of India and the Chief Election Commissioner, and Judiciary.
- Filling the "Gap at the Top" -
  - A steward of the Constitution—an individual or institution dedicated to preserving the spirit of the Constitution, continually upgrading it to fill gaps as and when they are discovered, and, when necessary, acting as a trusted arbiter in disputes among the branches of government.
  - A symbolic figure, custodian, and voice for the soul of the nation—larger and more enduring than the political system or the machinery of governance.

> *"The Constitution of the Indian Republic, the legal basis of that state, is a remarkable document in that it is almost entirely **un-Indian** in its forms and inspiration. The forms of order, i.e. the institutions and laws, the machinery of government and the repositories of power, are almost entirely Western in origin, being largely inherited from the departed British Raj."*
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> THEODORE L. SHAY, an Independent Scholar, writing in 1956
> https://archive.org/details/dli.ernet.65660/page/XVI/mode/1up