

# WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS PERFORMANCE 2022 - 2023



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Trust for Democratic Education and Accountability - TDEA  
Free and Fair Election Network - FAFEN

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1

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



Women members of the National Assembly and the Senate upheld their tradition to assertively perform their legislative, representative, and oversight functions during 2022-23. Constituting one-fifth of the Parliament, women parliamentarians accounted for nearly 35 percent of the parliamentary agenda during 2022-2023 – 36 percent in the National Assembly and 30 percent in the Senate.

Women remained the most regular members in both Houses throughout the year which witnessed a spiral of political instability arising out of public protests orchestrated by Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) after the passage of the Resolution of No-Confidence against the former prime minister in April 2022. Barring its 20 members, PTI MNAs including 27 women members, stayed away from assembly proceedings during the entire year on the pretext of *en masse* resignations which were only retracted earlier this year.

On average, each female (MNA) attended 57 (66 percent) of the National Assembly sittings as compared to an average of 46 (53 percent) sittings attended by their male counterparts. Similarly, each female Senator attended an average of 39 (68 percent) Senate sittings against their male counterparts' average of 32 (56 percent) sittings.

Despite remarkable contributions made by women legislators, their agenda continued to be neglected in the Parliament. Almost half of the Calling Attention Notices (CANs), more than two-thirds of the Private Member Bills, and all Private Member Resolutions, Motions for Public Interest Discussions, and Proposals for Amendments to Assembly Rules either lapsed or remained pending until the last session. The Questions remained the only intervention where female MNAs received a higher response rate than their male colleagues.

## METHODOLOGY

The report is based on direct observation of Senate and National Assembly proceedings conducted by the Trust for Democratic Education and Accountability – Free and Fair Election Network (TDEA-FAFEN), and the information available on the official websites of the National Assembly and Senate.

The parliamentarians' contribution to the agenda has been analyzed using the "Order of the Day" of both Houses. The report covers ten sessions of the National Assembly (41st to 49th) held between March 25, 2022, and February 9, 2023, and nine sessions of the Senate (318th to 325th) held between May 23, 2022, and February 20, 2023.

The section-wise details presented in this report include analyses of the contribution of women parliamentarians in Legislation, Resolutions, Calling Attention Notices (CANs), Adjournment Motions, and Questions. The section on the attendance of members is based on the attendance records available on the official websites. The parliamentarians' participation in the National Assembly and Senate proceedings included in this report has been assessed on the basis of their plenary performance and does not reflect upon their performance and participation in the Committees and their role as holders of an executive or a parliamentary office such as the Speaker, Deputy Speaker, Federal Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries, and Committees' Chairperson. The individual performance scorecards of each female parliamentarian included in this report are also available on TDEA-FAFEN's online parliamentary portal.

Unlike the National Assembly, the Senate appeared more responsive to female legislators' agenda. A gender-disaggregated comparison of agenda items shows both male and female Senators were responded to by the House in a similar pattern. However, the female Senators' motions for public interest discussions (including motions under Rule 218 and Adjournment Motions) received less parliamentary attention than male Senators' motions.

On average, each female MNA contributed 18 agenda items to the Orders of the Day against nine by male MNAs. Similarly, each female Senator contributed 12 agenda items to the Orders of the Day against nine by male Senators. While all female Senators participated in their House's proceedings, a total of eight female MNAs did not participate in the House during the reporting period. In comparison to the male MNAs, female MNAs participation remained better.

Thematically, the women parliamentarians sought discussions on a range of public importance issues, including inflation, energy supply and pricing, the performance of government departments, protection of women, children, and human rights, and law and order in the country. The legislative agenda put forward by women parliamentarians included health reforms, protection of workers' rights, governance and institutional reforms, along with constitutional amendments concerning women's rights, transgender rights, amendments to criminal laws for improved protection of women and children.

2

# PARLIAMENTARY AGENDA SUBMITTED BY WOMEN

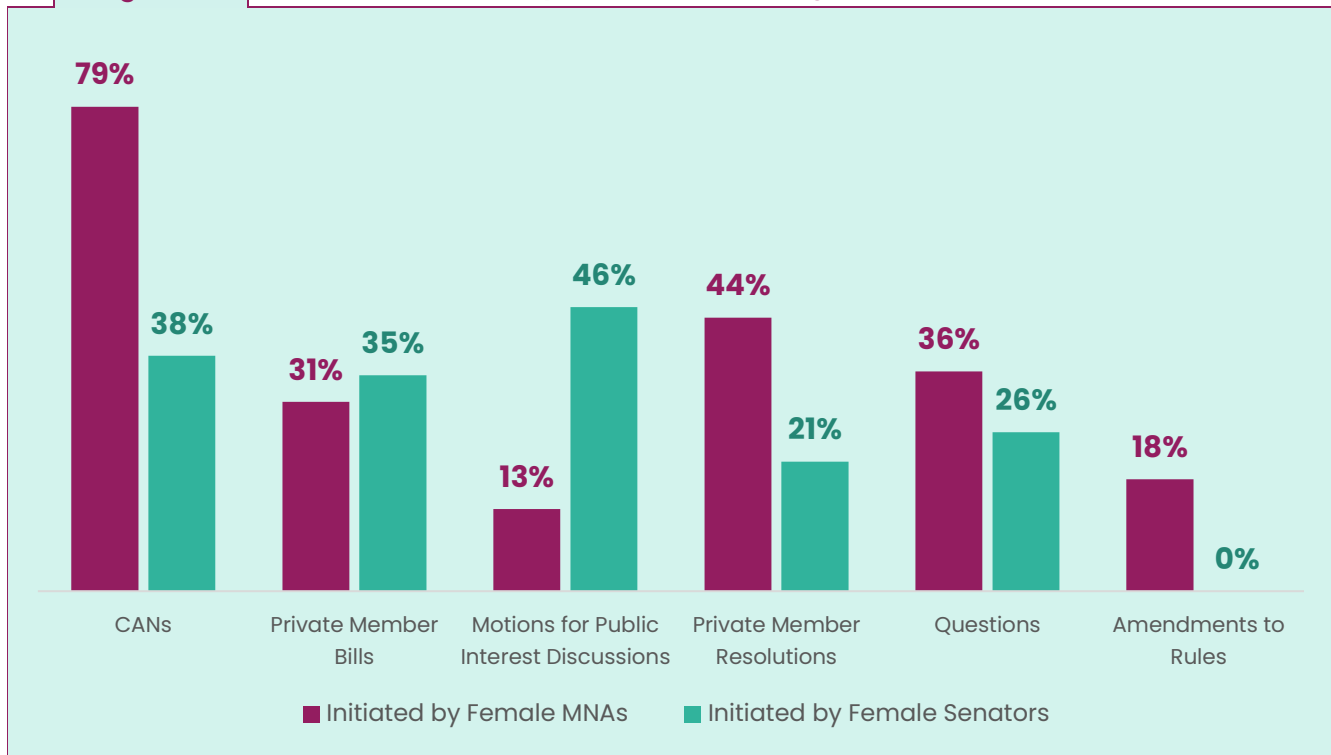


Women parliamentarians accounted for nearly 35 percent of the parliamentary agenda (both in the Senate and National Assembly collectively) during the year – 32 percent on their own and three percent in collaboration with their men colleagues. They sponsored 29 percent (60 out of 206) Private Members’ Bills, 29 percent (12 out of 42) Private Members’ Resolutions, 29 percent (14 out of 48) CANS, 26 percent (19 out of 73) Motions for Discussion on Public Interest Issues, 17 percent (two out of 12) proposals for Amendments in the Rules of Procedure of their respective House, and 35 percent (730 out of 2,159) Questions.

Female MNAs contributed 33 percent agenda on their own and three percent in collaboration with male counterparts, whereas female Senators contributed 27 percent agenda on their own and three percent in collaboration with male Senators. In addition to their contribution to the agenda, women lawmakers also actively participated in the debates on scheduled business, and in raising Points of Order.

The following graph shows the agenda submitted by female MNAs and Senators’ and included in Orders of the Day of the respective houses:

**Figure 1: Women Members of parliament (MPs) Agenda Included on Orders of the Day**

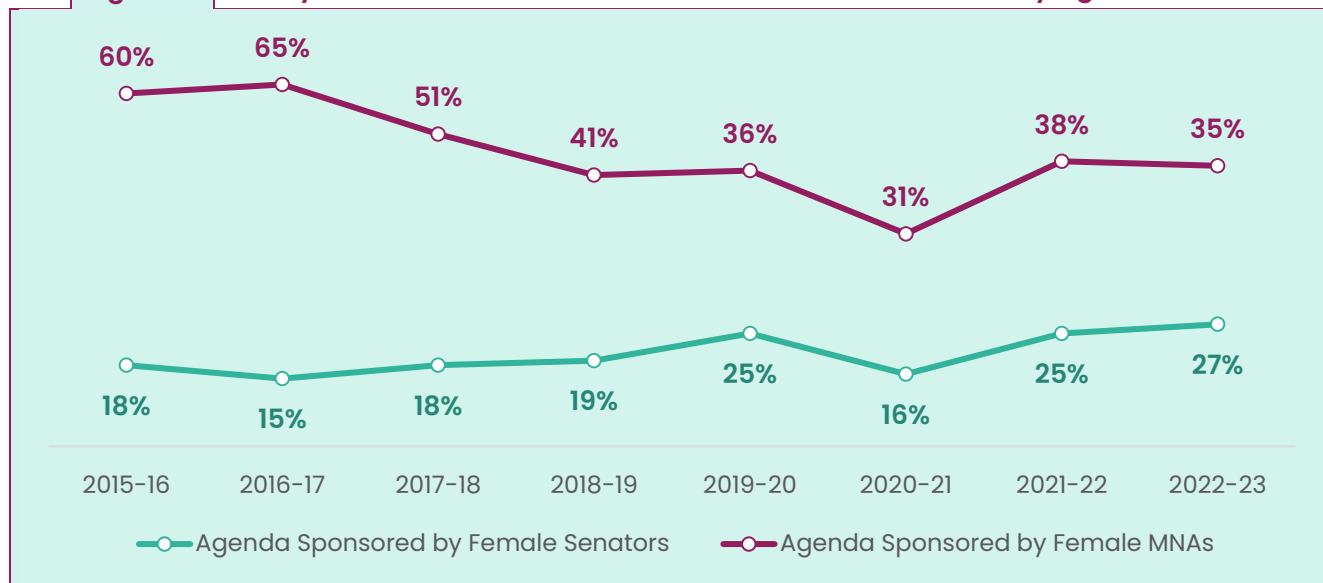


The women parliamentarians’ contribution to parliamentary business registered an increase as seen by the uptick in the agenda sponsored by female Senators, compared to the previous two years.



The following graph shows the contribution to the annual parliamentary agenda from 2015-16 up until the present.

**Figure 2: Yearly Pattern of Women's Contribution to the Parliamentary Agenda**

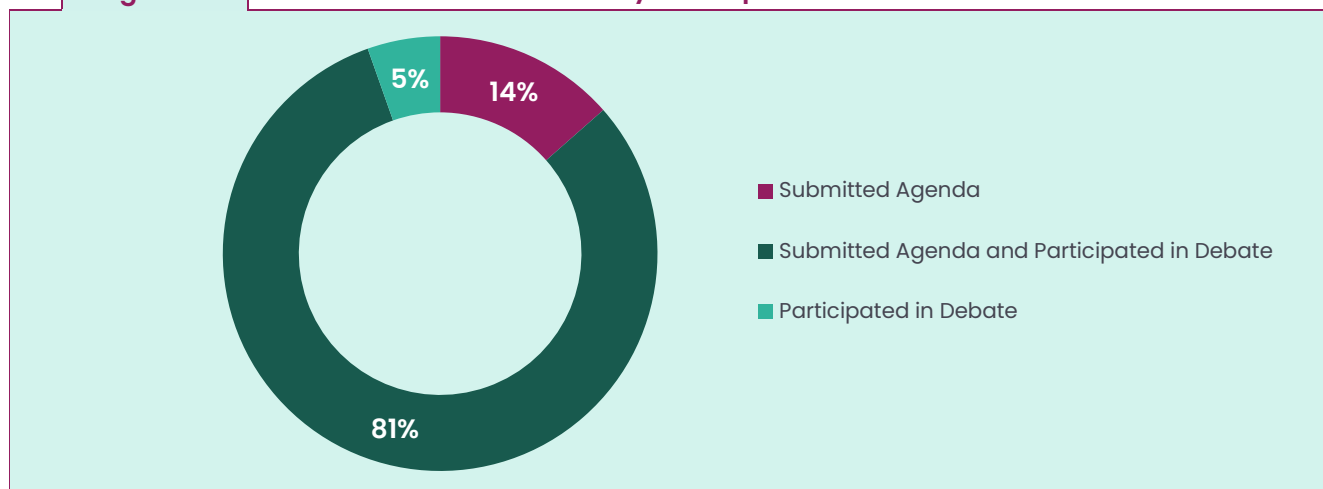


On average, each female MNA contributed 18 agenda items to the Orders of the Day against nine by male MNAs. Similarly, each female Senator contributed 12 agenda items to the Orders of the Day against nine by male Senators.

Thematically, the women parliamentarians sought discussions on a range of issues of public importance, including inflation, energy supply and pricing, the performance of government departments, protection of women, children and human rights, and law and order in the country. The legislative agenda put forward by women parliamentarians included health reforms, protection of workers' rights, governance and institutional reforms, along with constitutional amendments concerning women's rights, transgender rights, amendments to criminal laws for improved protection of women and children.

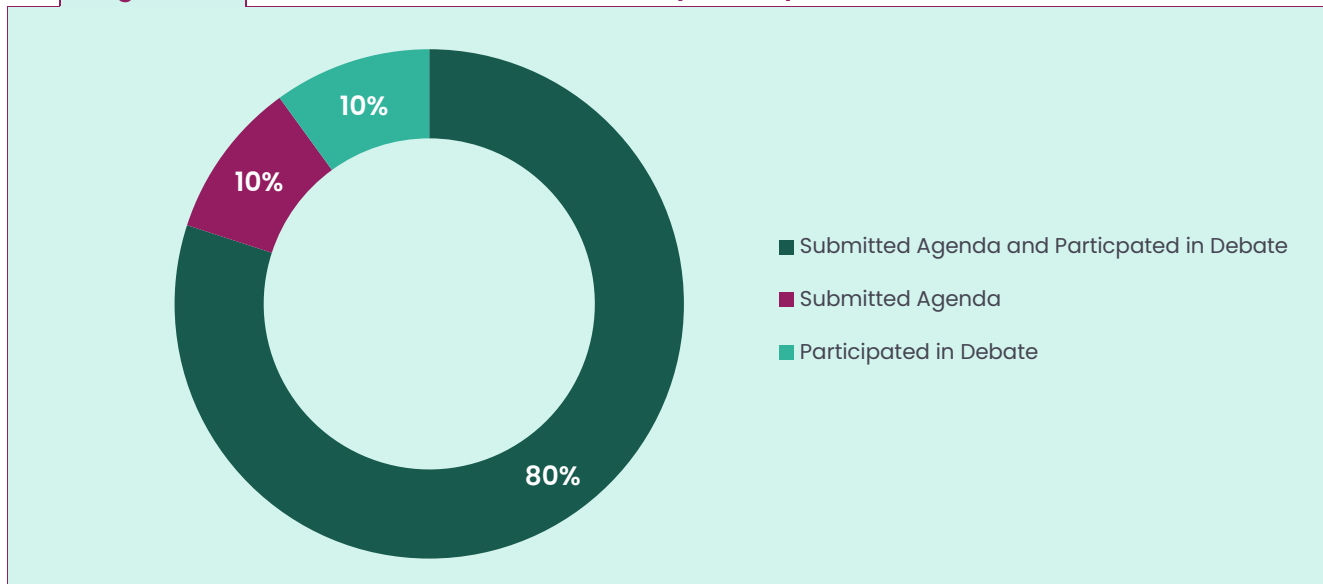
Of 45 female MNAs, 30 (81 percent) sponsored agenda items as well as participated in the debates, two (five percent) participated in only the debates, while five (14 percent) only sponsored agenda item(s).

**Figure 3: Female MNAs Parliamentary Participation**



Of 20 female Senators, 16 (80 percent) contributed to both agenda and debates, while two (10 percent) only participated in debates, and two (10 percent) only submitted agenda items.

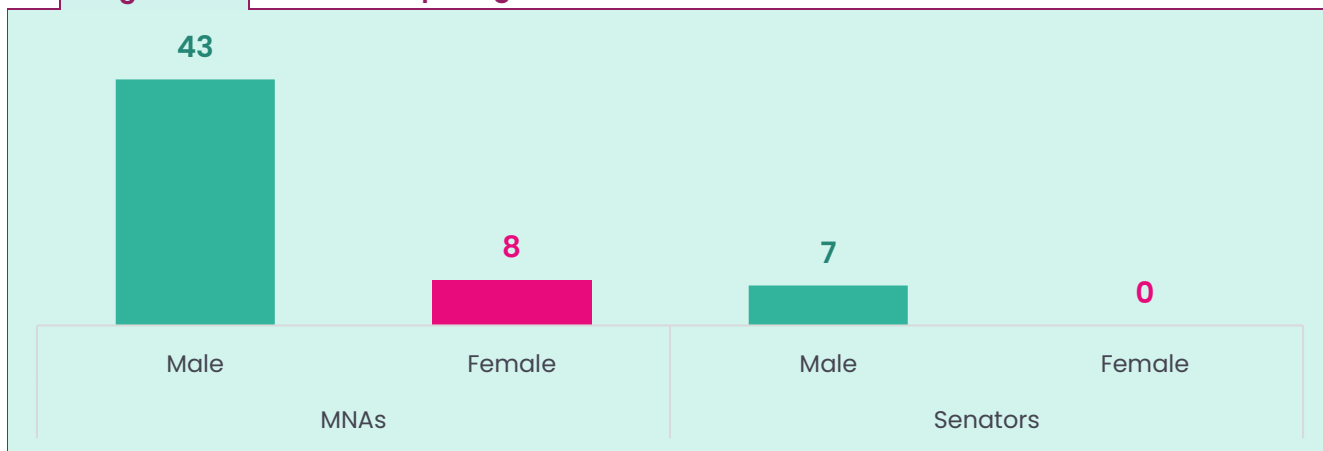
**Figure 4: Female Senators Parliamentary Participation**



While all female Senators participated in their House’s proceedings, eight female MNAs did not participate in the proceedings during the reporting period. In comparison to the male MNAs, female MNAs participation fared better.

These non-participating MNAs included four MNAs from Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz (PML-N), one MNA from Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) MNA, one MNA from Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (PPPP), one Pakistan Muslim League (PML) MNA, and one Balochistan Awami Party (BAP) MNA. <sup>1</sup>

**Figure 5: Non-Participating Members**



Comparatively, 50 (20 percent) male parliamentarians – 43 (17 percent) MNAs and seven (three percent) Senators did not participate in plenary proceedings of their respective House.

<sup>1</sup> FAFEN assesses the parliamentarians’ agenda contribution by analyzing the Orders of the Day available on official websites of National Assembly and Senate, and participation in plenary debates through its direct observation of the parliamentary proceedings. However, the members holding an executive or parliamentary office such as Speaker, Deputy Speaker, Federal Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries and Committees’ Chairperson may contribute to parliamentary proceedings through various other ways as well, which may be beyond the scope of this report.

3

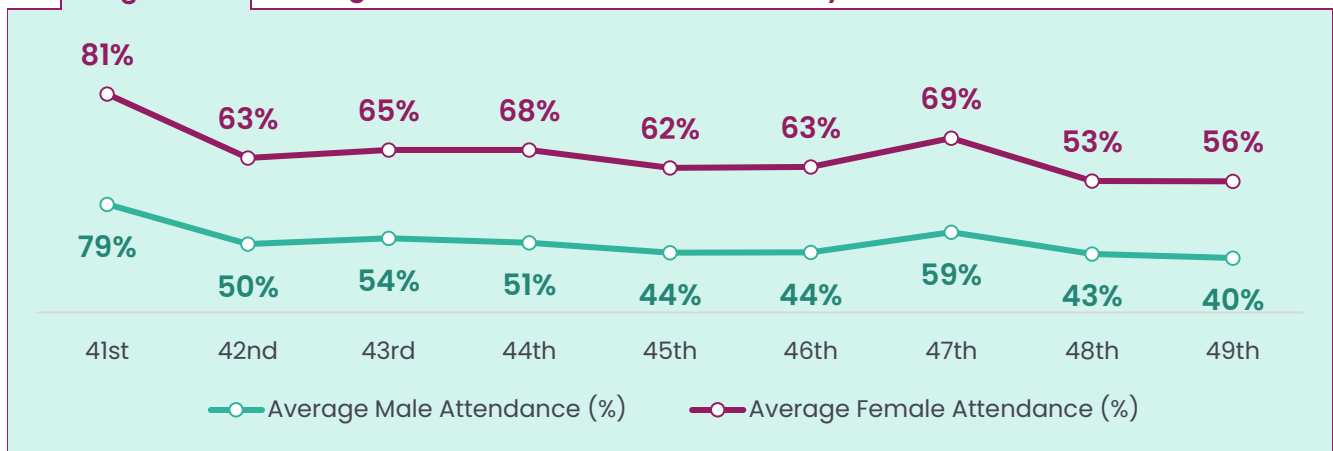
# ATTENDANCE PATTERNS OF WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS



The National Assembly held nine sessions comprising 87 sittings and the Senate eight sessions comprising 58 sittings during the reporting period. On average, each female MNA attended 57 (66 percent) sittings against male MNAs average of 46 (53 percent) sittings. Similarly, each female Senator attended an average of 39 (68%) sittings against male Senators' average of 32 (56 percent) sittings.

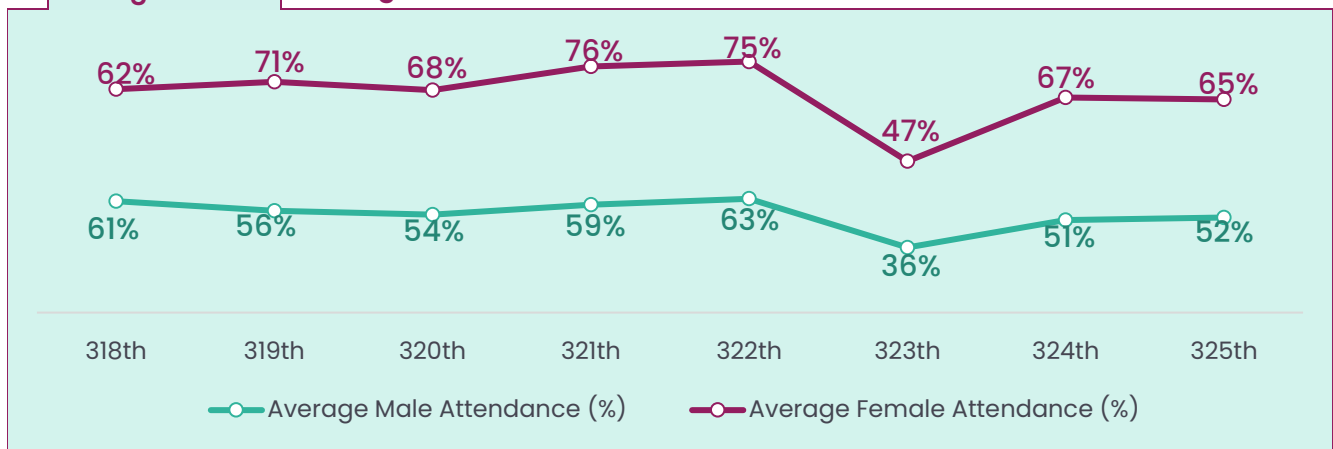
On average, 30 female MNAs (67 percent of the total female membership) and 89 male MNAs (52 percent of the male membership) attended each National Assembly sitting. The following graphical presentation of the gender-disaggregated average attendance in each session illustrates this trend.

**Figure 6: Average Attendance in National Assembly**



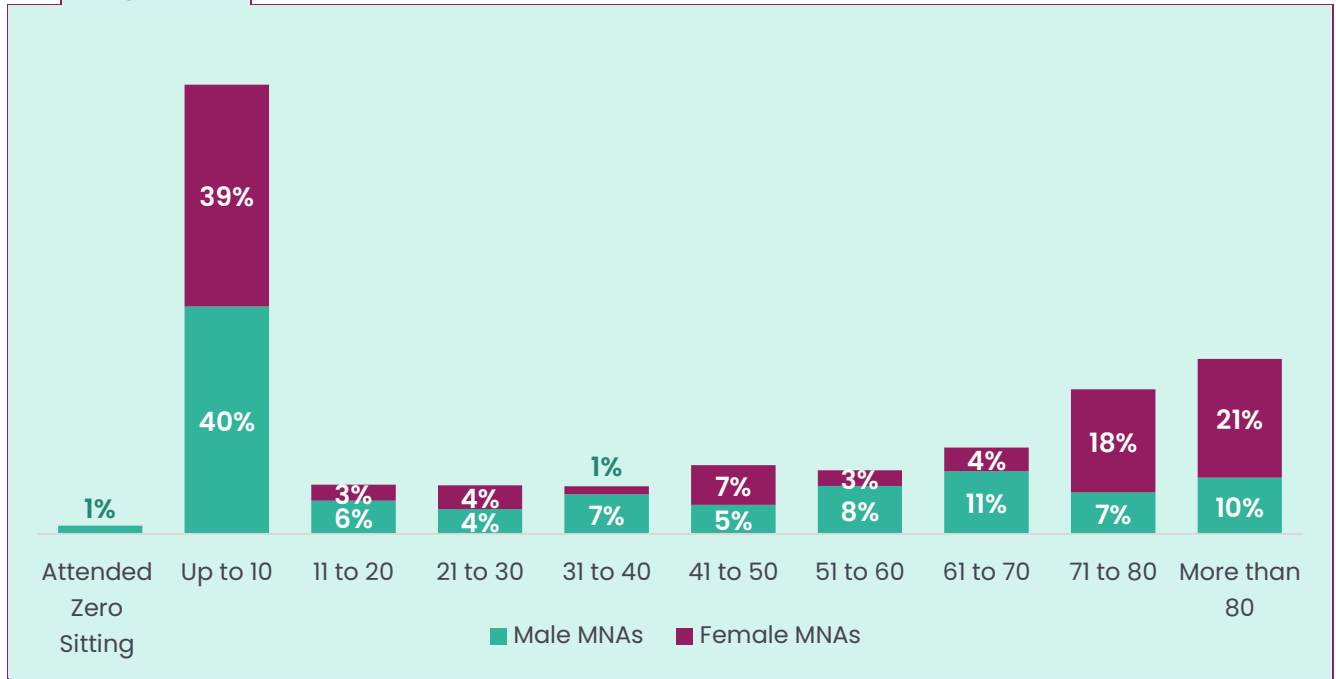
An analysis of Senate attendance records also replicates the trend noted in the National Assembly albeit some variations. On average, 12 female Senators (63% of total the female membership) and 46 male Senators (55 percent of the male membership) attended each Senate sitting.

**Figure 7: Average Attendance in Senate Sessions**

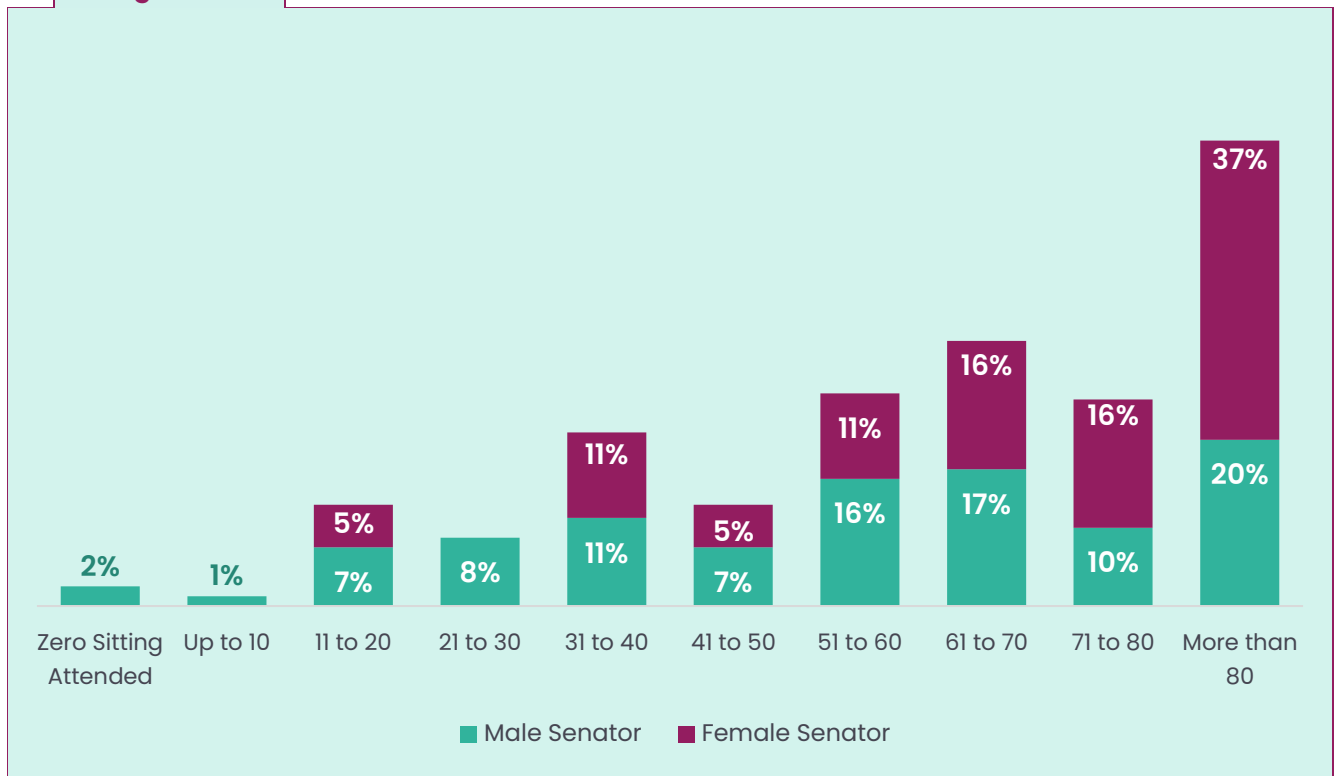


The individual, gender-disaggregated attendance patterns, as illustrated in the following graphs, confirm that female MNAs (figure 8) and Senators (figure 9) tend to attend more sittings than their male colleagues.

**Figure 8: MNAs' Attendance Patterns**



**Figure 9: Senators' Attendance Patterns**





4

# WOMEN MPS' AGENDA



Nearly one-third of the female MNAs' agenda remained unaddressed during 2022-23. Half of the CANs, more than two-thirds of Private Member Bills, and all Private Member Resolutions, Motions for Public Interest Discussions, and proposals for Amendments to Assembly Rules sponsored by women parliamentarians either lapsed or were pending until the last session. The questions remained the only intervention where female MNAs received a higher response rate than their male colleagues. The following graph illustrates the status of each parliamentary intervention that appeared on the National Assembly's Orders of the Day. For comparison, these statuses have been disaggregated by gender in the following table.

**Table 1: Status of National Assembly Agenda**

Agenda Item	Initiated by Men MPs		Initiated by Women MPs		Jointly Initiated	
	Addressed	Unaddressed	Addressed	Unaddressed	Addressed	Unaddressed
<b>CANs</b>	77%	23%	50%	50%	62%	38%
<b>Private Member Bills</b>	69%	31%	36%	64%	80%	20%
<b>Motions for Public Interest Discussions</b>	8%	92%	0%	100%	0%	0%
<b>Private Member Resolutions</b>	40%	60%	0%	100%	100%	0%
<b>Questions</b>	62%	38%	72%	28%		
<b>Amendments to Rules</b>	67%	33%	0%	100%		
<b>Overall</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>69%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>33%</b>

Unlike the National Assembly, the Upper House appeared more responsive to female Senators agenda. Around 15 percent of the female Senators' agenda remained unaddressed against 14 percent of the male Senators' agenda. The following graph presents a comparison of the status of each parliamentary intervention on the Senate's Orders of the Day.

**Table 2: Status of Senate Agenda**

Agenda Item	Initiated by Men MPs		Initiated by Women MPs		Jointly Initiated	
	Addressed	Unaddressed	Addressed	Unaddressed	Addressed	Unaddressed
<b>CANs</b>	24%	76%	38%	63%	40%	60%
<b>Private Member Bills</b>	92%	8%	87%	13%	100%	
<b>Motions for Public Interest Discussions</b>	29%	71%	20%	80%	44%	56%
<b>Private Member Resolutions</b>	67%	33%	67%	33%	100%	-
<b>Questions</b>	95%	5%	97%	3%	-	-
<b>Amendments to Rules</b>	100%	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Overall</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>85%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>47%</b>