

Citizens' Report

Performance of the Senate of Pakistan

Three Years

March 12, 2008 - March 11, 2011

PILDAT is an independent, non-partisan and not-for-profit indigenous research and training institution with the mission to strengthen democracy and democratic institutions in Pakistan.

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Preface

The Citizens Report on the Performance of the Senate of Pakistan: *Three Years* covers the period from March 12, 2008 to March 11, 2011.

From 2002 onwards, PILDAT has consistently looked at the performance of the Pakistan's Parliament, reviewing it from the citizens' perspective. Its annual reports have helped highlight critical areas of performance as well as that of required reform in the Parliament of Pakistan over the years. In keeping with the PILDAT tradition of compiling and disseminating reports on Parliamentary performance since 2002, this report looks at the performance of the Senate of Pakistan by looking at some of the main categories of legislative performance.

Initially, the purpose of bicameralism (having two houses of the Parliament) was to achieve a mixed form of Government where the lower house is peoples house and the upper House (Senate) usually represents the interests of the upper classes. Another rationale for bicameralism is preservation of federalism. Under "federal bicameralism" the lower House is usually elected directly on the basis of population while the upper House ensures representation of states and provinces. More generally, bicameralism has now been associated with the protection of a majority against the minority and also the minority against the majority.²

Another important value that the upper House is associated with is of continuity. The upper House is not subject to dissolution, even when the lower House is dissolved, and election to whole upper House or Senate does not take place at the same time. This allows for the long-term policy making and greater continuity of membership.³

The Constitutions of 1956 and 1962 of Pakistan provided for a unicameral legislature. The 1973 Constitution allowed for a bicameral Parliament with a popular Chamber (National Assembly) and territorial Chamber (Senate). The Parliamentary form of Government in Pakistan has not evolved fully due to several military interventions and long periods of authoritarian rule. Although, according to the Constitution, the Senate cannot be dissolved, it was dissolved during the military rule of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (Retd.) and General Pervez Musharraf. Therefore PILDAT believes that any assessment of the performance of the Parliament of Pakistan should be undertaken in the context of peculiar history of civilian and military rule in the country.

Acknowledgments

PILDAT acknowledges the support provided by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Pakistan in publishing this report.

¹ Michael Cutron, Does Bicameralism Matter?, Princeton University, Link:http://www.princeton.edu/~nmccarty/bicameralism.pdf

² Robert D. Cooter, The Strategic Constitution, Princeton University Press, p. 293

³ Meg Russel, Judging the White Paper against the international practice of Bicameralism, Link:< http://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/research/parliament/house-of-lords/tabs/Judging the White Paper.pdf>

Disclaimer

This report has been prepared using the information and data from public sources. PILDAT team has made every effort to ensure accuracy of data and content in this report and any omission or error is, therefore, not deliberate.

Islamabad November 2011

Executive Summary

This report analyses the performance of the Senate of Pakistan over the past three Parliamentary years i.e., 2008-09, 2009-2010 and 2010-2011. Over these years the Senate saw improvement in some areas such as Working Days, Government Legislation, Privilege motions, while it saw little or no improvement in other areas such as Working hours, Private Members' Bills, Resolutions and Calling Attention Notices.

The number of actual working days in the third year showed an increase of 35% over the first year (62 in 2008-2009, 70 in 2009-2010 and 84 in 2010-2011) while the number of working hours registered an overall decrease of 15% over the three Parliamentary years. The number of Government bills passed showed an overall increase of 1150% in the three years (2 in 2008-2009, 12 in 2009-2010 and 25 in 2010-2011).

The number of Private Members' Bills received and passed declined gradually in the three years. The number of Private Members' bills received in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd parliamentary year was 15, 5 and 4 respectively and the number of Private Members' bills passed was 6, 4 and zero (0) respectively. This signifies a decrease of 73% in the number of Bills received.

The number of Starred Questions⁴ received showed an increase of 4% in the 2nd parliamentary year, i.e. from 1751 to 1815, and 34% in the third year – from 1815 to 2437. However, the percentage of questions answered did not show a steady increase, with 23% of the received questions answered in the 1st year, 42% answered in the 2nd year and 34% in the third year. The number of Un-starred Questions received remained at 75, 46 and 66 in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd parliamentary year. This shows a decline of 39% in the 2nd year an improvement of 43% in the 3rd year.

The number of Resolutions passed also declined from 11 in the 1^{st} year to 5 in the 2^{nd} year and 4 in the 3^{rd} year. Similarly, the number of Call Attention Notices discussed also showed a gradual decline with 10 being brought before the House in the 1^{st} year, 8 in the 2^{nd} year and only 3 in the 3^{rd} year which shows an overall decline of 70%.

The number of Privilege Motions received registered an overall increase of 144% (from 25 in the 1^{st} year to 31 in the 2^{nd} year and 61 in the 3^{rd} year) while Adjournment Motions received showed a decrease of 16% over the three parliamentary years.

The 39 Standing Committees and functional committees of the Senate saw an increase in the number of meetings held from 2009-2010 to 2010-2011. The number of meetings held increased from 189 in 2009-2010 to 364 in 2010-2011 which amounts to an increase of 93%. During the Parliamentary years 2009-2010 and 2010-2011 the **Senate Standing Committee on Cabinet Secretariat and Inter-Provincial Coordination** (chaired by **Senator Shahid Hassan Bugti** (Balochistan, JWP)) held a total of 39 meetings-highest by any Committee. It was followed by **Senate Standing Committee on Health** (chaired by

⁴ A Starred Question is one to which a member desires an oral answer in the House and which is distinguished by an asterisk mark. An unstarred Question is one which is not called for oral answer in the house and on which no supplementary questions can consequently be asked. An answer to such a question is given in writing.

Senator Kalsoom Parveen, Balochistan, BNP-A)) with 30 and **Senate Standing Committee on Finance, Revenue, Economic Affairs, Statistics, Planning and Development** (chaired by **Senator Ahmed Ali**, (Sindh, MQM)) with 29 meetings

The members who presented the highest number of Private Members' Bills includes **Senator Kamran Murtaza** (Balochistan, JUI-F) who presented 7 bills during the three Parliamentary years followed by **Senator Mian Raza Rabbani** (Sindh, PPPP) and **Senator Wasim Sajjad** (Punjab, PML) with 4 bills each. Among the members who presented the highest number of Calling Attention Notices, **Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmed** (KP, JIP) tops the list with 153 Calling Attention Notices followed by Senator Prof. Muhammad Ibrahim Khan (KP, JIP) with 71 Calling Attention Notices and **Senator Afia Zia** (KP, JIP) who presented 64 Notices.

The presence of the Prime Minister in the Senate remained poor. In 2008-2009, the Prime Minister did not attend even a single sitting of the Senate while he attended two sittings during 2009-2010 and six (6) sittings during 2010-2011. This means that the Prime Minister's attended 0% meetings in the $1^{\rm st}$ Parliamentary year, 2% meetings in the $2^{\rm nd}$ year and 5% in the $3^{\rm rd}$ year in the Senate of Pakistan.

Overview of the Senate of Pakistan

The Constitution of Pakistan provides for a bi-cameral legislature, to be known as the National Assembly and the Senate.⁵ In accordance with Article 59 (2) of the Constitution, elections in the Senate for seats allotted to each Province are held according to "the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote." However, unlike the National Assembly, membership of the Senate is not based upon the relative population of the provinces, rather all provinces are provided with an equal representation (22 members from each province; 23 after the 18th Constitutional Amendment) in the House. In addition Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) and Federal Capital are also given representation in the Senate. Furthermore, the Senate is not subject to dissolution ⁶ and the term of each member is six (6) years, as under Article 59 (3). Half of the Senators (50) retire every 3 years and new members elected in their place.

The highest office held in the Senate is that of the Chairman, followed in authority by the Deputy Chairman. The term of office of both offices is 3 years. A secretariat headed by a Secretary supports the Senate.

Senate after the 18th Constitutional Amendment

The 18th Constitutional Amendment has significantly enhanced the role and functions of the Senate of Pakistan. The Senate, which was earlier made up of a total of one hundred (100) seats, will now have 104 seats with the addition of 4 seats for non-Muslims, one from each Province.⁷ The four provinces are equally represented in the Senate of Pakistan with twenty-three (23) seats each, membership from FATA (eight (8) seats) and the Federal Capital four (4). Of the twenty three (23) seats allocated to each province, fourteen (14) are general; four (4) are reserved for women, four (4) for technocrats and now after 18th Amendment and effective from the next Senate election due in March 2012, one (1) for non-Muslims.

After the 18th Constitutional Amendment and the increase in Senate's powers, the Annual Report on the Implementation of the Principles of Policy is to be placed before the Senate also.

Another significant change in the powers is that now the President cannot promulgate an Ordinance while the Senate is in session.

The number of days that the Senate may take to give its recommendations on money bills has been increased from seven (7) to fourteen (14). The Prime Minister and his/her Cabinet will henceforth be collectively responsible both to the Senate and the National Assembly. Similarly, the number of compulsory working days for the Senate have been increased from 90 to 110.

⁵ Article 50 of the Constitution of Pakistan.

⁶ This Constitutional provision was bypassed as the Senate was dissolved several times during the military rule of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (Retd.) and General Pervez Musharraf.

 $^{^7}$ To be effective from Senate election after the passage of the $18^{
m th}$ Constitutional Amendment Act, April 2010.

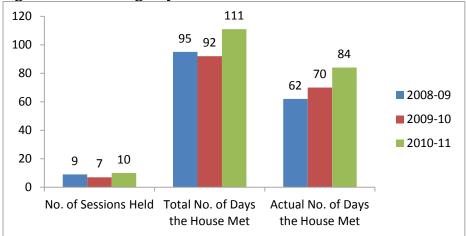
Key Performance Indicators

Working Days & Working Hours

In accordance with the 18^{th} Constitutional Amendment, the Senate met for a total of 111 days during the Parliamentary year 2010-2011 as compared to 92 days during 2009-2010 and 95 days during 2008-2009. This signifies a decrease of 3% in the 2^{nd} Parliamentary year and an increase of 20% in the 3^{rd} year. These include two joint sessions of the Parliament as well.

However, if the adjournment period is discounted, ⁸ the actual number of working days for the House stands at 84 during the 3rd year compared to 70 during the 2nd year and 62 days during the 1st year. Therefore, actual working days registered an increase of 13% in the 2nd year and 20 % in the 3rd year thus registering an overall increase of 35%.

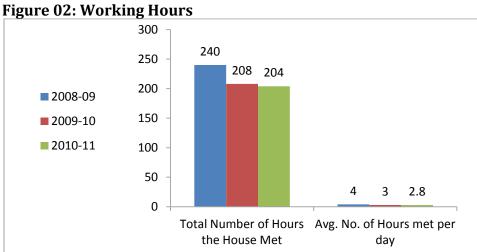




However, what is worrying is the fact that although the actual number of working days have increased, the total number of working hours have decreased over the last three years. The Senate met for approximately 240 hours during the 1st year which decreased to approximately 208 hours during the 2nd year and further to 204 hours in the 3rd year. This shows that the number of total working hours decreased by 13% in the 2nd year and 2% in the 3rd year and thus registered an overall decline of 15%. Consequently, the average number of hours met per day during 2008-2009 was 04 hours which decreased to 03 hours during 2009-2010 and further decreased to 02 hours 48 minutes during 2010-2011. This brings the average time per sitting of the Senate of Pakistan during the three Parliamentary years to just a little over 3 hours.

⁸ Constitutionally, the working days are calculated as including "any day on which there is a joint sitting and any period, not exceeding two days" for which the House is adjourned. However, for the purpose of this report, actual working days have been calculated on the basis of days on which the House actually met disregarding any weekend or breaks.

In comparison the Rajya Sabha in Indian Parliament met for an average of over 4 hours per sitting during the years 2008, 2009 and 2010 which is 31% more than the Senate of Pakistan.9



4.5 4 3.5 3.2 3 2.5 Average time per 2 sitting (hours) 1.5 1 0.5 0 Rajya Sabha, Indian Senate of Pakistan Parliament

Figure 03: Average Working Hours - Senate versus Rajya Sabha (2008 - 2011)

Presence of the Prime Minister

The presence of the Prime Minister in the Senate remained poor. In 2008-2009, the Prime Minister did not attend even a single sitting of the Senate while he attended two sittings during 2009-2010 and six (6) sittings during 2010-2011. This means that the Prime Minister's attended 0% meetings in the 1st Parliamentary year, 2% meetings in the 2nd year and 5% in the 3rd year in the Senate of Pakistan.

⁹ Rajya Sabha, Statistical Information, as accessed on November 11, 2011, Link:< http://rajyasabha.nic.in/rsnew/press_media/statistical_information.asp>

The total duration for which the Prime Minister spoke in the Senate was approximately 25-30 minutes during 2009-2010 and 15-20 minutes during 2010-2011.

Prime Minister's presence in the Senate is in stark contrast to his presence in the National Assembly where he was present in 95% of the sittings.

Legislation

The number of Government bills introduced during the 1^{st} , 2^{nd} & 3^{rd} Parliamentary years is 04, zero (0) and 04 respectively. However, the number of Government bills passed showed steady increase from 02 in 2008-2009 to 12 in 2009-2010 to 25 in 2010-2011 with an average of 13 bills per year. This manifests an increase of 500% in the 2^{nd} year and 108% in the 3^{rd} year thus recording an overall increase of 1150%.

The Indian Rajya Sabha passed 48, 40 and 44 bills in the year 2008, 2009 and 2010. Therefore, Rajya Sabha passed an average of 44 bills per year which is 238% more than the average bills passed by the Senate of Pakistan during three years.¹⁰

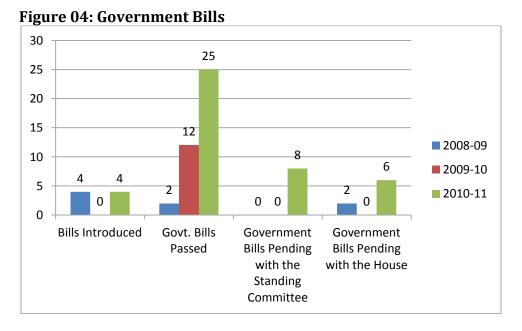
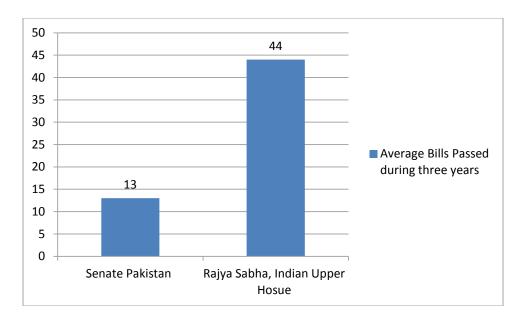


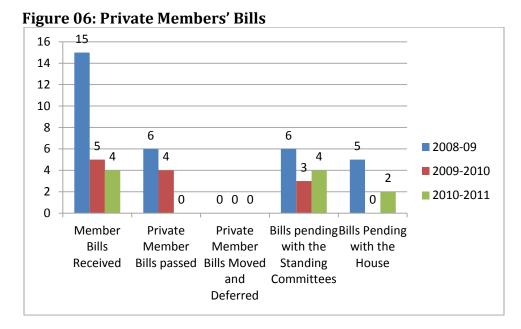
Figure 05: Government Bills - Pakistan Senate versus Indian Rajya Sabha (2008-2011)

¹⁰ Rajya Sabha Website, Statistical Information.



The number of Private Members' Bills received registered a gradual decline in the three years. During the 1^{st} , 2^{nd} and 3^{rd} years the number of Bills received remained at 15, 5 and 4 respectively. This means that the 2^{nd} year saw a decline of 67% and the 3^{rd} year saw a decline of 20%.

The number of Private Members' Bills passed also saw continuous decline with 6 passed in the 1^{st} year, 4 passed in the 2^{nd} year and none passed in the 3^{rd} year. However, the Senate fared better in comparison to the Indian Rajya Sabha which passed no bills during the years 2008, 2009 and 2010.



Questions

A total of 2503 questions (2437 Starred and 65 Un-starred) were received during the year 2010-2011 as compared to 1861 (1815 Starred and 46 un-starred) during the year 2009-

2010 and 1826 (1751 Starred and 75 Un-starred) during 2008-2009. This signifies an increase of 2% in the 2nd year and 34% in the 3rd year thus registering an overall increase of 37%. This indicates an increased interest by the Senators in the Executive's affairs.

However, only 35% of the questions, 874 (827 Starred and 47 Un-starred) out of 2503, were replied in the year 2010-2011 compared to the previous parliamentary year (2009-2010), when almost 42% (788 out of 1861) of the questions were replied and year 2008-2009 when 24% (438 out of 1826) questions were replied.

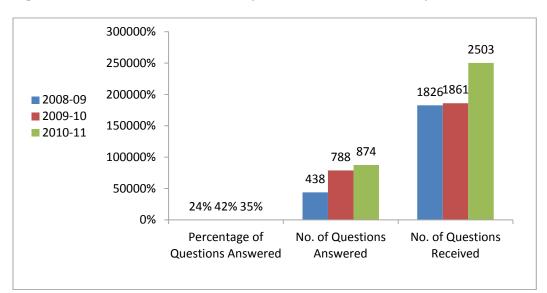


Figure 07: Number of Questions (Starred and Un-starred)

Resolutions

While the number of Resolutions received showed an overall increase during the three Parliamentary years, the number of Resolutions passed registered a gradual decline in the past three Parliamentary years. A total of 201 resolutions were received during the 3rd parliamentary year compared to 112 resolutions received during the 2nd year, 115 received during the 1st year. This shows a decline of 3% in the 2nd year, an increase of 79% in the 3rd year and an overall increase of 74%.

The number of Resolutions passed was 11, 05 and 04 during the year 2008-2009, 2009-2010 and 2010-2011 respectively indicating a decline of 54% during the second and 2% during the third year.

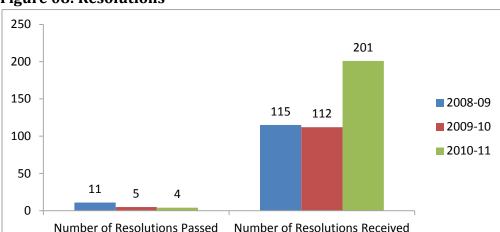


Figure 08: Resolutions

Calling Attention Notices

A total of 102 Calling Attention notices were received during 2010-2011. 93 were received for parliamentary year 2009-2010 and 160 for 2008-2009 respectively. This indicates a decline of 42% in the 2^{nd} year and an improvement of 10% in the 3^{rd} year.

The number of Calling Attention Notices discussed in the House were 03 during 2010-2011, 08 in 2009-2010 and 10 in 2008-2009. This shows that out of those received, 6% were discussed in the 1^{st} year, 9% in the 2^{nd} year and only 3% were discussed in the 3^{rd} year.

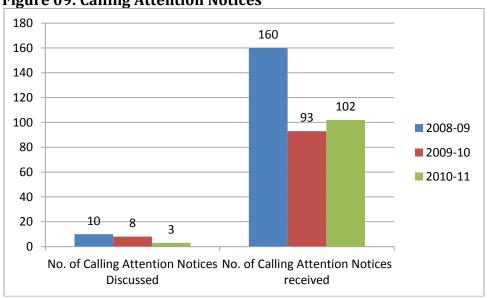


Figure 09: Calling Attention Notices

Privilege Motions

A total of 61 Privilege Motions were received during the year 2010-2011. In comparison, 31 motions were received during the year 2009-2010 and 25 during 2008-2009. This shows an increase of 24% in the 2nd year and 97% in the 3rd year with an overall increase

of 144%. The numbers of motions referred to the relevant standing committee are 30, 11 and 18 in the 3^{rd} , 2^{nd} and 1^{st} year respectively.

70 61 60 50 40 33 31 30 2008-09 25 30 18 18 **2009-10** 20 11 11 2010-11 10 0 No. of Privilege No. of Privilege Brought Before the Motions Referred to **Motions Received** House **Standing Committee**

Figure 10: Privilege Motions

Adjournment Motions

A total of 205 Adjournment Motions were received during the Parliamentary year 2010-2011. Out of these 22 were brought before the House and 06 were discussed in the House.

During 2009-2010, a total of 182 Adjournment motions were received, out of which 11 were brought before the House and 03 were discussed. No motions were discussed in the House during the year 2008-2009 but 243 motions were received and 10 were brought before the House.

The number of motions received shows a decrease of 25% in the 2^{nd} year and an increase of 13% in the 3^{rd} year. However, the number of Motions brought before the House shows an increase of 10% in the 2^{nd} year and 100% in the 3^{rd} year.

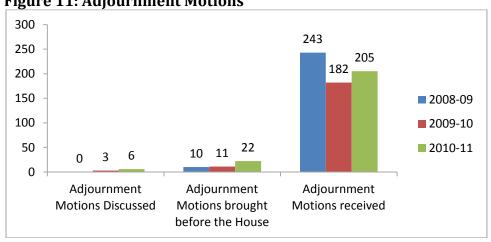


Figure 11: Adjournment Motions

Motions under Rule 194

During 2010-2011, a total of 327 motions were received under the Rule 194. In comparison, 289 Motions were received under rule 194 during 2009-2010 and 416 during 2008-2009. This shows a decrease of 30% in the 2nd Parliamentary year and an increase of 13% in the 3rd Year.

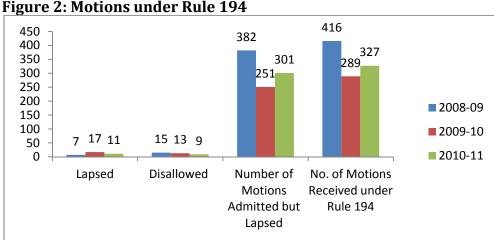


Figure 2: Motions under Rule 194

Research Publications by the Senate

The Senate of Pakistan published at least three research publications/reports during the three Parliamentary years. These publications include Parliament and Financial Control, Role of Parliament in Foreign Policy and Privileges of Parliamentarians. It must be mentioned the culture of publishing research publications/reports exists only in the Senate and not in the National Assembly.

The Senate also publishes a periodical called 'Senate News' with useful information about the various happenings at the Senate of Pakistan.

Committees

The Senate has a total of 39 Standing and Functional Committees. After the election to the Senate in March 2009, the Committees were formed and their Chairmen elected within 04 months (July-October) with the exception of two committees: the Standing Committee on Narcotics Control was formed in April 2010 while the Committee on Livestock and Dairy Development was not formed.

The number of meetings held by the Senate Committees in 2009-2010 was 189 while it increased to 364 in 2010-2011. This is an increase of 93%.

During the parliamentary year 2010-2011, **Standing Committee on Rules of Procedures** and Privileges, chaired by Senator Syed Tahir Hussain Mashhadi (Sindh, MQM) held a total of 21 meetings- the highest by any committee. It was followed by the Standing Committee on Health, chaired by Senator Kalsoom Perveen (Balochistan, BNP-A), Standing Committee on Cabinet Secretariat and Inter-Provincial Coordination, chaired by Senator Shahid Hassan Bugti (Balochistan, JWP) and the Standing Committee

on Finance, Revenue, Economic Affairs, Statistics, Planning and Development, chaired by **Senator Ahmed Ali**, (Sindh, MQM), all of which held 20 meetings each.

Similarly, **Standing Committee on States and Frontier Regions**, chaired by **Senator Hafiz Rashid Ahmed** (FATA, Independent), **Standing Committee on Communications**, chaired by **Senator Mir Wali Muhammad Badini** (Balochistan, Independent) and the **Standing Committee on Sports and Youth Affairs**, chaired by **Senator Abdul Ghaffar Qureshi** (Sindh, PML) held 19 meetings each during the Parliamentary year 2010-2011.

Similarly, during 2009-2010 the highest number of meetings was held by the **Standing Committee on Cabinet Secretariat and Inter-Provincial Coordination**, chaired by **Senator Shahid Hassan Bugti** (Balochistan, JWP) with a total of 19 meetings. It was followed by the **Standing Committee on Culture and Tourism**, chaired by **Senator Nilofar Bakhtiar** (Punjab, PML) which held 12 meetings. The 3rd place went to the **Standing Committee on Health**, chaired by **Senator Kalsoom Parveen**, (Balochistan, BNP-A) which held 10 meetings during the Parliamentary year 2009-2010.

Combined performance during the Parliamentary years 2009-2010 and 2010-2011 shows that the **Senate Standing Committee on Cabinet Secretariat and Inter-Provincial Coordination** held a total of 39 meetings-highest by any Committee. It was followed by **Senate Standing Committee on Health** with 30 meetings in 3 years and **Senate Standing Committee on Finance, Revenue, Economic Affairs, Statistics, Planning and Development** with 29 meetings in 3 years.

During 2010-2011, there was only one Committee that did not hold even a single meeting, namely the **Standing Committee on Science and Technology**, chaired by **Senator Nawabzada M. Akbar Magsi** (Balochistan, Independent). There were two such committees during 2009-2010 namely **Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Kashmir Affairs and Gilgit Baltistan**, chaired by **Senator Salim Saifullah Khan** (KP, PML) and **Standing Committee on Narcotics Control**, chaired by **Senator Engr. Malik Rashid Ahmed Khan** (FATA, Independent)) which held no meeting during the entire parliamentary year. However, the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Kashmir Affairs and Gilgit-Baltistan only elected its Chairman in the 3rd Parliamentary year on May 06, 2010 while the Standing Committee on Narcotics Control elected its Chairman on April 12, 2009.

The performance of the two most important committees in terms of security and foreign policy challenges facing Pakistan is as follows.

The Senate Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production held 26 meetings during the three parliamentary years. It held no meetings during the year 2008-2009 (since it was formed in 2nd Parliamentary year), 15 during 2009-2010 and 11 during 2010-2011.¹¹ It presented no reports during this period. Analysis reveals that the Senate

¹¹ For a detailed analysis see **Performance of the Parliamentary Committee on Defence and National Security during the first 3 years of the National Assembly of Pakistan**, PILDAT Citizens Monitoring Report, March 15, 2008 to March 15, 2011, May 2011, Link:<

Standing Committee on Defence covered a wide range of relevant issues in its meetings as compared to its counterpart in the National Assembly.

The Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, Kashmir Affair and Gilgit-Baltistan became functional after Senate Elections of March 2009, on May 06, 2010, a delay of nearly 14 months through election of its Chairman **Senator Salim Saifullah Khan** (KP, PML). The Senate Committee has held 11 meetings during 2010-2011. This is 38% more than the 8 meetings held by the National Assembly Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs during 2010-2011.¹²

http://www.pildat.org/Publications/publication/CMR/Report-

PerformanceoftheParliamentaryCommitteesofDefenceandNationalSecurityMar08toMar11.pdf>

 $\frac{http://www.pildat.org/Publications/publication/Democracy\&LegStr/PerformanceoftheNAStandingCommitteeonForeignAffairsJuly2011-CitizensReport.pdf>$

¹² For detailed analysis see **Performance of the National Assembly Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs during the first 3 years of the 13th National Assembly of Pakistan, May 2008 – July 2011, Citizens' Report, PILDAT, Link:** <

Important Achievements of the Senate

In the period covered by this report, the Senate has taken a more proactive role in the legislative process as compared to the earlier years. The Senate has time and again deferred the approval of bills on the point that it should be provided with ample time for discussion and deliberation. This is in stark contrast to the past, where the Senate would pass the bills passed by the National Assembly without much scrutiny or debate. One reason for this may be that the Government did not enjoy a majority in the Senate until its alliance with the PML.

The Senate has asked for a greater role in the oversight of the executive, with a demand being made for the creation of a Public Accounts Committee for the Senate as well.

The important milestones achieved by the Senate include the unanimous passage of the 18th and the 19th Constitutional Amendments. Once again, the Senate sought detailed discussions on these bills of national significance. The debate on the 18th Amendment lasted for three (03) days in the Senate, as compared to two (02) days in the National Assembly. Also, the Senate recommended key amendments to different bills passed by the National Assembly. These include, among others, amendments to the Islamabad High Court Bill 2010.

The Senate also introduced several important pieces of legislation, apart from discussions and passage of the ones passed by the National Assembly. These include the Election Laws (Amendment) Bill 2010 as well as the Social Security Bill 2010.

Almost all the laws were passed through a consensus/unanimous vote. Even when there was a difference of opinion, the parties respected the need to achieve consensus and a compromise was reached.

Access to Information in the Senate and National Assembly

Although, in theory information regarding all Business in the Senate and National Assembly of Pakistan is categorized as public, the process to obtain this information is long and tiring. Comprehensive data with regards to the performance of the Parliament is not made available online. Recently, the National Assembly has taken some steps towards making information available online such as uploading House debates and updating website but there is still a long way to go. It is advised that both National Assembly and Senate issue an annual report containing all the relevant data and information at the end of each Parliamentary year in line with the practice in other Parliamentary democracies.

In comparison to the National Assembly, the Senate Secretariat compiles more comprehensive information regarding the performance of its House and the Members. It was also noted that it is relatively easier to acquire data from the Senate compared to the National Assembly.

Senators taking the Lead in the Parliament

Senators have provided leadership in a number of initiatives on behalf of both houses of the Parliament. Examples of such contributions include the work of the Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms (PCCR) which was chaired by Senator Mian Raza Rabbani (Sindh, PPPP) and Parliamentary Committee on National Security which is also chaired by Senator Mian Raza Rabbani. Similarly, analysis reveals that the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Kashmir Affairs and Gilgit Baltistan performed better during the year 2010-2011 compared to its counterpart in the National Assembly. The joint Parliamentary Committee on the Appointment of Judges is also chaired by Senator Syed Nayyer Hussain Bokhari (ICT, PPPP), Leader of the House in the Senate of Pakistan.

Areas of Concern

One of the most noticeable concerns, as repeatedly pointed out by the Chairman and Members of the Senate, is the absence of Ministers during the sessions. Similarly, concerns have been raised about the availability of the Prime Minister in the House.

The House witnessed frequent walk-outs over various issues, including the situation in North Waziristan & FATA, the absence of ministers, and the energy crisis. However, the only thing that these walk-outs achieved was perhaps the early adjournment of the proceedings due to lack of quorum. During 2010-2011, there were two instances of the Senate proceedings being suspended due to lack of quorum. Similarly, the proceedings were suspended thrice during 2009-2010 due to lack of quorum. One such instance was when the 18th Amendment could not be tabled in the House on April 09, 2010 due to lack of quorum, which was a product of the two walk-outs staged by the opposition as well as coalition parties.

Duplication of Work in the Senate and National Assembly

Almost all of the Standing or ministry-related Committees in the Senate have duplicate Committees in the National Assembly looking at the same ministries. This allows for unnecessary duplication of work in the Parliament. If ministry-wise Joint Committees are formed which have representation from both Senate and the National Assembly overseeing one ministry, it might lead to a greater focus on the performance of Committees. This will also result in economy and efficiency. A case in point is the Indian Parliament where every department has a single Committee with representation from both Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha. This may also be partly the reason why Indian Parliamentary Committees usually fare better when compared to Committees in Pakistan. In India there are 24 departmentally related Committees out which 8 have their Chairman appointed by the Chairman, Rajya

¹³ For detailed analysis of performance of the Parliamentary Committee on National Security, see **Performance of the Parliamentary Committees of Defence and National Security**, PILDAT Citizens' Report May 2011, Link:< http://www.pildat.org/Publications/publication/CMR/Report-PerformanceoftheParliamentaryCommitteesofDefenceandNationalSecurityMar08toMar11.pdf>

 $^{^{14}}$ For a detailed analysis see Performance of the National Assembly Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs during the first three years of the 13^{th} National Assembly of Pakistan, Citizen's Report, March 2008 – July 2011, Link: <

 $[\]frac{http://www.pildat.org/Publications/publication/Democracy\&LegStr/PerformanceoftheNAStandingCommitted to the property of the$

Sabha while 16 have their Chairman appointed by the Speaker, Lok Sabha. ¹⁵ This strategy precludes the possibility of duplication of work in the Indian Parliament.

Similarly, the Research Staff of the National Assembly (around 8 persons currently) and the Senate (11 persons currently) could also be combined for better focus and utilization of resources. Both houses maintain their separate Libraries with their respective staff in the same building. This facility can be easily combined resulting in economy.

¹⁵ Committees of Rajya Sabha, General Information, Link:< http://rajyasabha.nic.in/rsnew/committees/general_introduction.asp>

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Comparison of the Legislative Performance of the Senate (2008-2011)

Working Days and Working Hours	Year 2008- 2009	Year 2009- 2010	Year 2010- 2011	Total	Indian Rajya Sabha (2008 - 2010)
No. of sessions held	09	07	10	26	9
Total No. of days the sessions lasted	95	92	111	298	-
Actual No. of days the House met	62	70	84	216	190
Total No. of hours the House met	240	208	204	652	783.7
No. of Hours met per day	04 hr	03 hr	02 hr 48m	3.2	4.12 hr

Government Bills	Year 2008- 2009	Year 2009- 2010	Year 2010- 2011	Total	Indian Rajya Sabha (2008 - 2010)
Total Government Bills Introduced	04	0	04	08	46
Government Bills Passed	02	12	25	39	132
Government Bills Withdrawn	-	-	-		-
Government Bills Pending with the Standing Committees	-	-	08	08	-
Government Bills Pending with the House	02	-	06	80	-

Private Member Bills	Year 2008- 2009	Year 2009- 2010	Year 2010- 2011	Total	Indian Rajya Sabha (2008 - 2010)
Private Members' Bills Introduced	15	05	04	24	119
Bills Passed	06	04	00	10	00
Moved and Deferred	00	00	00	00	-
Bills Pending with the	06	03	04	13	-

Standing Committees					
Bills Pending with the House	05	-	02	07	-

Questions	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011
No. of Starred Questions Received	1751	1815	2437
No. of Starred Questions Admitted	1436	1550	1917
No. of Starred Questions Answered	410	756	827
No. of Starred Questions admitted but not Answered	1008	780	1058
No. of Un-starred Questions Received	75	46	66
No. of Un-starred Questions Admitted	74	44	65
No. of Un-starred Questions Answered	28	32	47
No. of Un-starred Questions Admitted but not answered	46	10	18

Resolution	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011
Total Resolutions Received	115	112	201
Total Resolutions Admitted	105	94	162
Disallowed	03	04	21
Lapsed / Under process	07	14	18
Resolutions Passed	11	05	04

Calling Attention Notices	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011
Total Calling Attention Notices Received	160	93	102
Total brought before the House	10	08	03
Total disallowed	34	08	22

Privilege Motions	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011
Total Privilege Motions Received	25	31	61
Brought before the House	18	11	33
Referred to the Standing Committee on Rules of Procedure	18	11	30
Motions disallowed	-	-	03

Adjournment Motions	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011
Total Adjournment Motions Received	243	182	205
Total Motions brought before the House	10	11	22
Lapsed	127	128	130
Discussed in the House	-	03	06
Disallowed	71	30	46

Motions under Rule 194	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011
Total Motions Received under Rule 194	416	289	327
Total Motions Discussed	10	08	05
Total Motions Admitted but lapsed	382	251	301
Disallowed	15	13	09
Lapsed	07	17	11

Members who submitted Maximum Number of Private Member's Bills 2008-2009

S.No.	Name of the Senator	Number of Private Members Bills Received
1	Senator Kamran Murtaza	07
2	Senator Dr. Kausar Firdous	02
3	Senator Wasim Sajjad	02
4	Senator Ch. Muhammad Anwar Bhinder	02
5	Senator Saleem Saifullah Khan	01

Members who introduced Maximum Number of Private Member's Bills 2009-2010

S.No.	Name of the Senator	Number of Private Members Bills introduced
1	Senator Mian Raza Rabbani	04
2	Senator Wasim Sajjad	01

Members who introduced Maximum Number of Private Member's Bills 2010-2011

S.No.	Name of the Senator	Number of Private Members Bills introduced
1	Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmad	02
2	Senator Prof. Muhammad Ibrahim Khan	02

3	Senator Afia Zia	02
4	Senator Wasim Sajjad	01
5	Senator Hafiz Rasheed Ahmad	01

Members who submitted Maximum Number of Call Attention Notices 2008-2009

S.No.	Name of the Senator	Number of Call Attention Notices Submitted
1	Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmad	49
2	Senator Kamran Murtaza	23
3	Senator Dr. Kausar Firdous	13
4	Senator Afia Zia	11
5	Senator Wasim Sajjad	10

Members who submitted Maximum Number of Call Attention Notices 2009-2010

S.No.	Name of the Senator	Number of Call Attention Notices Submitted
1	Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmad	31
2	Senator Prof. Muhammad Ibrahim Khan	30
3	Senator Afia Zia	23
4	Senator Mian Raza Rabbani	12
5	Senator Ilyas Ahmed Bilour	06

Members who submitted Maximum Number of Call Attention Notices 2010-2011

S.No.	Name of the Senator	Number of Call Attention Notices Submitted
1	Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmad	73
2	Senator Prof. Muhammad Ibrahim Khan	41
3	Senator Afia Zia	30
4	Senator Muhammad Zahid Khan	04
5	Senator Raja Muhammad Zafar- ul-Haq	03

Members who moved Maximum Number of Adjournment Motions 2008-2009

S.No.	Name of the Senator	Number of Adjournment Motions Moved
1	Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmed	03
2	Senator Molana Abdula Ghafoor Haideri	02
3	Senator Kamran Murtaza	01
4	Senator Prof. Muhammad	01

	Ibrahim Khan	
5	Senator Dr. Muhammad Said	01

Members who moved Maximum Number of Adjournment Motions 2009-2010

S.No.	Name of the Senator	Number of Adjournment Motions Moved
1	Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmad	03
2	Senator Prof. Muhammad Ibrahim Khan	02
3	Senator Afia Zia	02
4	Senator Shahid Hassan Bugti	02
5	Senator Jan Muhammad Khan Jamali	02

Members who moved Maximum Number of Adjournment Motions 2010-2011

S.No.	Name of the Senator	Number of Adjournment Motions Moved
1	Senator Prof. Muhammad Ibrahim Khan	05
2	Senator Afia Zia	05
3	Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmad	04
4	Senator Wasim Sajjad	02
5	Senator Syed Tahir Hussain Mashhadi	02

Research Publications/Reports by the Senate of Pakistan

No.	Title of Report/Publication	Date of Publishing/Dissemination
1	Parliament and Financial Control	April 2010 by Iftikhar Ullah Babar, Special Secretary Senate
2	Role of Parliament in Foreign Policy	July 2010
3	Privileges of Parliamentarians	October 2010

Ten most vocal Senators (In terms of duration of time of speech)

No.	Senator's Name			Duration of time of speeches		
	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2008- 2009	2009- 2010	2010- 2011
1	Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmed	Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmed	Senator_Prof. Khurshid Ahmed	One Hour	One Hour	One Hour
<u>2</u>	Senator Mian Raza Rabbani	Senator_Mian Raza Rabbani	Senator_Mian Raza Rabbani	50 minutes	50 minutes	50 minutes

<u>3</u>	Senator Muhammad Ishaq Dar	Senator Muhammad Ishaq Dar	Senator Muhammad Ishaq Dar	50 minutes	50 minutes	50 minutes
<u>4</u>	Senator Wasim Sajjad	Senator Wasim Sajjad	Senator Wasim Sajjad	40 minutes	40 minutes	40 minutes
<u>5</u>	Senator Maulana Gul Naseeb Khan	Senator Moulana Gul Naseeb Khan	Senator Moulana Gul Naseeb Khan	35 minutes	35 minutes	35 minutes
6	Senator Prof. Muhammad Ibrahim Khan	Senator Prof. Muhammad Ibrahim Khan	Senator Prof. Muhammad Ibrahim Khan	30 minutes	30 minutes	30 minutes
7	Senator Mir Hasil Khan Bazinjo	Senator Mir Hasil Khan Bazinjo	Senator Mir Hasil Khan Bazinjo	30 minutes	30 minutes	30 minutes
8	Senator Molana Abdul Ghafoor Haideri	Senator Molana Abdul Ghafoor Haideri	Senator Molana Abdul Ghafoor Haideri	30 minutes	30 minutes	30 minutes
9	Senator Babar Khan Ghauri	Senator Babar Khan Ghauri	Senator Babar Khan Ghauri	30 minutes	30 minutes	30 minutes
10	Senator Haji Muhammed Adeel	Senator Haji Muhammed Adeel	Senator Haji Muhammed Adeel	25 minutes	25 minutes	25 minutes

Appendix B

Senate Committees Meetings: 2008 - 2011

No.	Senate Committee	Date the Committee was formed	Date the Chair was elected	Meetings held during 2008-09	Meetings held during 2008-09	Meetings held during 2010-11
1	Standing Committee on Commerce	October 15, 2009	October 15, 2009		03	10
2	Standing Committee on Housing and Works	July 29, 2009	July 29, 2009		02	10
3	Standing Committee on Human Rights	July 29, 2009	July 29, 2009		03	02
4	Standing Committee on Health	July 19, 2009	July 25, 2009		10	20
5	Standing Committee on Minorities Affairs	October 15, 2009	October 15, 2009		02	06
6	Standing Committee on Information Technology and Telecommunications	July 17, 2009	July 27, 2009		05	07
7	Standing Committee on Religious Affairs	July 27, 2009	July 27, 2009		13	13
8	Standing Committee on States and Frontier Regions	October 15, 2009	October 15, 2009		04	19
9	Standing Committee on Communications	July 27, 2009	July 27, 2009		08	19

10	Standing Committee on Environment	October 15, 2009	October 15, 2009		
	LIIVII OIIIIICIIC	2009	15, 2009	02	03
11	Standing Committee on Narcotics Control	April 12, 2009	April 12, 2009	0	05
12	Standing Committee on Science and Technology	October 15, 2009	October 15, 2009	01	00
13	Standing Committee on Information and Broadcasting	October 15, 2009	October 15, 2009	04	09
14	Standing Committee on Interior	July 27, 2009	July 27, 2009	08	15
15	Standing Committee on Railways	July 27, 2009	July 27, 2009	03	11
16	Standing Committee on Cabinet Secretariat, Inter-Provincial coordination	July 27, 2009	July 27, 2009	19	20
17	Standing Committee on Finance, Revenue, Economics Affairs, Statistics and Planning and Development	June 11, 2009	June 2009	09	20
18	Standing Committee on Rules of Procedure and Privileges	July 25, 2009	July 25, 2009	06	21
19	Standing Committee on Women Development	July 27, 2009	July 27, 2009	04	07
20	Standing Committee on Problems of Less Developed Areas	July 25, 2009	25-07- 2009	05	07

21	Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Kashmir Affairs and Gilgit Baltistan	May 06, 2010	May 06, 2010	00	11
22	Standing Committee on Industries and Production	July 27, 2009	July 27, 2009	02	07
23	Standing Committee on Social Welfare and Special Education	July 25, 2009	July 25, 2009	05	06
24	Standing Committee on Culture and Tourism	July 27, 2009	July 27, 2009	12	15
25	Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production	July 27, 2009	July 27, 2009	15	11
26	Standing Committee on Education	October 15, 2009	October 15, 2009	05	10
27	Standing Committee on Food, Agriculture	July 27, 2009	July 27, 2009	02	03
28	Standing Committee on Labor and Manpower	July 25, 2009	July 25, 2009	07	05
29	Standing Committee on Ports and Shipping	July 27, 2009	July 27, 2009	09	06
30	Standing Committee on Postal Services	September 05, 2009	Septembe r 05, 2009	02	03
41	Standing Committee on Sports	October 15, 2009	October 15, 2009	07	19
32	Standing Committee on Governmental Assurances	October 15, 2009	October 15, 2009	03	06

33	Standing Committee on Law, Justice and Human Rights and Parliamentary Affairs	July 25, 2009	July 15, 2009	04	08
34	Standing Committee on Over-seas Pakistanis	October 15, 2009	Otober 15, 2009	02	05
35	Standing Committee on Petroleum and Natural Resources	July 25, 2009	July 25, 2009	01	10
36	Standing Committee on Privatization	August 18, 2009	August 18, 2009	02	05
37	Standing Committee on Textile Industry	October 15, 2009	October 15, 2009	04	03
38	Standing Committee on Water and Power	August 22, 2009	August 22, 2009	06	08
39.	Total			189	364