

Women Parliamentarians Performance Report 2024-2025

March 9, 2025

Free and Fair Election Network



Key Findings

Amid persistent challenges facing women representation due to unresolved electoral controversies, women parliamentarians demonstrated remarkable commitment and productivity in shaping legislative priorities and influencing policy discourse and parliamentary actions during 2024–2025. Despite constituting only 17 percent¹ of the Parliament's current membership (69), women legislators contributed nearly half (49 percent) of the parliamentary agenda – a historic high since 2015-16. Women Members of the National Assembly (MNAs) initiated 55 percent of the agenda in the lower house, while women Senators accounted for 31 percent in the upper house.

Women legislators championed a diverse range of public concerns, including institutional accountability, climate resilience, economic inequality, and infrastructural challenges such as energy pricing and internet accessibility. Their legislative priorities centered on strengthening human rights protections for marginalized groups, advancing healthcare reforms, safeguarding labor rights, and modernizing governance. Prominently, women legislators proposed amendments to criminal laws to reinforce safeguards for women, children, and minorities, alongside procedural reforms aimed at enhancing inclusivity in parliamentary processes. Collectively, these efforts reflect a nuanced understanding of governance that intertwines social justice with institutional efficacy, positioning women legislators as pivotal architects of Pakistan's legislative future.

INTRODUCTION

The Women Parliamentarians Performance Report, an annual publication by the Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN), serves to recognize and evaluate the substantive contributions of women legislators to parliamentary proceedings in Pakistan. Since 2011-12, FAFEN has released this report on International Women's Day to spotlight the women parliamentarians' role in legislative processes. The current report examines the performance of women parliamentarians during sessions of the National Assembly and Senate held between March 1, 2024, and February 28, 2025. Data for this analysis was drawn exclusively from official parliamentary records published on the Senate and National Assembly.

The report assesses the parliamentarians' performance using the Orders of the Day, Daily Bulletins/Journals, and plenary attendance records focusing on parliamentary tools including Private Members' Legislation, Resolutions, Calling Attention Notices (CANs), Motions for Public Interest Discussions, and Questions. It is important to note that the scope of this analysis is limited to plenary sessions and does not account for committee-level contributions or the roles of women holding executive or parliamentary offices, such as Speakers, Federal Ministers, or Committee Chairs.

¹ Currently, the Parliament is 399 strong with 314 MNAs and 85 Senators. As many as 19 seats reserved for women in the National Assembly and three seats reserved for non-Muslims are vacant. Similarly, the elections for 11 Khyber Pakhtunkhwa seats – seven general, two technocrats including Ulema and two women – have not been held since March 2024. However, irrespective of their fewer numbers, women legislators kept the performance bar high.

While women legislators contributed a significantly high share of parliamentary business, the rate at which their agenda items were addressed declined compared to previous years. In 2024-25, the National Assembly addressed 67 percent of women-sponsored agenda items, down from 69 percent in 2022-23 and 81 percent in 2021-22. Similarly, the Senate addressed 77 percent of women's agenda items, a decline from 85 percent in 2022-23 and 94 percent in 2021-22. However, this trend reflects a broader stagnation in parliamentary efficiency rather than gender-based disparities, as items sponsored by their male counterparts experienced a comparable decline. In the National Assembly, 83 percent of jointly-sponsored items were addressed, compared to 67 percent of those initiated by women lawmakers and 66 percent by men. The Senate exhibited a similar pattern, addressing 80 percent of jointly-sponsored business and 77 percent of both women- and men-sponsored agenda items were addressed.

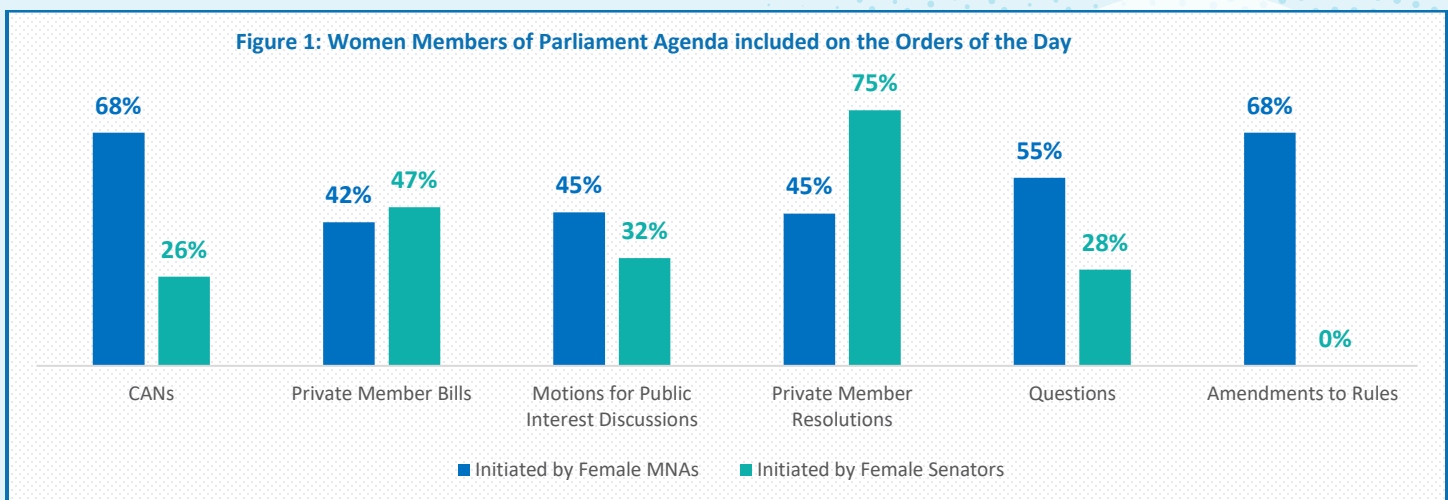
Women legislators individually contributed more agenda items than their male counterparts. Each female MNA introduced an average 17 agenda items – over five times the male average of three per legislator. In the Senate, women proposed 11 items each, nearly double the male average of six. Notably, all except five female MNAs and one female Senator actively participated in parliamentary proceedings by contributing agenda and/or engaging in debates.

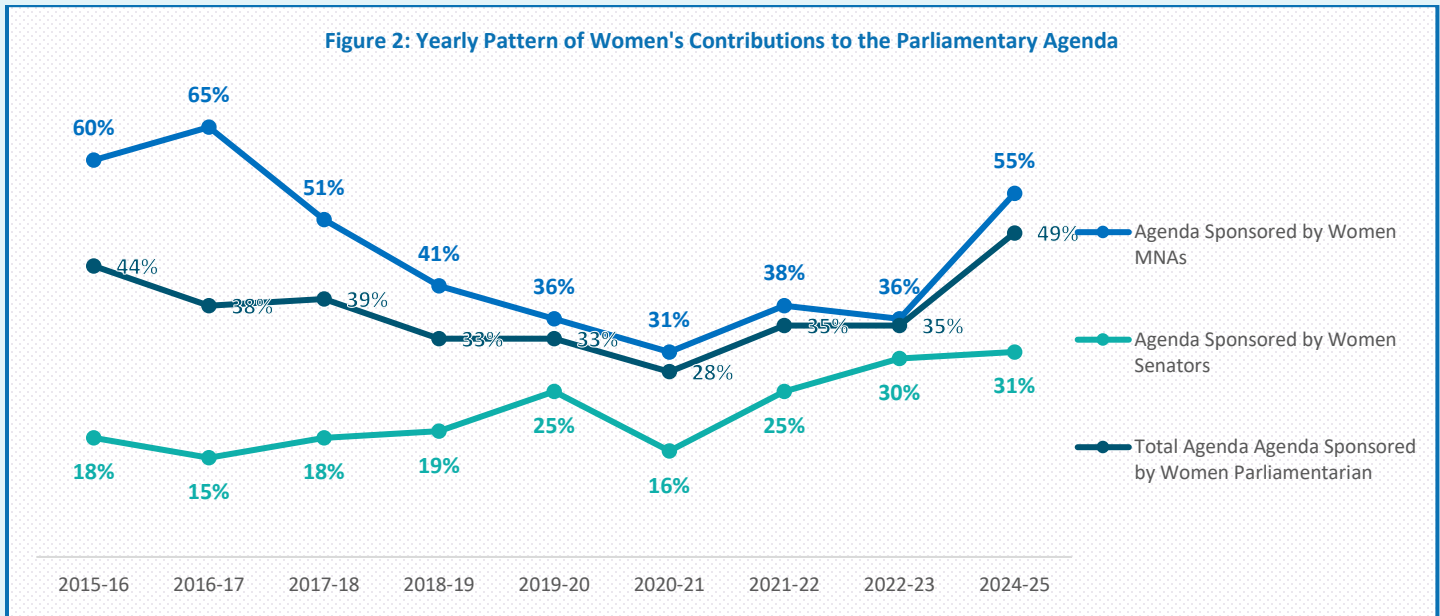
The parliamentarians attendance patterns in the plenary proceedings of both Houses further highlighted women dedication to the legislative work. Female MNAs maintained consistently higher participation rates than their male counterparts, attending 70 sittings (75 percent of 93 sittings) on average compared to 59 sittings (63 percent of 93 sittings) by male MNAs across 13 sessions held during the reporting year. In the Senate, women's attendance fluctuated slightly, surpassing or matching male colleagues in six of 11 sessions and trailing in five. Despite these variations, female Senators averaged 41 sittings (67 percent of 61 sittings), marginally exceeding the 39 sittings (64 percent of 61 sittings) recorded by their men counterparts.

PARLIAMENTARY AGENDA SUBMITTED BY WOMEN

Women parliamentarians accounted for nearly 49 percent of the parliamentary agenda (both in the Senate and National Assembly collectively) during the year – 47 percent on their own and two percent in collaboration with their male colleagues. They sponsored 44 percent Private Members' Bills (69 out of 156), 49 percent Private Members' Resolutions (27 out of 55), 44 percent Calling Attention Notices (CANs) (76 out of 137), 42 percent Motions for Discussion on Public Interest Issues (25 out of 60), 68 percent proposals for Amendments to the Rules of Procedure in their respective Houses (13 out of 19), and nearly half (49 percent or 872 out of 1,784) of all parliamentary Questions.

Female Members of the National Assembly contributed 55 percent agenda of the Lower House – 52 percent independently and three percent in collaboration with male counterparts. Similarly, female Senators contributed 34 percent agenda of the Upper House - 31 percent on their own and one percent in collaboration with male colleagues. In addition to their contribution to the agenda, women legislators also actively participated in the debates on scheduled business, and in raising Points of Order. The following figures show the proportion of agenda items submitted by female MNAs and Senators that were included in the Orders of the Day for their respective chambers.



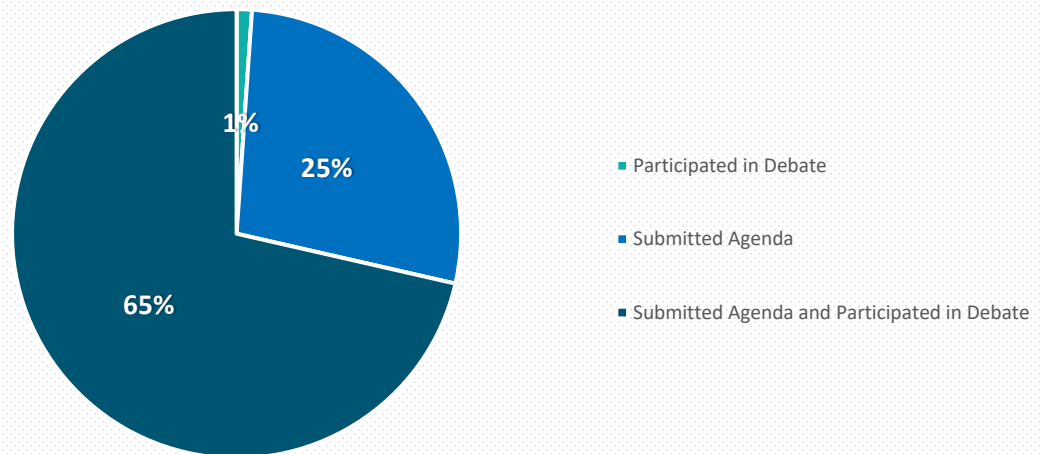


The women contribution to the National Assembly business (55 percent) was significantly higher as compared to recent years but was still lower than their highest-recorded contribution of 65 percent in 2016-2017. In the Senate, women contribution to the House agenda has been the highest since FAFEN started issuing this performance report. Figure-2 shows the contribution to the annual parliamentary agenda from 2015-16 up until the present

Thematically, women parliamentarians sought discussions on a range of public interest issues, including the performance of public sector institutions, internet accessibility, privatization of public airline, the implications of climate change, electricity supply, inflation, energy pricing, and the overall efficiency of government departments. They also emphasized upon the protection of human rights, including the rights of women, minorities, and children. The legislative agenda proposed by women parliamentarians focused on health reforms, the protection of workers' rights, governance and institutional reforms. Additionally, they advocated for amendments to criminal laws to enhance protections for women, children, and minorities. Women MPs also made efforts to introduce amendments to the existing rules and procedures of the House focusing on improving the framework for their participation in the plenary and committees' proceedings.

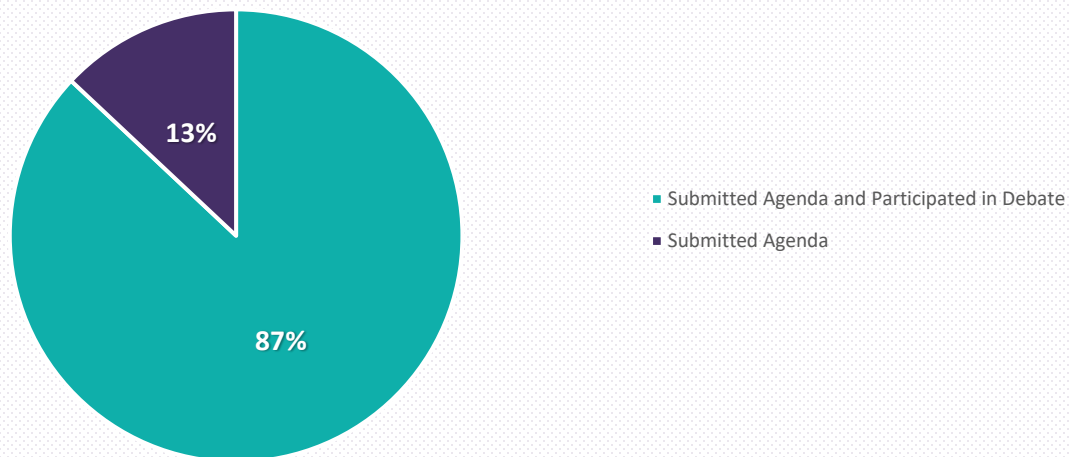
Of 48 female MNAs, 34 (65 percent) both sponsored agenda items and participated in debates, while 13 (25 percent) only sponsored agenda items. One female MNA (two percent) participated solely in debates, and five did not engage in the proceedings during the reporting period. Compared to their male counterparts, female MNAs demonstrated higher participation levels.

Figure: 3 Female MNAs Parliamentary Participation

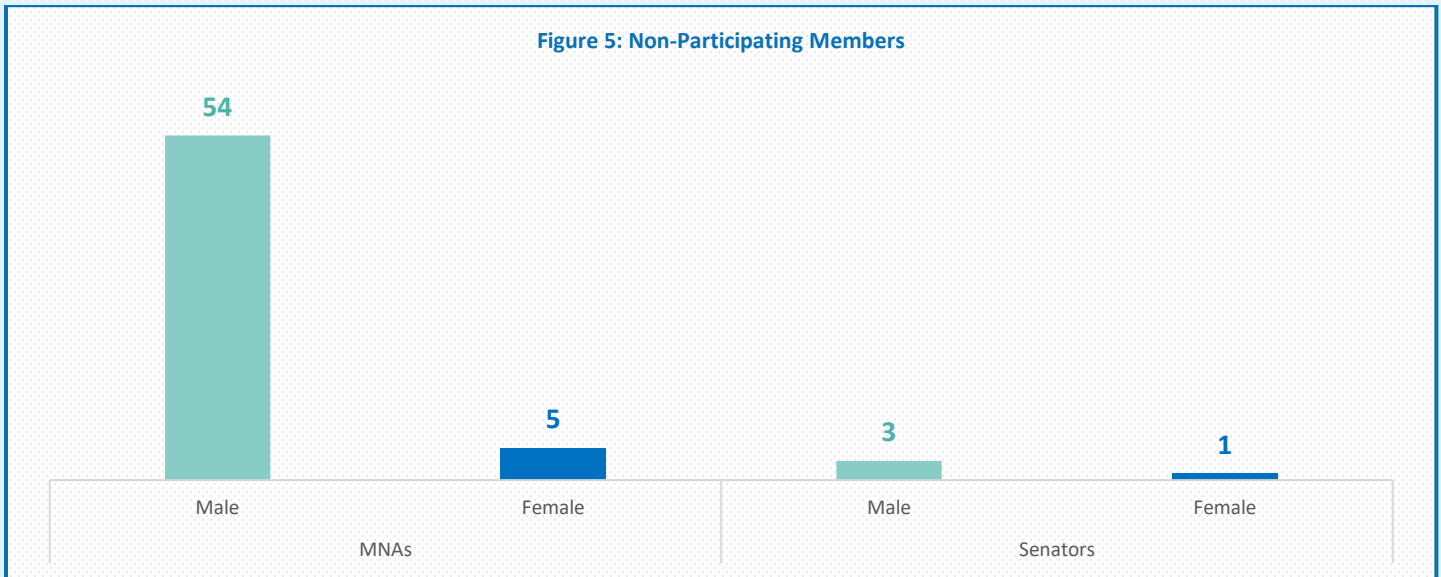


Of the 15 female Senators, 13 (87 percent) actively contributed to both agenda items and debates, while two (13 percent) only submitted agenda items. One senator from Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf did not attend any sittings, resulting in absolutely no participation.

Figure: 4 Female Senators Parliamentary Participation



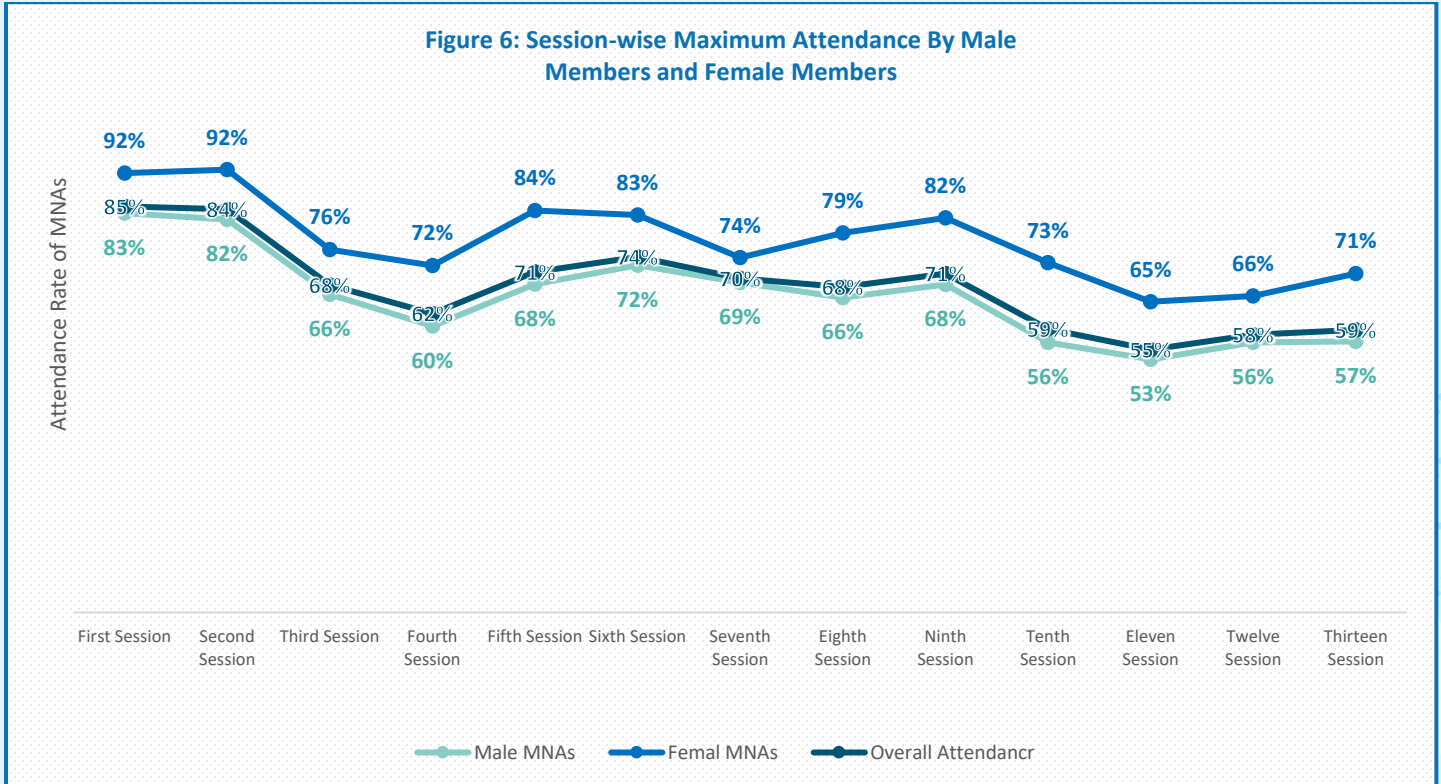
A total of 59 MNAs (54 male and 5 female) did not attend any sittings, while four senators (three male and one female) did not participate in any parliamentary business. Among MNAs with zero participation, the average attendance was 54 sittings, whereas female MNAs with no participation attended an average of 45 sittings out of 93. This suggests that some MNAs were physically present in the House but did not engage in any proceedings, making their role passive. Additionally, the attendance of non-participating senators was also notably low.



ATTENDANCE PATTERNS OF PARLIAMENTARIANS

During the reporting period, the National Assembly convened for thirteen sessions spanning over 93 sittings, while the Senate held ten sessions comprising 62² sittings.

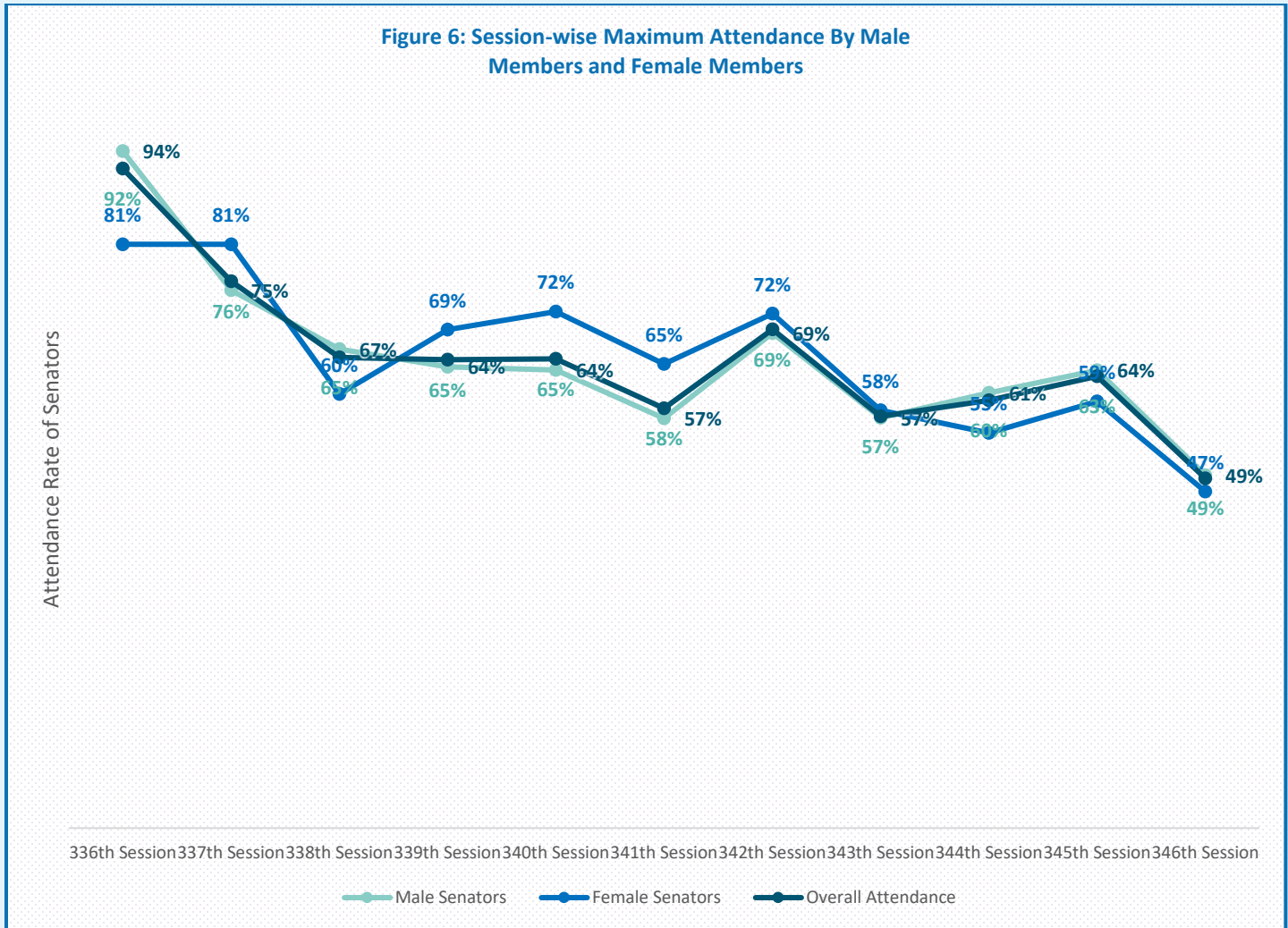
In the National Assembly, female members consistently demonstrated higher attendance rates compared to their male counterparts throughout 13 sessions. Figure 6 illustrates the gender-disaggregated attendance across the session in National Assembly.



Unlike the National Assembly, the attendance patterns in the Senate varied throughout the year. Female senators had a higher attendance rate than male senators in five sessions, while matched the male senators' attendance rate in one

² Senate attendance data was available for 61 sittings; however, the attendance record for one sitting is missing on the official Senate website

session. In the remaining five sessions, they had a lower attendance rate than male colleagues. Figure 7 illustrates the gender-disaggregated Senate during the reporting year.



WOMEN MP'S AGENDA

An analysis of agenda transaction rates in the National Assembly and Senate suggests that while there is no significant difference in the treatment of agenda initiated by female lawmakers and agenda initiated by male lawmakers in either House, the agenda jointly sponsored by the two genders is far more likely to be addressed.

Overall, the National Assembly addressed 83 percent of the jointly-sponsored agenda items, 67 percent of female-sponsored agenda items and 66 percent of male-sponsored agenda items during the reporting year. Around one-third agenda items sponsored by women were either not read out during the proceedings or were deferred due to absence of mover or minister concerned.

Of the women sponsored agenda in the National Assembly, 67 percent Calling Attention Notices (CANs), 94 percent legislative proposals, 100 percent motions for public interest discussions, 40 percent resolutions, 68 percent questions and 31 percent amendments proposed to the Assembly's Rules of Procedure were addressed. Following table provides the transaction rates of each type of agenda item in the National Assembly, disaggregated by the gender of their sponsors.

Table 1: Status of National Assembly Agenda, Disaggregated by Gender of Sponsors

Agenda Item	Initiated by Male MPs		Initiated by Female MPs		Jointly Initiated	
	Addressed	Unaddressed	Addressed	Unaddressed	Addressed	Unaddressed
CANs	57%	43%	68%	32%	83%	18%
Private Member Bills	71%	29%	94%	6%	100%	0%
Motions for Public Interest Discussions	-	100%	6%	94%	50%	50%
Private Member Resolutions	27%	73%	40%	60%	100%	0%
Questions	70%	30%	68%	32%	-	-
Amendments to Rules	67%	33%	31%	69%	-	-
Overall	66%	34%	67%	33%	83%	17%

Similarly, the Senate addressed 80 percent of the jointly-sponsored agenda items, and 77 percent each of female-sponsored agenda items and male-sponsored agenda items during the reporting year. Nearly 23 percent of women-sponsored agenda in the Senate remained unaddressed.

Of the women sponsored agenda, the House addressed 78 percent CANs 75 percent of legislative proposals, 33 percent motions for public interest discussions, 100 percent private members' resolutions, and 79 percent questions. Following table provides the transaction rates of each type of agenda item in the Senate, disaggregated by the gender of their sponsors.

Table 2: Status of Senate Agenda, Disaggregated by Gender of Sponsors

Agenda Item	Initiated by Male MPs		Initiated by Female MPs		Jointly Initiated	
	Addressed	Unaddressed	Addressed	Unaddressed	Addressed	Unaddressed
CANs	68%	32%	78%	22%	100%	0%
Private Member Bills	72%	28%	75%	25%	100%	0%
Motions for Public Interest Discussions	54%	46%	33%	67%	0%	100%
Private Member Resolutions	100%	0%	100%	0%		
Questions	80%	20%	79%	21%		
Overall	77%	23%	77%	23%	80%	20%



Annexures: Female Parliamentarians Score Sheet

Name	Constituency/ Province	Party	Designation	Questions	CANs	Motions for Public Interest Discussion	Legislation	Proposals for Amendments to Parliamentary Rules	Resolutions	Attendance
Anusha Rahman Ahmed Khan	Punjab	PMLN	Chairperson, Standing Committee on Commerce	9	-	1	2	-	1	69%
Bushra Anjum Butt	Punjab	PMLN	Chairperson, Standing Committee, on Federal Education and Professional Training on Devolution	-	-	-	-	-	-	62%
Falak Naz	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	PTI	Senators	6	1	-	-	-	3	85%
Fawzia Arshad	Federal Capital	PTI	Senators	17	2	-	5	-	4	61%
Husna Bano	Balochistan	PPPP	Senators	-	-	-	-	-	2	90%
Khalida Ateeb	Sindh	MQMP	Senators	-	-	-	-	-	2	70%
Naseema Ehsan	Balochistan	Independent	Chairperson, Other Committee on Delegated Legislation	-	-	-	-	-	2	38%
Palwasha Mohammad Zai Khan	Sindh	PPPP	Chairperson, Standing Committee, on Information Technology and Telecommunication	8	1	-	4	-	4	85%
Qurat-ul-Ain Marri	Sindh	PPPP	Chairperson, Standing Committee on Planning Development and Special Initiatives	16	2	-	2	-	-	48%
Rahat Jamali	Balochistan	PMLN	Senators	-	-	-	-	-	2	66%
Rubina Qaim Khani	Sindh	PPPP	Senators	-	-	-	-	-	3	64%
Saadia Abbasi	Punjab	PMLN	Senators	3	-	-	-	-	1	84%
Samina Mumtaz	Balochistan	BAP	Chairperson, Functional Committee on Human Rights	26	3	3	18	-	4	66%
Sania Nishtar	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	PTI	Senators	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
Sherry Rehman	Sindh	PPPP	Chairperson, Standing Committee on Climate Change and Environmental Coordination	-	2	1	-	-	7	80%
Zarqa Suharwardy Taimur	Punjab	PTI	Chairperson, Functional Committee on Devolution	33	1	3	1	-	2	54%

Name	Constituency/ Province	Party	Designation	Questions	CANs	Motions for Public Interest Discussion	Legislation	Proposals for Amendments to Parliamentary Rules	Resolu- tions	Attendance
Shandana Gulzar Khan	NA-30 Peshawar-III	SIC	MNA	1	-	-	-	-	-	76%
Aniqa Mehdi	NA-67 Hafizabad	SIC	MNA	2	-	-	-	-	-	55%
Syeda Nosheen Iftikhar	NA-73 Sialkot-IV	PML-N	MNA	-	2	-	1	-	-	74%
Shezra Mansab Ali Khan Kharal	NA-112 Nankana Sahib-II	PML-N	Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs	4	1	-	-	1	1	86%
Ayesha Nazir	NA-156 Vehari-I	SIC	MNA	-	1	-	-	1	-	59%
Begum Tehmina Daultana	NA-158 Vehari-III	PML-N	MNA	-	-	-	-	-	-	47%
Umer Majeed	NA-181 Layyah-I	SIC	MNA	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
Zartaj Gul	NA-185 D.G Khan-II	SIC	MNA	6	4	-	-	-	3	80%
Nafisa Shah	NA-202 Khairpur-I	PPPP	Special Committee Chairperson for Gender Mainstreaming	33	3	-	2	3	1	82%
Aseefa Bhutto Zardari	NA-207 Shaheed Benazirabad-I	PPPP	MNA	2	1	-	-	-	-	42%
Shazia Marri	NA-209 Sanghar-I	PPPP	MNA	21	4	2	3	-	5	69%
Aasia Ishaque Siddiqui	NA-232 Karachi Korangi-I	MQM	Parliamentary Secretary for Privatization	8	2	2	-	-	2	97%
Shaista Khan	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	PML-N	MNA	24	2	-	-	-	1	99%
Muneeba Iqbal	Punjab	PML-N	MNA	-	-	-	-	-	-	50%
Nuzhat Sadiq	Punjab	PML-N	MNA	13	11	-	1	-	2	96%
Musarrat Asif Khawaja	Punjab	PML-N	MNA	-	-	-	-	-	-	55%
Seema Mohi ud Din Jameeli	Punjab	PML-N	MNA	-	-	-	-	-	-	84%
Shaza Fatima Khawaja	Punjab	PML-N	Minister of State for Information Technology & Telecommunication	-	-	-	2	-	-	56%
Romina Khurshid Alam	Punjab	PML-N	MNA	-	-	-	1	-	1	84%
Wajiha Qamarr	Punjab	PML-N	Parliamentary Secretary for Planning Development & Special Initiatives	7	-	-	-	-	-	91%

Name	Constituency/ Province	Party	Designation	Questions	CANs	Motions for Public Interest Discussion	Legislation	Proposals for Amendments to Parliamentary Rules	Resolu- tions	Attendance
Zeb Jaffar	Punjab	PML-N	Parliamentary Sec- retary for Defence	-	1	-	2	-	-	87%
Kiran Imran Dar	Punjab	PML-N	Parliamentary Sec- retary for Inter-Pro- vincial Coordina- tion	-	1	-	-	-	-	96%
Zahira Wadood Fatemi	Punjab	PML-N	MNA	16	4	-	1	-	-	91%
Shahida Begum	Khyber Pakh- tunkhwa	JUIP	MNA	7	5	-	-	-	2	88%
Asia Naz Tanoli	Punjab	PML-N	MNA	43	15	-	2	-	1	94%
Saba Sadiq	Punjab	PML-N	Parliamentary Sec- retary for Human Rights	-	1	-	-	-	-	65%
Farah Naz Akbar	Punjab	PML-N	Parliamentary Sec- retary for Federal Education and Professional Train- ing, National Herit- age and Culture	8	2	-	-	-	-	98%
Shahnaz Saleem Malik	Punjab	PML-N	MNA	2	-	-	-	-	-	92%
Hina Rabbani Khar	Punjab	PPPP	Standing Commit- tee Chairperson for Foreign Affairs	2	-	-	-	-	-	40%
Munaza Hassan	Punjab	IPP	Standing Commit- tee Chairperson for Climate Change and Envi- ronmental Coordi- nation	-	-	-	1	-	2	60%
Farakh Khan	Punjab	PML	MNA	-	-	-	-	-	1	51%
Samina Khalid Ghurki	Punjab	PPPP	MNA	20	-	-	1	-	1	96%
Sehar Kamran	Sindh	PPPP	MNA	35	3	1	2	-	4	92%
Sharmila Sahiba Faruqi Hashaam	Sindh	PPPP	MNA	80	6	8	9	1	6	86%
Shagufta Jumani	Sindh	PPPP	MNA	26	1	-	-	-	1	85%
Shahida Rehmani	Sindh	PPPP	MNA	39	3	-	2	9	3	87%
Syeda Shehla Raza	Sindh	PPPP	MNA	56	3	1	-	-	1	96%
Mahtab Akhtar Ra- shidi	Sindh	PPPP	MNA	9	2	-	-	-	-	73%
Musarrat Rafique Mahesar	Sindh	PPPP	MNA	15	-	-	1	-	-	92%

Name	Constituency/ Province	Party	Designation	Questions	CANs	Motions for Public Interest Discussion	Legislation	Proposals for Amendments to Parliamentary Rules	Resolu- tions	Attendance
Mahreen Razzaq Bhutto	Sindh	PPPP	MNA	38	-	2	1	-	1	77%
Shazia Sobia Aslam Soomro	Sindh	PPPP	MNA	32	-	-	1	-	-	90%
Naz Baloch	Sindh	PPPP	MNA	-	1	-	-	-	-	57%
Nikhath Shakeel Khan	Sindh	MQM	Parliamentary Secretary for Science and Technology	15	4	-	-	-	3	96%
Sabheen Ghoury	Sindh	MQM	Parliamentary Secretary for Information Technology and Telecommunication	3	2	-	-	-	-	91%
Rana Ansar	Sindh	MQM	Parliamentary Secretary for Water Resources	17	3	-	-	-	3	80%
Sofia Saeed Shah	Sindh	MQM	MNA	6	1	-	2	-	-	71%
Izbal Zehri	Balochistan	PPPP	MNA	-	1	-	-	-	-	46%
Kiran Haider	Balochistan	PML-N	MNA	1	-	-	-	-	-	99%
Akhtar Bibi	Balochistan	PML-N	MNA	1	-	-	-	-	-	84%
Aliya Kamran	Balochistan	JUIP	MNA	89	13	2	2	1	4	89%
Tahira Aurangzeb	Punjab	PML-N	MNA	69	-	-	-	-	-	90%
Shaista Pervaiz	Punjab	PML-N	MNA	4	1	-	2	-	2	81%
Zainab Mehmood Baloch	Punjab	PML-N	MNA	-	-	-	-	-	-	54%

