

Difficult Agenda, Firm Response

Another Year of Political Consensus

13th National Assembly Completes Fourth Parliamentary Year; Member Participation, Sitting Time, Questions Raised and Legislative Outputs Decrease; 61 Members Did Not Participate

Geo-strategic challenges, national security, political instability, civil-military relations and executive-judiciary tension largely defined the agenda for the 13th National Assembly during its fourth parliamentary year that ended on March 17, 2012. The outgoing year was particularly tumultuous for Pakistan as well as for the legislature in terms of agenda-setting that was difficult and critical.

During the fourth parliamentary year, the National Assembly had to respond to events of gigantic proportions such as killing of Osama bin Laden in an American operation inside Pakistan, killing of Pakistani soldiers in a NATO air raid on a Pakistani border post, the confrontation between the executive and the military over the memogate controversy, growing public agitation over the prevailing multi-sector governance crisis and a judiciary verdict declaring as unconstitutional all by-elections held after the adoption of the 18th Constitutional Amendment Act in April 2010. The response by the Lower House in most cases was swift and categorical, although its actions were not matched by the executive in terms of their enforcement, deepening a public perception of parliamentary ineffectiveness.

The political fragmentation and growing differences might have distanced the political stakeholders throughout the year, but treasury and opposition parties took unanimous positions on critical matters such as the annual budget for 2011-12, United

States' increased pressure on Pakistan for doing more to eradicate extremism, role of military in politics and legitimization of Members elected in by-elections declared unconstitutional by the apex court.

The diverse political ideologies manifested by 10 parliamentary parties sitting on both sides of the aisle also mediated reconciliation on issues that had the potential of disrupting the democratic process such as the memogate controversy when it passed a pro-democracy Resolution endorsed by all political parties otherwise at loggerheads.

While Pakistan's security and political parties' institutional interest drew unanimity and urgency of parliamentary actions, issues of public interest such as weak governance, institutional corruption, unemployment and increasing poverty remained on the backburner and low on the Assembly's priorities. Political unanimity appeared to dwindle on matters of public importance with 59 of 88 bills introduced in the House through its fourth year still pending, 53 of 61 Resolutions on the agenda were not taken up, 48 of 145 Calling Attention Notices were never allowed to be raised, 543 questions of 2,425 were never answered and one of five adjournment motions never debated.

The unattended agenda of the Lower House largely focused on issues that are relevant to public wellbeing such as employment, public health and growing inflation. The Charter of Child Rights Bill, the Pakistan Food Security Bill and the Senior Citizens Welfare Bill were

some of the Private Member's Bills that could not be taken up by the House. Similarly, eight Resolutions on health-related issues, five on education and four on employment remained unaddressed. The House also did not take up 13 Calling Attention Notices pertaining to the energy-related issues, five to Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) and three to Pakistan Railways.

The agenda, whether private or treasury-sponsored, was, however, disposed of through consensus, indicating at the enhanced capacity of political organization to negotiate and navigate. However, the approval of agenda pertaining to issues of public importance remained time-consuming.

Some landmark legislation through political consensus included the Bill on Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention - passed unanimously on May 10, 2011. Another Private Members' Bill regarding the protection of women rights - the Prevention of Anti-Women Practices Bill 2011 - was also passed with consensus in November 2011.

Two treasury sponsored Bills, the National Commission on the Status of Women Bill 2012 for promoting social, economic, political and legal rights of women and the Women in Distress and Detention Fund (Amendment) Bill 2010, were passed in unanimity with the Opposition Benches.

Bi-partisan approach was also one of the important features of the agenda-setting observed through the year, bridging together Members from parliamentary groups otherwise at political odds. Members belonging to Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PMLN) and Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM), for example, jointly submitted a Resolution in the 30th session opposing the Income Tax ordinance that the treasury was contemplating to introduce in an effort to reform the General Sales Tax mechanisms. The Resolution was never introduced as the government agreed to withdraw the Bill.

Another interesting alliance developed among the women legislators belonging to all parliamentary groups when they introduced the Political Parties Order (Amendment) Bill in the 38th session.

Although low in percentage, six percent of all agenda was jointly moved by Members belonging to various parties - the opposition and treasury benches in collaboration sponsored three Resolutions, 13 Calling Attention Notices and one Private Members' Bill.

The political unanimity that hastened the parliamentary actions on otherwise issues of high politics appeared to be missing on issues that were relevant to public wellbeing including on legislation to protect women. The legislation of acid throwing, for example, took a year and six months in its passage, unlike the 20th Amendment Act that took a day.

Among major issues raised during the year, energy crisis - gas and electricity outages and increasing tariffs- was discussed through 343 parliamentary interventions by various legislators, most of them from the opposition benches, followed by law and order (112 interventions), and agriculture-related issues (81).

The situation in Balochistan was raised in 72 parliamentary interventions. In August 2011 the National Assembly decided to send an all-party special committee to Karachi and Balochistan to investigate the violence there. However, the 17-Member committee failed to meet regularly. In October last year a PPPP MNA from Balochistan staged a sit-in outside the National Assembly entrance against sectarian killings in the province. He was also joined by other parliamentarians. In February 2012, the House passed a Resolution condemning a US congressional hearing on the province, terming it interference in Pakistan's internal affairs.

The other important issues taken up by the House included PIA, relations with the US in the backdrop of NATO attack on a Pakistani check post in Salala along the border with Afghanistan, media and new provinces.

In keeping with its practice documented during the first three years, the National Assembly only attended to 40% agenda items on its Orders of the Day during 100 sittings clubbed into 10 sessions. The abysmally low disposal of agenda corresponds with a low average sitting time through the year that remained two hours and 51 minutes. The Lower House met for a total of 284 hours and 51 minutes as compared to 348 hours and 43 minutes last year. None of the 100 sittings started on time and were delayed on average by 52 minutes. The average delay in the preceding year was 43 minutes. The longest sitting in the fourth year lasted six hours and 11 minutes during the budget session, while the shortest was eight minutes during the 33rd session.

FAFEN analysis is based on direct observation of the National Assembly sessions held in the 4th parliamentary year from April 11, 2011 to February 14, 2012¹. It assesses the performance of the Lower House using a five-pronged criterion - transparency, participation, responsiveness, output and order and institutionalization.

While the public perception may be that of Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) being a friendly opposition, PMLN kept the treasury benches challenged in the National Assembly throughout the year. The PMLN Members raised 68% of all

¹This report does not include figures from the last ongoing session of the fourth parliamentary year which started on March 14, 2012.

questions put to the treasury in line with their mandate to provide an effective executive oversight. Most of their questions were directed to the Cabinet Secretariat, the Ministries of Finance and Revenue and Petroleum and Natural Resources, indicative of party's desire to be responsive to the public issues echoed across the country throughout the year.

While PMLN remained the most active parliamentary party in all spheres of parliamentary interjections, nine out of its 90 Members did not participate in the National Assembly proceedings all through the year. However, the largest percentage of non-participating Members belonged to the ruling Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentary (PPPP) with 24 out of its 124 Members having not intervened in the proceedings even once in the fourth year. On this count, MQM was the only parliamentary party which ensured that all of its 25 Members participated in the proceedings.

The interest of a majority of Members remained generally low in the proceedings of the Lower House, with 61 of a total of 341 Members belonging to seven parties not participating in any of the parliamentary business throughout the year. Among them were 14 women and 47 men – 24 belonging to PPPP, 14 to PML, nine to PMLN, five to Awami National Party (ANP), three to Pakistan Muslim League-Functional (PMLF) and one each to Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal Party (MMAP) and National People's Party (NPP). Four non-participating Members sat on independent benches.

Prominent non-participating Members were Nazar Muhammad Gondal, former federal minister for food and agriculture; Ghulam Farid Kathia, former state minister for education; Jam Mir Muhammad Yousaf, former chief minister of Balochistan; Rana Asif Tauseef, state minister for privatization; Zubaida Jalal, former federal minister for education; and Ghulam Murtaza Khan Jatoi, parliamentary leader of NPP.

Another indicator of Members' interest is their attendance. On average 66 Members were present at the beginning and 76 at the adjournment of each sitting which was less than the 1/4th of the total Membership (86 Members) required for meeting Quorum. Though the Quorum was visibly lacking, it was not pointed out throughout the year.

A gender-wise analysis of the fourth year places women Members ahead of their male counterparts in terms of participation in various parliamentary businesses. Sixty-five or 86% of 77 women parliamentarians accounted for more than half of the agenda conducted during the year. In comparison, male Members, who constitute 77% of the National Assembly, seemed less active in asserting and raising public voices.

In terms of provincial disaggregation of Member participation, 23% Members belonging to general and reserved seats from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa did not participate in the assembly proceedings through the year. The highest representation came from Federally Administered Tribal Areas with all of its 11² Members contributing to the assembly proceedings. Similarly, all minority Members participated.

The executive responsiveness to the assembly also remained weak as it failed to respond to 22% of all questions. Most of the unanswered questions were directed to the Ministry of Interior. However, the ministerial presence in the assembly session improved as compared to previous year. This perhaps is a result of interest of the Leader of the House in the assembly proceedings, who maintained his tradition of attending the sittings regularly by participating in 82 out of 100 sittings that took place during the year. The Prime Minister remained the most present leader of any parliamentary party in the National Assembly. His counterpart from the PMLN, the Leader of the Opposition, could only make it to 42 sittings.

Conspicuous, however, has been the absence of the Speaker of the National Assembly, who did not chair 57% of the sittings, although she might be conducting official business in her chambers. The Deputy Speaker attended 80% of the sittings.

The legislators mostly raised Points of Order (used exclusively to indicate any violation in conduct of business of the House) to speak on various issues that consumed 5,175 minutes (30%) of the total time otherwise allocated to formal agenda. A total of 210 Members raised 1,182 Points of Order during the parliamentary year. The Members generally raised more than one issue through a single Point of Order.

According to the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business, the Chair can allot the last half an hour of any sitting, except Friday, to raise a matter which is not a Point of Order. Legally, the time allocated for matters which are not Points of Order for 100 sittings during the year should not have exceeded 2,430 minutes (40 hours and 30 minutes). However, 1,182 Points of Order consumed 47 hours and 15 minutes extra, otherwise assigned for disbursement of regular agenda.

² National Assembly has 12 seats allotted to FATA representatives but election on NA-42 South Waziristan Agency never took place during the entire term for security reasons

Detailed Findings

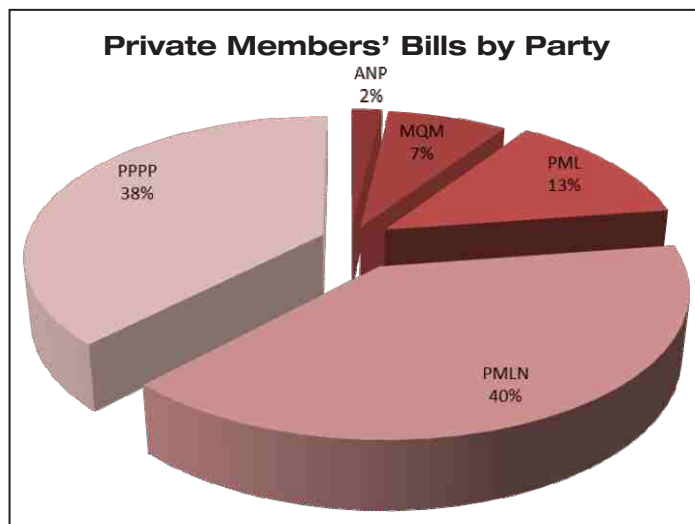
Parliamentary Outputs

Legislation

The National Assembly passed 27 Bills, including the Constitution (Twentieth Amendment) Bill 2012 and the National Commission for Human Rights Bill 2010. Of the Bills passed by the House, 10 were new legislations while the rest were amendments.

Out of the 35 Bills brought in by the Government, 24 were passed, four were not taken up while seven were introduced and referred to the relevant Standing Committees. Out of the 53 Private Members' Bills, three were passed, 11 not taken up and the rest referred to the Standing Committees.

Twenty-one of the 53 Private Members' Bills in the fourth parliamentary year were sponsored by the PMLN parliamentarians, followed by PPPP (20), PML (7), MQM (7) and ANP (1).



Three Private Members' Bills were passed during the year - the Medical and Dental Council (Amendment) Bill 2011 and the Prevention of Anti-Women Practices (Criminal Law Amendment) Bill 2011 were authored by Dr Donya Aziz and the Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill 2011 sponsored by Marvi Memon.

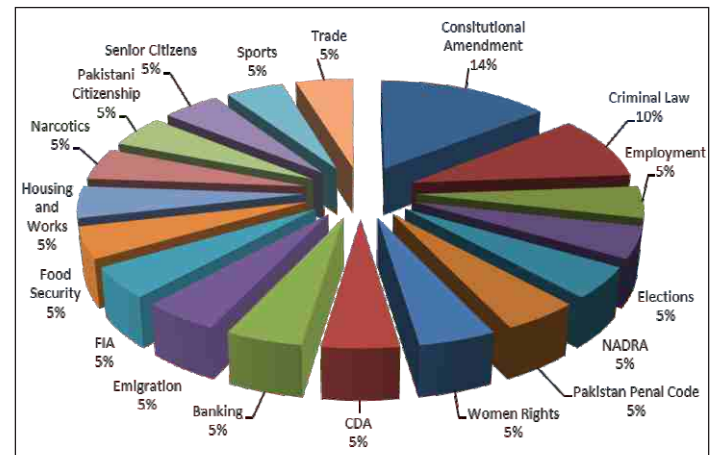
The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill provides for life imprisonment or imprisonment of either description not less than 14 years, as well as a minimum fine of Rs1000,000 for the culprit(s). The Prevention of Anti-Women Practices (Criminal Amendment) Bill 2011 prohibits forced marriages. This legislation guarantees adequate punishment to culprits in cases of forced marriages and marriages with the Quran - fines of Rs500,000 and prison sentences of up to seven but not less than three years. Depriving a woman from inheriting property will result either in prison terms of up to 10 but not less than five years, or a fine of Rs1000,000 or both.

The Medical and Dental Council (Amendment) Bill 2011 provides assurance of quality medical education in the country and also strengthens the

role of Pakistan Medical and Dental Council (PMDC).

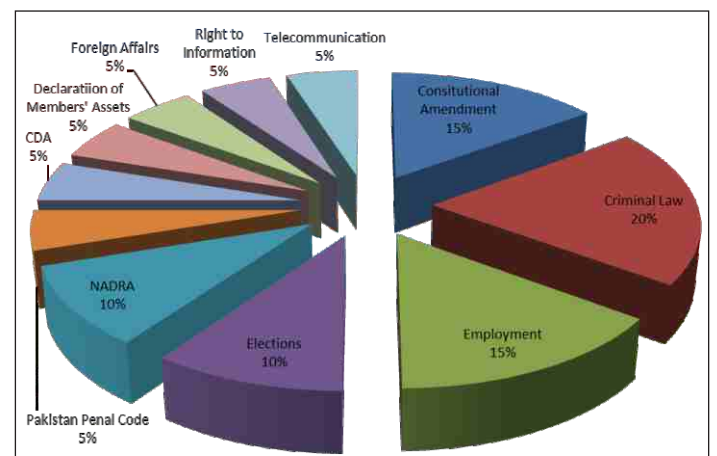
Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN)

Fifteen out of 21 Bills presented by PMLN legislators were introduced and sent to relevant Standing Committees while the remaining six were not taken up by the House. Though none of the 21 PMLN Private Members' Bills was passed by the House, they were about employment, elections, narcotics, housing and works, food security and women rights, etc. Three of the 21 Bills sponsored by PMLN Members proposed amendments in the constitution.



Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (PPPP)

Eighteen out of 20 PPPP's Private Members' Bills were introduced and sent to respective Standing Committees while only two were not taken up. The Bills sponsored by PPPP legislators focused on criminal law, constitutional amendments and employment.



Pakistan Muslim League (PML)

Two Bills each were presented by PML Members on constitutional amendments and women rights, and one each on child rights, minority affairs, senior citizens and health. Three of these Bills - The Medical and Dental Council (Amendment) Bill 2011, the Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill 2011 and the Prevention of Anti-Women Practices (Criminal Law Amendment) Bill 2011 were passed.

Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)

The MQM parliamentarians authored two Bills on criminal law and one each on de-weaponisation and the Pakistan Penal Code. The Bill on the criminal law was not taken up and the rest were introduced.

Awami National Party (ANP)

The ANP presented one Bill on the Political Parties' Order which was introduced in the House.

Top 10 Performers: Private Members' Bills

Khurram Jehangir Wattoo authored the most Private Members' Bills either in collaboration with his colleagues or in his individual capacity. The top 10 legislators who performed during the year are listed below:

Sr. No	Members	Party	Jointly	Individually	Total
1	Khuram Jehangir Wattoo	PPPP	0	11	11
2	Tasneem Siddiqui	PMLN	1	6	7
3	Naseer Bhutta	PMLN	1	5	6
4	Dr. Donya Aziz	PML	0	3	3
5	Qudsia Arshad	PMLN	3	3	6
6	Dr. Azra Fazal Pechuho	PPPP	0	2	2
7	Justice (R) Fakhar-un-Nisa Khokhar	PPPP	1	2	3
8	Parveen Masood Bhatti	PMLN	1	2	3
9	Begum Nuzhat Sadiq	PMLN	0	1	1
10	Khuram Dastgir Khan	PMLN	0	1	1

Government Bills

Energy, elections, finance and revenue, women rights and human rights were some major thematic areas covered in Government Bills presented in the year. Out of a total 35 Bills presented in the House, 24 were passed, seven were introduced and four were not taken up.

Sr. No	Government Bills	Status		
		Introduced	Passed	Not Taken Up
1	The Companies (Amendment) Bill 2011	✓		
2	The Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan (Regulation and Enforcement) Bill 2011	✓		
3	The Members, Election Commission (Oath of office, term, salary, allowances, perks and privileges) Bill 2011	✓		
4	The Airports Security Force (Amendment) Bill 2011	✓		
5	The Provincial Motor Vehicles (Amendment) Bill 20 11	✓		
6	The Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (Implementation) Bill 2011	✓		
7	The Career Structure for Health Personnel Bill 2012	✓		
8	The Rulers of Acceding States (Abolition of Privy Purses and Privileges) (Amendment) Bill 2009			✓
9	The Pakistan Energy Efficiency and Conservation Bill 2011			✓
10	The Defence Housing Authority Islamabad Bill 2007			✓
11	The Legal Practitioners and Bar Councils (Amendment) Bill 2011			✓
12	The Election Laws (Amendment) Bill 2011		✓	
13	The General Statistics (Reorganization) Bill 2011		✓	
14	The Carriage by Air Bill 2010		✓	
15	The Finance Bill 2011		✓	
16	The Regulation of Generation, Transmission and Distribution of Electric Power (Amendment) Bill 2010		✓	
17	The Private Power and Infrastructure Board Bill 2010		✓	
18	The Women in Distress and Detention Fund (Amendment) Bill 2010		✓	
19	The National Commission for Women Bill 2011		✓	

Sr. No	Government Bills	Status		
		Introduced	Passed	Not Taken Up
20	The National University of Modern Languages (Amendment) Bill 2011		✓	
21	The Islamabad High Court (Amendment) Bill 2011		✓	
22	The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill 2011		✓	
23	The Anti-Dumping Duties (Amendment) Bill 2009		✓	
24	The Banks (Nationalization) (Amendment) Bill 2010		✓	
25	The Islamabad Consumers Protection (Amendment) Bill 2010		✓	
26	The Gas Infrastructure Development Cess Bill 2011		✓	
27	The Delimitation of Constituencies (Amendment) Bill 2011		✓	
28	The Carriage by Air Bill 2011		✓	
29	The Shifa Tameer-e-Millat University Bill 2011		✓	
30	The Constitution (Twentieth Amendment) Bill 2012		✓	
31	The State Bank of Pakistan (Amendment) Bill 2011		✓	
32	The Petroleum Products (Petroleum Levy) (Amendment) Bill 2011		✓	
33	The National Vocational and Technical Training Commission Act 2011		✓	
34	The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act 2011		✓	
35	The National Commission for Human Rights Bill 2010		✓	
Total		7	24	4

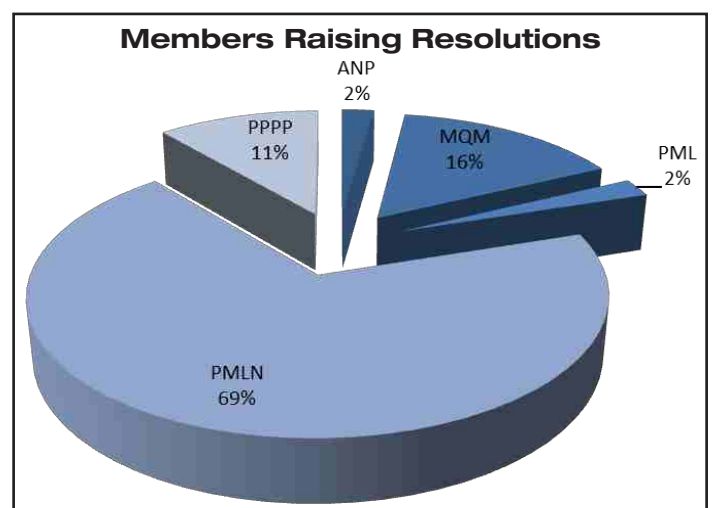
Resolutions

A total of 61 Resolutions by 18 female and 27 male parliamentarians were moved in the House but only eight were adopted. These eight related to democracy, incident of desecration of the Holy Quran, education, industrial relations, earthquake in Japan, setting up medical caucus, increase in petroleum prices and a US Congressional hearing on Balochistan.

The Resolutions not taken up by the House were about a wide range of national issues including energy, health, employment, water reservoirs, drinking water, poverty, spurious drugs, and child and women rights.

Sixty-one Resolutions were sponsored by 45 Members – 31 of them belonging to PMLN, seven

representing MQM, five from PPPP, and one each of ANP and PML.



Top Performers: Resolutions

The following table illustrates the legislators who sponsored Resolutions either individually or in collaboration with their colleagues.

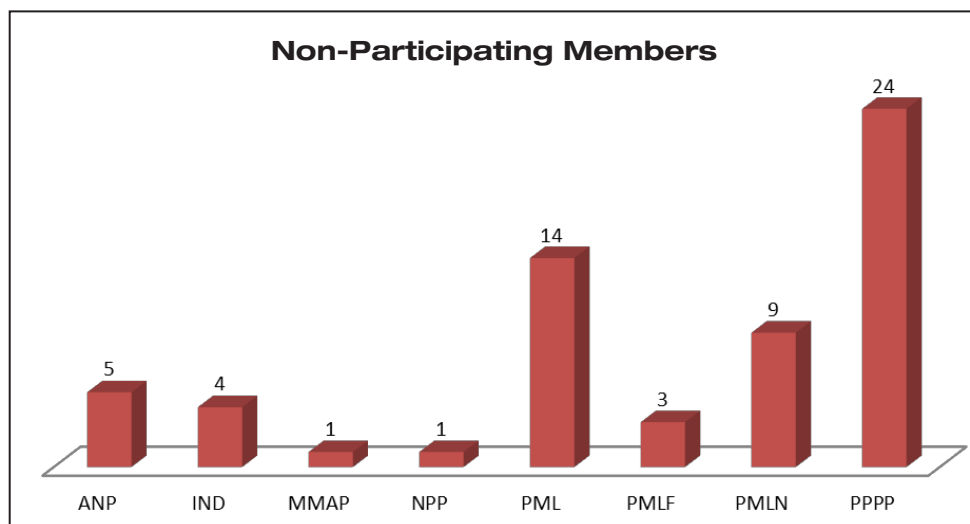
Sr. No	Members	Party	Resolutions
1	Shireen Arshad Khan	PMLN	8
2	Mian Marghoob Ahmad	PMLN	3
3	Belum Hasnain	PPPP	3
4	Hamayun Saifullah Khan	PML	2
5	Khalida Mansoor	PMLN	2
6	Shaheen Ashfaq	PMLN	2
7	Tahira Aurangzeb	PMLN	2

Attendance and Participation

Since the National Assembly Secretariat does not provide information to media and public on attendance of Members, FAFEN conducts a headcount of parliamentarians at the beginning and end of each sitting. During the fourth parliamentary year, attendance remained low with an average of 66 Members present at the beginning and 76 at the adjournment of each sitting - which was less than the 1/4th (86

tabled agenda item(s) on the Orders of the Day; legislators who did not submit any agenda item but took part in discussions and deliberations in the House, and Members who did both.

In the fourth parliamentary year, 61 legislators, among them 14 women and 47 men, did not take part in any parliamentary business throughout the year. The number of legislators doing so in the third parliamentary year was 54. The highest number of legislators not taking part in the proceedings belonged to PPPP - 24 or 19% of the total party strength of 124 in the House. Similarly, the breakup of others staying away was PMLN (nine out of 90), PML (14 out of 50), ANP (five out of 12), PMLF (three out of four), and MMAP (one out of eight). Among single-Member parties, the PPPS and BNPA took part in the proceedings while the NPP did not. All four parliamentarians of PMLF did not take part in the proceedings. Thirty-eight legislators from Punjab out of 179; 11 from Sindh out of 82; 10 from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa out of 43 and two out of 17 from Balochistan did not take part in



Members) of the total Membership required for meeting Quorum.

FAFEN classifies the participation of Members into three categories - parliamentarians who only

the proceedings.

None of the 25 MQM, 10 minority and 11 FATA parliamentarians figured in this list.

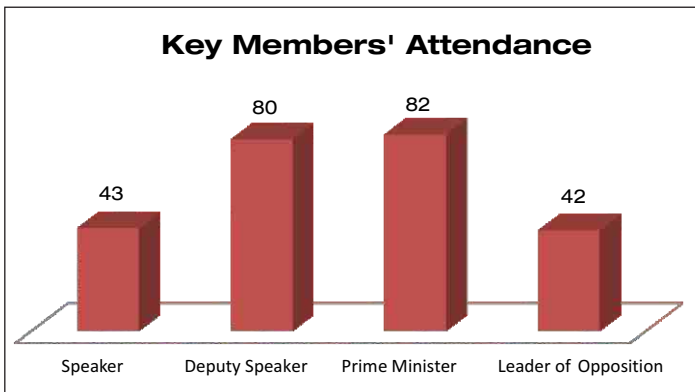
Sr. No	Constituency	Members	Party	Gender	Province
1	NA-4 Peshawar-IV	Arbab Muhammad Zahir	ANP	Male	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
2	NA-6 Nowshera-II	Masood Abbas	ANP	Male	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
3	NA-28 Buner	Istiqbal Khan	ANP	Male	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
4	NA-29 Swat-I	Muzafer-ul-Mulk	ANP	Male	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
5	Reserved Seat for Women	Khurshid Begum Saeed	ANP	Female	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
6	NA-90 Jhang-V	Saima Akhtar Bharwana	IND	Female	Punjab
7	NA-137 Nankana Sahib-II (Old Sheikhpura-VII)	Saeed Ahmed Zafar	IND	Male	Punjab
8	NA-155 Lodhran-II	Muhammad Akhtar Khan Kanju	IND	Male	Punjab
9	NA-201 Ghotki-II	Sardar Ali Muhammad Khan Mahar	IND	Male	Sindh
10	NA-10 Mardan-II	Moulana Muhammad Qasim	MMAP	Male	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
11	NA-211 Naushero Feroze-I	Ghulam Murtaza Khan Jatoti	NPP	Male	Sindh
12	NA-22 Battagram	Muhammad Nawaz Allai	PML	Male	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
13	NA-65 Sargodha-II	Ch. Ghias Ahmed Mela	PML	Male	Punjab
14	NA-69 Khushab-I	Sumera Malik	PML	Female	Punjab
15	NA-80 Faisalabad-VI	Rana Asif Tauseef	PML	Male	Punjab
16	NA-87 Jhang-II	Ghulam Bibi Bharwana	PML	Female	Punjab
17	NA-91 Jhang-VI	Sahabzada Muhammad Mehboob Sultan	PML	Male	Punjab

Sr. No	Constituency	Members	Party	Gender	Province
18	NA-103 Hafizabad-II	Ch. Liaqat Abbas Bhatti	PML	Male	Punjab
19	NA-154 Lodhran-I	Muhammad Saddique Khan Baloch	PML	Male	Punjab
20	NA-157 Khanewal-II	Hamid Yar Hiraj	PML	Male	Punjab
21	NA-174 Rajanpur-I	Sardar Muhammad Jaffar Khan Leghari	PML	Male	Punjab
22	NA-229 Tharparkar-I	Arbab Zakaullah	PML	Male	Sindh
23	NA-270 Awaran-cum-Lasbella	Jam Mir Muhammad Yousaf	PML	Male	Balochistan
24	Reserved Seat for Women	Tanzila Aamir Cheema	PML	Female	Punjab
25	Reserved Seat for Women	Zubaida Jalal	PML	Female	Balochistan
26	NA-216 Khairpur-II	Pir Syed Saddaruddin Shah Rashdi	PMLF	Male	Sindh
27	NA-234 Sanghar-I	Muhammad Jadam Mangrio	PMLF	Male	Sindh
28	Reserve Seat For Women	Reena Kumari	PMLF	Female	Sindh
29	NA-95 Gujranwala-I	Usman Ibrahim	PMLN	Male	Punjab
30	NA-99 Gujranwala-V	Rana Nazir Ahmad Khan	PMLN	Male	Punjab
31	NA-112 Sialkot-III	Rana Abdul Sattar	PMLN	Male	Punjab
32	NA-115 Narowal-I	Sumaira Yasir Rasheed	PMLN	Female	Punjab
33	NA-119 Lahore-II	Muhammad Hamza Shahbaz Sharif	PMLN	Male	Punjab
34	NA-136 Nankana Sahib-cum-Sheikhupura (Old Sheikhupura-VI)	Ch. Bilal Ahmed Virk	PMLN	Male	Punjab
35	NA-138 Kasur-I	Mazhar Hayat Khan	PMLN	Male	Punjab
36	NA-165 Pakpattan-II	Mr. Muhammad Salman Mohsin Gillani	PMLN	Male	Punjab
37	NA-166 Pakpattan-III	Rana Zahid Hussain Khan	PMLN	Male	Punjab
38	NA-11 Mardan-III	Khanzada Khan	PPPP	Male	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
39	NA-35 Malakand	Lal Muhammad Khan	PPPP	Male	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
40	NA-75 Faisalabad-I	Tariq Mahmood Bajwa	PPPP	Male	Punjab
41	NA-76 Faisalabad-II	Malik Nawab Sher Waseer	PPPP	Male	Punjab
42	NA-100 Gujranwala-VI	Ch. Tassadaq Masud Khan	PPPP	Male	Punjab
43	NA-108 M.B.Din-I	Muhammad Tariq Tarar	PPPP	Male	Punjab
44	NA-109 M.B.Din-II	Nazar Muhammad Gondal	PPPP	Male	Punjab
45	NA-116 Narowal-II	Muhammad Tariq Anis	PPPP	Male	Punjab
46	NA-140 Kasur-III	Sardar Aseff Ahmad Ali	PPPP	Male	Punjab
47	NA-159 Khanewal-IV	Ch. Iftikhar Nazir	PPPP	Male	Punjab
48	NA-161 Sahiwal-II	Ghulam Farid Kathia	PPPP	Male	Punjab
49	NA-167 Vehari-I	Asghar Ali Jutt	PPPP	Male	Punjab
50	NA-176 Muzaffargarh-I	Muhammad Mohsin Ali Qureshi	PPPP	Male	Punjab
51	NA-183 Bahawalpur-I	Arif Aziz Sheikh	PPPP	Male	Punjab
52	NA-184 Bahawalpur-II	Khadija Aamir Yar Malik	PPPP	Female	Punjab
53	NA-217 Khairpur-III	Pir Syed Fazal Ali Shah Jeelani	PPPP	Male	Sindh
54	NA-224 Badin-I	Ghulam Ali Nizamani	PPPP	Male	Sindh
55	NA-232 Dadu-II	Rafiq Ahmed Jamali	PPPP	Male	Sindh
56	NA-236 Sanghar-III	Roshan-ud-Din Junejo	PPPP	Male	Sindh
57	Reserved Seat for Women	Malik Mehrunnisa Afridi Advocate	PPPP	Female	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
58	Reserved Seat for Women	Rukhsana Bangash	PPPP	Female	Punjab
59	Reserved Seat for Women	Farzana Raja	PPPP	Female	Punjab
60	Reserved Seat for Women	Samina Mushtaq Pagganwala	PPPP	Female	Punjab
61	Reserved Seat for Women	Surraiya Jatoti	PPPP	Female	Sindh

Attendance of Key Members

Out of the 100 sittings, the Speaker was not present in 57 of them while the Deputy Speaker was not there in 20. The Speaker chaired 25% of the total sitting time, the Deputy Speaker (47%) and the Members of Panel of Chairpersons (28%).

The Prime Minister attended most of the sittings (82) and remained in the House for 3,636 minutes (21% of the total time). On the other hand, the Leader of Opposition was present in 42 sittings for 2,694 minutes (16% of the total time). On average, the Prime Minister attended each sitting for approximately 36 minutes and the Leader of Opposition did so for 27 minutes. However, in the third parliamentary year, on average the Prime Minister attended each sitting for 47 minutes and the Leader of the Opposition for 31 minutes.

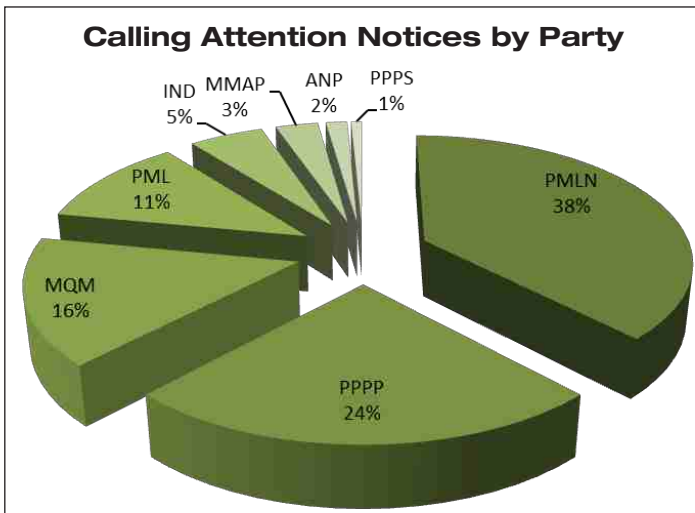


Representation and Government Oversight

Calling Attention Notices

Calling Attention Notices allow parliamentarians to bring to the House any matter of public importance. In the fourth parliamentary year, 132 legislators – 39 women and 93 men – brought to the House 145 CANs.

The legislators moving CANs included 50 representing PMLN, PPPP (32), MQM (21), PML (15), Independents (7), MMAP (4), ANP (2) and PPPS (1). No such initiative was taken by legislators of BNPA and NPP.



Of the 145 CANs concerning 27 federal ministries, 97 were taken up by the House. Of these 13 were related to the Ministries of Finance, Revenue, Economic Affairs, Statistics and Planning and Development, Cabinet Secretariat (12), Water and Power (11), Interior (9) and the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources (7). Of the taken up CANs, 75 were jointly brought to the House by female and male legislators.

Top 10 Performers: CANs

Calling Attention Notices are often raised jointly by more than one Member of the House. The following table shows the top 10 parliamentarians who either in collaboration or in their individual capacities put forth CANs during the fourth parliamentary year.

Sr.No	Members	Party	Calling Attention Notices
1.	Nisar Tanveer	PMLN	50
2.	Raja Muhammad Asad Khan	PMLN	42
3.	Nighat Parveen Mir	PMLN	41
4.	Malik Shakir Bashir Awan	PMLN	34
5.	Yasmeen Rehman	PPPP	33
6.	Nawab Abdul Ghani Talpur	PPPP	29
7.	Shireen Arshad Khan	PMLN	25
8.	Muhammad Pervaiz Malik	PMLN	24
9.	Ch. Muhammad Barjees Tahir	PMLN	23
10.	Abdul Majeed Khan Khanan Khail	PMLN	22

Questions

The main opposition PMLN used the oversight tool of questions much more than other parties in the National Assembly. Forty-seven PMLN legislators asked more than half – 1,655 – of the total 2,425 Starred and Unstarred questions that made to the floor of the House. Additionally of the 1,655 questions, more than half – 942 – were asked by 16 female legislators of the party. On average each of the 47 PMLN parliamentarians asked 35 questions while the average of the party's 16 women parliamentarians was 59 questions.

Overall the women parliamentarians asked 1,225 questions, slightly more than their male counterparts' 1,200 queries. The MQM parliamentarians asked 468 questions, followed by 156 by PPPP.

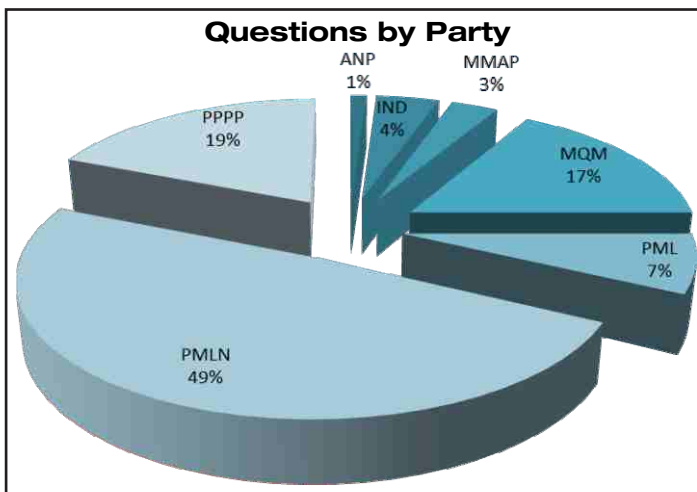
However, the rest of the parties did not use the forum of Question Hour effectively. The legislators of PML asked 47 questions, followed by Independents (45), MMAP (41), and ANP (13). The Members of the PPPS, NPP and BNPA did not ask a single question.

The legislators directed most of their questions to the Ministries of Cabinet Secretariat (283), Finance and Revenue (265), Petroleum and Natural Resources (203), Interior (187), Water and Power

(175), Railways (159), Commerce (146), Defence (129) and Housing and Works (97).

On the other hand the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Health, and Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs only received 68, 48 and 42 questions respectively. There was only one question each for the Ministries of Culture, Defence Production, Local Government and Rural Development and National Harmony.

The Cabinet Secretariat provided complete answers to 225 questions, followed by Finance and Revenue (203), Petroleum and Natural Resources (162), Railways and Water and Power (133 each), and Commerce (106). The Ministry of Interior did not respond to 105 questions.



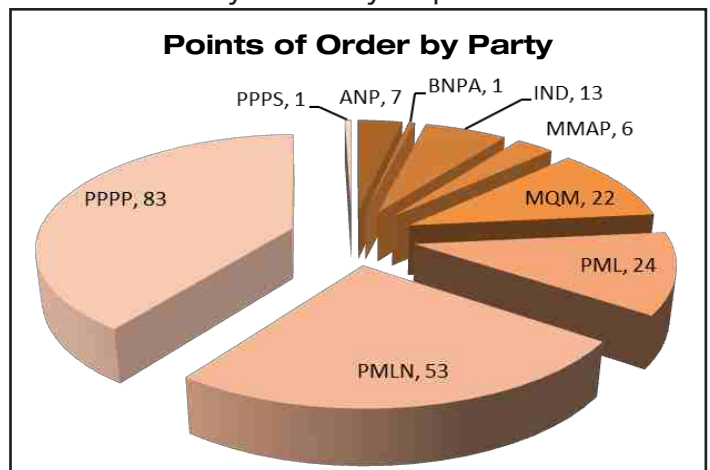
Pakistan Railways, increase in the prices of electricity, and wrong information to the House regarding government expenditures on the health of a PMLN legislator.

Order and Institutionalization

Points of Order

Though Points of Order only allow parliamentarians to take up matters relating to interpretation or endorsement of rules or articles of the constitution that regulate the business of the House, they are regularly used to raise other issues, especially those concerning constituencies. The agenda on the Order of Day is often left incomplete as the parliamentarians make long speeches on Points of Order.

Lack of adequate space in the regulatory framework to raise constituency-related issues compelled Members to use Points of Order to highlight local issues in the assembly. As many as 210 Members raised 1,182 Points of Order with none attracting the Chair's formal ruling. These Points of Order consumed 5,175 minutes (30%) of the total time the National Assembly met during the year. Unless the Chair gives a formal ruling on a Point of Order, speeches and rejoinders do not contribute to any assembly output.



Top 10 Performers: Questions

The following table shows the top 10 legislators who asked the most questions during the fourth parliamentary year. Eight out of 10 Members are affiliated with the PMLN while two represent MQM.

Sr. No	Members	Party	Questions
1.	Nisar Tanveer	PMLN	105
2.	Shireen Arshad Khan	PMLN	100
3.	Tahira Aurangzeb	PMLN	93
4.	Shagufta Sadiq	MQM	90
5.	Shaheen Ashfaq	PMLN	89
6.	Khalida Mansoor	PMLN	85
7.	Tasneem Siddiqui	PMLN	84
8.	Rana Mahmood-ul-Hassan	PMLN	79
9.	Salah-ud-din	MQM	
10.	Qudsia Arshad	PMLN	78

Adjournment Motions

A parliamentarian can move a motion with the consent of the Chair for adjourning the normal business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance.

In the fourth parliamentary year, only five Adjournment Motions were moved, all by PMLN. Four were taken up. The motions were about gas load-shedding in the country, particularly in Punjab and federal area, the deteriorating condition of

Top 10 Members raising Points of Order

The table shows the 10 legislators who raised the most Points of Order during the year. Four out of the 10 belonged to PPPP, including the Minister for Religious Affairs.

Sr. No	Members	Party	Points of Order
1	Syed Khurshid Ahmed Shah	PPPP	54
2	Ch. Nisar Ali Khan	PMLN	35
3	Bushra Gohar	ANP	24
4	Syed Naveed Qamar	PPPP	19
5	Syed Haider Abbas Rizvi	MQM	19
6	Laiq Muhammad Khan	MMAP	18
7	Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao	PPPS	17
8	Nadeem Afzal Gondal	PPPP	17
9	Nawab Muhammad Yousuf Talpur	PPPP	17
10	Syed Asif Hasnain	MQM	16

13th National Assembly: Four Years at a Glance

The following table illustrates the four-year performance of the 13th National Assembly

Agenda Items	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year
Number of Sessions	11	9	9	11
Number of Sittings	100	107	109	102
Sitting Time	Not available	242 hours and 43 minutes	348 hours and 43 minutes	284 hours and 51 minutes
Number of Participating Members	Not available	262	294	282
Number of Non-Participating Members	Not available	78	54	61
Number of Treasury Bills Introduced	14	17	17	13
Number of Treasury Bills Passed	4	29	30	24
Number of Private Bills Introduced	36	54	17	40
Number of Private Bills Passed	1	3	1	3
Number of Questions on Agenda	3,056	3,732	3,339	2,245
Number of Questions Answered	2,553	2,852	2,823	1,808
Number of Resolutions Presented	67	64	79	61
Number of Resolutions Adopted	15	15	12	8
Number of Adjournment Motions Raised	6	10	8	5
Number of Calling Attention Notices on Agenda	111	120	130	145
Number of Calling Attention Notices Taken up	Not available	87	102	48
Number of Points of Order Raised	520	1,124	1,316	1,182

About FAFEN

Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN), established in 2006, is a coalition of 42 leading civil society organizations, working to strengthen all forms of democratic accountabilities in Pakistan. Governed by Trust for Democratic Education and Accountability (TDEA), FAFEN's key achievements are:

- Observed the public display of Pakistan's draft electoral rolls and conducted the country's first statistically-valid voters' list audit in 2007
- Deployed more than 18,829 trained, neutral Election Day observers nationwide to watch the February 18, 2008 polls and 264 long-term observers to monitor the pre-election process
- Fielded long-term observers nationwide and published 19 pre-election reports
- For the February 18, 2008, General Elections, FAFEN conducted 260 simultaneous Parallel Vote Tabulations (PVTs)- the largest effort in the world
- Conducted its first survey, Constituents Aspirations Survey, in December 2008 with a sample size of 3,124 respondents to get the description of the state of public opinion and also to get a deeper understanding of the values, attitudes and beliefs of people living in the constituencies
- Conducted mapping of organizations working for human rights within Pakistan
- Observed general elections at Gilgit-Baltistan in 2009 and by-elections in various constituencies of the Punjab, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2010
- Implemented a unique methodology to observe parliamentary proceedings under its Parliament Watch Project
- Monitors public institutions across Pakistan and issues monthly reports on the state and performance of educational, health and other local level institutions. In addition, monthly reports on prices, crimes, incidence of disease, caseload in lower courts and political and electoral violence are issued

FAFEN continues to implement robust programs in-between elections related to monitoring parliamentary affairs, connecting constituents to their elected representatives, monitoring the performance of public and elected institutions and advocating electoral and democratic reforms. FAFEN is also monitoring political and electoral violence, peace activities and promoting active citizenry through ongoing civic education activities across the country. FAFEN is currently implementing Supporting Transparency, Accountability and Electoral Processes in Pakistan in 200 National Assembly constituencies in 119 districts across Pakistan.

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