



Women Legislators

Performance in the National Assembly

June 2014 – February 2015

Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN)

WWW.FAFEN.ORG

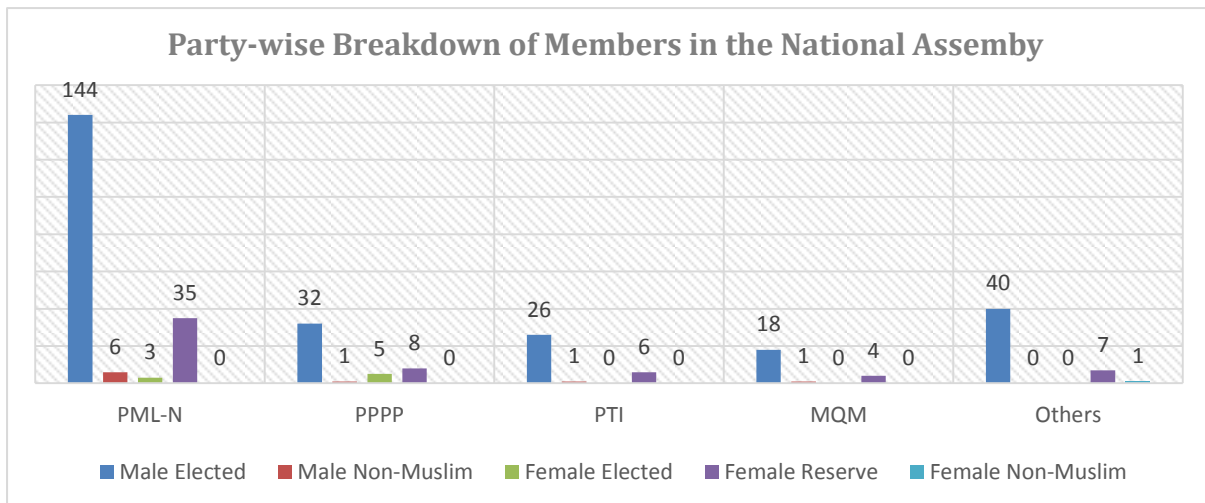
Women Members More Assertive and Active Representatives of Citizens

• Naeema Kishwar Khan, Aisha Syed and Shazia Marri Among Top Performers

Women lawmakers in the National Assembly have been more active and assertive in their lawmaking and oversight role compared to their male counterparts, says a performance analysis released by Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN) on International Women’s Day.

FAFEN’s direct observation of the National Assembly proceedings shows that the women lawmakers accounted for nearly half of the parliamentary business conducted between June 2014 and February 2015 – despite the fact that they represent only 22% of the total membership.

The National Assembly includes 69 women members – eight elected on general seats, 60 on reserved seats for women and one on reserved seat for non-Muslims. Despite their underrepresentation, women have actively participated in the parliamentary business and remained more assertive compared to male members in the Lower House of the Parliament. They have proven to work effectively in collaboration with male members of their parties as well as other parties by jointly submitting calling attention notices, resolutions, private bills and other parliamentary business.



The performance analysis has been prepared by FAFEN’s Parliament Watch and Reforms Program, which aims to collect and publish information related to the performance of MNAs, MPAs and senators by observing their actions in the legislatures. The unique aspect of FAFEN’s methodology is direct observation of parliamentary proceedings. FAFEN deploys trained observers to the legislatures in order to monitor the institution’s performance using a detailed standardized checklist covering all types of parliamentary business. The information gathered is measured against the neutral and objective framework of the rules of parliamentary procedure.

FAFEN’s report analyses participation of women in various types of parliamentary business which are admissible under the Lower House’s Rules of Business. The participation is assessed on the basis of directly observable interventions in the House. This indicates that there may in fact be more submissions from female members which were not presented in the House during the reporting period.

The women parliamentarians put up 1,256 parliamentary interventions during the reporting period. FAFEN defines a parliamentary intervention as an instance when a member of the National Assembly either submits an agenda item on the Orders of the Day (calling attention notices, questions, private members' bills, etc.) or raises his/her concerns during a debate on the floor of the House (points of order, supplementary questions, debate on adjournment motions etc.).

Despite the fact that eight women parliamentarians refrained from any form of participation, the remaining lawmakers contributed to almost half of the parliamentary business during the reporting period. Women members sponsored 17 private member bills – seven in their individual capacity and 10 jointly with other members. Last year, the women parliamentarians had moved nine private members' bills individually and six with other male and female members.

Similarly, women lawmakers individually moved 17 resolutions, 21 calling attention notices, 1,135 questions, and 13 motions under Rule 259 during the reporting period.

Agenda	Agenda submitted by men	Agenda submitted by women	Agenda submitted jointly by men and women	Total agenda submitted in the National Assembly
Private Members Bills Introduced	3	7	10	20
Resolutions	20	17	16	53
CANs	12	21	28	61
Points of Order	551	62	0	613
Questions	1,020	1,135	0	2,155
Matters of Public Importance	1	0	1	2
Motions Under Rule 259	13	13	5	31
Amendments in Rules of Procedure	1	1	4	6

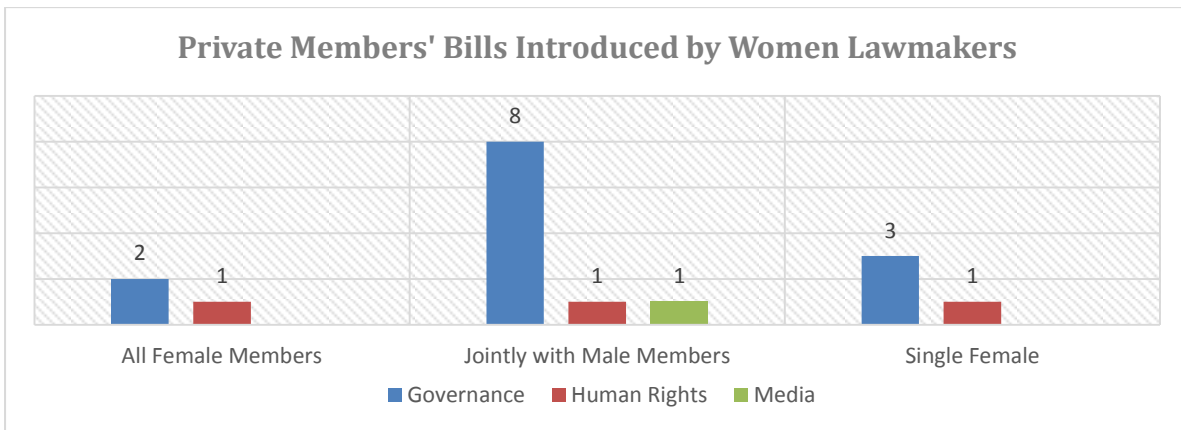
1.0 Parliamentary Outputs

Lawmaking on matters of national significance through careful debate is the legislature’s most important function. This section gives the details of the National Assembly’s outputs sponsored by women parliamentarians in the form of legislation and resolutions.

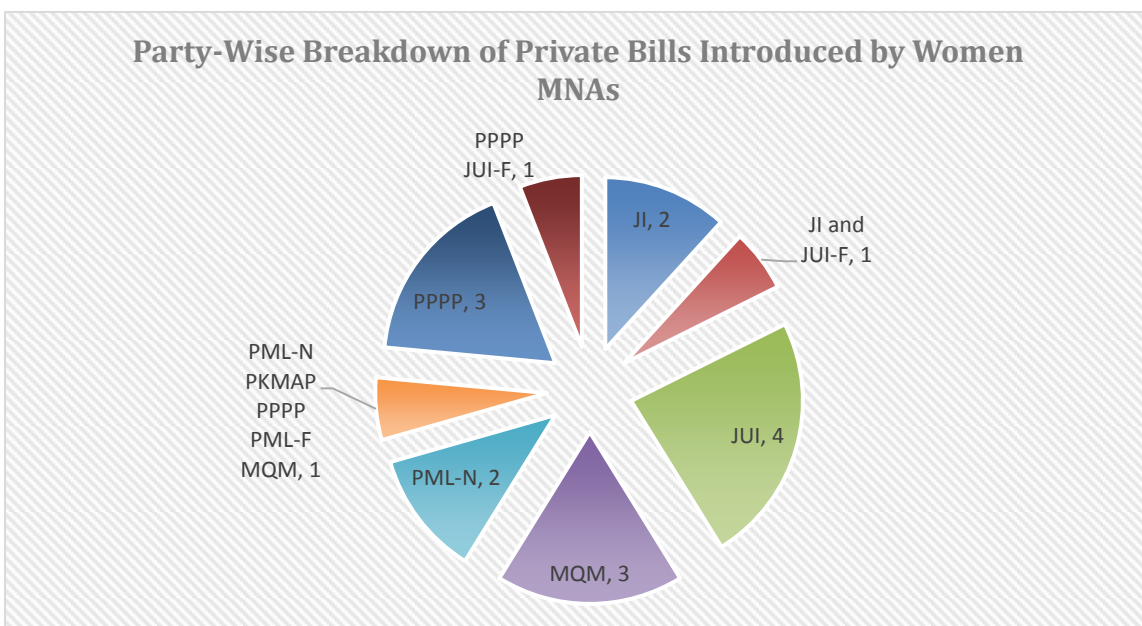
1.1 Legislation

Women members introduced 17 private bills either individually or jointly with other members during the reporting period. In contrast, their male counterparts introduced 13 bills jointly or individually during the same period.

The women-sponsored bills mostly focused on issues of governance (13 bills), human rights (three) and media (one). Four bills were introduced individually by women, while another three were sponsored jointly by multiple women lawmakers. Ten bills were jointly sponsored by male and female members in the National Assembly.



Party-wise, women affiliated with PML-N, PPPP and JUI-F sponsored six bills each (either individually or jointly) while MQM and JI members moved five and three bills respectively.



Human Rights

A total of three private bills sponsored by women were regarding issues of human rights. An MQM's bill sponsored jointly by male and female lawmakers sought an amendment to the criminal law against desecration of dead bodies. Similarly, another amendment bill sponsored by a JI member dealt with criminalizing cannibalism in the country. The third private bill moved by a PML-N lawmaker sought measures to criminalize torture, death and rape under police custody in the wake of the United Nations Convention against Torture to which Pakistan is a signatory.

Media

The Protection of Journalists Act 2014 was jointly sponsored by male and female lawmakers of JI and sought protection of journalists in the wake of continuous attacks in the country.

Governance

As many as 13 private members' bills – three moved individually by female lawmakers and 10 jointly with male and female lawmakers – were related to governance issues. Two bills moved by women lawmakers of PML-N were related to prevention of electronic crimes (an issue largely ignored in existing laws) and formation of the Pakistan Health Research Council.

Most of the bills sought amendments to Articles 51, 63 and 106 of the Constitution. All these bills were referred to the relevant standing committees and could not be passed during the reporting period (See annexure A for details of private members' bills).

Top Performers in Sponsoring Private Members' Bills

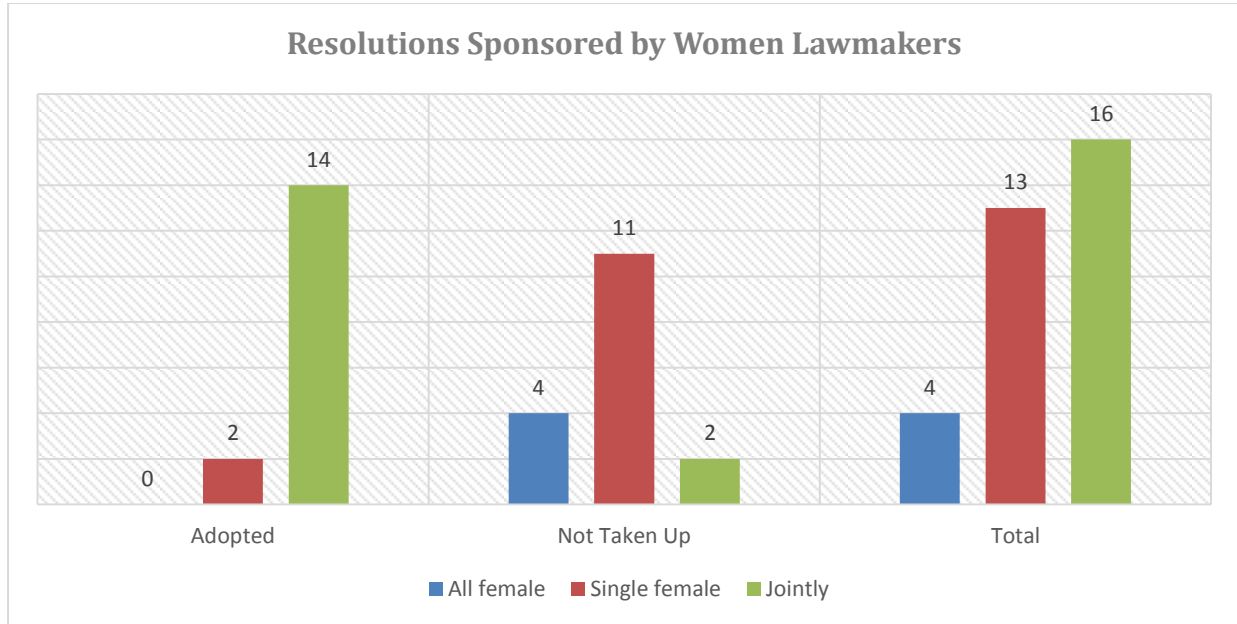
The top performing lawmakers were all nominated on reserved seats for women in the National Assembly. Naeema Kishwar Khan of JUI-F was the most active legislator, sponsoring five bills jointly and one individually during the reporting period. She was followed by Shahida Akhtar Ali (JUI-F), Dr Nikhat Shakeel Khan (MQM), Aisha (JI), Nafisa Shah (PPPP) and Kishwer Zehra (MQM) who sponsored three bills each – mostly in collaboration with other male and female lawmakers. The following table gives the details of top-performers sponsoring private bills during the reporting period:

Name	Party	Constituency	Private Members' Bills		
			Jointly	Individually	Total
Naeema Kishwar Khan	JUI-F	NA-327 KP-VI	5	1	6
Dr. Nikhat Shakeel Khan	MQM	NA-318 Sindh-XI	3		3
Shahida Akhtar Ali	JUI-F	NA-326 KP-V	3		3
Aisha Syed	JI	NA-329 KP-VIII	3		3
Nafisa Shah	PPPP	NA-309 Sindh-II	2	1	3
Kishwer Zehra	MQM	NA-315 Sindh-VIII	3		3
Dr. Azra Fazal Pechuho	PPPP	NA-213 Shaheed Benazir Abad-I	2		2
Aasiya Nasir	JUI-F	NA-342 Non-Muslim-X	2		2
Dr. Shireen Mehrunnisa Mazari	PTI	NA-305 Punjab-XXXIII	2		2
Mrs. Belum Hasnain	PPPP	NA-307 Punjab-XXXV		2	2

1.2 Resolutions

Through resolutions, a legislature, elected party/parties or a legislator expresses an opinion, makes recommendations, or conveys a message on a specific and important issue. Women lawmakers remained active in sponsoring resolutions during the reporting period.

In all, women representatives sponsored 33 resolutions jointly or individually, of which 16 were adopted while the rest were not taken up. On the contrary, male lawmakers moved 37 resolutions, of which 26 were adopted and 11 were not taken up.



Top Performers in Sponsoring Resolutions

Shahida Akhtar Ali of JUI-F and Dr Azra Fazal Pechuho of PPPP moved eight resolutions each, followed by JUI-F's Naeema Kishwar Khan and PPPP's Shazia Marri who moved six resolutions each. In addition, PPPP's Nafisa Shah sponsored five resolutions during the reporting period.

2.0 Representation and Responsiveness

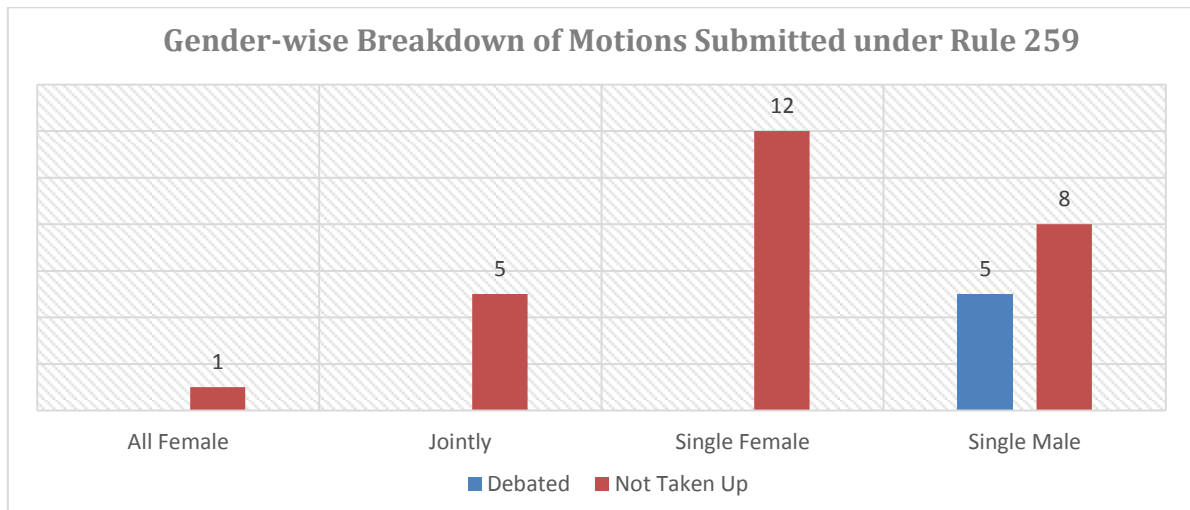
Parliament's responsiveness indicates members' collective actions on issues of public interests that are raised and discussed on the floor of the House through motions under Rule 259 or matters of public importance.

2.1 Motions under Rule 259

Under Rule 259 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business of the National Assembly, "any minister or member may give notice of a motion that any policy, situation, statement of any other matter may be taken into consideration."

Women legislators submitted 18 motions under Rule 259 during the reporting period, of which 12 were submitted individually, one jointly with other female MNAs and five with male

legislators. However, none of these motions was taken up by the House. On the contrary, 13 motions were moved individually by male members, of which five were debated.



Women members of PPPP moved nine out of 18 motions either jointly or individually, followed by lawmakers of PML-N (five), JI (three) and JUI-F (one).

Two motions by PML-N sought discussion on health issues, such as unavailability of medical facilities for thalassemia patients and spread of tuberculosis in the country. Another motion moved by PML-N and one by PPPP proposed discussion over deplorable conditions of vocational training institutions and the government's performance in this regard. Two motions from PPPP sought discussion over IDPs situation and facilities. Other issues covered by motions included governmental policy on agriculture, Kashmir, foreign relations, climate change, Hajj, corruption in federal government departments, rising cases of beggary in Islamabad, taxation and provision of justice.

2.2 Matters of Public Importance (Motion under Rule 87)

Rule 87 of the Rules of Procedure allows members to raise matters of public importance through prior permission of the Speaker. Two motions under Rule 87 were moved during the reporting period – one jointly by male and female lawmakers of PPPP to debate the use renewable energy resources and another by a male MQM member to discuss the alarming rate of population growth in the country.

3.0 Executive Oversight

The oversight of the executive is one of the legislature's core functions through which it asserts itself as a representative body. It is necessary for the accountability of the executive's actions and ensuring the implementation of policies and decisions made on the floor of the House. Executive oversight is conducted through questions and calling attention notices, under Rules 69 and 88 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of the Business in the National Assembly.

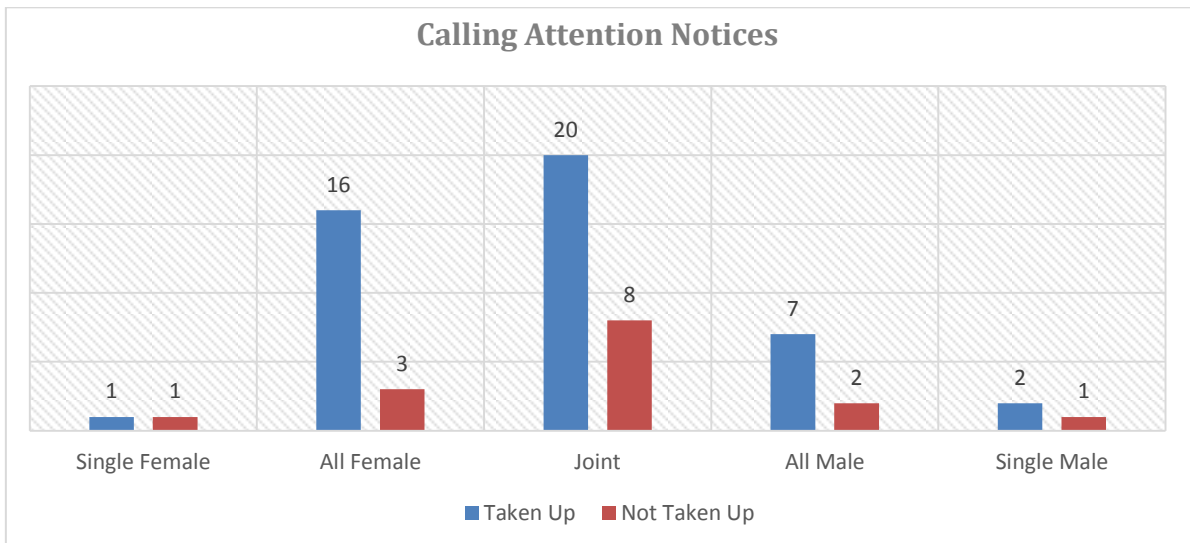
3.1 Calling Attention Notices (CANs)

According to the National Assembly's Rules of Procedure, "a member may with the previous permission of the Chair call the attention of a minister to any matter of urgent public importance and the minister may make a brief statement or ask for time to make a statement at

a later hour or date, provided that no member shall give more than two such notices for any one sitting."

In all, 61 CANs were moved in the National Assembly, of which 46 were taken up. As many as 49 CANs were moved by women lawmakers – either individually or jointly with other female or male MNAs. Of the CANs taken up, only one was individually moved by a female PML-N lawmaker, 16 were moved jointly with other female lawmakers whereas 20 were moved by female lawmakers in collaboration with their male counterparts.

Among the CANs not taken up, one was individually moved by a female legislator from PML-N, three were moved jointly with other women and eight were moved jointly by male and female lawmakers.



Top Performers in Sponsoring Calling Attention Notices

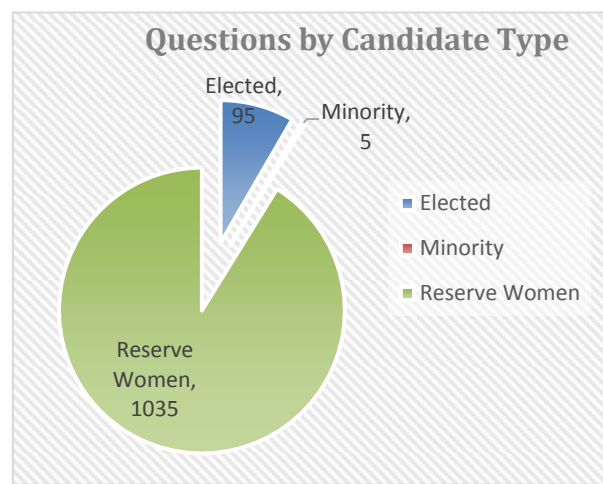
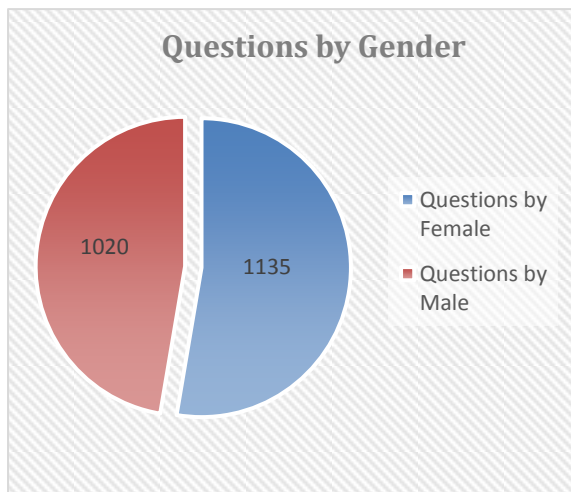
PPPP’s Shazia Marri moved 10 calling attention notices, followed by PML-N’s Asiya Naz Tanoli and Dr Azra Fazal (nine each). The following table gives the details of top performers sponsoring calling attention notices:

Name	Party	Constituency	No. of CANs Sponsored
Shazia Marri	PPPP	NA-235 Sanghar-cum-Mirpurkhas-cum-Umerkot (Old Sanghar-II)	10
Asiya Naz Tanoli	PML-N	NA-282 Punjab-X	9
Dr. Azra Fazal Pechuho	PPPP	NA-213 Shaheed Benazir Abad-I (Old Nawabshah-I)	9
Nighat Parveen	PML-N	NA-279 Punjab-VII	8
Khalida Mansoor	PML-N	NA-281 Punjab-IX	6
Nafisa Shah	PPPP	NA-309 Sindh-II	6
Naeema Kishwar Khan	JUI-F	NA-327 KP-VI	5
Aasiya Nasir	JUI-F	NA-342 Non-Muslim-X	5
Shaista Pervaiz	PML-N	NA-278 Punjab-VI	4
Tahira Aurangzeb	PML-N	NA-275 Punjab-III	4

3.2 Question Hour

Question hour is an important parliamentary intervention that provides the right to members to elicit factual information from the government regarding matters of public interest. It is a tool which allows members to conduct government oversight.

A total of 2,155 questions were raised during the seven sessions of the National Assembly that were summoned during the reporting period. Of these 2,155 questions, 1,135 (52.7%) were raised by 42 female lawmakers while the remaining 1,020 (47.3%) questions were raised by 60 male members. Three women on general seats raised 95 questions, while the sole female lawmaker on a minority seat raised five questions. The remaining 1,025 questions were raised by 38 members on reserved seats for women. Party-wise, 448 questions were raised by women belonging to PML-N, followed by PPPP (346), JI (110) and PTI (101). In addition, women belonging to MQM and JUI-F raised 47 questions each, followed by NPP (28) and PkMAP (eight).



Top Performers in Submitting Questions

JI lawmaker Aisha Syed raised the highest (110) number of questions during the reporting period, followed by PML-N’s Khalida Mansoor (77) and Asiya Naz Tanoli (74). PPPP member Shahida Rehmani raised 73 questions, followed by Belum Hasnain who submitted 67 questions during the reporting period. The following table gives the details:

Name of Member	Constituency	Party	Questions
Aisha Syed	NA-329 KP-VIII	JI	110
Khalida Mansoor	NA-281 Punjab-IX	PML-N	77
Asyia Naz Tanoli	NA-282 Punjab-X	PML-N	74
Shahida Rehmani	NA-314 Sindh-VII	PPPP	73
Belum Hasnain	NA-307 Punjab-XXXV	PPPP	67
Shakila Luqman	NA-304 Punjab-XXXII	PML-N	59
Nighat Parveen	NA-279 Punjab-VII	PML-N	53
Shazia Marri	NA-235 Sanghar-cum-Mirpurkhas-cum-Umerkot (Old Sanghar-II)	PPPP	50
Shaista Pervaiz	NA-278 Punjab-VI	PML-N	47
Nafisa Inayatullah Khan Khattak	NA-322 KP-I	PTI	47

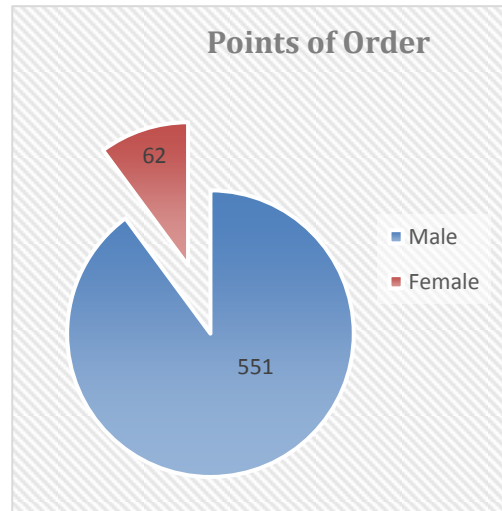
4.0 Order and Institutionalization

This section deals with Order and Institutionalization of members which is important for an efficient and productive legislature.

4.1 Points of Order (POs)

A Point of Order exclusively relates to the interpretation or enforcement of the Rules of Procedure. However, members often discuss national, regional and local issues while speaking on POs.

A total of 613 POs were raised during the reporting period, of which 62 (10%) were moved by female lawmakers. PPPP lawmaker Shazia Marri raised 13 POs, followed by six POs raised by Nafisa Shah and five each by JUI-F member Naeema Kishwar and PPPP members Dr Azra Fazal Pechuho and Dr Fehmida Mirza.



ANNEXURE A: Details of Private Members' Bills Introduced

Session No	Name of Bill	Party	Gender	Referred to Standing Committee	Thematic Area
15	The Constitution (Twenty Fourth Amendment) Bill, 2014 (Amendment in Articles 51, 63 and 106)	MQM	Jointly Male and Female	Law, Justice and Human Rights	Governance
15	The Civil Servants (Amendment) Bill, 2014 (Amendment in section 5)	PML-N	Single Female	Cabinet Secretariat	Governance
15	The Islamabad Rent Restriction (Amendment) Bill, 2014 (Amendment in sections, 2, 5, 21, 23, substitution of sections 8 and 10 and insertion of new sections in Ordinance IV of 2001)	PML-N	Single Male	Interior and Narcotics Control	Governance
15	The Election Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2014 (Amendment in section 13 and 49, insertion of new section 51A and 7C)	PPPP	All Female	Parliamentary Affairs	Governance
15	The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2014 (Amendment in Article 251)	JUI	Jointly Male and Female	Law, Justice and Human Rights	Governance
15	The Transplantation of Human Organs and Tissues (Amendment) Bill, 2014	MQM	Jointly Male and Female	Cabinet Secretariat	Governance
15	The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2014 (Amendment in Articles 51 and 106)	PML-N PKMAP PPPP PML-F MQM	Jointly Male and Female	Law, Justice and Human Rights	Governance
15	The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2014 (Amendment in Article 51 and 106)	JUI	Jointly Male and Female	Law, Justice and Human Rights	Governance
15	The Civil Servants (Amendment) Bill, 2014	PPPP	Single Female	Cabinet Secretariat	Governance
17	The Emigration (Amendment) Bill, 2014	PPPP	Single Male	Not Applicable	Governance
17	The Special Citizens Bill, 2015	PPPP JUI	All Female	Cabinet Secretariat	Governance
18	The Pakistan Private Courier Services Regulatory Authority of Pakistan Bill, 2015	PPPP	Single Female	Not Applicable	Governance
18	The Compulsory Education of Arabic Bill, 2015	JUI	Jointly Male and Female	Not Applicable	Governance
18	The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 2015	JUI	Jointly Male and Female	Not Applicable	Governance
18	The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2015 (Amendment in Article 31)	JUI	Jointly Male and Female	Not Applicable	Governance
15	The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2014 (Insertion of new sections 297-A and 297-B, Amendment in Schedule II)	MQM	All Male	Interior and Narcotics Control	Human Rights
15	The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2014 (Substitution of section 297 and amendment in second schedule)	MQM	Jointly Male and Female	Interior and Narcotics Control	Human Rights
15	The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2014 (Insertion of new section 297-A and Amendment in the second schedule)	JUI	All Female	Interior and Narcotics Control	Human Rights
15	The Torture, Custodial death and Custodial Rape (Punishment and Prevention) Bill, 2014	PML-N	Single Female	Interior and Narcotics Control	Human Rights
15	The Protection of Journalists Bill, 2014	JUI	Jointly Male and Female	Information, Broadcasting and National Heritage	Media

ABOUT FAFEN

Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN) is a nationwide network of 42 Pakistani civil society organizations. It has been working since 2006 to strengthen democratic systems and promote active citizenship and is governed by Trust for Democratic Education and Accountability (TDEA). With its primary mandate to observe elections and seek reforms to improve the quality of elections, FAFEN managed unprecedented long-term voter education and election observation initiatives that got 20,000 Pakistani citizens from every district of the country directly involved in the general election process in 2007-08.

In 2013, FAFEN deployed more than 40,000 trained, non-partisan long- and short-term observers to monitor all phases of general election. FAFEN election observation has yielded valuable insights into the quality of the electoral process and enabled generation of critical recommendations for reforms in the constitutional, legal and procedural frameworks that govern elections in Pakistan.

In addition to its vibrant Electoral Oversight, Research and Reforms Program, FAFEN has developed innovative techniques to observe the functioning of Parliament and provincial assemblies in order to advocate for parliamentary reforms for a more accountable, transparent and responsive legislative governance. Under its Parliament Oversight, Research and Reforms Program, FAFEN directly observes and objectively reports on the proceedings of all elected Houses in Pakistan.

FAFEN mobilizes and facilitates citizens engagements with elected and public institutions across Pakistan as a prerequisite for strengthening democratic accountabilities as part of its Electoral Governance Oversight, Research and Reforms Program. These activities fit in with the FAFEN's core objective of promoting active citizenry—a critical ingredient of a vibrant democratic system.

Disclaimer: This publication has been produced with the assistance of the European Union (EU). The contents of this publication are the sole responsibility of FAFEN and can in no way be taken to reflect the views of the EU. This Report is based on direct observation of the National Assembly proceedings conducted by Centre for Peace and Development Initiatives (CPDI); a member organization of FAFEN. Errors and omissions excepted.

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