



GENERAL ELECTIONS - 2024

DELIMITATION OF CONSTITUENCIES



**FREE & FAIR ELECTIONS
NETWORK (FAFEN)**



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On 30 November 2023, the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) released the final list of delimitations comprising 266 national and 593 provincial constituencies. Subsequently, the Commission released a corrigendum for nine constituencies on 12 December 2023 and a revised final delimitation list for 13 constituencies on 17 December 2023. The Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN) conducted a detailed assessment of the representations, the Commission's orders, the final delimitation list (Form-7), and subsequent corrections and revisions. The key findings of the assessment are as follows:

- The finalization process garnered significant citizen interest and input. According to the ECP's report, the delimitation commissions heard 1,327 representations/objections. However, FAFEN's scrutiny of the representations and the Commission's orders indicates that there were 1,331 representations/objections.
 - Of the 1,331 representations, 323 were related to National Assembly constituencies, while 986 pertained to Provincial Assemblies' constituencies. An additional 22 representations covered both national and provincial constituencies, bringing the total to 345 representations for the National Assembly and 1,008 for the Provincial Assemblies.
 - In terms of geographical distribution, 678 (51%) representations were in Punjab, 293 (22%) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 228 (17%) in Sindh, 125 (9%) in Balochistan, and seven (1%) in Islamabad.
 - Among the representations, 1,210 (91%) sought changes in the preliminary delimitation, while 121 (9%) requested the finalization of the preliminary delimitation of the mentioned constituencies.
- The hearings on representations and the subsequent modifications in the final delimitation of 270 constituencies underscore the significance of citizens' participation and the responsiveness of the Commission to objections regarding the preliminary delimitation.
 - The Commission heard 345 representations, which covered 184 National Assembly constituencies. Accepting several challenges, the Commission adjusted the delimitation of 66 National Assembly constituencies.
 - Of the 110 National Assembly constituencies covered by 195 representations in Punjab, the ECP revised the delimitation for 43 constituencies.
 - In Sindh, 11 out of 34 National Assembly constituencies with contested delimitations underwent alterations.
 - Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa witnessed revisions for seven and five constituencies, respectively, while none of Islamabad's three constituencies were changed.
 - For the Provincial Assemblies, the Commission heard 1,008 representations, which covered 473 Provincial Assembly constituencies. Accepting some representations, the Commission changed the delimitation of 204 Provincial Assembly constituencies.



- Punjab witnessed the most revisions, with alterations in 92 constituencies, followed by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with 46, Sindh with 42, and Balochistan with 22.
- According to Section 20 (3) of the Elections Act 2017 (Principles of Delimitation), the population variation among constituencies in an assembly should not exceed ten percent. In the final delimitation list, the variation in constituency population exceeding 10 percent of the average quota remained an issue.
 - A total of 135 constituencies, comprising 70 national and 65 provincial constituencies, did not meet the legal requirement of Section 20 (3) of the Elections Act 2017 (Principles of Delimitation).
 - Among the 70 National Assembly constituencies, Punjab had the highest number of constituencies (28) with a population variation of more than 10 percent. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa followed with 21 constituencies, Sindh with 18 constituencies, and Balochistan with three constituencies.
 - In the case of the 65 Provincial Assembly constituencies not meeting the legal requirement, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa had 20, Punjab had 18, Balochistan had 16, and Sindh had 11.
 - Three constituencies, NA-67 Hafizabad, NA-253 Ziarat-cum-Harnai-cum-Sibi-cum-Kohlu-cum-Dera Bugti, and PP-28 Gujrat-II, where population variance was less than ten percent during the preliminary delimitation, have variance in excess of the 10 percent cushion provided in Section 20 after the final delimitation.

After the release of the preliminary delimitation list, FAFEN, along with other stakeholders, expressed concerns about the variation in sizes of constituencies that surpassed 10 percent of the average population quota per constituency. The ECP, in response, emphasized the importance of adhering to district boundaries in constituency allocation and delimitation. This premise was challenged in at least 15 petitions in the higher courts before the Supreme Court ordered to defer the matter until after the elections, citing a potential delay in elections. The ECP had announced to conduct elections based on the final delimitation announced on November 30, 2023, while addressing the complaints post-elections.

BACKGROUND

The ECP initiated the fresh delimitation of national and provincial constituencies under Section 17 of the Elections Act 2017 after the Council of Common Interests (CCI) approved the Seventh Digital Population and Housing Census-2023 on 7 August 2023. On August 17, 2023, the ECP announced the formation of five delimitation committees to draft proposals for the delimitation of constituencies. Later, the ECP made some modifications to the timelines for releasing the preliminary and final delimitation lists.

Based on the results of the Seventh Digital Population and Housing Census, the ECP delimited National and Provincial Assemblies' constituencies across the country and released the preliminary list of delimitations on September 27, 2023.

Following the 25th Constitutional Amendment, the former Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) were merged with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In compliance with the constitutionally revised seat allocation, the 12 general seats previously designated for the former FATA region in the National Assembly were reduced to six.

The delimitation process in 2023 was the first instance of addressing the delineation of National Assembly constituencies in the former FATA agencies as part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Previously in 2019, prior to the first-ever Provincial Assembly elections in the region, the ECP had delineated 16 constituencies for provincial assemblies that covered the former FATA territory.

1. REPRESENTATIONS/OBJECTIONS ON PRELIMINARY DELIMITATION

In comparison to the delimitations of 2017 and 2022, a higher number of representations and objections were submitted concerning the preliminary delimitation list in the current process. In 2022 and 2017, the ECP received 910 and 1,312 objections or representations, respectively, pertaining to the preliminary delimitations, which were formulated based on the findings of the 2017 census.

TIMELINE FOR DELIMITATION OF CONSTITUENCIES		
1	CCI approves the 2023 digital census results	05-08-2023
2	Freezing of boundaries of administrative units across the country	17-08-2023
3	Constitution of Delimitation Committee for each province and Islamabad	21-08-2023
4	Administrative arrangements for the delimitation exercise	22-08-2023 - 31-08-2023
5	Training of Delimitation Committees	01-09-2023 - 04-09-2023
6	Determination and sharing of district quotas for national and provincial assemblies' seats with Delimitation Committees	05-09-2023 - 07-09-2023
7	Preliminary delimitation of constituencies by the Delimitation Committees	05-09-2023 - 26-09-2023
8	Publication of preliminary proposals for delimitation of constituencies along with the report	27-09-2023
9	Filing of representations on preliminary proposals for delimitation of constituencies before the ECP	28-09-2023 - 27-10-2023
10	Disposal/Hearing of representations	28-10-2023 - 26-11-2023
11	Final publication of delimitation	30-11-2023

Section 17(1) of the Elections Act: the Commission shall delimit territorial constituencies for elections to the National Assembly, each Provincial Assembly, and to the local governments in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, this Act, the Rules, and the applicable local government law.

17(2) the Commission shall delimit constituencies after every census officially published.



After analyzing the representations and objections accessible on the ECP's website and reviewing the Commission's orders¹, FAFEN documented a total of 1,331 representations or objections. However, the Commission's summarized tables of representations/objections indicated a slightly lower figure of 1,327 representations or objections.²

Of the 1,331 representations by citizens, 678 (51%) were in Punjab, 293 (22%) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 228 (17%) in Sindh, 125 (nine percent) in Balochistan, and seven (one percent) in Islamabad.

Table 1: Petitions by Type of Constituency and Region

Regions	National	Provincial	Both	Total
Balochistan	26	99	-	125
Islamabad	7	-	-	7
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	48	242	3	293
Punjab	176	483	19	678
Sindh	66	162	-	228
Total	323	986	22	1,331

In total, 1,331 representations were submitted, comprising 323 pertaining to National Assembly constituencies and 986 related to Provincial Assemblies' constituencies. Moreover, 22 representations covered both national and provincial constituencies, resulting in a total of 345 for the National and 1,008 for the Provincial Assemblies.

Table 2: Representations by Prayer/Objective

Regions	Seeking Change	Finalize Preliminary	Total
Balochistan	116	9	125
Islamabad	5	2	7
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	231	62	293
Punjab	646	32	678
Sindh	212	16	228
Grand Total	1,210	121	1,331

Of the total representation, 1,210 (91%) sought changes in the preliminary delimitation, while 121 representations were filed by voters seeking the finalization of the preliminary delimitation for the respective constituencies. Among the representations seeking adjustments in the final delimitation, the emphasis was on factors such as proximity, geographical and historical considerations, administrative and social/cultural homogeneity, and all factors covered under Section 20 (1) of the Elections Act.

A relatively smaller number of petitions cited the larger than-defined variance in the size of their constituencies as the only co-factor for changing the preliminary delimitation.

¹ The Commission refers to the Election Commission comprising the Chief Election Commissioner and the four provincial members/commissioners in discharge of their specific role in hearing representations/objections and finalization of constituency delimitation.

² The representations/objections were counted using two approaches. First, they were counted based on constituency names as specified in each representation file. Second, if a representation contained multiple constituency names and numbers mentioned in its subject, each name mentioned was counted separately.

2. FROM PRELIMINARY TO FINAL: CHANGES IN GEOGRAPHIC EXTENTS OF CONSTITUENCIES

In total, the Commission heard 345 representations, resulting in revisions to the boundaries of 66 out of the 184 National Assembly constituencies.

Of the 110 National Assembly constituencies covered in 195 representations in Punjab, the Commission made alterations to 43 constituencies. In Sindh, where 34 National Assembly constituencies were challenged, 11 were altered. Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa saw modifications in seven and five constituencies, respectively, while none of Islamabad's three constituencies changed.

Table 3: Representations and Number of Constituencies whose Delimitations were Challenged

Region	National Assembly		Provincial Assembly	
	Representations	Constituencies Delimitations Challenged	Representations	Constituencies Delimitations Challenged
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	51	24	245	97
Islamabad	7	3	-	-
Punjab	195	110	502	246
Sindh	66	34	162	97
Balochistan	26	13	99	33
Total	345	184	1,008	473

The Commission took up 1,008 representations covering 473 constituencies of the Provincial Assemblies. Of these, the delimitation of 204 constituencies was revised. In Punjab, 94 constituencies were revised, followed by 46 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 42 in Sindh, and 22 in Balochistan.

Table 4: Change of Geographic Extent: Preliminary vs. Final Lists of Constituencies

Region	National			Provincial		
	Changed in Final	Not Changed	Total	Changed in Final	Not Changed	Total
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	5	40	45	46	69	115
Islamabad	-	3	3	-	-	-
Punjab	43	98	141	94	203	297
Sindh	11	50	61	42	88	130
Balochistan	7	9	16	22	29	51
Grand Total	66	200	266	204*	389	593

* The number includes two provincial constituencies of Punjab whose extents were changed as per the corrigendum issued by the ECP

The changes in five constituencies were the most significant as districts were either added or separated in the final delimitation. There were five such constituencies. In NA-81, Hafizabad was excluded, while Ziarat became part of NA-253 after being excluded from NA-265. The Commission revised two provincial constituencies of the Balochistan Assembly to reallocate the neighboring Harnai district to PB-7 Ziarat from PB-8.



Table 5: Change in Name of Constituencies

Sr. No.	Constituency Name Form-5	Constituency Name Form-7
1	NA-81 Gujranwala-cum-Hafizabad	NA-81 Gujranwala-V
2	NA-253 Harnai-cum-Sibi-cum-Kohlu-cum-Dera Bugti	NA-253 Ziarat-cum-Harnai-cum-Sibi-cum-Kohlu-cum-Dera Bugti
3	NA-265 Pishin-cum-Ziarat	NA-265 Pishin
4	PB-7 Ziarat	PB-7 Ziarat-cum-Harnai
5	PB-8 Harnai-cum-Sibi	PB-8 Sibi

On the other hand, the numbers of four constituencies each of the National Assembly and the Punjab Assembly in Rawalpindi district were changed. It is important to note that compared to the preliminary list, the extent of these constituencies remained unchanged in the final delimitation list.

Table 6: Change only in the number of constituencies

Constituency Name Form-5	Constituency Name Form-7
NA-54 Rawalpindi-III	NA-55 Rawalpindi-IV
NA-55 Rawalpindi-IV	NA-56 Rawalpindi-V
NA-56 Rawalpindi-V	NA-57 Rawalpindi-VI
NA-57 Rawalpindi-VI	NA-54 Rawalpindi-III
PP-12 Rawalpindi-VI	PP-18 Rawalpindi-XII
PP-13 Rawalpindi-VII	PP-19 Rawalpindi-XIII
PP-18 Rawalpindi-XII	PP-12 Rawalpindi-VI
PP-19 Rawalpindi-XIII	PP-13 Rawalpindi-VII

In evaluating the delimitation process as a whole, it is positive that the Commission showed a respectable degree of openness and receptivity to the concerns of the citizens. While the extent of changes from the preliminary list (Form-5) to the final list (Form-7) varies among constituencies, that citizens' input resulted in modifications to 66 National Assembly and 204 provincial assembly constituencies underscores the value of an inclusive and participatory approach to finalizing constituency delimitation.

3. PRINCIPLES OF DELIMITATION AND VARIANCE LEVELS IN THE FINAL DELIMITATION

Equal representation is the key determinant in the delimitation of constituencies, and it has remained a concern since the initial release of the list of constituencies. An examination of the preliminary delimitation by FAFEN revealed that 180 constituencies of the National and Provincial Assemblies did not adhere to the legal requirement of a 10 percent variation in population. The analysis emphasized the importance of strictly adhering to the principle of equal suffrage, which has already been upheld by Parliament through recent amendments to the Elections Act of 2017.³

The ECP responded by asserting that the analysis, particularly the application of a 10 percent difference among constituencies, failed to recognize that delimitation is based on each district's

³ "More than One-Fifth of Constituencies in Draft Delimitation Exceed 10 Pc Population Variation". *Free and Fair Election Network*, 23 November 2023, www.fafen.org/more-than-one-fifth-of-constituencies-in-draft-delimitation-exceed-10-pc-population-variation

population and allocated seats, not on a percentage difference. It further clarified that FAFEN's approach, which considered the province as a unit, neglected the district, leading to confusion. Additionally, the ECP explained that the delimitation process adhered to constitutional provisions and considered various principles such as administrative units and homogeneity.⁴

As the issue of variance persisted in the final list, the premise was challenged in as many as 15 petitions in higher courts until the Supreme Court halted adjudication on the matter after the elections. In line with the Supreme Court's decision, the ECP announced that it will address the complaints against the final delimitation after the elections.⁵

3.1. Principles of Delimitation

The principles of delimitation are derived from various constitutional and legal provisions that establish the number of national and provincial constituencies and provide guidelines and procedures for a comprehensive delimitation process.

In accordance with population shares, Articles 51 and 106 of the Constitution determine the constituencies in the National and Provincial Assemblies, respectively. Section 17(2) of the Elections Act states that the Election Commission is responsible for conducting the delimitation of constituencies after each officially published census.

Section 20 of the Elections Act 2017 establishes the guidelines for delimiting constituencies, incorporating the principle of proportionate allocation inherent in the Constitution. The law underscores that, in adherence to this principle, the variation in population among constituencies should not exceed 10 percent.

3.2. Allocation of Seats and Population Quotas

As stated, Article 51 of the Constitution establishes both the total and regional allocation of seats in the National Assembly. According to the 25th Constitutional Amendment, the number of general seats in the National Assembly was reduced from 272 to 266. The merger of former FATA into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa resulted in a decrease in their combined

Elections Act, Section 20: Principles of delimitation.

(1) All constituencies for general seats shall, as far as practicable, be delimited having regard to the distribution of population in geographically compact areas, physical features, existing boundaries of administrative units, facilities of communication and public convenience, and other cognate factors to ensure homogeneity in the creation of constituencies.

(3) As far as possible, variation in population of constituencies of an Assembly or a local government shall not ordinarily exceed ten percent.

"Provided that for this purpose, it shall not be necessary to strictly adhere to the existing district boundaries."

(4) If the limit of ten percent under sub-section (3) is exceeded in an exceptional case, the Commission shall record the reasons thereof in the delimitation order.

Article 246 of the Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Act, 2018,

the areas mentioned in—

- (i) paragraph (b),
- (a) in sub-paragraph (i), shall stand merged in the Province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa; and
- (b) in sub-paragraph (ii), shall stand merged in the Province of Balochistan; and
- (ii) paragraph (c), shall stand merged in the Province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.]

⁴ Election Commission of Pakistan, Press Release in Connection with Delimitation, 20 December 2023, ecp.gov.pk/press-releases/press-release-in-connection-with-delimitation

⁵ ECP Issues Detailed Order on Revisit of Delimitation, Daily Dawn, 24 December 2023, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1800302>



share of seats in the National Assembly from 51 to 45, as the number of seats for the merged districts was reduced from 12 to six.

Table 7: Quota Allocation per Seat in the National and Provincial Assemblies

Region	Population 2023	NA Seats	Quota per NA Seat	PA Seats	Quota per PA Seat
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	40,856,097	45	907,913	115	355,270
Islamabad	2,363,863	3	787,954	-	-
Punjab	127,688,922	141	905,595	297	429,929
Sindh	55,696,147	61	913,052	130	428,432
Balochistan	14,894,402	16	930,900	51	292,047
Pakistan	241,499,431	266	-	593	-

Similar to the distribution of National Assembly constituencies, the Constitution in Article 106 specifies the number of provincial assembly constituencies, which are shown in the table above. The table illustrates the calculated quota allocation per seat in the National and Provincial Assemblies for each province. Islamabad is only represented in the National Assembly.

3.3. Variance Levels in the Final Delimitation

In August, amendments to Section 20 of the Elections Act of 2017 mandated the Election Commission to disregard district boundaries to ensure the variation in population among constituencies within an assembly does not exceed 10 percent. However, the delimitation process did not strictly adhere to these guidelines, leading to a deviation in variance that did not entirely reflect the intended spirit of the amendment.

A total of 135 constituencies – 70 National and 65 Provincial – did not meet the legal requirement of variation in population to less than ten percent. Punjab has the highest number of National Assembly constituencies (28) with a variation in population of more than 10 percent, followed by 21 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 18 in Sindh, and three in Balochistan. Out of the 65 Provincial Assembly constituencies that did not fulfill the legal requirement, 20 are in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 18 in Punjab, 16 in Balochistan, and 11 in Sindh.

Table 8: Constituency Distribution Based on 10 Percent Deviation

Assembly	Region	Constituencies with up to 10 % Variance	Constituencies with over 10 % Variance	Population Known	Not	Total
National	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	24	21	0		45
	Islamabad	3	0	0		3
	Punjab	75	28	38		141
	Sindh	32	18	11		61
	Balochistan	10	3	3		16
	Total NA		144	70	52	
Provincial	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	55	20	40		115
	Punjab	189	18	90		297
	Sindh	77	11	42		130
	Balochistan	13	16	22		51
	Total PA		334	65	194	
Total		478	135	246		859

In the preliminary delimitation of 266 National Assembly constituencies, 83 exhibited a population variation of over 10 percent. However, the population data for all 266 constituencies could not be determined from the final delimitation list. The population of only 214 National Assembly constituencies in the final list was ascertainable. Among these 214 constituencies, 70 had deviations from the average population quota that exceeded 10 percent. In the preliminary list of these same 214 constituencies, the number of constituencies with a variance exceeding 10 percent was 68. This indicates that the adjustments made in the final delimitation in response to objections have resulted in the addition of two more constituencies (NA-67 Hafizabad, NA-253 Ziarat-cum-Harnai-cum-Sibi-cum-Kohlu-cum-Dera Bugti) to the list that surpassed the 10 percent threshold.

Similarly, in the preliminary delimitation, 97 out of the total 593 Provincial Assembly constituencies exhibited a population deviation of more than 10 percent from the average quota. In the final delimitation, a population quota deviation could be determined for 399 of the 593 Provincial Assembly constituencies. Among these, 65 constituencies have populations that exceed the 10 percent variance range. The preliminary list comprised 64 constituencies that had a deviation of over 10 percent out of these 399 constituencies. In the final delimitation list, one additional constituency (PP-28 Gujrat-II) surpassed the 10 percent variance threshold.

Comparing Preliminary and Final Lists

The population data for constituencies is not mentioned in the final list of delimitation, therefore, variations in 52 National Assembly constituencies and 194 Provincial Assembly constituencies could not be assessed.

Of the 266 NA constituencies, only 214 constituencies could be analyzed in the final list. Of these, 200 constituencies remained unchanged and the population in the preliminary list is assumed final. The population variation of 14 constituencies was determined based on their population in Form-5.

Similarly, of the 593 provincial constituencies, FAFEN was able to assess population of 399. Of these, 391 did not change and therefore their population also remained the same as in the preliminary list. Changes in the population of eight constituencies was determined based on the population of constituting areas in Form-5.

Table 9: Comparison of Constituency Deviation from Quota in Preliminary and Final Delimitation

Assembly	Deviation Category Preliminary	Region	Deviation Category Final		Population Not Known	Total
			Constituencies with up to 10% Variance	Constituencies with More Than 10% Variance		
National	Constituencies with up to 10% Variance	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	24	-	-	24
		Islamabad	3	-	-	3
		Punjab	75	1	30	106
		Sindh	32	-	7	39
		Balochistan	9	1	1	11
	Constituencies with More Than 10% Variance	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	-	21	-	21
		Punjab	-	27	8	35
		Sindh	-	18	4	22
		Balochistan	1	2	2	5
NA Total			144	70	52	266
Provincial	Constituencies with up to 10% Variance	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	55	-	30	85
		Punjab	189	1	81	271
		Sindh	77	-	37	114
		Balochistan	13	-	13	26
	Constituencies with More Than 10% Variance	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	-	20	10	30
		Punjab	-	17	9	26
		Sindh	-	11	5	16
		Balochistan	-	16	9	25
	PA Total			334	65	194
Total			478	135	246	859



The issue of variance is more pronounced in some cases than in others. Among the most skewed constituencies, two of the largest constituencies in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, NA-39 Bannu, and PK-93 Hangu, have 50 percent and 49 percent variation from the provincial population per seat quota. In Punjab, NA-67 Hafizabad has a 46 percent variation, while PB-51 Chaman in Balochistan has a 60 percent variation from the quota. Interestingly, the smallest constituencies in the National and Provincial Assemblies show no variation from the quota.

Table 10: Region-wise smallest and largest constituencies

Assembly	Region	Quota per Seat	Largest Constituency			Smallest Constituency		
			Constituency	Population	Variation from Quota (%)	Constituency	Population	Variation from Quota (%)
National	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	907,913	NA-39 Bannu	1,357,890	50%	NA-25 Charsadda-II	909,438	0%
	Islamabad	787,954	NA-47 ICT-II	800,692	2%	NA-46 ICT-I	782,561	1%
	Punjab	905,595	NA-67 Hafizabad	1,319,909	46%	NA-70 Sialkot-I	904,535	0%
	Sindh	913,052	NA-209 Sanghar-I	1,172,516	28%	NA-193 Shikarpur	914,333	0%
	Balochistan	930,900	NA-253 Ziarat-cum-Harnai-cum-Sibi-cum-Kohlu-cum-Dera Bugti	1,156,748	24%	NA-251 Sherani-cum-Zhob-cum-Killa Saifullah	927,579	0%
Provincial	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	355,270	PK-93 Hangu	528,902	49%	PK-69 Khyber-I	354,893	0%
	Punjab	429,929	PP-177 Kasur-III	510,875	19%	PP-131 Jhang-VII	430,001	0%
	Sindh	428,432	PS-79 Jamshoro-III	354,505	17%	PS-32 Naushahro Feroze-I	428,391	0%
	Balochistan	292,047	PB-51 Chaman	466,218	60%	PB-17 Usta Muhammad	292,060	0%

The consistent and substantial deviation from the quota in the constituencies mentioned above highlights the need to address population disparities, as intended by the 2023 amendment to Section 20 of the Elections Act of 2017. FAFEN reiterates its position that adherence to the 10 percent population variation limit shall take precedence over considerations related to district boundaries. Considering the recent rulings by the high court on petitions seeking similar relief, the Commission's upcoming post-election hearings will provide an appropriate platform to address and resolve the existing discrepancy gap.



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