



A Report on  
**PERFORMANCE OF WOMEN LAWMAKERS**

Provincial Assembly of Punjab

June 2013 - February 2017



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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## Low Representation, Better Performance

- Women lawmakers' performance indicators better than male counterparts
- Submit more agenda items as compared to men
- Attendance record also shows better results than male colleagues

Women constitute half of the population but their representation in the Provincial Assembly is considerably low. Each woman lawmaker represents 695315 females whereas each male lawmaker represents 175544 men. Their representation in the government is even weaker. Seventy-five women lawmakers make up 20% of the Assembly, and their presence in the provincial cabinet is only 11 percent. However, despite their less numerical strength, they give tough competition to their male counterparts on nearly all indicators of the parliamentary performance. Not only these lawmakers were observed to be more regular in Assembly attendance, they are also generous in contributing to the agenda and debates of the House.

The analysis of attendance records show that 69% of women tend to attend a sitting as compared to 48% men. Each woman lawmaker attended 111 sittings on average during the reporting period whereas each male lawmaker attended 86 sittings. The women participation rate was also slightly higher than men. Eighty-one percent women took part in the proceedings by contributing to agenda and/or debates as compared to 80% men.

The women lawmakers' contribution to the Assembly business was high in proportion to their representation in the Assembly. Nearly one third of the public importance business was originated by women. They sponsored 33% of questions, 31% of resolutions and adjournment motions each and 21% of Calling Attention Notices. Furthermore, 17% Questions of Privilege and Zero Hour Notices were originated by women.

The agenda initiated by women related to the sectors like governance, education, health and social welfare. Besides these, women lawmakers were also inclined to raise the issues of their gender in the Assembly. They highlighted the matters related to women's health, violence against women, female education and employment.

The Assembly also took legislative action on many women-specific issues. It legislated for increasing the representation of women in policy-making bodies as well as for protection of women against violence. It also passed laws to put in place institutional mechanism for regulation of employment conditions for women, restriction of child marriages and mandatory provision of maintenance by husbands for their wives and children. The resolutions of the Assembly recommended the government to improve women's health and facilitate women citizens in government offices.

# INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

Women make up a little more than half of the population in the Punjab province. As per the Population Projections for the year 2015, their share in the populace is 50.3%. Yet they are only 20% of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. Their representation falls even further in the cabinet and the committees. Only four out of 33 Provincial Ministers (12%), five out of 43 Parliamentary Secretaries (11%) and two out of 48 Committee Chairpersons (4%) are women.

In the wake of multiple social and political factors that hinder full participation of women in political processes, seats have been reserved in the federal and provincial legislatures for women under the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. There are 66 seats reserved for women in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab while there is no bar on them to contest election on general seats. However, the quality of women representation on reserved seats is a contested issue amongst many. Nearly half of the reserved seats lawmakers belong to the provincial capital alone.

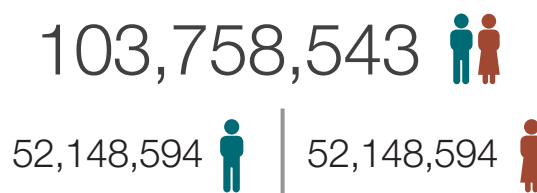
In this backdrop, the present report attempts to analyze the performance of women lawmakers in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab during the period between June 1, 2013 and February 28, 2017. It seeks to compare what women contributed to the Assembly with what the House did for them.

Following indicators of performance have been analyzed in this report:

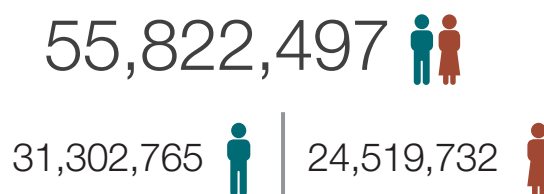
- Attendance
- Agenda Contribution
- Participation in Debates

The report covers 26 sessions of the incumbent Assembly held in last 44 months. These sessions comprise 257 sittings. The section on the members' attendance is based on the attendance records available on the website of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. The Assembly Secretariat started uploading these records online from February 2015 (12th Session). Furthermore, these attendance reports do not include the attendance of the members who are parliamentary functionaries and hold a portfolio in the cabinet i.e. Provincial Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries and Special Assistants to the Chief Minister. On a request to seek the attendance of these functionaries under the Punjab Transparency and Right to Information Act 2013, the Secretariat maintained that it does not mark the

## Population of Punjab



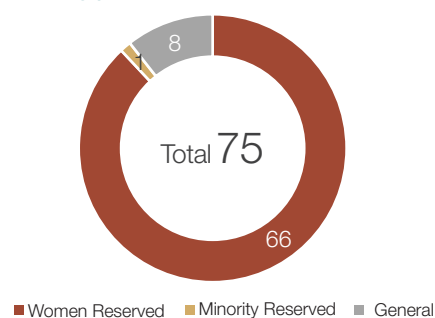
## Registered Voters in Punjab



## Members of Punjab Assembly



## Seat Type of Women Members



## Provincial Ministers



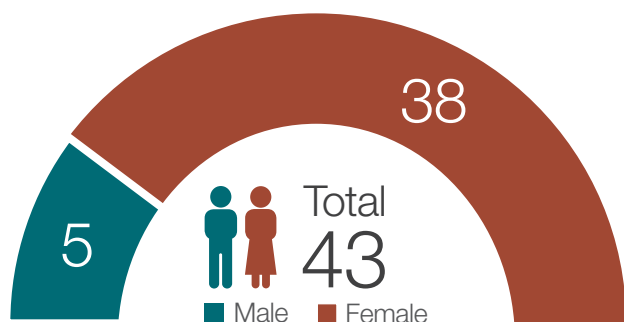
# INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

attendance of these lawmakers. Therefore, the attendance analyses drawn in this report rely only on the partial attendance during 153 sittings held since February 2015.

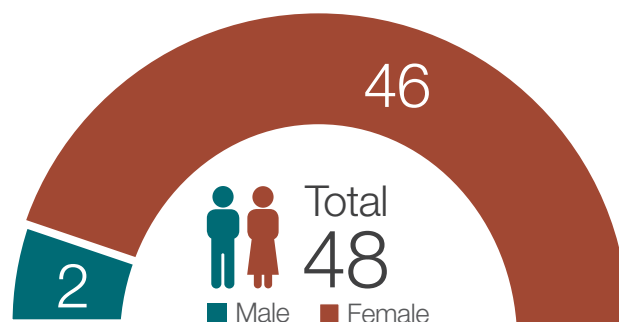
Similarly, the official Assembly documents available on the website and gathered through direct observation of the Assembly proceedings have been used to analyze the women contribution in the Assembly's formal business. The participation of women lawmakers has been assessed using the records of TDEA-FAFEN's parliamentary database Openparliament.pk, which is based on direct observation of the Assembly proceedings.

Besides the woman lawmakers' performance, the report also includes the analysis of the Assembly's output on women related issues. The women-centric legislation and resolutions passed by the Assembly during the reporting period has been analyzed in this section.

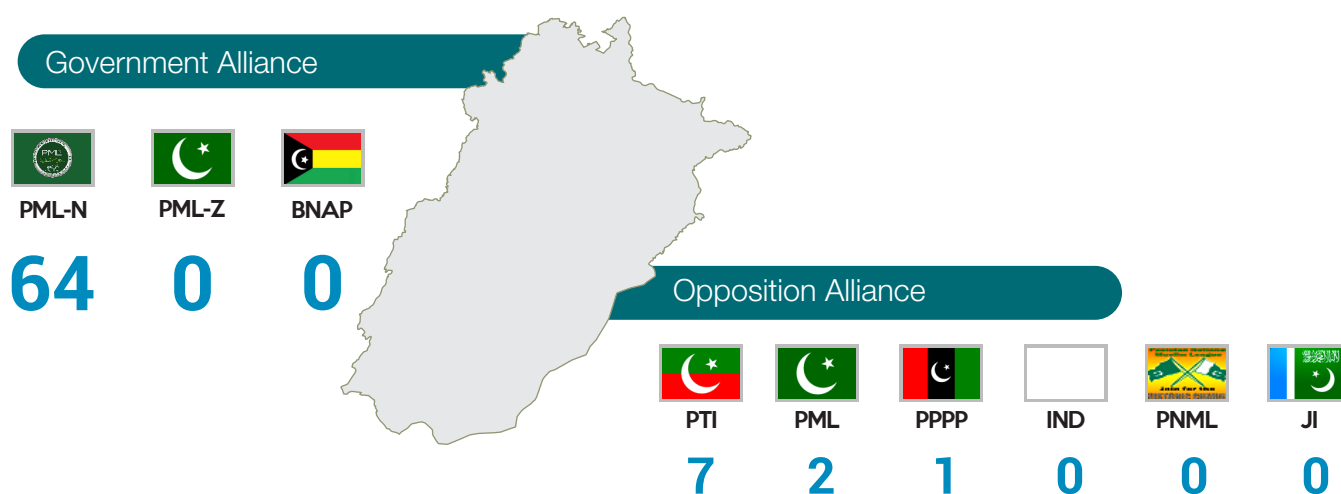
### Parliamentary Secretaries



### Committee Chairpersons

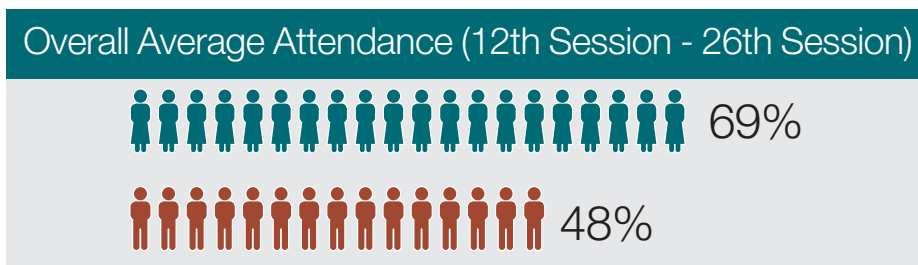


## POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF WOMEN MEMBERS

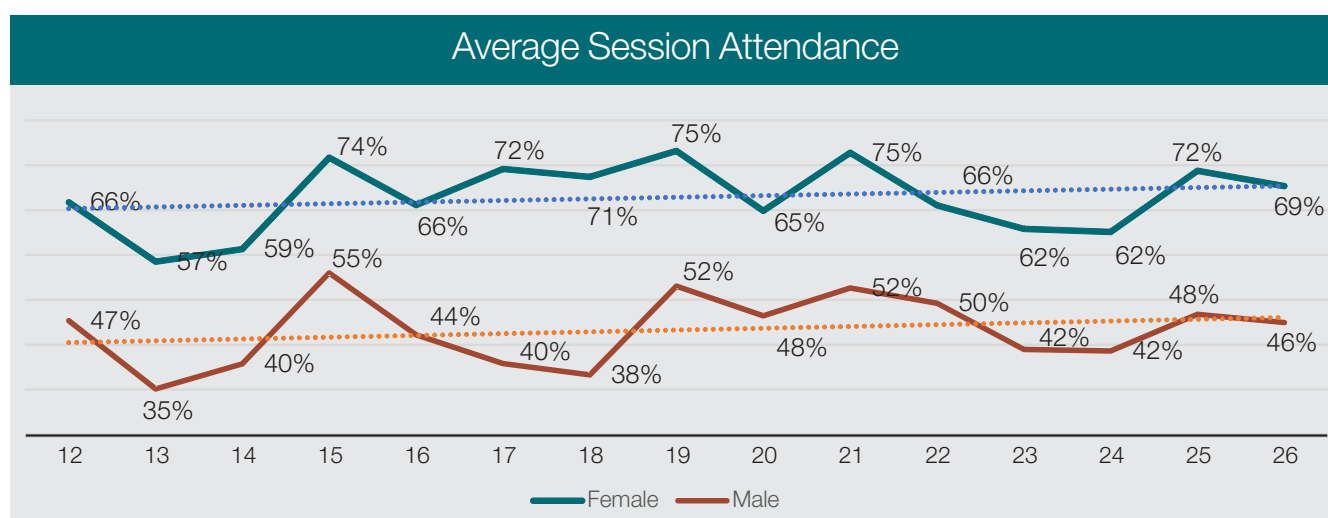


# ATTENDANCE

The Assembly attendance records reveal that more women lawmakers attend any sitting of the House than male lawmakers. On average, 50 out of 75 women (69%) were present in a sitting whereas only 138 out of 294 (48%) men attended a sitting.



Even the lowest average attendance of women in a session is higher than highest average attendance of men in any session. Fifteenth session of the Punjab Assembly witnessed highest average attendance of men i.e. 55% which is lower than the lowest average attendance of women i.e. 57% recorded during 13th session.



Similarly, each woman lawmaker, on average, attended 111 out of 153 sittings held between 12th and 26th sessions whereas each male legislator, on average, attended 86 sittings during the same period. Two thirds of women lawmakers (66%) attended more than 100 sittings while only 39% male lawmakers attended 100 or more sittings.

 <p><b>Shazia Kamran (PML-N)</b> Attend: <b>152/153</b></p>	 <p><b>Iffat Miraj Awan (PML-N)</b> Attend: <b>151/153</b></p>	 <p><b>Raheela Munawar (PML-N)</b> Attend: <b>151/153</b></p>	 <p><b>Shah Jahan (PML-N)</b> Attend: <b>151/153</b></p>	 <p><b>Nasreen Jawaid (PML-N)</b> Attend: <b>150/153</b></p>
 <p><b>Naseem Lodhi (PML-N)</b> Attend: <b>150/153</b></p>	 <p><b>Lubna Rehan (PML-N)</b> Attend: <b>148/153</b></p>	 <p><b>Nighat Sheikh (PML-N)</b> Attend: <b>148/153</b></p>	 <p><b>Rukhsana Kokab (PML-N)</b> Attend: <b>147/153</b></p>	 <p><b>Khadija Umer (PML)</b> Attend: <b>146/153</b></p>

# AGENDA CONTRIBUTION AND PARTICIPATION

In addition to the attendance, another indicator for gauging the lawmakers' commitment towards their duties as members of the Assembly is their participation in the House proceedings. The lawmakers may participate in the proceedings by contributing agenda or taking part in the House discussions.

Although women were far less in numbers than men, the rate of their participation in the Assembly proceedings remained slightly higher than the rate of male colleagues. As many as 236 of 294 men (80%) and 61 of 75 women (81%) participated in the proceedings through agenda submissions or oral contributions. Fifty-eight (20%) men and 14 (81%) women did not make any contribution to the proceedings.

Majority of the women represent the ruling PML-N or main opposition party PTI. Interestingly, within PML-N, the participation of women lawmakers was better than their male party-fellows whereas in PTI, the rate of women participation was lower than the rate of male participation. Fifty-one out of 64 PML-N women (80%) and 193 of 247 PML-N men (78%) participated in the proceedings. Similarly, six out of seven PTI women and 22 out of 23 PTI men took part in the Assembly proceedings.

Details of the contribution of women lawmakers in each parliamentary business are given below:

## LEGISLATION

Legislation is predominantly a treasury's domain in the Punjab Assembly. Even within the government, only a handful of ministers look after the legislative business in the House. Nearly all the government legislation was handled by male members of the cabinet. The exceptions were two Finance Bills that were initiated by a woman Finance Minister of the province.

The Private Members' legislation is a rare phenomenon in the case of Punjab Assembly. Since its inauguration, the Private Members have introduced only seven bills. Two of these bills were sponsored by women lawmakers belonging to PTI and PML-N. A brief description of these bills is given below:



**Nausheen Hamid**  
PTI

### The Punjab Animals Slaughter Control (Amendment) Bill 2016

This bill attempts to bring the definition of slaughter in conformity with the provisions of Islamic laws.



**Hina Pervaiz Butt**  
PML-N

### The Prisons (Amendment) Act, 2016,

The bill seeks to bring at par the amount of the fine on offences given in the Prisons Act, 1894 according to the inflation rate.

## RESOLUTIONS

Women lawmakers sponsored 55 out of 178 (31%) resolutions on the issues of public importance adopted by the Assembly. All except one resolution were moved by women on reserved seats.

Among 75 women lawmakers, 23 belonging to PML-N, PTI, PML and PPPP expressed interest in using the tool of resolutions to raise public importance issues. Sixteen PML-N women sponsored 40 resolutions followed by five PTI lawmakers who sponsored 10 resolutions. Similarly, a woman each of PML and PPPP sponsored four and one resolutions, respectively. Only one out of eight women on general seats submitted resolution in the Assembly.

These resolutions made recommendations to the government on women-specific issues like violence against women, women health as well as on matters related to governance, education, human rights and social welfare etc.

Following are the women who sponsored more than one of passed resolutions:

 Hina Pervaiz Butt (PML-N) 7	 Nighat Sheikh (PML-N) 6	 Nausheen Hamid (PTI) 4	 Khadija Umer (PML) 4	 Azma Bukhari (PML-N) 4
 Shameela Aslam (PML-N) 4	 Kanwal Nauman (PML-N) 4	 Nabeela Hakim (PTI) 3	 Lubna Faisal (PML-N) 3	 Alia Aftab (PML-N) 2
 Faiza Mushtaq (PML-N) 2				













## QUESTIONS

The Question Hour is part of the Assembly proceedings when lawmakers quiz the government on issues of public concern. More than half of women lawmakers used the Questions to obtain information from the government on public issues. Forty-four out of 75 women (59%) asked questions from the government to conduct the oversight of the executive. The percentage of women asking questions is higher than the percentage of men (44%) who also raised different queries.

Cumulatively, 44 women asked 1732 questions which is nearly one third of total questions asked during 26 sessions. Each woman lawmaker asked 39 questions on average. This average is also higher than the average number of questions asked by a male member i.e. 28. The questions of women lawmakers were addressed to 43 ministries and departments of the government. The main focus of their questions was the departments of Health, School Education, Local Government and Housing and Urban Development. Interestingly, the women did not ask any question from the Ministry of Law and Parliamentary Affairs.

Following are the women who asked more than 50 questions.

 Nighat Sheikh (PML-N) 224	 Faiza Ahmad Malik (PPPP) 182	 Nausheen Hamid (PTI) 181	 Raheela Anwar (PTI) 152	 Hina Pervaiz Butt (PML-N) 146
 Nabeela Hakim (PTI) 129	 Khadija Umer (PML) 93	 Raheela Naeem (PML-N) 87	 Ayesha Javed (PML-N) 82	 Madiha Rana (PML-N) 60

## CALLING ATTENTION NOTICES

Women lawmakers effectively used Calling Attention Notices (CANs) to highlight the incidents of murders, killings and robbery in the Assembly. Out of 130 Calling Attention Notices appearing on the agenda, 28 (21%) CANs were moved by women. Sole woman lawmaker of PPPP submitted 11 CANs; four PTI women submitted 10 CANs; a PML woman submitted four CANs while three PML-N women brought one CAN each. All women sponsored CANs were addressed by the government.

Following are the women raised four or more Calling Attention Notices.

 Faiza Ahmad Malik (PPPP) 11 CANs	 Nausheen Hamid (PTI) 4 CANs	 Khadija Umer (PML) 4 CANs
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## ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS

The Adjournment Motion (AM) is another tool for lawmakers to raise public issues in the House. The Punjab lawmakers use this specific intervention excessively during the reporting period. The lawmakers also sought adjournment of the regular business 713 times to discuss matters of urgent public importance. As many as 220 of these AMs (31%) were submitted by women lawmakers.

Following are the women who submitted more than ten Adjournment Motions each.

 Khadija Umer (PML) 43	 Shunila Ruth (PTI) 39	 Nighat Sheikh (PML-N) 28	 Hina Pervaiz Butt (PML-N) 23	 Saadia Sohail (PTI) 19
 Nausheen Hamid (PTI) 13	 Faiza Ahmad Malik (PPPP) 10			

## ZERO HOUR

The Zero Hour is a recent addition to the Punjab Assembly Rules of Procedure and provides the members an opportunity to raise matters of urgent public importance in the Assembly on only an hour's notice.

Since the introduction of Zero Hour in February 2016, 34 Zero Hour notices surfaced on the Assembly's list of business. Six out of these notices (17%) were submitted by three women lawmakers belonging to PTI, PPPP and PML-N. The sole woman lawmaker of PPPP brought three notices while a PTI woman on minority-reserved seat and a PML-N woman submitted one notice each. These women drew attention of the government towards education, health and governance issues.

## QUESTIONS OF PRIVILEGE

The lawmakers can seek Assembly's intervention on breach of their privilege granted under the Constitution or the Provincial Assembly of Punjab Act, 1972. The lawmakers submitted 87 Questions of Privileges before the Assembly during the reporting period. Thirteen of these Questions (15%) of Privilege were moved by women lawmakers. Their questions related to incidents of inappropriate behavior with the lawmakers and breach of collective privilege of Assembly due to delay in submission of statutory reports. Seven PML-N and three PTI women lawmakers complained about the breach of privilege. A PML-N lawmaker also highlighted the discriminatory remarks against women lawmakers aired on a television programme.

# WOMEN-CENTRIC OUTPUT OF ASSEMBLY

The devolution of Women Development subject to the provinces under Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment prompted the provinces to take legislative action on women-specific issues. The incumbent Punjab Assembly has, so far, enacted women-oriented legislation on previously-federal subjects (e.g. regulation of working conditions for women) as well as approved unique laws aimed at women welfare and improving women representation in policy-making.

During its present term, the Assembly passed a total of 10 women-specific pieces of legislation. All of these laws were sponsored by government and were moved by male members of the cabinet.

Following is the brief description of these laws:

## **The Punjab Commission on the Status of Women Act, 2013**

The law provides for establishment of the Punjab Commission on the Status of Women with the objective to empower women, expand opportunities for their socio-economic development of women and eliminate all forms of discrimination against them.

## **The Punjab Shops and Establishments (Amendment) Bill, 2013**

The law makes necessary changes to the West Pakistan Shops and Establishments Ordinance, 1969 for its adoption in the Punjab and also provides for reservation of day care room for children of women employees in each workplace where 25 or more women are employed.

## **The Punjab Fair Representation of Women Bill, 2014**

This composite legal package introduces amendments to 66 provincial laws to ensure fair representation of women on Boards of Statutory Organizations, including universities, Public Sector Companies, Special Purpose Task Forces and Committees.

## **The Punjab Reproductive, Maternal, Neo-Natal and Child Health Authority Bill, 2014**

The law provides for establishment of Punjab Reproductive, Maternal, Neo-natal and Child Health Authority for the purpose of providing a legal framework for managing affairs of employees and staff of National Program for Primary Health Care and Family Planning.

## **The Punjab Family Courts (Amendment) Bill, 2015**

The law introduces several amendments to the Family Courts Act 1964, including new provisions empowering family courts to ascertain the percentage of dowry to be surrendered by a woman in case of separation through Khula and payment of maintenance by the husband for wife or child and annual increase in the rate of such maintenance.

## **The Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Bill, 2015**

The law provides for increase in the punishments for contracting or solemnizing or supervising child marriages. The law defines child as a boy below 18 years of age or a girl below 16 years of age.

## **The Punjab Muslim Family Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2015**

The law amends the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961 for protecting women from exploitation and providing them with expeditious resolution of family disputes. The provisions are made for regulation of Nikah Registrars and payment of maintenance by father for his child through Union Councils.

## **The Punjab Maternity Benefits (Amendment) Bill, 2015**

The law bars employers from engaging a female employee one month preceding or succeeding a period of six months before and after delivery.

## **The Punjab Protection of Women against Violence Bill, 2015**

The law provides for establishment of institutional mechanism to protect and rehabilitate women victims of violence.

# WOMEN-CENTRIC OUTPUT OF ASSEMBLY

## Resolutions

The present Assembly adopted 17 resolutions to express its opinion on women-related issues and make recommendations to the government on these. All of these resolutions except one were sponsored by women private lawmakers belonging to PTI and PML-N. The only male-sponsored resolution was brought as supplementary agenda to congratulate Malala Yousafzai on winning Nobel Peace Prize.

The House condemned the incident of violence against women in Abbottabad where a girl was burnt to death on orders of a Jirga. The lawmakers also demanded legislative and administrative measures to restrict child marriages; protect women from violence; curb acid-throwing; safeguard rights of domestic workers and ban images of rape and violence victims on television.

The House demanded the government to appoint Lady Labour Inspectors to safeguard women laborers' rights and set up separate desks/rooms for women at District Coordination Offices and Police Stations to facilitate female citizens. Furthermore, the Assembly resolved for setting up Women Parliamentary Group for protection of women's rights and adopted a resolution to commend Nobel Laureate Malala Yousafzai for her efforts for girls' education. Another resolution proposed the government to monitor and regulate the NGOs working for women welfare. The House also urged the government to make provisions for mandatory blood tests of pregnant women and vaccination, treatment and diagnosis of cervical cancer in women. In wake of increasing number of female medical students quitting the profession after studies, the House recommended to make five years medical service mandatory.

Additionally, two resolutions made recommendations to the federal government on legislating to curb cyber-crime against women and appoint female staff in NADRA to take pictures of women applicants.



# About FAFEN

- FAFEN is one of the most credible networks of civil society organizations working for strengthening citizens' voice and accountability in Pakistan since 2006.
- FAFEN has harnessed information technology for real-time monitoring, facilitation and technical backstopping of partners for effective and result-based program delivery.
- FAFEN is the only civil society group to have been invited by the Judicial Commission to present the evidence of illegalities and irregularities documented through the course of General Elections 2013 Observation. The systemic and procedural issues identified by FAFEN have been acknowledged by the commission in its detailed findings.
- FAFEN's recommendations for electoral reforms have contributed to the work of Parliamentary Committee for Electoral Reforms.
- FAFEN's advocacy for parliamentary transparency, accountability and reforms has shaped public discourse on parliamentary reforms. Improved citizens' access to parliamentary information including daily public release of parliamentarians' attendance records can be directly attributed to FAFEN's work.
- FAFEN deployed 18,000 and 40,000 non-partisan and trained observers for the systematic observation of general election 2008 and 2013, respectively, largest citizens' observation ever undertaken in Pakistan.
- FAFEN's evidence and recommendations for reforms have improved the quality of public and political discourse on elections, its issues and need for reforms. Leading political parties and media houses extensively use FAFEN's election findings and analysis to build a case for reforms.
- With more than 18,000 followers on Twitter and around 100,000 on Facebook, FAFEN is considered one of the most reliable sources of electoral and parliamentary information in the country.

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