

# Preliminary Report

15<sup>th</sup>

# NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

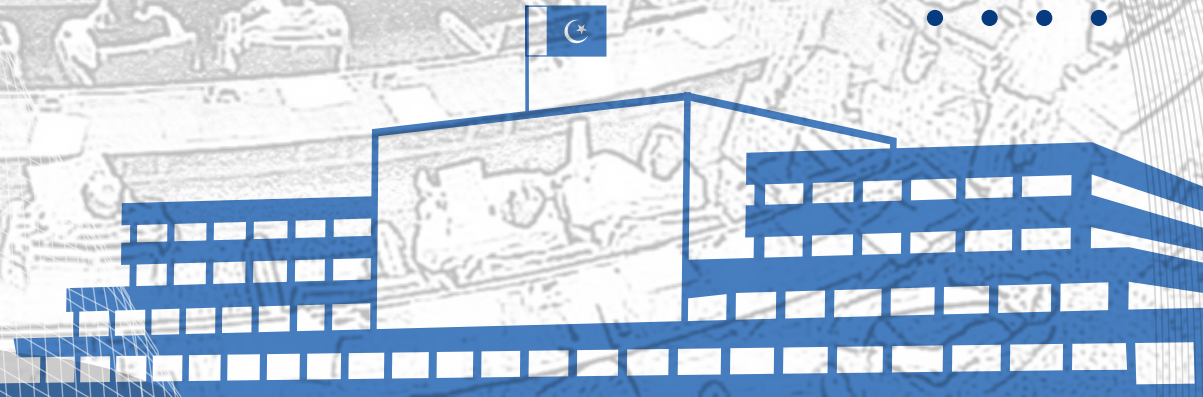
## PERFORMANCE SCORECARD

August 13, 2023



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# 15th National Assembly Defies Challenges with Impressive Legislative Productivity

Seized with complex political, economic, judicial and constitutional challenges, the 15th National Assembly of Pakistan showcased a notable resilience to withstand the pressures on its existence and supremacy before completing its tenure on August 9, 2023, wielding legislative productivity that surpassed its three predecessors.

Despite 11 percent fewer sittings, the legislative output of outgoing Assembly grew by 57 percent to a total of 322 pieces of legislation as compared to the 14th National Assembly, which had passed 205 bills. The 13th Assembly had passed 134 bills and 12th Assembly only 51 bills during their respective terms. The generous approval of the private members' bills also remained a hallmark of the outgoing Assembly, exhibiting collaborative spirit that steered the coalition government. More than 30 percent of the approved legislation (99 bills) was initiated by private members and the remaining by the government.

The legislative productivity was not

the sole distinction of the 15th Assembly that also saw a first-ever successful vote of no confidence against a Prime Minister, resulting in the change of government. Previously, two Prime Ministers faced voting on resolutions of no-confidence against them including Ms. Benazir Bhutto in 1989 and Mr. Shaukat Aziz in 2006.

Both of them were able to retain their majority in the Assembly. Moreover, the outgoing Assembly was the first since 1977 to be dissolved voluntarily by the Leader of the House (Prime Minister) before the completion of its term. Except for 1993 when the Assembly was dissolved under an arrangement with the establishment that saw both the President and Prime Minister resigning, all other preterm dissolutions were compelled by the Presidential use of infamous Article 58 (2)(b).

A government-wise disaggregation of the approved bills shows the bulk of legislation (54 percent) was made during the 16-month tenure of PML-N led coalition government while PTI government oversaw the rest 46

percent of the legislation in its three-and-half-year of rule. Nearly one third of the government legislation approved by the House during PTI government's tenure originated as presidential ordinances. Of the government legislation, 200 bills were initiated by male ministers and 26 by female ministers. Among the private members' bills passed by the House, 63 were initiated by male lawmakers and 29 by female lawmakers, while the remaining seven were jointly sponsored.

The Assembly recorded 1,310 hours and 47 minutes of on-floor proceedings during its 52 sessions comprising 442 sittings in 687 working days. The Assembly proceedings, however, remained suspended for 122 hours 11 minutes due to various reasons such as lack of quorum, prayer breaks, etc. Approximately two-thirds of the Assembly sittings (equivalent to 67 percent) and working hours (amounting to 63 percent) were completed during the PTI government's tenure, which ended on April 9, 2022. The remaining one-third

## HIGHLIGHTS

15th National Assembly met for a total of 1,310 hours and 47 minutes during its 52 sessions comprising 442 sittings in 687 working days.

15th Assembly passed 322 bills including 223 government bills and 99 private members' bills mainly focusing on higher education and research, economic, financial and trade affairs, administration of justice, human rights and institutional reforms.

Lawmakers raised 9,765 questions, 423 Calling Attention Notices, and 478 motions under Rule 259 for discussions on public importance issues.



of the sittings, along with 37 percent of the total working hours, were conducted during the tenure of the PML-N-led coalition government. The Speaker Asad Qaiser presided over 40 percent of the proceedings himself during his term as Speaker. The Deputy Speaker Qasim Suri chaired nearly 39 percent of the proceedings while members of the Panel of Chairpersons presided over the rest of 21 percent proceedings. On the other hand, the Speaker Raja Pervez Ashraf chaired 53 percent proceedings himself. His Deputy Zahid Akram Durrani chaired 29 percent proceedings and members of Panel of Chairpersons 19 percent.

Prime Minister Imran Khan attended nine percent of the sittings while Prime Minister Shahbaz Sharif attended 17 percent sittings during their respective tenures as premier. The Leader of the Opposition Shahbaz Sharif attended 27 percent sittings while the Leader of the Opposition Raja Riaz attended 40 percent of the sittings during the time they held the office.

The lawmakers' attendance showed a declining trend over the period of five years with annual average attendance falling from 250 (73

percent) legislators per sitting during first year to 117 (34 percent) lawmakers per sitting during the last year. The declining trend of attendance during the last two years can be attributed mainly to the en-masse resignations of PTI lawmakers from the Assembly. The lawmakers pointed out the lack of quorum 131 times during 108 sittings. As many as 96 sittings had to be adjourned due to lack of quorum during the five years. The Assembly witnessed 74 instances of on-floor protests by lawmakers that lasted for a cumulative duration of 34 hours and 54 minutes.

Research and education emerged as a primary legislative focus of the outgoing Assembly, with 69 bills centered around this theme. Notably, 62 bills were approved to grant or amend the charters higher education and research institutions. Economic, financial, and trade matters ranked as the second most legislated subject, resulting in 63 bills covering areas such as FATF regulations, ease of doing business, taxation, and fiscal matters.

The administration of justice was another priority theme in legislation with 33 bills concerning the superior

and lower courts, prosecution services and penal provisions. The Assembly passed 28 laws encompassing the rights of children, women, persons with disabilities (PWDs), and the elderly. The Assembly also abolished the death penalty for specific offenses and criminalized enforced disappearances and custodial torture.

A significant portion of legislation, 19 bills, was aimed at introducing changes in the organizational structure and functioning of various public institutions. The remaining legislation included 16 bills on health governance, 12 on defense and anti-terrorism related matters, 11 on religious affairs, eight each on anti-corruption & accountability, energy-related matters and parliamentary affairs, seven on foreign affairs, six each on aviation, elections and media-related subjects, five each on housing & real estate sector and maritime affairs, four on labour and employment issues, and eight on miscellaneous subjects including social welfare, culture and local governance.

As was witnessed during previous assemblies, the legislative procedure was occasionally truncated during the

## HIGHLIGHTS

Seven lawmakers – four PTI, two PPPP and one PML – did not participate in the plenary proceeding throughout five years.

Lawmakers pointed out the lack of quorum 131 times during 108 sittings that caused 96 sittings to be adjourned without transacting its scheduled business.

Prime Ministers Imran Khan and Shahbaz Sharif attended nine percent and 17 percent sittings respectively during their terms as Leaders of the House.

Leaders of Opposition Shahbaz Sharif and Raja Riaz attended 27 percent and 40 percent respectively sittings during their terms as Leader of Opposition.



term of 15th National Assembly to approve certain bills instantly without affording the members reasonable time to go through the contents of the bills. At least 58 of the bills including 21 government and 37 private members' bills were passed either on the same day or within three days of their introduction in the House. Under the sub-rule 2 of the Rule 123 of the National Assembly Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business 2007, at least two clear days shall intervene between the day of supply of copies of the Bill to the members and the day for setting down the bill for consideration. However, the Assembly may forego this requirement through a motion to this effect, which was the case for the bills that were instantly passed. As many as 16 of these were passed during the PTI government and 42 during the PML-N-led government.

The House also adopted 152 resolutions during five years giving recommendations to the federal government or expressing its opinion on a range of issues encompassing human rights, foreign affairs, administration of justice, law and order, issues of governance, and

political and international developments. A majority of these resolutions (58 percent) were sponsored by the government ministers, 24 percent by the private members while the remaining 18 percent were jointly moved by the government and private members.

The lawmakers kept a close vigil on the executive by raising 9,765 questions, moving 423 Calling Attention Notices, and seeking discussions on matters of public importance through 478 motions under Rule 259. During the five years, 202 lawmakers of 12 parliamentary parties, including 55 women and 147 men, exercised their right to ask questions on the floor of the House. Women MNAs asked 3,503 (36 percent) questions while men 6,262 (64 percent) questions. The government replied to 7,008 (72 percent) questions while remaining questions remained unaddressed during the term of the Assembly.

Of 423 CANs submitted during five years, the House took up 249 (59 percent) CANs during the proceedings and sought government response on the issues of public importance. However, the House

debated only 12 Motions under Rule 259 as concerning economic conditions in the country (2018), Sahiwal incident (2019), Indian actions in illegally occupied Kashmir (2020), economic conditions in the country (2020), COVID-19 pandemic (2020), agriculture policy of the government (2020), motorway rape incident (2020), privatization of state owned enterprises (2020), inflation (2021), floods in parts of the country (2022), and political situation in the country (2023).

The 15th National Assembly also approved amendments to its Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business providing for mandatory playing of national anthem and recitation of hadith before the commencement of each sitting; establishing multiple standing committees for ministries comprising more than one division; barring the arrest of a member of National Assembly accused of an offence without the Speaker's permission; constitution of the Committee of Whole House; empowering the Standing Committees' Chairpersons to independently set the committee meeting's agenda; and, mandate the

suspension of proceedings at the time of Azaan.

During five years of the Assembly, all members barring seven participated in the Assembly proceedings at least once by sponsoring an agenda item or orally participating in a discussion on floor of the House. The seven lawmakers, however, neither submitted any agenda nor had they participated in the debates. As many as four of the non-participating lawmakers belonged to PTI, two to PPP and one to PML.

Like its predecessor, the outgoing Assembly had to elect the Prime Minister, Speaker and Deputy Speaker twice during its five years. These elections were necessitated by the change of government after the removal of former prime minister through a resolution of no confidence. Moreover, the President Republic of Turkiye Recep Tayyip Erdoğan addressed the joint sitting of the Parliament during the second year of the outgoing Assembly.

More statistical information about the Assembly and members' performance is in the following tables and graphs.

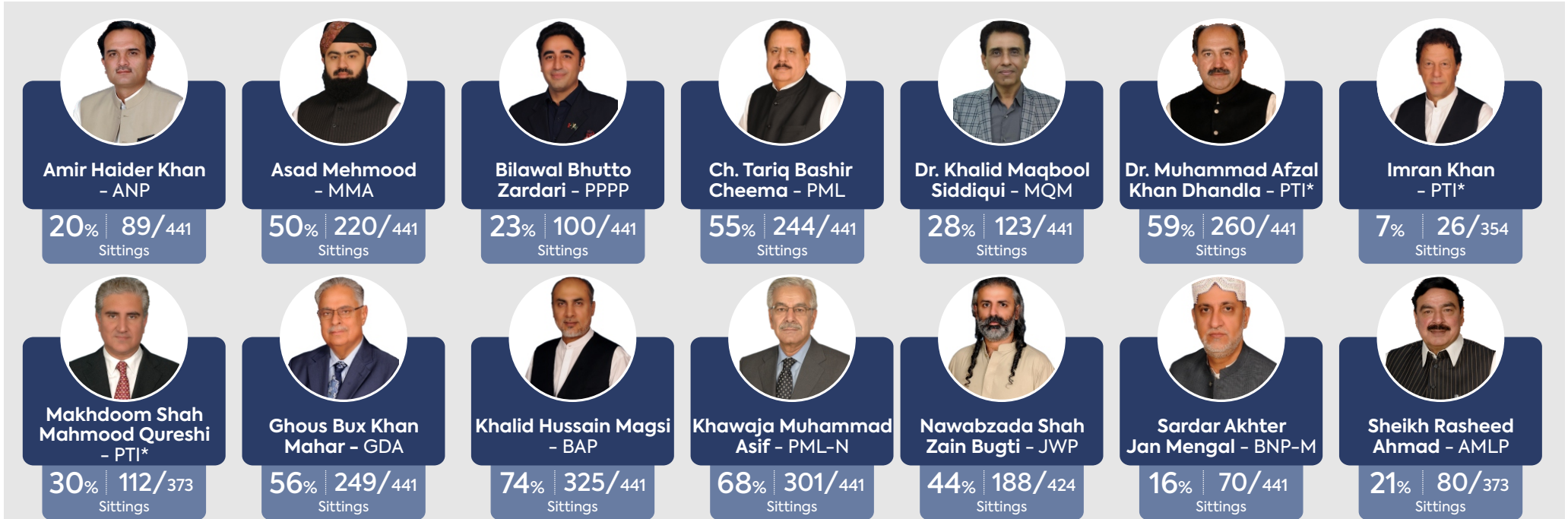
## Five years at a Glance



	1 <sup>st</sup> Parliamentary Year	2 <sup>nd</sup> Parliamentary Year	3 <sup>rd</sup> Parliamentary Year	4 <sup>th</sup> Parliamentary Year	4 <sup>th</sup> Parliamentary Year	5 <sup>th</sup> Parliamentary Year
Number of Sessions	13	11	11	6	3	9
Number of Assembly Sittings	91	86	77	44	44	100
Number of Joint Sittings	2	3	3	2	1	2
Number of Working Days	133	133	132	72	62	155
Presidential Address to Parliament	1	1	1	1	0	0
Address by the President of the Republic of Turkey		1				
Election of the Prime Minister	1				1	
Election of the Speaker	1				1	
Total Duration of Proceedings	302:48:00	283:39:00	264:56:00	88:15:00	125:37:00	245:32:00
Average Sitting Duration	3:19	3:17	3:26	2:00	2:51	2:27
Average Delay before each Sitting	0:38	0:27	0:31	0:40	0:53	1:01
Average Maximum Attendance per Sitting	<b>250</b>	<b>217</b>	<b>223</b>	<b>218</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>119</b>
Maximum Attendance in any Sitting	<b>333</b>	299	327	327	315	205
Minimum Attendance in any Sitting	155	142	109	106	73	72
Govt. Bills Passed	9	45	48	25	19	77
Private Members' Bills Passed	1	2	17	1	11	67
CANs on Agenda	93	102	75	36	39	78
CANs Responded by Ministers	49	63	42	10	25	60
Resolutions Adopted	26	31	30	18	12	34
Aments to Rules on Agenda	16	45	24	6	3	8
Amendments to Rules Adopted	7	4	1	0	0	8
Starred Questions	1415	1414	1166	1076	402	1313
Unstarred Questions	619	660	536	537	186	441
Motions under Rule 259	123	93	90	64	22	87
Identification of Quorum	17	23	47	27	7	10
Instances of Protests/Walkouts/Boycotts	31	17	14	4	3	5

# Members Attendance

## Parliamentary Leaders



\* Imran Khan served as both the Leader of the House and Parliamentary Leader of his party PTI while Shah Mahmood Qureshi deputized for him in this role. This arrangement remained intact until the majority of PTI members' announced to resign from the Assembly in April 2022. The breakaway group of the party that chose not to resign nominated Dr. Afzal Khan Dhandla as their Parliamentary Leader with effect from November 2022.

## Prime Minister



## Leader of Opposition



### Speaker

### Deputy Speaker

**Asad Qaiser**

PTI

From August 15, 2018 to April 9, 2022

**66%** | 197/299  
Sittings

Presided 40 percent proceedings\*

**Raja Pervaiz Ashraf**

PPPP

onward April 16, 2022

**83%** | 118/142  
Sittings

Presided 53 percent proceedings\*

**Qasim Suri**

PTI

Till April 16

**72%** | 216/300  
Sittings

Presided 39 percent proceedings\*

**Zahid Akram Durrani**

MMA






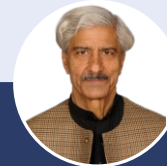




From April 21, 2022

**65%** | 90/138  
Sittings

Presided 29 percent proceedings\*

\* Members of Panel of Chairpersons presided over around 21 percent of the total proceedings during the PTI government's tenure and 19 percent of the total proceedings during the term of PML-N led coalition government

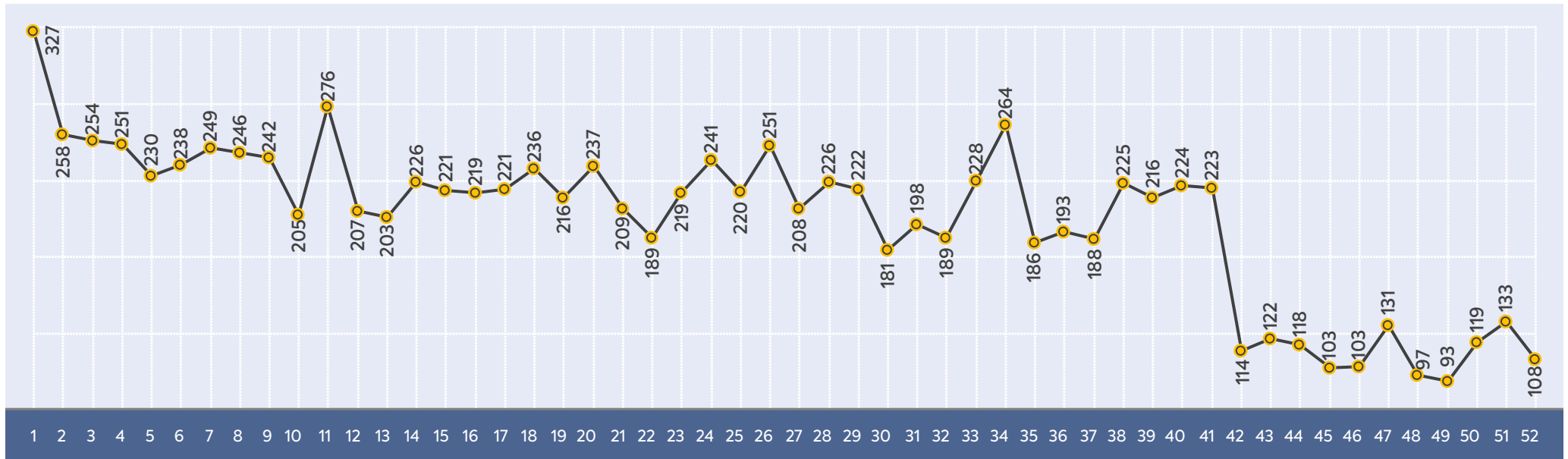
### 10 Most Regular MNAs

 <b>Begum Tahira Bukhari</b> - PML-N <b>98%</b>   433/441 Sittings	 <b>Nawabzada Iftekhar Ahmed Khan Babar</b> - PPPP <b>96%</b>   423/441 Sittings	 <b>Moulana Abdul Akbar Chitrali</b> - MMA <b>95%</b>   419/441 Sittings	 <b>Mrs. Musarat Rafique Mahesar</b> - PPPP <b>94%</b>   415/441 Sittings	 <b>Sardar Muhammad Amjad Farooq Khan Khosa</b> - PTI <b>94%</b>   414/441 Sittings	 <b>Rana Shamim Ahmed Khan</b> - PML-N <b>93%</b>   411/441 Sittings	 <b>Nisar Ahmad Cheema</b> - PML-N <b>92%</b>   406/441 Sittings
 <b>Shahida Akhtar Ali</b> - MMA <b>92%</b>   406/441 Sittings						
 <b>Shamim Ara Panhwar</b> - PPPP <b>92%</b>   405/441 Sittings						
 <b>Ch. Nadeem Abbas Rebera</b> - PML-N <b>92%</b>   404/441 Sittings						

### Annual Average Attendance Per Sitting



### Session-wise Average Attendance Per Sitting





# Comparative Performance of 14th and 15th National Assemblies

14<sup>TH</sup>  
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

## PERFORMANCE INDICATOR

15<sup>TH</sup>  
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

14 <sup>TH</sup> NATIONAL ASSEMBLY	PERFORMANCE INDICATOR	15 <sup>TH</sup> NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
56	Number of Sessions	52
495	Number of Assembly Sittings	442
679	Number of Working Days	687
1575:00:00	Total Duration of Proceedings [HH:MM]	1310:47:00
3:09	Average Sitting Duration [HH:MM]	2:53
23	Average Delay before each Sitting (Minutes)	0:41
204	Average Maximum Attendance per Sitting	193
317	Maximum Attendance in any Sitting	333
87	Minimum Attendance in any Sitting	72
5	No. of Presidential Addresses to Parliament	5
2	Election of the Prime Minister	2
2	Election of the Speaker	2
182	Govt. Bills Passed	223
23	Private Members' Bills Passed	99
533	CANs on Agenda	423
428	CANs Responded by Ministers	249
210	Resolutions Adopted	152
88	Amendments to Rules on Agenda	102
19	Amendments to Rules Adopted	20
8718	Starred Questions	6786
5194	Unstarred Questions	2979
48	Motions under Rule 259	479
159	Identification of Quorum	131

# Methodological Notes

The Preliminary Report on the 15th National Assembly's Performance uses the findings from direct observation of House proceedings by Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN), and the National Assembly's own records of its business and attendance provided on its official website. Following methodological notes are essential to accurately comprehending the contents of the report:

## Legislation

The count of bills approved by the House was determined based on the number of times a bill underwent voting. This entails a distinct count for each instance of voting on a bill. For instance, if a bill underwent final reading twice, it would be recorded as two separate bills passed.



## Calling Attention Notices

The total number of Calling Attention Notices raised by the lawmakers counts all the CANs that were listed on the Orders of the Day. The count of CANs addressed by the House pertains to those on which a minister delivered a statement before the assembly or that were referred to a committee by the Speaker.



## Members' Participation

FAFEN gauges members' participation in the proceedings by tallying the agenda items they sponsored individually or in collaboration with their colleagues, and the instances of their participation in the discussion on floor of the House. Non-participating members encompass those who neither presented agenda items nor engaged in any discussions during the plenary proceedings.



## Attendance

The report employs two distinct methods to gauge members' attendance. The first involves recording attendance at the commencement and conclusion of each sitting through the headcounts conducted by FAFEN. The second relies on the official attendance register, accessible on the Assembly's website, to determine the maximum attendance during a sitting. The average attendance per sitting is then computed using the maximum attendance figures.



## Questions

The statistics on the questions raised by lawmakers used in this report include both the starred and unstarred. These were counted from the List of Questions available on the Assembly's website. Each question is tallied according to its frequency of appearance on the list. For example, a question that was listed for an answer three times was counted thrice.



## Duration of Proceedings

The duration of the proceedings, including any periods of suspension is computed based on the time recorded by FAFEN during its direct observation of the proceedings.





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