

WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS PERFORMANCE 2021 - 2022



March 8, 2022



Trust for Democratic Education & Accountability (TDEA)
Free & Fair Election Network (FAFEN)
www.fafen.org

Executive Summary

Undeterred by under-representation and neglect, female parliamentarians upheld their tradition of proactively and assertively performing their legislative, representative and oversight functions in both Houses of the Parliament during 2021-22. Constituting one-fifth of the Parliament, they accounted for nearly 35 percent of the parliamentary agenda during 2021-2022 – 38 percent in the National Assembly and 25 percent in the Senate. This year's contribution by female parliamentarians is their highest annual contribution since the 15th National Assembly took oath in 2018. They had sponsored 33 percent parliamentary agenda in 2018-19 and 2019-20 each, and 28 percent agenda in 2020-21.

Female parliamentarians remained the most regular members in both the Houses throughout the year. On an average, each female MNA attended 65 (76%) of the National Assembly sittings against their male MNAs' average of 52 (60%) sittings. Similarly, a female Senator attended an average of 42 (77%) Senate sittings against their male counterparts' average of 38 (70%) sittings.

Despite female parliamentarians' remarkable contributions, their agenda continued to be neglected in the Parliament. Nearly a fifth (19 percent) of the female MNAs' agenda and six percent agenda by female Senators either lapsed or remained unaddressed during the reporting period. With the exception of parliamentary questions, the percentage of unaddressed legislative and representative agenda goes as high as 55 percent. More than two-third of the calling attention notices (CANs), more than half of the private members' bills, and all of their private members' resolutions, motions for public interest discussions, and proposals for amendments to Assembly and Senate Rules either lapsed or are still pending. Unlike the National Assembly, the Senate appeared to be more responsive to female parliamentarians' agenda. However, the female senators' motions for public interest discussions (including motion under Rule 218 and Adjournment Motions) in the Senate remained unaddressed.

On an average, each female MNA contributed 10 agenda items to the Assembly's Orders of the Day against five by a male MNA. Similarly, each female Senator contributed nine agenda items to the Upper House's Orders of the Day against an average of seven by each male Senator. All female parliamentarians – except four MNAs and one Senator – actively participated in their respective House's proceedings.

Thematically, the female parliamentarians sought discussions on a range of public importance issues including: Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) impact, relief efforts and vaccination drives; rights and entitlements of employees and workers; inflation; energy supply and pricing; performance of government departments; protection of women, children and human rights; national and cross-border trade and commerce; foreign affairs; and water management in the country. The legislative agenda put forward by female parliamentarians included constitutional amendments concerning women's rights and local governments (LGs), criminal law reforms, improving health governance, protection of workers' rights, and institutional reforms.

Methodology

The report employs the data 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 official "Order of the Day" of both the Houses. The report covers ten sessions of the National Assembly (31st to 40th) and nine sessions of the Senate (309th to 317th) held between March 9, 2021 and March 8, 2022. The section-wise details presented in this report include analyses of the contribution of female parliamentarians in legislation, resolutions, motions, CANs, adjournment motions and questions. The section on 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 holder of an executive or a parliamentary office such as the Speaker, Deputy Speaker, Federal Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries and Committees' Chairperson. FAFEN acknowledges that parliamentarians richly contribute to parliamentary process by multiple ways not limited to the plenary participation. The individual performance and scoresheet of each female parliamentarian included in this report is also available on TDEA-FAFEN's online parliamentary portal.

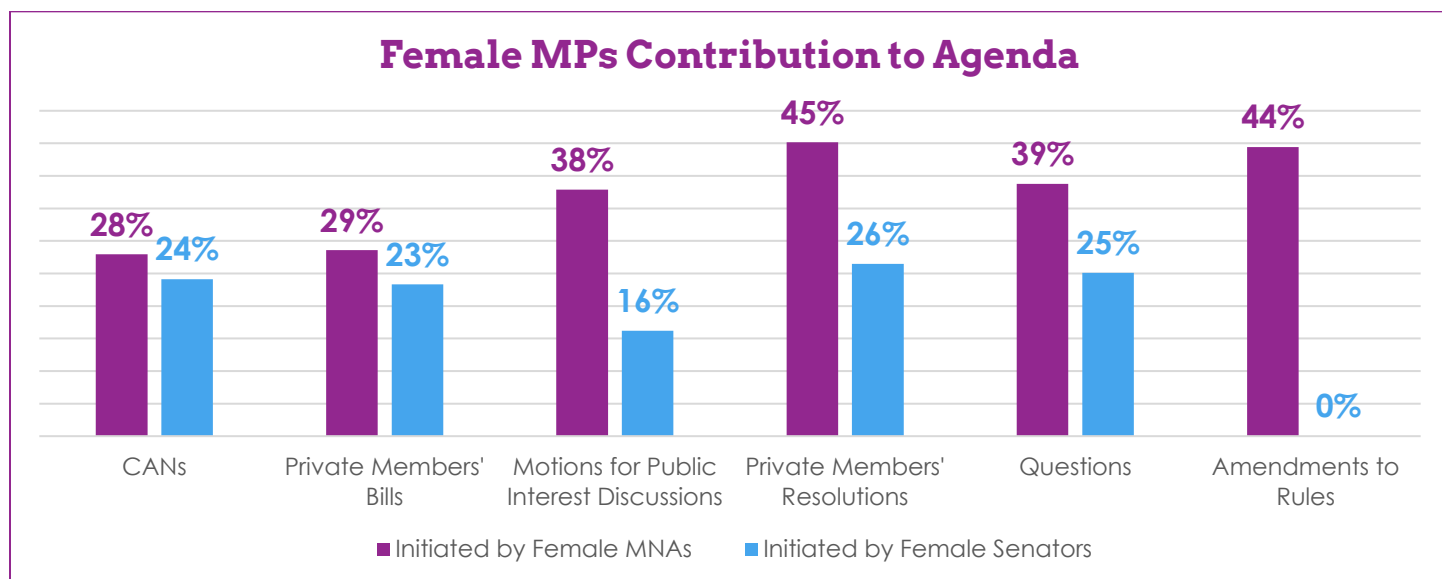
Chapter 1:

WOMEN MPS' CONTRIBUTION TO ANNUAL PARLIAMENTARY AGENDA

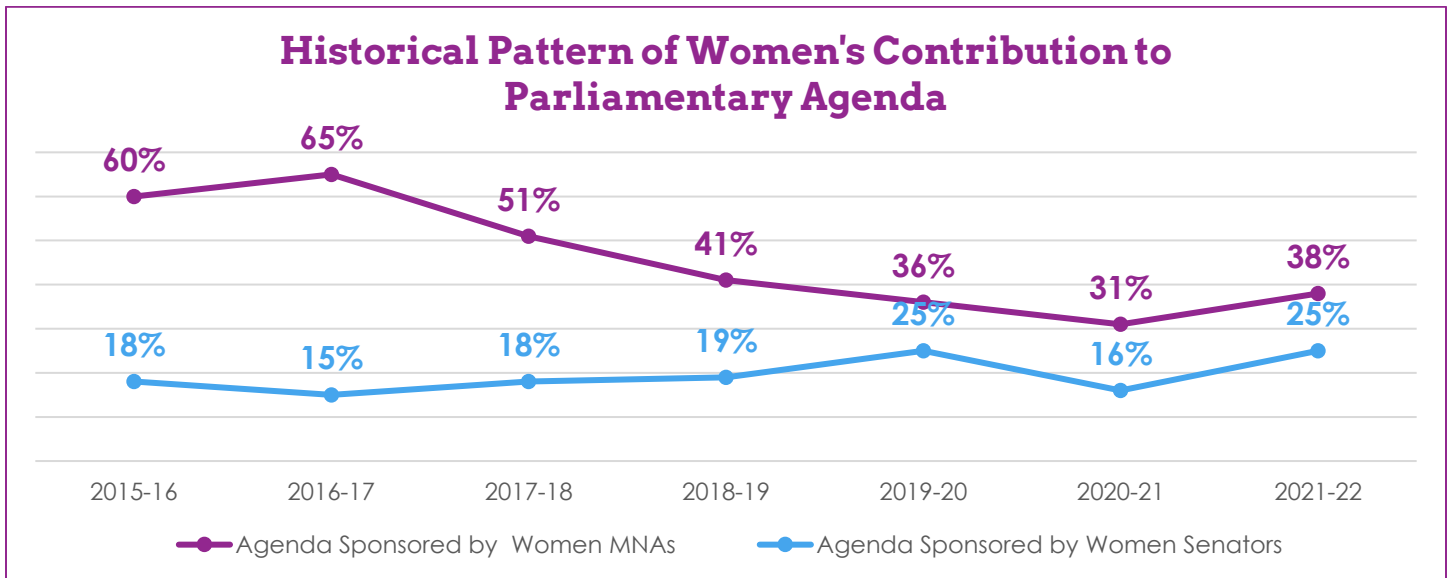
Female parliamentarians accounted for nearly 35 percent of the parliamentary agenda during the last year – 32 percent on their own and two percent in collaboration with their male colleagues. They sponsored 33 percent (78 out of 237) private members' bills, 61 percent (59 out of 96) private members' resolutions, 44 percent (54 out of 122) calling attention notices (CANs), 44 percent (44 out of 100) motions for discussion on public interest issues, 40 percent (four out of 10) proposals for amendments in the Rules of Procedure of their respective House, and 36 percent (715 out of 2,005) Questions. The female parliamentarians' contributions largely comprised of private members' business as male-dominant cabinet is responsible for the government business.

Female MNAs contributed 35 percent agenda on their own and three percent in collaboration with male counterparts whereas female Senators contributed 23 percent agenda on their own and two percent in collaboration with male Senators. In addition to their contribution to the agenda, female lawmakers also actively participated in the debates on scheduled business and in raising Points of Order and Matters of Public Importance.

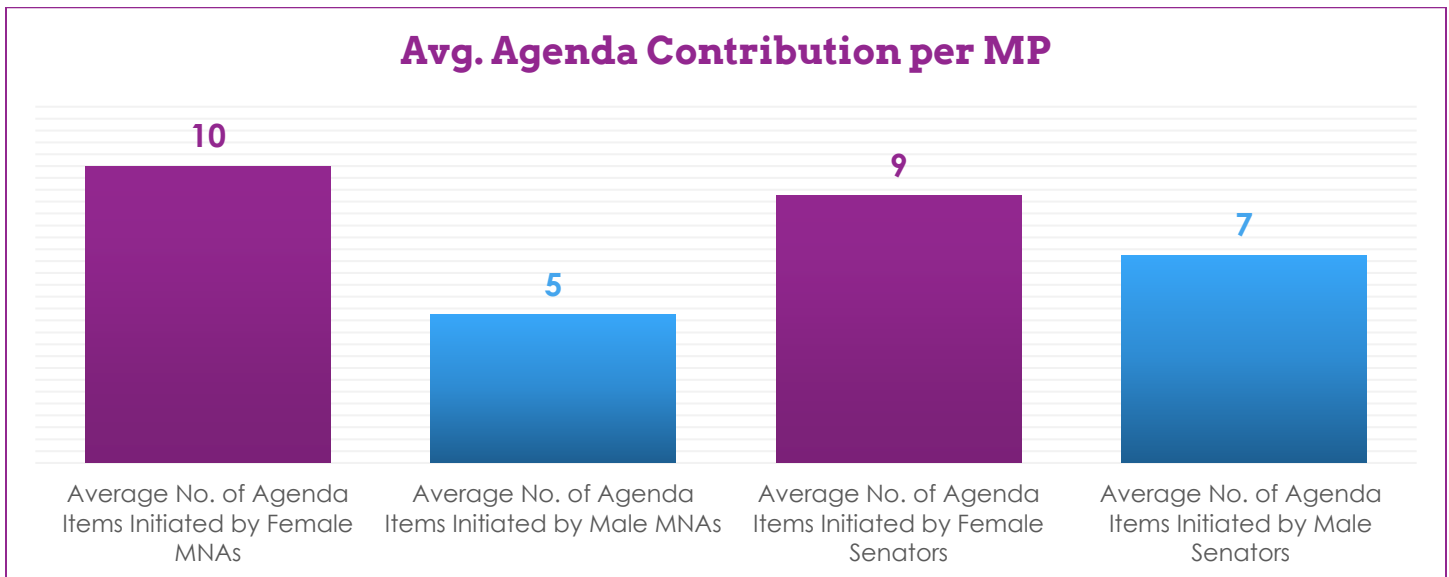
Following graph shows the female MNAs and Senators' contribution to their respective House's Orders of the Day against each parliamentary intervention:



The female parliamentarian's contribution to parliamentary business registered an increase as compared to previous two years but still is less than the contribution during previous terms. Following graph shows the contribution to annual parliamentary agenda since 2015-16.



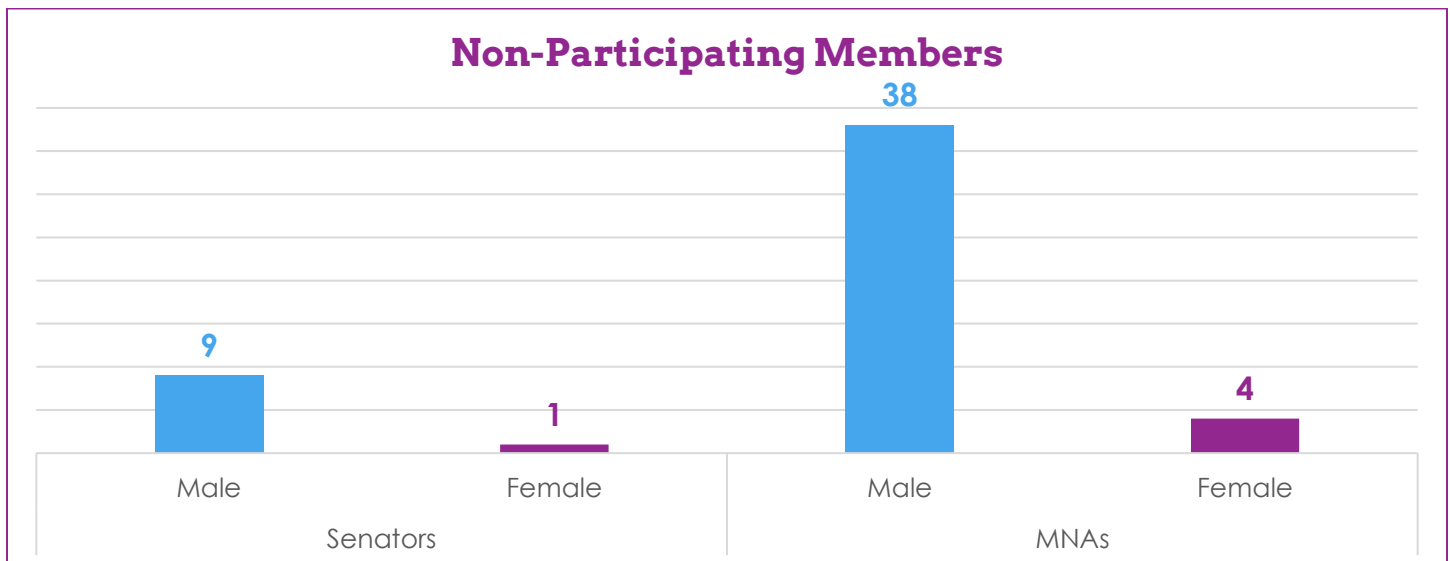
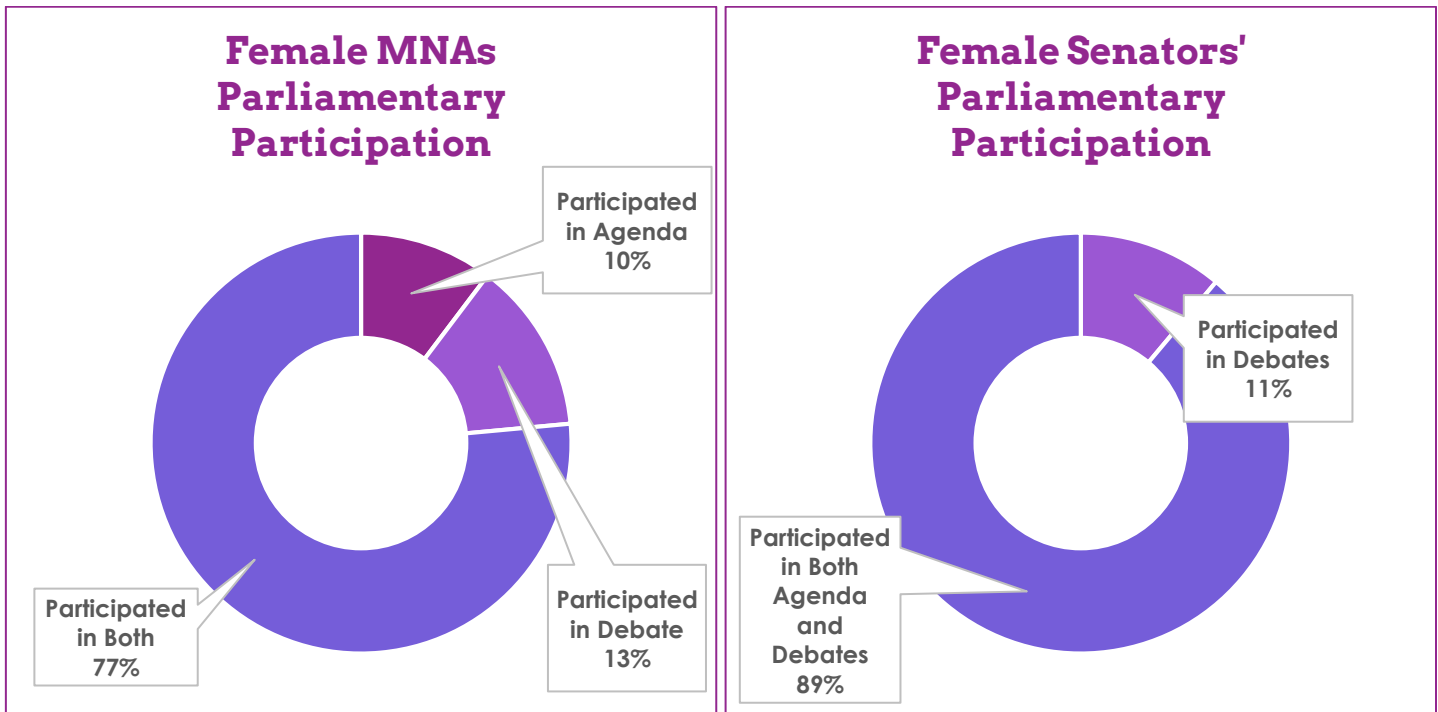
On an average, each female MNA contributed 10 agenda items to the Assembly’s Orders of the Day against five by male MNAs. Similarly, each female Senator contributed nine agenda items to the Upper House’s Orders of the Day against seven by male Senators.



Thematically, the female parliamentarians sought discussions on a range of public importance issues including: COVID-19 impact, relief efforts and vaccination drive; rights and entitlements of employees and workers, inflation, energy supply and pricing, performance of government departments, protection of women, children and human rights, national and cross-border trade and commerce, foreign affairs, and water management in the country. The legislative agenda put forward by female parliamentarians included constitutional amendments concerning women’s rights and LG elections, amendments to criminal laws for improved protection of women and children, health reforms, protection of workers’ rights, and governance and institutional reforms.

All female parliamentarians – except four MNAs and one Senator – actively participated in their respective House’s proceedings. Of 71 female MNAs, 53 (79 percent) sponsored agenda items as well as participated in the debates, eight (12 percent) participated in debates only and six (nine percent)

sponsored agenda item(s) only. Of 19 female Senators, 16 (89 percent) contributed to both agenda and debates while two (11 percent) participated only in debates. The non-participating parliamentarians included two PTI MNAs, one PTI Senator, a BAP MNA and a PML-N MNA.¹ Comparatively, 47 (13 percent) male parliamentarians – 38 (14 percent) MNAs and nine (11 percent) Senators did not participate in plenary proceedings of their respective House whereas only five percent female parliamentarians – four (five percent) MNAs and one Senator (five percent) remained inactive during 2021-22.



¹ 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.

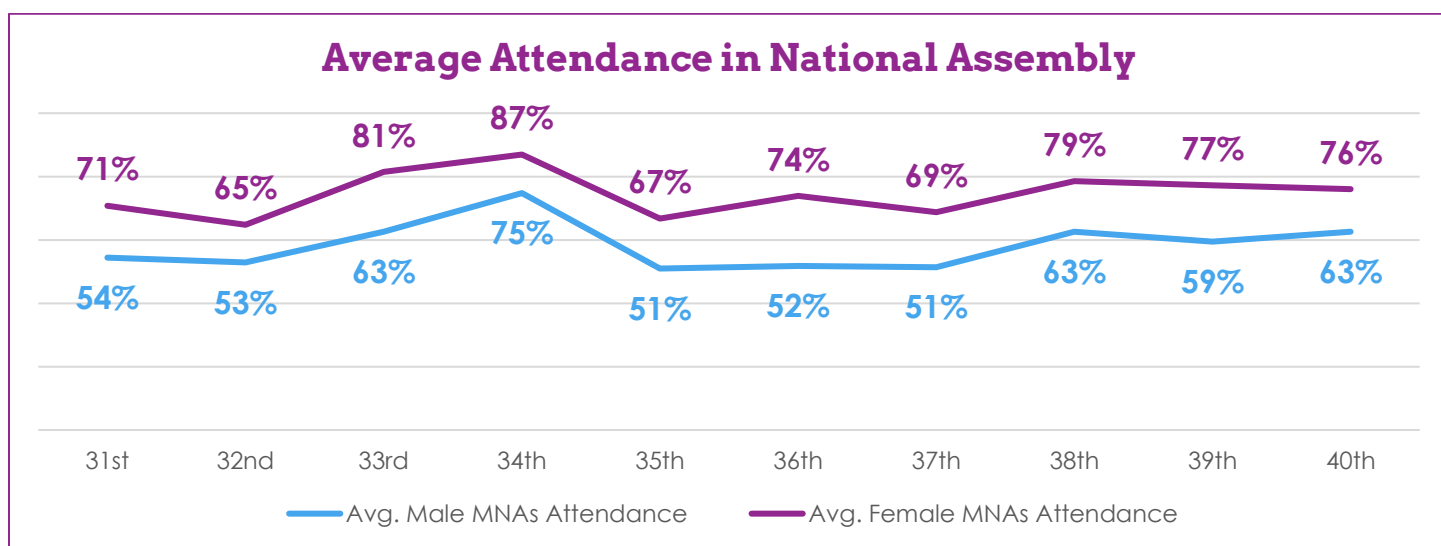
Chapter 2:

WOMEN MPS' ATTENDANCE PATTERNS IN PARLIAMENT

a. Average attendance in parliamentary sittings

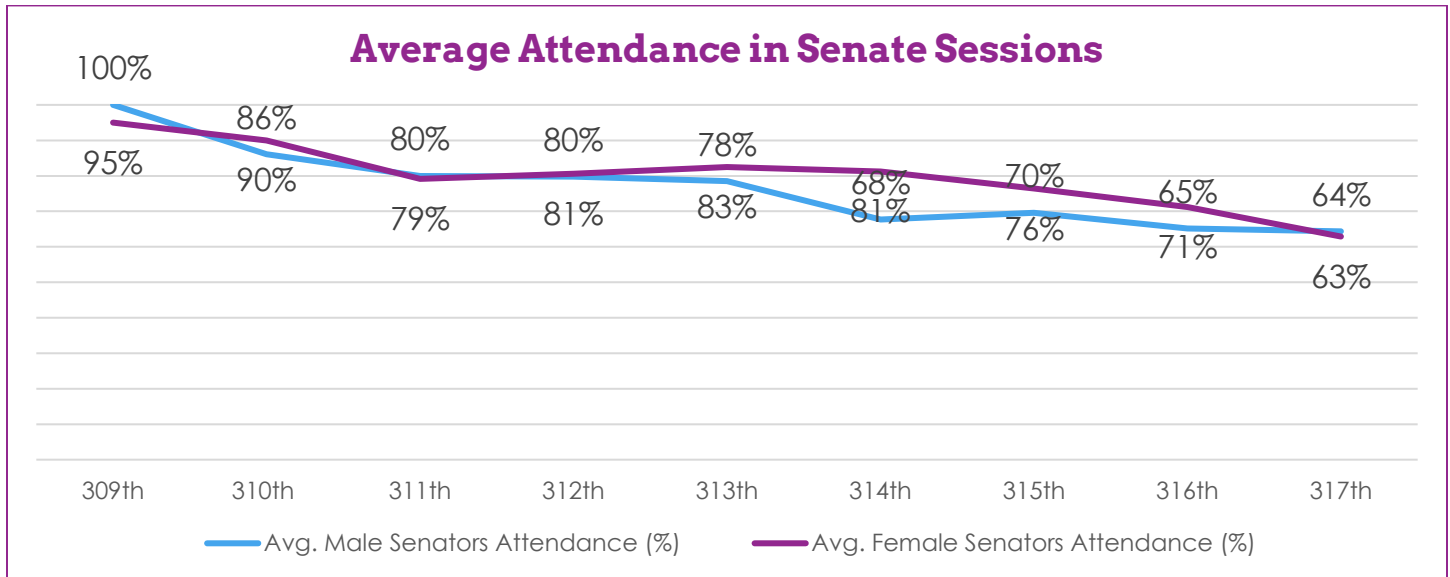
The National Assembly held 10 sessions comprising 86 sittings and the Senate nine sessions comprising 54 sittings during the reporting period. On an average, each female MNA attended 65 (76%) sittings against male MNAs average of 52 (60%) sittings. Similarly, a female Senator attended an average 42 (77%) sittings against male Senators average of 38 (70%) sittings.

A gender disaggregation of National Assembly's attendance records shows that the percentage of female MNAs' present in the House was higher than the percentage of male MNAs in 99 percent National Assembly sittings during the last year. Only one sitting of the 40th session had higher percentage of male MNAs (95 percent) than female MNAs (90 percent). On an average, 54 female MNAs (76% of total female membership) and 163 male MNAs (60 percent of the male membership) attended each National Assembly sitting. Following graphical presentation of the gender-disaggregated average attendance in each session illustrates this trend. The female MNAs' attendance was highest during 34th (budget) session, when both treasury and opposition put on display their numerical strength in the House.



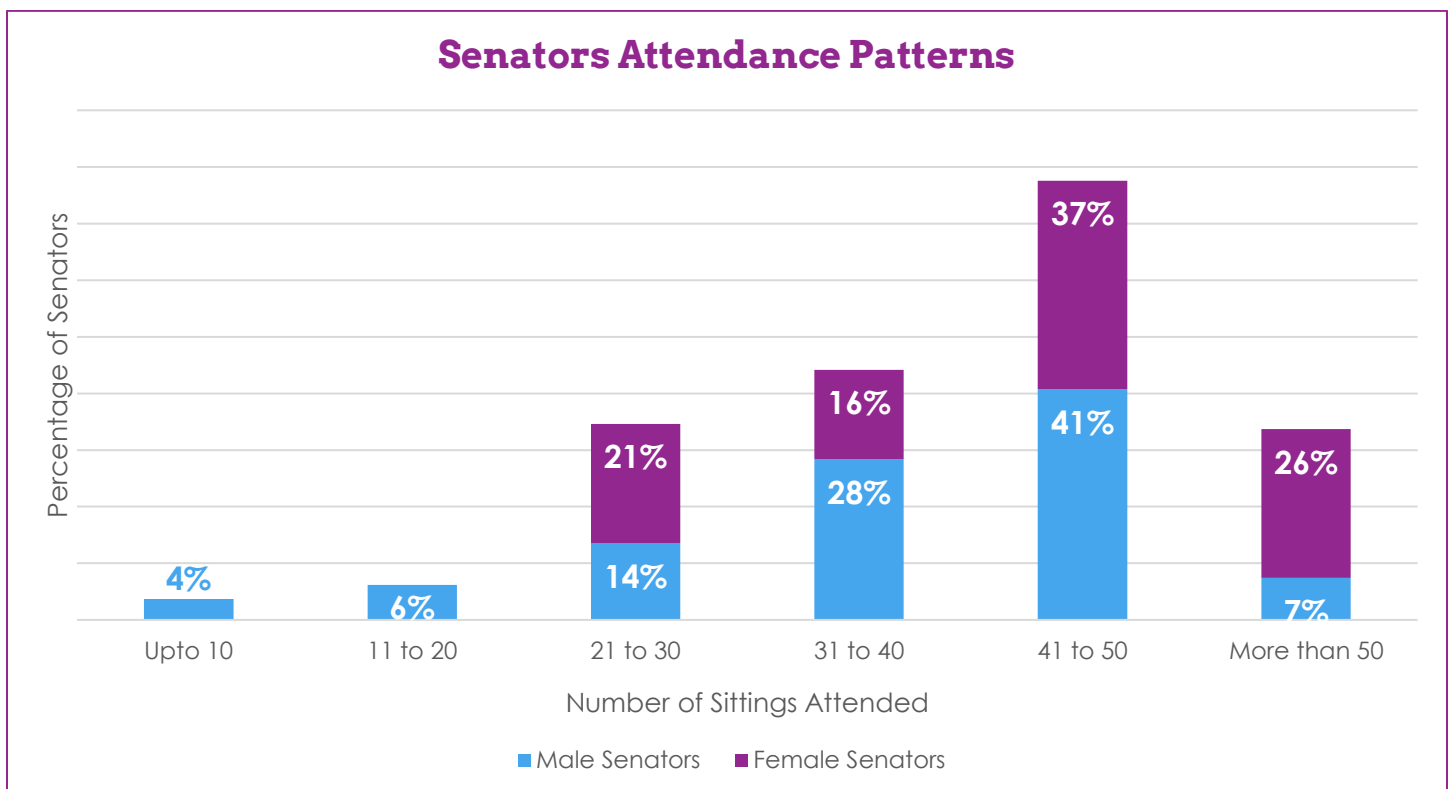
An analysis of Senate attendance records also replicates the trend noted in the National Assembly albeit with some variations. Nearly 80 percent Senate sittings witnessed higher percentage of female Senators present in the House than the percentage of male Senators. However, the percentage of male Senators surpassed the percentage of female Senators in around a fifth of the last year's Senate sittings. On an average, 15 female Senators (79% of total female membership) and 56 male Senators (69 percent of the male membership) attended each Senate sitting. The gender-disaggregated average

attendance during last year's nine Senate sessions, plotted on following graph, shows a declining trend in overall attendance as well as the attendance of women Senators.

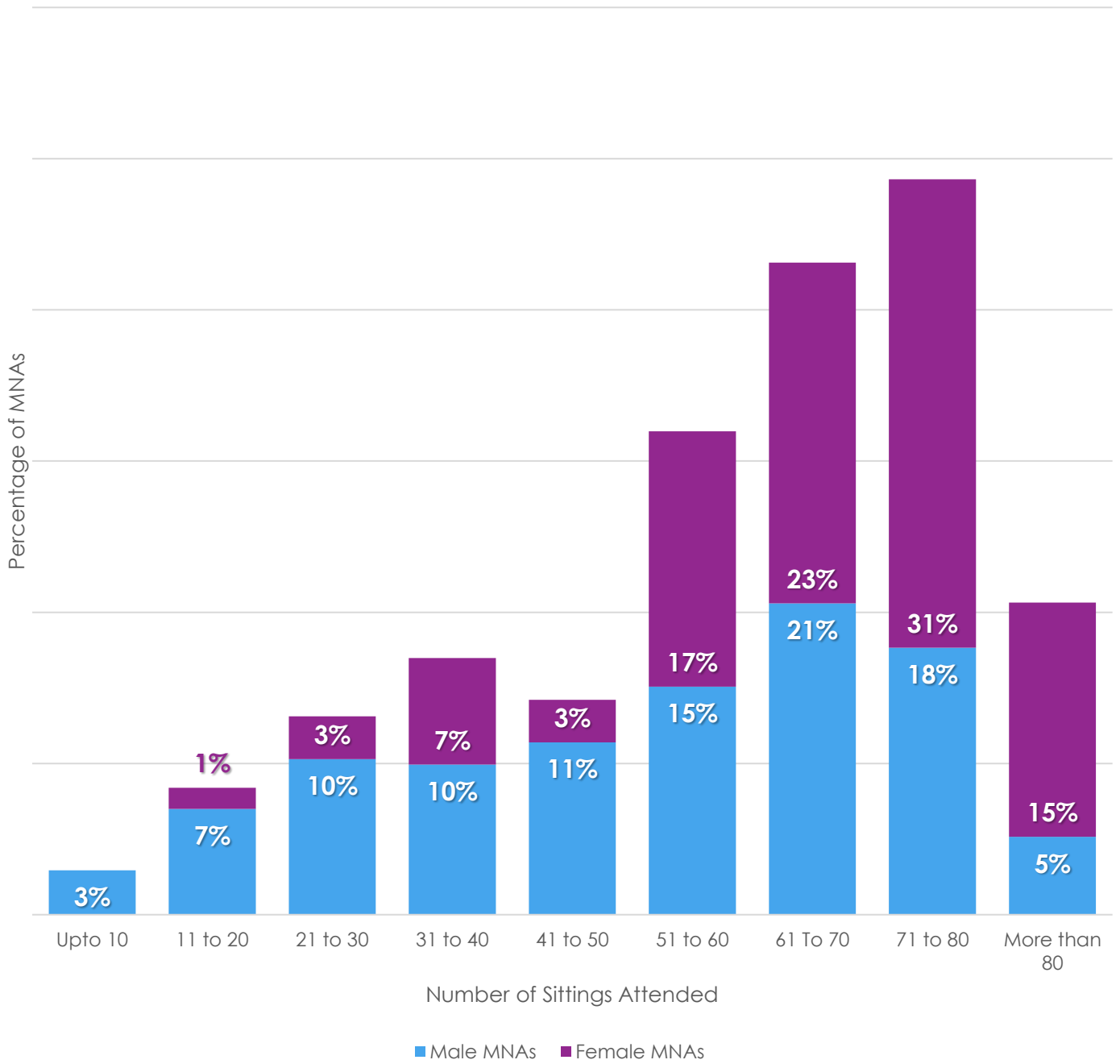


A comparison between the attendance records of the reporting year (2021-22) and the preceding year (2020-2021) shows that the MNAs' – both male and female - attendance patterns have remained almost the same over these years; however, the Senators' attendance has recorded an improvement of 10 percent points with female senators attendance going up from 67 percent to 77 percent and male senators attendance going up from 60 percent to 70 percent.

In addition to above analyses, the individual attendance patterns, as illustrated in following graphs, also confirm that female MNAs and Senators tend to attend more sittings than their male colleagues.



MNAs Attendance Patterns



Chapter 3:

PARLIAMENTARY TREATMENT OF WOMEN MPS AGENDA



Nearly a fifth of the female MNAs agenda remained unaddressed during 2021-22. Though the entire private members' business suffered from neglect, the parliamentary and government response to female MNAs' agenda items was comparatively more abysmal than the response to male MNAs' agenda items. More than two third CANs, more than half private member bills, and all private member resolutions, motions for public interest discussions, and proposals for amendments to Assembly Rules either lapsed or were pending until last (40th) session. The questions remained the only intervention where female MNAs received a higher response rate than their male colleagues. Following graph illustrates the status of each parliamentary interventions that appeared on National Assembly's Orders of the Day. For comparison, these statuses have been disaggregated by the gender of their sponsors.

Table 1: Status of National Assembly Agenda

Agenda Items	Initiated by Female MPs		Initiated by Male MPs		Jointly Initiated	
	Addressed	Unaddressed	Addressed	Unaddressed	Addressed	Unaddressed
CANs	31%	69%	50%	50%	16%	84%
Private Member Bills	48%	52%	44%	56%	50%	50%
Motions for Public Interest Discussions		100%	6%	94%		100%
Private Member Resolutions		100%	0%	100%		100%
Questions	93%	7%	90%	10%		
Amendments to Rules		100%	0%	100%		
Overall	81%	19%	81%	19%	18%	82%

Unlike the National Assembly, the Upper House appeared more responsive to female Senators' agenda than the male Senators' agenda. Only six percent of the female Senators' agenda remained unaddressed against nine percent of the male Senators' agenda. Still, the female senators' motions for public interest discussions (including motion under Rule 218 and Adjournment Motions) received less parliamentary attention than male senators' motions. Following graph presents a gender comparison among the status of each parliamentary intervention on Senate's Orders of the Day.

Table 2: Status of Senate Agenda

Agenda Items	Initiated by Female MPs		Initiated by Male MPs		Jointly Initiated	
	Addressed	Unaddressed	Addressed	Unaddressed	Addressed	Unaddressed
CANs	86%	14%	80%	20%	0%	100%
Private Member Bills	95%	5%	88%	12%	100%	0%
Motions for Public Interest Discussions	50%	50%	77%	23%	60%	40%
Private Member Resolutions	78%	22%	70%	30%	100%	
Questions	97%	3%	94%	6%		
Amendments to Rules				100%		
Overall	94%	6%	91%	9%	71%	29%

Name	Constituency/ Province	Party	Designation	Questions	CANs	Motions for Public Interest Discussion	Legislation	Proposals for Amendments to Parliamentary Rules	Resolutions	Attendance
Sadia Abbasi	Punjab	PML-N	Senator	0	0	0	7	0	1	94%
Samina Mumtaz	Balochistan	BAP	Senator	3	0	0	0	0	0	81%
Sana Jamali	Balochistan	IND	Senator	3	0	0	1	0	0	67%
Sania Nishtar	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	PTI	Senator	0	0	0	0	0	0	76%
National Assembly of Pakistan										
Aisha Ghaus Pasha	Reserved for Women	PML-N	MNA	0	2	0	0	0	0	63%
Aliya Hamza Malik	Reserved for Women	PTI	MNA	0	0	0	0	0	0	93%
Aliya Kamran	Reserved for Women	MMA	MNA	4	5	0	1	0	2	94%
Andleeb Abbas	Reserved for Women	PTI	MNA	0	0	0	0	0	0	74%
Asma Hadeed	Reserved for Women	PTI	MNA	5	1	0	4	0	0	95%
Aysha Rajab Ali	Reserved for Women	PML-N	MNA	0	0	0	0	0	0	79%
Begum Tahira Bukhari	Reserved for Women	PML-N	MNA	13	0	0	0	0	0	100%
Dr. Fehmida Mirza	NA-230 Badin-II	GDA	Federal Minister	0	0	0	0	0	0	48%
Dr. Seemin Abdul Rehman Bokhari	Reserved for Women	PTI	MNA	3	1	0	2	0	0	62%

Name	Constituency/ Province	Party	Designation	Questions	CANs	Motions for Public Interest Discussion	Legislation	Proposals for Amendments to Parliamentary Rules	Resolutions	Attendance
Dr. Shazia Sobia	Reserved for Women	PPPP	MNA	32	1	0	0	0	1	87%
Dr. Shireen Mehrunnisa Mazari	Reserved for Women	PTI	Federal Minister	0	0	0	10	0	0	65%
Farrukh Khan	Reserved for Women	PML	MNA	3	0	0	1	0	0	37%
Fauzia Behram	Reserved for Women	PTI	MNA	13	0	0	2	0	0	77%
Ghazala Saifi	Reserved for Women	PTI	Parliamentary Secretary	0	0	0	0	0	0	77%
Ghulam Bibi Bharwana	NA-115 Jhang-II	PTI	MNA	0	0	0	0	0	0	30%
Hina Rabbani Khar	Reserved for Women	PPPP	MNA	1	3	0	0	0	0	31%
Javairia Zafar	Reserved for Women	PTI	Parliamentary Secretary	0	0	0	0	0	0	71%
Kanwal Shauzab	Reserved for Women	PTI	Parliamentary Secretary	0	0	0	0	0	0	74%
Kiran Imran	Reserved for Women	PML-N	MNA	0	1	0	2	0	2	76%
Kishwer Zehra	Reserved for Women	MQM	Chairperson of Standing Committee	3	6	0	4	0	0	60%
Mahreen Razaque Bhutto	Reserved for Women	PPPP	MNA	27	1	0	3	0	0	81%
Maiza Hameed	Reserved for Women	PML-N	MNA	0	3	0	0	0	0	77%
Maleeka Ali Bokhari	Reserved for Women	PTI	Parliamentary Secretary	0	0	0	0	0	1	70%

Name	Constituency/ Province	Party	Designation	Questions	CANs	Motions for Public Interest Discussion	Legislation	Proposals for Amendments to Parliamentary Rules	Resolutions	Attendance
Marriyum Aurangzeb	Reserved for Women	PML-N	MNA	16	6	0	1	0	1	70%
Mehnaz Akber Aziz	NA-77 Narowal-I	PML-N	MNA	3	1	0	3	0	11	87%
Munawara Bibi Baloch	Reserved for Women	PTI	MNA	3	4	0	0	0	1	84%
Munaza Hassan	Reserved for Women	PTI	Chairperson of Standing Committee and Secretary WPC	0	0	0	0	0	0	79%
Musarat Rafique Mahesar	Reserved for Women	PPPP	MNA	31	0	0	0	0	0	98%
Musarrat Asif Khawaja	Reserved for Women	PML-N	MNA	0	0	0	0	0	2	42%
Nafeesa Inayatullah Khan Khattak	Reserved for Women	PTI	MNA	49	6	0	4	0	1	91%
Nafisa Shah	NA-208 Khairpur-I	PPPP	MNA	46	1	0	2	3	2	65%
Nasiba Channa	Reserved for Women	PPPP	MNA	29	0	0	0	0	0	91%
Nausheen Hamid	Reserved for Women	PTI	Parliamentary Secretary	0	0	0	0	0	0	97%
Naz Baloch	Reserved for Women	PPPP	MNA	3	1	0	1	0	0	83%
Nooreen Farooq Khan	Reserved for Women	PTI	MNA	12	1	0	4	0	0	86%
Nusrat Wahid	Reserved for Women	PTI	MNA	12	3	0	4	0	0	78%

Name	Constituency/ Province	Party	Designation	Questions	CANs	Motions for Public Interest Discussion	Legislation	Proposals for Amendments to Parliamentary Rules	Resolutions	Attendance
Nuzhat Pathan	Reserved for Women	PTI	MNA	5	0	0	0	0	0	83%
Robina Irfan	Reserved for Women	BAP	MNA	5	0	0	0	0	0	48%
Robina Khalid	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	PPPP	Chairperson Standing Committee	7	0	0	0	0	0	81%
Romina Khurshid Alam	Reserved for Women	PML-N	MNA	8	8	0	5	0	12	98%
Rubina Jamil	Reserved for Women	PTI	Parliamentary Secretary	0	0	0	0	0	0	79%
Rukhsana Naveed	Reserved for Women	PTI	Parliamentary Secretary	0	0	0	0	0	0	81%
Saira Bano	Reserved for Women	GDA	Chairperson of Standing Committee	0	2	0	0	0	0	76%
Sajida Begum	Reserved for Women	PTI	MNA	1	5	0	2	0	1	99%
Samina Matloob	Reserved for Women	PML-N	MNA	0	0	0	0	0	0	66%
Seema Mohiuddin Jameeli	Reserved for Women	PML-N	MNA	0	0	0	0	0	0	85%
Seemee Ezdi	Punjab	PTI	Chairperson Standing Committee	39	0	0	8	0	8	94%
Shagufta Jumani	Reserved for Women	PPPP	MNA	19	1	0	0	0	0	70%
Shaheen Naz Saifullah	Reserved for Women	PTI	MNA	5	0	0	0	0	0	97%

About FAFEN

- FAFEN is one of the most credible networks among civil society organizations working to strengthen 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 finalization of the Elections Act, 2017 and helped improve the quality of public and political discourse on elections. Leading political parties and media houses extensively use FAFEN's election findings and analysis to build upon the cases for 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 around 18,000, 40,000 and 20,000 non-partisan and trained observers for the systematic observation of the General Elections 2008, 2013 and 2018, respectively.
- With more than 25,500 followers on Twitter and around 139,000 on Facebook, FAFEN is considered to be one of the most reliable sources of electoral and parliamentary information in the country.



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