

June 01, 2014 - May 31, 2015





Score Card

16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab The Second Parliamentary Year

June 01, 2014 - May 31, 2015



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PREFACE

The 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab began its second year on June 01, 2014 and concluded it on May 31, 2015. This report has been compiled as part of PILDAT's endeavour to analyse a series of key performance indicators in comparison with the first year of the 16th Provincial Assembly and the 5-year average of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.

In line with PILDAT's on-going attempts to assess the performance of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, a series of performance statistics and corresponding analyses have been compiled. PILDAT has taken this exercise a step further and compiled a Score Card comprising the scores assigned by an expert Evaluation Group of current and former legislators, eminent lawyers, and media persons based on a series of key performance indicators identified in the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) toolkit.

The report has been divided into five sections. **Part 1** states some basic facts related to the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab while **Part 2** examines various performance indicators during the second year; **Part 3** presents a strategic analysis of the performance of the Provincial Assembly. **Part 4** is a Score Card on the Evaluation of the second Parliamentary year of the Assembly based on the Inter-Parliamentary Union toolkit. **Part 5** proposes reforms for the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.

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Disclaimer

PILDAT team has made every effort to ensure accuracy of the publicly-available data and analysis based on it. Any omission, or error, therefore, is not deliberate. The views, analysis and scores in this report do not necessarily represent the views of DANIDA, the Government of Denmark, and the Royal Danish Embassy, Islamabad.

Islamabad June 2015

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

BNAP Bahawalpur National Awami Party

IND Independent

IPU Inter-Parliamentary Union

JI Jamaat-e-Islami

JUI-F Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam- Fazlur Rehman

KP Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

MNA Member of National Assembly MPA Member of Provincial Assembly

PML Pakistan Muslim League

PML-N Pakistan Muslim League - Nawaz PML-Z Pakistan Muslim League - Zia

PPPP Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians

PTI Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf QWP Qaumi Watan Party UK United Kingdom

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Executive Summary

The second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab's legislative activity has improved in comparison with the first year as demonstrated by the increase in the number of bills passed in the second year. The Government Bills passed increased by 19% from the first year of the 16th Provincial Assembly from 31 to 37, and by 39% from the average number of 26.6 Government Bills passed per year in the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.

6 out of the 37 Government Bills passed in the second year were directly related to increasing internal security of the province to combat terrorism and other crimes. Three of these were amendments to existing laws while the Punjab Security of Vulnerable Establishments Bill 2015, Punjab Sound Systems (Regulation) Bill 2015, and the Punjab Information of Temporary Residents Bill 2015 were new laws passed to regulate suspicious movements in the province. Additionally, the Assembly also passed important bills for the welfare of the public, including the Punjab Social Protection Authority Bill 2015 to provide for the establishment of the Punjab Social Protection Authority, and the Free and Compulsory Education Bill 2014, to provide free and compulsory education for all children between the ages of five and sixteen.

The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab carried on its proceedings for most of the year in the absence of a strong Opposition. The Opposition in the Provincial Assembly is led by the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) which was involved in protesting against alleged rigging in May 2013 General Election from August to December 2014. All 30 PTI legislators submitted their resignations in the Punjab Assembly and did not attend a single sitting for the period from August 27, 2014, the date on which they submitted their resignations, to April 05, 2015 when they returned to the Assembly. The Assembly, comprising 311 legislators from the PML-N out of a total of 368, meant that with the absence of the opposition, it was essentially the treasury benches that met in the sessions.

The number of sittings during which the Assembly met for the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab was 62. The number of sittings decreased by 11% from the first year when the number of sittings were 70; but increased by 3% from the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab when there was 60.4 sittings on average per year.

Despite a large number of treasury members, attendance in the Assembly was very low during the second year. The peak average attendance of the MPAs during the second year was at 84.14 members per sitting: 23% of the total membership. The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab saw the lowest attendance compared to the remaining provinces, followed by the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly at 29% the Sindh Assembly at 42%, and the Balochistan Assembly at 58%. The Chief Minister of the Punjab, **Mr. Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif**, MPA (PP-159, Punjab, PML-N) attended only 1.6% of the sittings in the entire second year; a decrease of 88% from his attendance during the first year when he had attended 8 out of 70 sittings, and a decrease of 83% from the average of the 15th Provincial Assembly when he had attended 6 out of 60.4 sittings on average per year.

The Leader of the Opposition in the Punjab Assembly, **Mian Mehmood ur Rashid**, MPA, (PP-151, Punjab, PTI), performed slightly better by being present for 16 sittings, approximately 23% of the total in the second year. In comparison with his presence during the first year, his performance has declined by 24% when he was present for 40 out of 70 sittings (57% of the total for the first year).

The Assembly also witnessed long delays at the start of proceedings as compared to other Assemblies with an average delay of 72 minutes. The other Provincial Assemblies have witnessed far shorter average delays ranging from 41.20 minutes in the Balochistan Assembly to 52.96 minutes in the Sindh Assembly.

The drop in the submission of questions from the first to the second year by 40% from 4724 to 2846 is an indication of the declining interest of MPAs in the proceedings of the Assembly. The system of Questions needs to be reformed to encourage MPAs to continue to ask important questions from the Government on its performance. During the proceedings of the second year, often the responses to questions given by representatives were perceived by the MPAs to be incomplete or incorrect. Of the 1957 questions that were admitted in the second year, about 1497 were answered, which means that 460 could not be answered for some reason. This should not be acceptable.

 For details, please see 'Tough day' for parliamentary secretary in PA session', DAWN, Feb 24, 2015, as accessed at DAWN: http://www.dawn.com/news/1165523

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It is recommended that questions not be taken off the agenda in the event of an adjournment, and instead, through an amendment to the Rules of Procedure, are mandatorily added to the subsequent sittings' agenda so that members do not lose interest in the questions they file. The loss of interest is also in part due to the fact that often it takes months for the Government to answer questions despite the mandated time of 15 days. It is therefore suggested that there be an amendment in the rules such it becomes mandatory for questions to be placed on the agenda for the subsequent sitting in the event of an adjournment. The set period of 15 days to receive a response to the questions submitted by legislators is too long in comparison with international standards. For instance, in the UK Parliament, a member only has to give two days' notice to receive an answer to his written question, as per Standing Order 22 (4) of UK's Parliament. It is recommended, therefore, that the number of days in which the Government is obliged to respond should be reduced from 15 days to 2 days.

In previous publications, PILDAT had recommended a public issues hour to highlight public grievances and constituency problems. Because there is no such provision in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, members tend to use Points of Order for this purpose and disrupt the proceedings of a sitting. Such a provision could be called the Zero Hour which takes places after the Question Hour in a sitting, and be devoted solely to matters of public concern and other grievances.

As per its revised rules, the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab held its pre budget debate during the 13th session. The Assembly is one of the few legislatures, which had introduced reforms in its rules during its previous tenure to allow for the pre-budget consultation by MPAs. In the second year the pre budget debate began on March 27, 2015 and was completed on April 06, 2015. During the debate the MPAs questioned the usefulness of the pre budget debate given the fact that the Provincial Government of the Punjab had already formulated the budget for 2015-2016. Rule 133-A of the Assembly states that the budget proposals must be made in the first three months of the calendar year. The Government had already prepared the budget by the time the pre budget debate began therefore there was little use of giving recommendations in the month of April. Nonetheless, the legislators did give a series of recommendations to the Government, including subsidies being given to farmers in the Punjab on electricity bills. Legislators continued to stress upon the need for equitable distribution of funds across the Punjab with less focus on Lahore and Rawalpindi.

The average time allocated for budget debate after its presentation continues to require reform. A total of 10 sittings of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab were devoted to the Provincial Budget for the year 2014-2015 with 20.67 hours of the session spent discussing the Provincial Budget. On average, the legislators spent 2.07 hours per sitting on the budget. In comparison, during the first year of the Provincial Assembly, the budget was discussed over a course of 7 days, and a total of 21 hours. Therefore the legislators spent 3 hours per sitting discussing the Provincial Budget for the year 2013 - 2014. The number of days may have increased by 43% from 7 to 10, however the real indicator in this case is the amount of time spent on the budget, which showed a marginal decline of 2% from 21 to 20.67 hours in the second year.

The Assembly needs to improve its scrutiny of the budget by conducting the pre budget session within the first three months of calendar year so the recommendations of the legislators can be taken up in time by the bureaucracy. The duration of the Budget Session itself also needs to be increased to at least 30 to 45 days in order to allow MPAs to thoroughly scrutinise the budget.

The Punjab Assembly is leading amongst the Provincial Assemblies in terms of the transparency and accessibility of its website due to the live telecasts of its proceedings, and recently, the publishing of the individual attendance record of MPAs ordine. However, there is still plenty of room for improvement in the Assembly website. There is a need to share data in open formats on its website. What data there is, is available in PDF, which makes computing different statistics cumbersome. All four Provincial Assemblies should make data available in open formats such as XML and JSON, rather than PDF.

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Table 1: Comparison of Key Performance Indicators: Second Year of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab

No	Indicator	5-Year Average of the 15 th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab	First Parliamentary Year of the 16 th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab	Second Parliamentary Year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab	Percentage Change from the 5-Year Average of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab	Percentage Change from the First Parliamentary Year of the 16 th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab
1.	Total Sessions	9	8	6	Decrease by 33%	Decrease by 25%
2.	Number of Government Bills Passed	26.6	31	37	Increase by 39%	Increase by 19%
3.	Sittings	60.4	70	62	Increase by 3%	Decrease by 11%
4.	Working Hours per Sitting	3.42	3.05	2.6	Decrease by 24%	Decrease by 15%
5.	Total Working Days of the Budget Session	-	7	10	-	Increased by 43%
6.	Total Working Hours of the Budget Session	-	21	20.67	-	Decrease by 2%
7.	Resolutions Passed	34.6	48	46	Increase by 33%	Decrease by 4%
8.	Number of Sittings Attended by the Leader of the House (Chief Minister)	6	8	1	Decrease by 83%	Decrease by 88%
9.	Number of Sittings Attended by the Leader of the Opposition	-	40	16	-	Decrease by 60%

The Score Card on the Performance of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab: evaluated the overall performance of the Assembly at 42%, showing no significant change from the last time such a Score Card was released during the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab in 2011 when the overall score was 43%. The performance of the Assembly is the greatest in its Representativeness with a score of 53% and weakest in its Involvement in International Policy with Score of 35%. Under the parameters on Legislative Capacity, and Transparency and Accessibility, the Assembly has scored 44% each. It has received lower scores for its Oversight over the Executive at 39% and for its Accountability at 36%.

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Part 1: The 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab: Second Parliamentary Year: Basic Facts

After the General Election 2013, the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab began its first year of the 5-year constitutional term on June 01, 2013 and completed it on May 31, 2014. The second year of the Provincial Assembly of the Paujab started on June 01, 2014 and was concluded on May 31, 2015.

Party Distribution

The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab has the largest number of seats of legislators as compared to any other Provincial Assembly in the country. Totalling 371 seats; 294 are general seats, 66 seats are reserved for women, and 8 are reserved for non-Muslim minorities. By the conclusion of the second year there were 3 vacant seats. 21% of the MPAs are women, and 3% belong to religions besides Islam. Out of the 76 female MPAs, 10 female legislators were elected on general seats.

Leadership

The Speaker of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, Rana Muhammad Iqbal Khan, MPA (PP-184,

Punjab, PML-N) and, and Deputy Speaker, Sardar Sher Ali Gorchani, MPA (PP-248, Punjab, PML-N) were elected to their posts on June 03, 2013. Due to the resignation of Chaudhry Muhammad Sarwar Khan, former Governor of the Punjab, on January 29, 2015, the Speaker, Rana Muhammad Iqbal Khan, had to serve as Acting Governor till the appointment of a new Governor. As a result, Sardar Sher Ali Gorchani became the Acting Speaker of the Assembly. The new Governor, Mr. Rafique Rajwana was appointed on May 10, 2015. Therefore the Provincial Assembly was without a regular Speaker for four months.

Budget

The Provincial Assembly's budget for the fiscal year 2014-2015 was Rs. 1,069.62 million. In comparison, the Assembly budget for the fiscal year 2013-2014 had been Rs. 1,082.75 million. The Assembly's expenditure budget therefore decreased by 1%.

Composition of Assembly Secretariat:

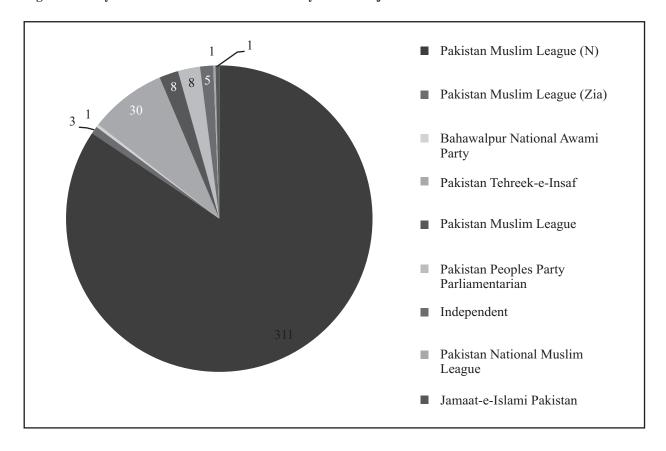
Total Posts:	800
Vacant Posts:	52
Occupied Posts:	748
BS 1-15 (non-gazetted):	613
BS 16-21 (gazetted):	135

Table 2: Party Position in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab at the end of Second Parliamentary Year

No.	Name of Party	Women (Reserved and Non-Reserved)	Non-Muslim (Reserved	Total
1.	Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz (PML-N)	65	10	311
2.	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)	7	1	30
3.	Pakistan Peoples Party – Parliamentarian (PPPP)	1	-	8
4.	Pakistan Muslim League (PML)	2	-	8
5.	Pakistan National Muslim League (PNML)	-	-	1
6.	Jamaat-e-Islami (JI)	-	-	1
7.	Pakistan Muslim League-Zia (PML-Z)	1	-	3
8.	Bahawalpur National Awami Party (BNAP)	-	-	1
9.	Independent (IND)	-	-	5
	Total	76	11	368

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Figure 1: Party Position in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab



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Part 2: Performance of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab: Second Parliamentary Year

Sittings

The number of sittings during which the Assembly met for the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab was 62. The number of sittings decreased by 11% from the first year when the number of times the Assembly met was 70.

The second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly performed better than the average of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. The sittings of the 15th Provincial Assembly were 60.4 on average per year. In this regard, the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly demonstrated an increase of 3% in the number of sittings.

Working Hours

The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab met for 2.63 hours per sitting in the Assembly during the second year. The working hours spent per sitting during the first year were 3.05 hours per sitting; therefore the

working hours per sitting have declined by 14%

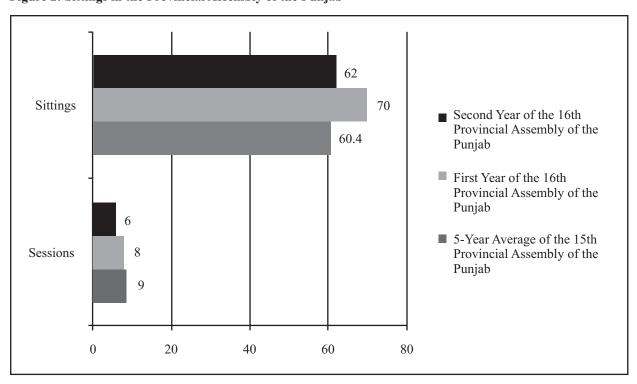
The second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab is worse off than the 5-year average of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. The 15th Assembly spent, 3.43 hours on average for each sitting per year. Therefore the number of hours spent per sitting has declined by 29% to the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly.

Attendance

The average attendance of the MPAs per sitting at the peak time was approximately 84.14 in the second year of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab saw the lowest peak average attendance of 23% of the total membership during the second year, followed by the KP Assembly at 29% (average attendance for the whole year), the Sindh Assembly at 42%, and the Balochistan Assembly, the highest at 58%.

What has been even poorer than the attendance of the membership of the Provincial Assembly has been the attendance of the leader of the house, the Chief Minister of the Punjab, Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif, MPA (PP-159, Punjab, PML-N). The Chief Minister





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attended only 1 sitting during the entire second year of the Provincial Assembly, approximately 1.6% of the total sittings. The Chief Minister's performance has deteriorated from the first year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab when he had attended 8 sittings out of 70, about 11% of the total. The attendance of the Chief Minister has declined by 88% from the first to the second year from 8 sittings to just 1. During the 5 years of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, the Chief Minister was present for 6 sittings on average per year, approximately 10% of the 60.4 sittings per year. From the 5-year average of the 15th Provincial Assembly, the attendance of the Chief Minister has declined by 83% from 6 to 1.

The Leader of the Opposition of the Punjab Assembly, Mian Mehmood ur Rashid, MPA, (PP-151, Punjab, PTI), performed slightly better by being present for 16 sittings, approximately 26% of the total in the second year. In comparison with his presence during the first year, his performance has declined by 24% when he was present for 40 out of 70 sittings (57% of the total for the first year)

The Assembly also witnessed long delays at the start of proceedings as compared to other Assemblies with an average delay of 72 minutes. The other Provincial Assemblies have witnessed shorter average delays ranging from 41.20 minutes in the Balochistan Assembly to 52.96 minutes in the Sindh Assembly.

Relations between the Treasury and the Opposition were strained during the second year as the Assembly witnessed 18 walkouts in 62 sittings. In the previous year, the Assembly had witnessed 14 walkouts in 70 sittings.

The Assembly also witnessed long delays at the start of proceedings as compared to other Assemblies with an average delay of 72 minutes. The other Provincial Assemblies have witnessed shorter average delays ranging from 41.20 minutes in the Balochistan Assembly to 52.96 minutes in the Sindh Assembly

Legislation

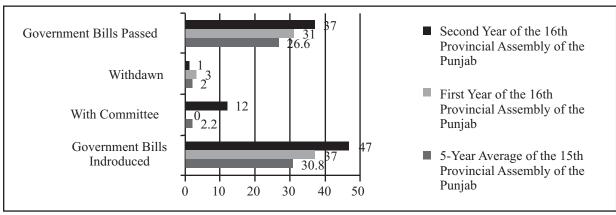
Government Bills

During the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, a total of 47 Government Bills were introduced of which 37 were passed. Therefore 79% of the Government Bills introduced were passed.

In comparison, during the first year of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, 37 Government Bills were introduced of which 31 were ultimately passed (84% of those introduced). The number of Government Bills introduced increased by 27% from 37 in the first year to 47 in the second year. The number of Government Bills passed meanwhile increased by 19% from 31 in the first year to 37 in the second year.

The performance of the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly also improved in comparison





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with the 5-year average of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. The legislators of the 15th Assembly introduced 30.8 Government Bills on average per year. Therefore, 53% more Government Bills were introduced in comparison with the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly when 47 bills were introduced.

The 15th Assembly passed 26.6 Government Bills on average per year, about 83% of those introduced. The number of Government Bills passed by the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab were 39% more that the 26.6 bills passed per year in the 5 years of the 15th Assembly.

Private Members' Bills

The total number of Private Members' Bills filed in the second year was 5, of which 1 was admitted for introduction and sent to a Committee, but none was passed. In contrast, during the first year, 13 Private Members' Bills were submitted of which one was admitted for introduction and sent to the Committee. However, none was passed. The number of Private Members' Bills submitted declined by 62% over the two years from 13 to 5.

10.8 Private Members' Bills on were submitted on average per year during the 5 years of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. Therefore there

was a decline in the submission of bills from the 15th Assembly to the second year of the 16th Assembly by 54% to 5.

Ordinances

During the second year, 5 ordinances were laid. In comparison, during the first year, 10 ordinances were laid. This shows a decrease by 50% from the previous year of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.

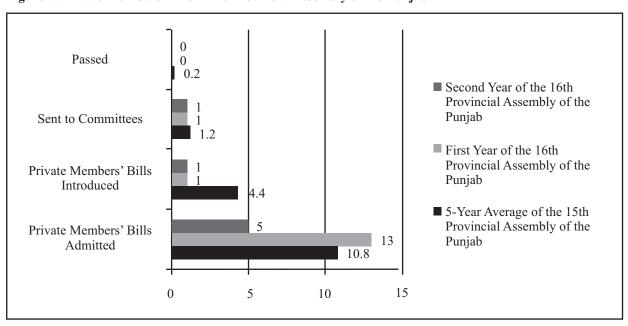
On the other hand, an average of 4 ordinances were laid per year during the 5-year average of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab indicating an increase of 25% from the 15th Assembly to the second year of the 16th Assembly.

Given that ordinances are seen to be less democratic than the introduction and passing of laws, it is a positive indication that there has been a decrease in the number of ordinances issued from the first to the second year of the 16th Assembly.

Questions

One of the key functions of the legislature is oversight of executive. This oversight function of the Assembly by its own members is often carried out through the Question Hour. A total of 2846 questions were received during the second year of Provincial Assembly, of which 1957 were admitted and 1497 were answered,





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about 53% of the total received.

In comparison, during the first year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of Punjab, 4724 questions were received, of which 2817 were admitted and 1210 were answered. In this case however, 25% of all questions filed were answered.

The drop in the submission of questions from the first to the second year by 40% from 4724 to 2846 is significant as it depicts an unwelcome decrease in the interest of Members of the Provincial Assembly. On the other hand, the percentage of questions that were answered increased from 25% to 53%, an improvement of 28 percentage points.

In the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, 2616.2 questions were received on average per year. Of these, 2193 were admitted, and 1399 garnered a response (53% of those received). Therefore the number of questions filed increased into the second year of the 16th Assembly by 9%. Of the questions that were answered there was no change between the two terms, with the percentage being 53% of the total for both tenures.

Resolutions

During the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, 460 notices of resolutions were received of which 212 or 46% were admitted. 46 resolutions were passed, about 10% of those received.

In comparison, during the previous year of the Assembly, there had been 580 notices of resolutions of which 157 or 27% were admitted. The Provincial Assembly passed 8% of the total, or 48 resolutions.

As a result there was a decrease in the number of resolutions introduced by 21% from 580 in the first year to 460 in the second year. The number of resolutions passed declined by 4% from 48 in the first year to 46 in the second year.

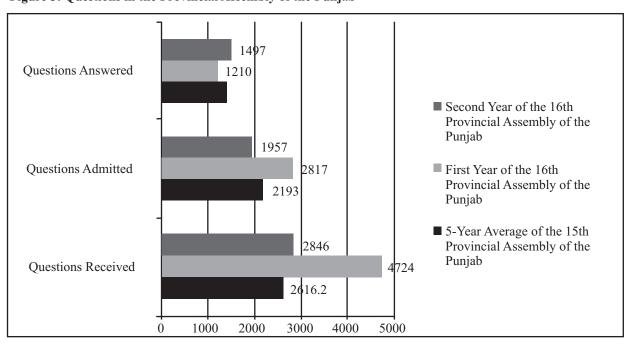
Over the 5 years of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, an average of 625.6 resolutions were received per year. Therefore registering a decrease of 26% from the first to the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly when 460 resolutions were filed. 350.8 or 56% of the resolutions received in the 5 years were admitted, and 34.6 were passed per year on average (6% of the total received).

Therefore, the number of resolutions passed actually increased by 33% from 34.6 in the 15th Provincial Assembly to 46 in the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.

Calling Attention Notices

The 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab received a total of 233 Calling Attention Notices during the second year, of which 134 were admitted, and 29 or 12% of the total were answered.

Figure 5: Questions in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab



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There was a demonstrated decrease from the previous year of the Assembly during which 686 notices had been received, of which 479 had been admitted. The Assembly answered 52 Calling Attention Notices, 8% of those received.

Calling Attention Notices received decreased from the first to the second year by 66% from 686 to 244. However, the increase in responsiveness from 8% to 12% is an improvement of 4 percentage points.

294.6 Calling Attention Notices were received on average per year over the 5 years of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. Therefore, there was a decrease in those received by 21% to 233 in the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. Meanwhile, of these, 184.4 per year were admitted and an average of 29.6 garnered responses (10% of those received).

The decrease in the number of the Calling Attention Notices answered from the 15th Provincial Assembly average to the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly is of 2 percentage points from the 10% in the former to 8% in the latter.

Privilege Motions

43 Privilege Motions were received during the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab of which 28 were admitted and 25 were referred to a Committee, about 58% of the total.

The number of Privilege Motions received decreased by 22% from the first year when 55 had been received. In the first year, 33 had been admitted of which 20 were referred to Committees: 36% of the total received. There was an improvement in the number of Privilege Motions that were referred ahead by 22 percentage points from the first to the second year (36% to 58%).

Privilege Motions received decreased by 57% from the

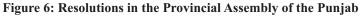
During the second year of the 16th
Provincial Assembly of the
Punjab, 1019 adjournment
motions were received, which is a
42% decrease in adjournment
motions received from the first
year when 1743 were received. It
is also a decrease of 21% from
the 1298 adjournment motions
received on average during the 5
years of the 15th Provincial
Assembly of the Punjab

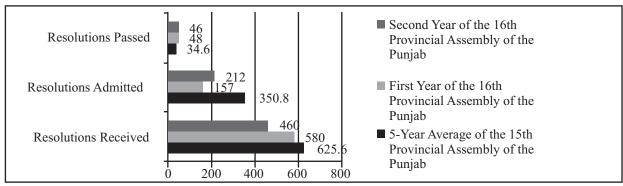
15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab when 99.8 motions had been submitted on average per year. Of the 99.8 motions received on average per year, 53 were admitted and 21.2 on average were referred ahead to Committees for further action, about 21% of the total. In terms of the percentage addressed by the Provincial Assembly, there was an improvement between the 15th Provincial Assembly to the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly by 37 percentage points, from 21% to 58%.

Adjournment Motions

During the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, 1019 Adjournment Motions were received, which is a 42% decrease in Adjournment Motions received from the first year when 1743 were received. It is also a decrease of 21% from the 1298 Adjournment Motions received on average during the 5 years of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.

In the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of





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the Punjab, of the 1019 Adjournment Motions filed, 399 were admitted at 39%, while 68 lapsed (7% of the total). In comparison, during the first year, of the 1743 Adjournment Motions received, 400 were admitted at 23% of total and 214 lapsed (12%). In the second year the percentage of those admitted from the total received was 16 percentage points higher from 23% to 39%.

29% of the total 1298 Adjournment Motions, or 377 were admitted in the 5-year average of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. Of these 244.4 lapsed on average per year at 19% of the total. There was an improvement in the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab by 10 percentage points from 29% to 39%, and a reduction in the percentage lapsed from the 15th Provincial Assembly by 12 percentage points.

Budget

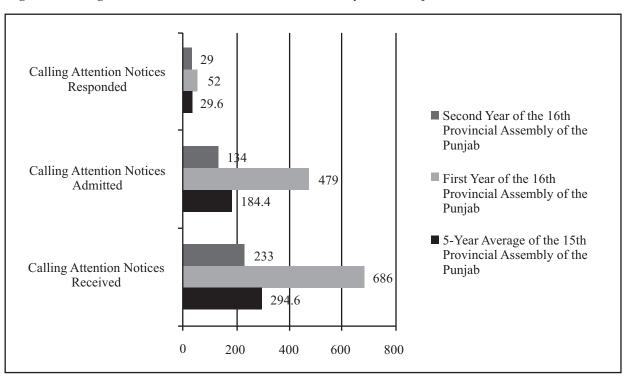
A total of 10 sittings were devoted to discussing Provincial Budget for the year 2014-2015 with 20.67 hours of the session spent on the Budget. On average, the legislators spent 2.07 hours per sitting on the budget.

In comparison, during the first year of the Provincial Assembly, the budget was discussed over the course of

7 days, and for a total of 21 hours. Therefore the legislators spent 3 hours per sitting discussing the Provincial Budget for the fiscal year 2013 - 2014.

The number of days may have increased by 43% from 7 to 10 on the budget, however the real indicator in this case is the amount of time spent on the budget, which showed a marginal decline of 2% from 21 to 20.67 hours in the second year.

Figure 7: Calling Attention Notices in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab



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Figure 8: Privilege Motions in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab

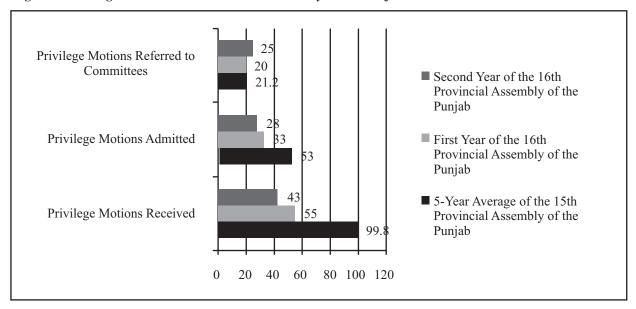
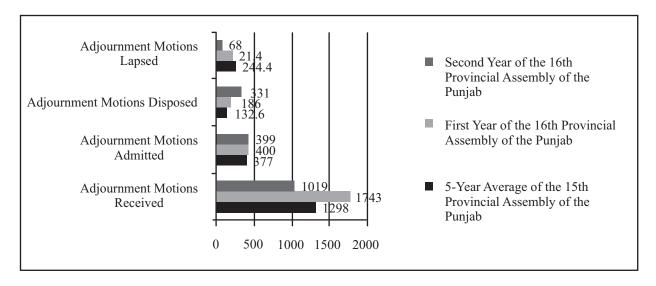


Figure 9: Adjournment Motions in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab



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Part 3: Strategic Analysis

Legislation

The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab passed 37 laws during the second year of the 16th Assembly, 79% of the 47 Government Bills that were introduced.

Education

Education was one of the most heavily debated topics for the entire second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, under which the **Free and Compulsory Education Bill** became an Act in November 2014 to provide for free and compulsory education to all children between the ages of five to sixteen. The law covers non-formal and vocational education, and defines the role of private educational institutions in regard to free education. It also calls for penalising parents who do not send their children to school without a legitimate reason.

The Assembly also passed **Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board Bill, 2015** on February 23, 2015, to regulate the printing and publication of textbooks, newspapers and any other reading material to be used in schools. Under this law no person can sell or proscribe in an institution any text book or supplementary material without the approval of publishers.

Security

A number of laws passed during the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab were directly related to security of the province. The Assembly promulgated the **Punjab Strategic Coordination Ordinance**, 2014 on June 24, 2014, to establish a security council for coordination with the Centre, and Federal and military agencies to counter terrorism in the Punjab.

In the aftermath of the Peshawar Attack on December 16, 2014, that claimed the lives of almost 150 citizens, most of whom were children, a series of bills were passed to heighten security of the Punjab. On March 04, 2015, the Assembly passed the **Punjab Information of Temporary Residents Bill 2015** to provide for sharing of information of tenants and other temporary residents in order to combat terrorism and other crimes.

The Punjab Arms (Amendment) Bill 2015, the Punjab Criminal Prosecution Service (Constitution, Functions and Powers)

Education was one of the most heavily debated topics for the entire second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, under which the Free and Compulsory Education Bill became an Act in November 2014 to provide for free and compulsory education to all children between the ages of five to sixteen

(Amendment) Bill 2015, the Punjab Maintenance Of Public Order (Amendment) Bill 2015, the Punjab Sound Systems (Regulation) Bill 2015, and the Punjab Security Of Vulnerable Establishments Bill 2015 were all passed during a sitting on March 06, 2015. While the former three were amendments to existing laws, the Punjab Sound Systems (Regulation) Bill 2015 is a new law that regulates the use of sound systems in the province for the interest of the environment, and also for "prevention of incitement to terrorism." The Punjab Security Of Vulnerable Establishments Bill 2015 calls for effective security arrangements of vulnerable establishments in order to combat terrorism and other crimes

During the sittings of the Assembly, security became a very heated subject for the legislators not just in regards to terrorism from militant outfits but from the break down of law and order within the province itself. The Model Town Incident, the suicide bombing of two Churches in Youhanabad, and the lynching of a Christian couple in Kot Radha Krishan were just a few of the incidents of the poor law and order situation in the Punjab. The Home Minister, Col. (Retd.) Shuja Khanzada, MPA (PP-16, Punjab, PML-N) came under severe criticism during Assembly sittings for poor law and order in the province and the suspicious tactics of Punjab police. During a sitting on May 22, 2015, Mr. Khanzada responded to the criticism by acknowledging the growth in crime and stated that the Punjab police was being reformed and depoliticized to be more effective in the future.

^{2.} For details, please see 'Report of the Standing Committee on Local Government and Rural Development Regarding the Punjab Local Government (Third Amendment) Bill 2014 (Bill No. 34of 2014), Provincial Assembly of the Punjab Website, as accessed at PAP: http://www.pap.gov.pk/uploads/reports/16-lg-34-2014.pdf

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Local Government

The Local Government elections in the Punjab province are scheduled to be held on September 20, 2015. The Local Government Bill, passed in 2013, has been amended three times and its latest version, the **Punjab Local Government (Third Amendment) Bill 2014** was passed on January 05, 2014. In section 6 of the existing law, the amendment was made to allow the Government with the concurrence of the Election Commission to "alter the limits of a local area under this section after the initiation of proceedings of delimitation of constituencies by the Election Commission but the Government shall not alter the limits after the announcement of election schedule for election in the area."

Poverty

On February 12, 2015, the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab passed the **Punjab Social Protection Authority Bill 2015** to provide for the establishment of the Punjab Social Protection Authority. This Authority will be tasked with implementing a social protection system for the poor and vulnerable citizens of the Punjab. The Authority will formulate and execute policies for social protection, such as the provision of food, education, health, social assistance, and social inclusion.

Representativeness of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab: Issues of Public Importance

According to a nation-wide public opinion poll conducted by PILDAT on the Quality of Governance in Pakistan, June 2013-May 2014, 5 major issues confronting the province, as identified by the respondents, were:

Unemployment, identified as another pressing issue by the public, was also not discussed with required focus. Punjab legislators discussed the employment of marginalized groups including members from the transgender community and minorities

- 1. Energy (for 37% of the Respondents)
- 2. Inflation (for 26% of the Respondents)
- 3. Unemployment (for 16% of the Respondents)
- 4. Security (for 6% of the Respondents)
- 5. Corruption (for 5% of the Respondents)

Even though energy was considered the biggest issue by 37% of the respondents, the Assembly did not devote much time to it in proposing reforms to resolve the public issue. Energy crisis of the Punjab was referred to during a debate on the Kalabagh Dam by the legislators. For instance, during a sitting on March 4, 2015, Dr. Syed Waseem Akhtar, MPA (PP-271, Punjab, JI) put forward the subject of the construction of the Kalabagh Dam to resolve energy shortage in the entire country, and asked the Government if it had any plans for raising the matter in the Council of Common Interests. During the debate that followed, Malik Mazhar Abbas Raan, MPA (PP-201, Punjab, PML-N) recommended that the Government form a Committee under the Chief Justice of Pakistan with chief justices of all the four federating units, and all the provincial assemblies as well as one water expert from each province to develop a plan to construct the dam. Government representatives responded that the Chief Minister of the Punjab would have to take the initiative to create consensus between the provinces.

With reference to the problem of inflation as identified by citizens, it did not receive required attention in the Assembly.

Unemployment, identified as another pressing issue by the public, was also not discussed with required focus. Punjab legislators discussed the employment of marginalized groups including members from the transgender community and minorities. During a Question Hour of a sitting held on February 16, 2015, the Assembly was informed by the Minister for Human Rights and Minorities, Mr. Khalil Tahir Sindhu, MPA (NM-364, Punjab, PML-N) that no quota had been fixed for members of the transgender community in Government posts because their registered number was not that high to qualify for one. The reason for this is that no census has been held in Pakistan since 1998; hence the Government cannot determine the portion of reserved jobs required for transgender persons. The House was informed during the Question Hour that a 5% quota had been reserved for non-Muslims for Government jobs.

Security, however, figured into the debate and in legislation in the Assembly. Given the security issues faced by the province and the country, the legislators discussed their shared outrage over the Model Town

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Incident, and later the Peshawar Attack.

No legislation was passed to address the problem of corruption in the Punjab, which was seen as the greatest problem in the Punjab by 5% of the respondents. Members did raise the various incidents of corruption within Government departments. During a sitting on March 02, 2015, Mian Tahir Pervez, MPA (PP-69, Punjab, PML-N) alleged that corruption existed in the Agriculture Department of the Punjab. In response to the allegations, Acting Speaker, Sardar Sher Ali Gorchani, MPA directed the Provincial Minister to investigate and submit a report on allegations of corruption in the Agriculture Department.

PTI Protests

In the aftermath of the General Election of 2013, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) alleged the elections had been rigged and demanded the resignations of the Prime Minister, Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, MNA (NA-120, Punjab, PML-N), and the Chief Minister of the Punjab, Mr. Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif, MPA (PP-159, Punjab, PML-N).

On August 27, 2014, legislators from the PTI tendered their resignations to the Speaker of the Provincial Assembly and did not attend any sitting for the period from August 27, 2014 when they submitted their resignations to April 05, 2015 when they returned to the Assembly. Given that the legislators of the PTI are the second largest party in the Provincial Assembly and lead the Opposition under Mian Mehmood ur Rashid, MPA (PP-151, Punjab, PTI), this was a major setback as the Treasury dominated the proceedings for most of the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab in the absence of the Opposition.

The resignations of the PTI legislators were not accepted by the Speaker of the Assembly, Rana Muhammad Iqbal, MPA (PP-184, Punjab, PML-N), who stated that to do so, the MPAs would have to meet him individually. This did not come about as the PTI MPAs preferred to see him in a group.

Model Town Incident

On June 17, 2014, there was a clash between Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) Protestors and the Punjab Police, which resulted in 11 deaths and over 100 injured.³ The 9th Session was dominated by protests of the Members of the Opposition against police brutality in the Punjab. On June 25, 2014, the Opposition

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demanded the resignation of the Chief Minister as the responsible person. On June 29, 2014 the Leader of the Opposition, Mian Mehmood ur Rashid led a walkout from the Assembly after being denied permission to raise the issue on the Assembly floor.

Broken Quorums

The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab suffered broken quorums and premature adjournments throughout the year disrupting the proceedings of the Assembly. Often a Minister would be required to be present to answer the questions of MPAs and would not be. For instance, on April 01, 2015 the Acting Law Minister, Mian Mujtaba Shuja-ur-Rehman, MPA (PP-141, Punjab, PML-N) was absent on Private Members' Day. On this occasions, Acting Speaker, Sardar Sher Ali Gorchani remarked "I was also member of this House in last term, I never saw such attitude from the Ministers, I regret to say that agenda of the House couldn't be completed due to the absence of Law Minister who, according to rules, has to respond to the resolutions on Private Members Day."

Resolutions

A series of resolutions were passed during the second year, about 46 out of the 460 that were filed by the MPAs. According to the National Assembly Rules of Procedure, resolutions directed by the Provincial Assemblies to the centre will be "laid on the Table" and "circulated to the members for information" (Chapter XVII Article 175). No follow up action is required in the rules for such resolutions other than the fact that it may be brought to the notice of Members on its receipt.

- 3. For details, please see 'Rana Sanaullah back as Punjab law minister, DAWN, May 29, 2015, as accessed at DAWN: http://www.dawn.com/news/1184972
- 4. For details, please see 'Law minister's absence mars agenda of Private Members Day', The News, April 01, 2015, as accessed at The News: http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-2-310121-Law-ministers-absence-mars-agenda-of-Private-Members-Day

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It is unfortunate that no substantial follow up report or action is mandated in the rules for key resolutions that are passed by the Provincial Assembly.

Another resolution requiring some form of action to be taken was a resolution seeking effective legislation to discourage underage marriages. The resolution was moved by Ms. Azma Zahid Bukhari, MPA (W-318, Punjab, PML-N) and was unanimously passed on December 23, 2014.

A series of resolutions were passed by the MPAs of the Provincial Assembly to voice their opinion over key issues. For instance, on October 22, 2014, the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab unanimously adopted a resolution to condemn Indian aggression on the Line of Control. The resolution was moved by Acting Law Minister, Mian Mujtaba Shuja ur Rehman, MPA (PP-141, Punjab, PML-N). During the same sitting, the Assembly also congratulated Ms. Malala Yusufzai for earning the Nobel Peace Prize 2014 and passed a resolution in support of her.

Exactly one day after the Peshawar Attack, on December 17, 2014, the MPAs passed a resolution condemning the killings. The resolution stated that religious and political parties should join hands and support Operation Zarb-e-Azab.

On March 27, 2015, the Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution to condemn the March 15, 2015 suicide bombing in two churches in Youhanabad as well as the lynching of two Muslims by a mob. The resolution was presented by Mian Mujtaba Shuja ur Rehman following suspension of the Assembly's rules of business, and was unanimously passed by the House.

During the second year of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, two resolutions were unanimously passed that had to be deferred after their passage once MPAs identified weaknesses or contradictions in them. For instance, on May 19, 2015, a resolution was passed demanding that the Government ensure a vaccine against diseases caused by polluted water in the province. After the adoption of the resolution, Mian Muhammad Aslam Iqbal, MPA (PP-148, Punjab, PTI) identified the problem of the lack of availability of relevant vaccines in the local market. The Acting Speaker stated "the resolution would only be operative if such a vaccination is available, or he should have

pointed it out before the adoption of the resolution." Ms. Nighat Sheikh, MPA (W-347, Punjab, PML-N) had moved the resolution.

On the same day a resolution was moved by Dr. Syed Waseem Akhter demanding that the municipal, union and district councils spend 3% of their income on libraries and that rules should be amended to regulate the services of those working in libraries. After the resolution was passed, members of the Opposition noted the absurdity of a legislative body recommending legislative agenda for itself. It was agreed by the legislators that the Assembly should legislate, and not adopt a resolution for itself. In response to the criticism this resolution was deferred.

MPAs Complain against "Incorrect" Responses in **Question Hour**

In the second year, MPAs complained that the Ministers and Government Representatives were often found to come unprepared or with what they termed incomplete information to Assembly sittings. For instance, during the sitting on February 23, 2015, legislators from Treasury and Opposition objected to what was termed as "incorrect" or "incomplete" replies to the questions posed to the Education Department. In the absence of Minister for Education, Rana Mashhood Ahmad Khan, MPA (PP-149, Punjab, PML-N), the Parliamentary Secretary for Higher Education, Ms. Mehwish Sultana, MPA (W-309, Punjab, PML-N) gave what MPAs termed as incomplete and allegedly incorrect responses. Acting Speaker, Sardar Sher Ali Gorchani, MPA, censured the Parliamentary Secretaries for Schools and Education for failing to give satisfactory answers on the state of public schools in the province. As the Ministry representatives were not able to answer the queries of MPAs, the Acting Speaker ruled that the questions remained pending and sent them to the Standing Committee on Education for inquiry.

Parliamentary Calendar

PILDAT has been recommending to each Legislature to adopt Parliamentary Calendars. This would determine the days of the year during which sittings can be held in light of National and Provincial Holidays. A Parliamentary Calendar helps not only the Members of the Assembly but also the media, members of the civil society, and all those individuals who wish to engage with the Assembly business in organizing their activities. Though the Assembly did not create a

- 6. For details, please see 'Tough day' for parliamentary secretary in PA session', DAWN, February 24, 2015, as accessed at DAWN: http://www.dawn.com/news/1165523
- 7. For details, please see 'PA sessions to be held every month except July', Pakistan Today, April 23, 2015, as accessed at Pakistan Today: http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2015/04/23/city/lahore/pa-sessions-to-be-held-every-month-except-july/

PILDAT Score Card

16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab The Second Parliamentary Year

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calendar for the second year of the Provincial Assembly, it has developed one for the upcoming third year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. Law Minister, Rana Sana Ullah, MPA, headed a Committee, which finalized the calendar for Assembly sessions and gave recommendation for its approval. The Parliamentary Calendar has been made part of the Punjab Assembly rolls of business though it has not been uploaded on the Punjab Assembly website.⁷

^{7.} For details, please see 'PA sessions to be held every month except July', Pakistan Today, April 23, 2015, as accessed at Pakistan Today: http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2015/04/23/city/lahore/pa-sessions-to-be-held-every-month-except-july/

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Part 4: Evaluation of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab: Second Parliamentary Year using the IPU Toolkit

The 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab has received an over all score of **42%** for its performance in the second Parliamentary year. PILDAT conducted the same exercise to assess the performance of the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, which registered an overall score of **43%**. Therefore over the two terms, there has been a marginal decline of **1 percentage point** with regards to performance.

The Provincial Assembly received its highest score of 53% under the parameter on *Representativeness*, in which it has improved by 3 percentage points from the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab when it had received a score of 50%.

The weakest aspect of the Assembly's performance has been under the parameter on *Involvement in International Policy*, for which it has registered a score of 35%. However, the performance under this parameter has improved by 3 percentage points from the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab when the score was 32%.

There has been marginal improvement of 1 percentage Point under the parameter on *Oversight over the Executive* from 38% in the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab to 39% in the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.

There has been no improvement between the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly and the second year of

There has been marginal improvement of 1 percentage point under the parameter on Oversight over the Executive from 38% in the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab to 39% in the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab

the 16th Provincial Assembly under the parameter on *Legislative Capacity* for which the Assembly has received consecutive scores of 44%.

On the other hand, there has been a **7-percentage point** decline under the parameter on *Transparency and Accessibility* from **51%** in the third year of the 15th Assembly to **44%** in the second year of the 16th Assembly.

The Assembly's *Accountability* has also declined by 2 *percentage points* from 38% in the third year of the 15th Assembly to 36% in the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.

Objective of the Evaluation

PILDAT is an independent, non-partisan think tank dedicated to strengthening of democracy and democratic institutions in Pakistan. PILDAT focuses on National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies for the capacity building of MPAs, the Committees, and the Legislature as a whole as an institution. As part of this endeavour, a diverse and representative group of experts were invited to score key areas of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. The expert Evaluation Group scored the Assembly's performance based on the areas and sub-areas identified in the Inter-Parliamentary Union's (IPU) Evaluation Framework.

The objective of the evaluation is not only to assess the performance of the Assembly, but also to identify where it is performing well and where is performing poorly, which in in turn will help the Assembly, its members, leadership and the Secretariat to set a reform process. The effort is not meant to criticise the Assembly, rather it aims assist the institution to further improve and strengthen in future.

PILDAT had undertaken a similar exercise in 2011 and invited an Evaluation Group of Members of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab along with other political experts on Punjab to score the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly. As a continuation of this exercise, PILDAT invited current and former legislators from all the 6 legislatures along with other experts to collaboratively engage and analyze the performances of the National and Provincial legislatures and assign their scores on each Assembly.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)

The Score Card has been developed using an Evaluation Framework developed by the Inter-

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Parliamentary Union (IPU), an international organization of parliaments from 166 countries including Pakistan. The IPU developed this Evaluation Framework in 2008 for elected representatives to assess the performance of their own parliaments against an internationally recognized criterion for democratic legislatures.

The Evaluation Framework is designed to assist legislators in identifying priorities and thus developing ways to strength their legislatures. Drawing extensively from the International Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IIDEA) State of Democracy Assessment methodology, the IPU has developed this framework or self-assessment toolkit.

Questions and Topics in the Evaluation Framework

The IPU defines a democratic Legislature as the one that is:

- Representative
- Transparent
- Accessible
- Accountable
- Effective

The Evaluation Framework consists of a set of questions that covers these crucial aspects of a democratic legislature. The method of evaluation involves answering the questions that relates to the nature and work of the legislature concerned. These questions, 44 in total and called sub-areas, are grouped under the following six areas:

- 1. The Representativeness of the Legislature
- 2. Parliamentary Oversight over the Executive
- 3. The Legislative Capacity
- 4. The Transparency and Accessibility of the Legislature
- 5. The Accountability of the Legislature
- Effectiveness of the Legislature's Involvement in International Policy

The evaluation is based on value judgments of how the legislature, in this case the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, is being measured against each of the parameter. It is very likely that an Assembly may not attain the highest score for every question since all the parameters, for instance democracy, can always be further improved.

PILDAT assembled a representative and diverse Evaluation Group to assign scores against the questions under each parameter, on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1

representing the minimum score and 5 representing the maximum. PILDAT calculated an average of the scores assigned by the evaluators and converted the scores to percentages for further simplification.

The Evaluation Group

The Evaluation Group consisted of a representative and diverse group of current and former parliamentarians from the National, and all four Provincial Assemblies, eminent lawyers, and media persons. The group consisted of politicians had diverse political affiliations: 3 members from the PTI, 2 from PML-N, 2 from PPPP, 1 from PML, 1 from QWP, 1 from JUI-F, and 1 Independent elected official.

Members of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab

- Ms. Nabila Hakim Ali, MPA, (W-358, Punjab, PTI)
- 2. **Dr. Murad Rass**, MPA, (PP-152, Punjab, PTI)
- Mr. Qazi Adnan Fareed, MPA, (PP-268, Punjab, PML-N)
- 4. **Engr. Qamar Islam Raja**, MPA, (PP-5, Punjab, PML-N)

Current and Former Members of the Remaining Legislatures

- 1. **Mr. Aslam Bhootani**, Former MPA, Former Speaker of the Provincial Assembly of Balochistan
- 2. **Mr. Wazir Jogezai**, Former MNA, Former Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan
- 3. **Syed Naveed Qamar Shah**, MNA, (NA-222, Sindh, PPPP)
- 4. **Mr. Shafqat Mahmood**, MNA, (NA-126, Punjab, PTI)
- 5. **Senator Mohsin Leghari**, Senate of Pakistan, IND
- 6. **Ms. Anisa Zeb Tahirkheli**, MPA, (WR-18, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, QWP)
- 7. **Mr. Muhammad Asmatullah**, MPA, (PK-62, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, JUI-F)

Lawyers, Media Persons, and Political Analysts

- 1. **Mr. Shahid Hamid**, Senior Advocate Supreme Court; Former Governor of the Punjab
- 2. **Mr. Hamid Mir**, Anchor, Geo TV
- 3. Mr. Farrukh Khan Pitafi, Anchor, PTV World
- 4. **Mr. Khawar Ghumman**, Parliamentary Correspondent, Daily Dawn
- 5. Mr. Ahmed Bilal Mehboob, President, PILDAT
- 6. **Ms. Aasiya Riaz**, Joint Director, PILDAT.

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The Evaluation Results

Overall the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab has received a score of **42%**. This is a

marginal decline from the overall score of **43%** in the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab; therefore the performance over this period has remained more or less stagnant.

Figure 10: Overall and Area-wise Evaluation Scores

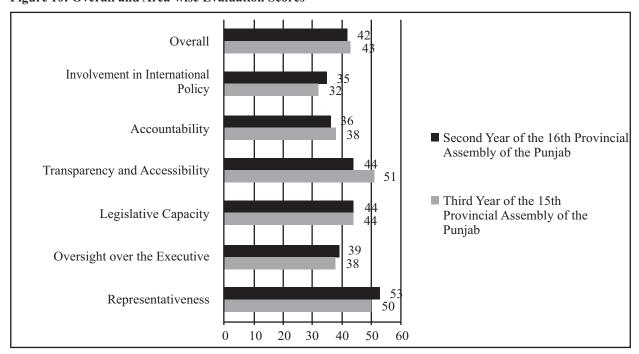
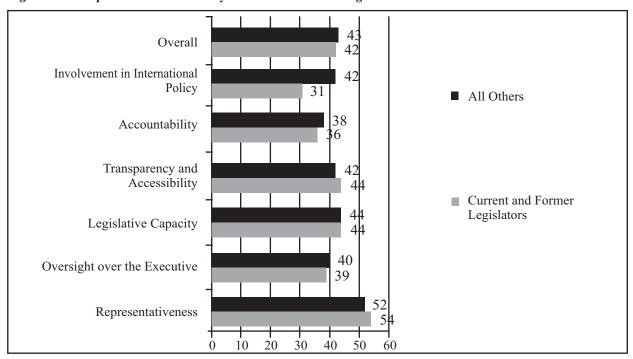


Figure 11: Comparative Evaluation by Current & Former Legislators and Others



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Analysis of the Evaluation Scores in Each of the Six Areas

1. The Representativeness of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab

The representatives of the Assembly was evaluated against the following Nine (9) sub-areas:

- i. Diversity of Representation
- ii. Women's Representation
- iii. Representation of Marginalized Groups and Regions
- iv. Electability of a Person of Average Means
- v. Internal Party Arrangements to Ensure Balance Representation
- vi. Freedom to the Opposition
- vii. Infrastructure of the Provincial Assembly
- viii. Freedom and Security for Dissenting Members
- ix. Assembly's Effectiveness for Debate on Questions of Public Concern

The strongest aspect of the Representativeness of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab is its Diversity of Representation

The Provincial Assembly has received the highest score in any sub-parameter for adequately *representing the diversity of political opinion* in the country at 69%. The Assembly has also improved by 5 percentage points from the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly under this parameter.

The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab has shown the greatest improvement for *effectiveness for debate on Questions of public concern* by 12 percentage points from 46% in the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab to 58% in the second year of

The Provincial Assembly has received the highest score in any sub-parameter for adequately representing the diversity of political opinion in the country at 69%. The Assembly has also improved by 5 percentage points from the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly under this parameter

the 16th Provincial Assembly.

The weakest aspect of Representativeness: Electability of a Person of Average Means

However, the Assembly has failed in the sub-parameter asking whether *a person of average means can be elected* to the Assembly with a score of only 33%.

Under the parameter on Representativeness, the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly has declined by 5 percentage points for the *representation of marginalized groups and regions* from 51% in the third year of the 15th Assembly to 46% in the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.

The overall score for the Representativeness of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab

The second year of the 16th Provincial assembly of the Punjab has scored very well on *representativeness* with a score of 53%, the highest score in all the parameters. In this regard, it has also surpassed the score of the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab by 3 percentage points from 50%.

Currently and former legislators have scored the performance of the Assembly under this parameter at **54%** while remaining members of the Evaluation Group have assigned a lower score of **52%**.

2. Effectiveness of the Provincial Assembly's Oversight over the Executive

Within the parameter of Effectiveness of Oversight over the Executive, there were 8 sub-parameters, namely:

- i. Procedures
- ii. Effectiveness
- iii. The Budget Process
- iv. Scrutiny of Executive Appointments
- v. Ability to hold non-elected public bodies accountable
- vi. Autonomy of the Assembly
- vii. Expertise on Professional Staff
- viii. Research Facilities

The strongest aspect of the Provincial Assembly's performance is its Procedures

However the Assembly registered a high score of **51%** for having *systematic procedures* whereby information can be acquired from the executive. The Assembly, however, has only improved by 1 percentage point under this sub-parameter from the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, when it received a

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score of 50%.

The greatest improvement however has been under the parameter on *autonomy of the Assembly*, by 19 percentage points from the third year of the 15th Assembly when the score was **35%** to the second year of the 16th Assembly when the score was **54%**.

The weakest aspect of the Provincial Assembly's Oversight over the Executive: Scrutiny of Executive Appointments

The Provincial assembly received a low score of **28%** for its *scrutiny over appointments to executive posts* and the accountability of occupants. This is the lowest score received by the Assembly under any subparameter.

The performance of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab has declined by 5 percentage points for its *budget process* from 39% in the third year of the 15th Assembly to 34% in the second year of the 16th Assembly.

Overall effectiveness of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab in Oversight over the Executive

The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab received a low score in the third year of the 15th Assembly with a score of **38%**, and the performance has remained low into the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab with a score of **39%**.

Current and former legislators assigned a score of **39%** to the Provincial Assembly under this parameter while remaining members of the Evaluation Group assigned a marginally higher score of **40%** to the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.

3. Effectiveness of the Legislative Capacity of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab

Effectiveness of the Legislative Capacity of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab was evaluated in the following seven sub-areas:

- i. Procedures for Full and Open Debates
- ii. Effectiveness of Committees to Amend Draft Legislation
- Procedure to Consult Various Interest Groups on Legislation
- iv. Facilities to Introduce Private Members' Bills
- v. Effectiveness of the Assembly in Ensuring Quality of the Passed Legislation
- vi. Conformity of Legislation to the Constitution
- vii. Incorporation of Gender Equality Perspective in

Assembly Working

The strongest aspect of the effectiveness of the Legislative Capacity of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab is for the Conformity of Legislation to the Constitution

The Assembly received a score of 51% for ensuring that the legislation that is enacted is *consistent with the Constitution and the human rights of the population*.

The Assembly improved by 3 percentage points in the sub-parameters on the *effectiveness of committees to amend draft legislation*, and the *facilities to introduce Private Members' Bills*, both of which had received scores of 42% in the third year of the 15th Assembly, and 45% in the second year of the 16th Assembly.

The weakest aspect of the effectiveness of the legislative capacity of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab: Procedure to Consult Various Interest Groups on Legislation

The Assembly has performed poorly on its *procedures* for consultation with relevant groups during legislation with a score of 35%.

The performance of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab has declined by 4 percentage points in having weak *procedures for full and open debates* from 46% in the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly to 42% in the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.

The overall effectiveness of the Legislative Capacity of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab

The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab's performance has remained exactly at 44% from the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly to the second year of the 16th Provincial.

Legislators as well as the remaining members of the Evaluation Group have assigned the same score of 44% to the Provincial Assembly for its legislative capacity,

4. The Transparency and Accessibility of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab

There were a total of seven questions to evaluate the transparency and accessibility of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. The questions related to the following aspects:

- i. Media Access to the Assembly
- ii. Freedom of Journalists to Cover the Assembly

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- Proceedings
- iii. Communication with the General Public
- iv. Ability to Attract Youth to the Assembly's Work
- v. Channels of Direct Communication by the People to the Members of the Assembly
- vi. Availability of Channels of Communication with the Assembly to Civil Society Groups
- vii. Opportunity to Citizens' Direct Involvement in Legislation

The strongest aspect of the transparency and accessibility of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab: Freedom to journalists to cover the Assembly proceedings

The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab was assigned a high score of 72% for the *freedom given to journalists* to cover the Assembly proceedings. However, the performance of the Assembly actually declined under this sub-parameter by 4 percentage points from the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab when the score was 76%.

The performance of the Assembly has only improved under the sub-parameter on *channels of direct communication by the people to the Members of the Assembly* from 44% in the third year of the 15th Assembly to 48% in the second year of the 16th Assembly; an increase of 4 percentage points.

The Assembly very weak for Opportunity to Citizens' Direct Involvement in Legislation

In its second year, the 16th Assembly registered the weakest score under any sub-parameter regarding *opportunities given to citizens for direct involvement in legislation* at only 22%.

While the sub-parameter on *media access to the Assembly* received a score of **54%** it has suffered its greatest decline of 20 percentage points from the **74%** it received during the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.

Overall Transparency and Accessibility of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab

The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab received a score of **44%** for its *transparency and accessibility*; yet this is a decline of 7 percentage points from the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab when it was assigned a score of **51%**.

Current and former legislators assigned a score of 44% for this parameter, in comparison; the remaining members of the Evaluation group received a score of 42%.

The performance of the Assembly has only improved under the sub-parameter on channels of direct communication by the people to the Members of the Assembly from 44% in the third year of the 15th Assembly to 48% in the second year of the 16th Assembly; an increase of 4 percentage points

5. The Accountability of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab

Seven detailed sub-areas were evaluated to determine Accountability in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. These included:

- Availability of a Proper System for Members of the Assembly to Report Back to their Constituents on their Performance
- ii. Effectiveness of the Electoral System to Ensure Accountability of the Assembly and its Members to the Electorate
- Accountability of the Members through Election;
 Observance of the Code Conduct by the Members
- iv. Transparency of Procedures to Prevent Conflict of Interest by the Members
- v. Oversight of Funding to Candidates and Parties
- vi. Acceptable System of Determining Members' Salaries
- vii. Availability of a Proper System of Measuring Public Confidence in the Assembly

The strongest aspect of the Accountability of the Provincial Assembly: Accountability of the Members through Election; Observance of the Code Conduct by the Members

The Assembly has performed well in maintaining the *Accountability of the Members through Election* and the *Observance of the Code Conduct* with a score of 51%. This is also the greatest improvement under the parameter from the performance of the 15th Assembly in its third year when the score was 41%, hence an improvement by 10 percentage points.

The weakest aspect of the accountability of the Provincial Assembly: Availability of a Proper

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System for Members of the Assembly to Report Back to their Constituents on their Performance

The lowest score within this parameter has been assigned to the availability of a *proper system for Members of the Assembly to report back to their constituents on their performance*, for which the Provincial Assembly received a score of only 26%. The performance of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab has declined by 9 percentage points under this sub-parameter from 35% in the third year of the 15th Assembly to 26% in the second year of the 16th Assembly.

Overall score for the Accountability of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab

The third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly received a relatively lower score for its *Accountability* at 36%, 2 percentage points lower than the score it had received in the third year of the 15th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab: 38%.

Non-legislators actually assigned the Assembly a higher score at **38%** than the current and former legislators in the PILDAT Evaluation Group at **36%**: a difference of 2 percentage points.

6. Effectiveness of the Provincial Assembly's Involvement in International Policy

Six sub-areas evaluated the effectiveness of Provincial Assembly of the Punjab's involvement in foreign policy. These sub-areas were:

- i. Ability to influence the commitments made by the Provincial Government to international entities
- The Assembly's ability to influence monitoring reports submitted by the Government as a part of its international commitments
- iii. Provincial Assembly's ability to monitor Government's development policy as a donor or recipient
- iv. The Assembly's effectiveness to foster political dialogue for resolving domestic conflicts
- v. Effectiveness of inter-parliamentary cooperation at the domestic and international level
- vi. The ability of the Assembly to scrutinize the policies and performance of international entities like the UN to which the country contributes

The strongest aspect of the Provincial Assembly's effectiveness of Involvement in International Policy: Effectiveness of inter-parliamentary cooperation at the domestic and international level The Provincial Assembly received a score of 41% for

its inter-parliamentary cooperation at the domestic and international level.

The performance of the Provincial Assembly improved by 4 percentage points under three sub-parameters: the Assembly's ability to influence monitoring reports submitted by the Government as a part of its international commitments (from 31% to 35%), the Assembly's effectiveness to foster political dialogue for resolving domestic conflicts (from 32% to 36%), and for the ability of the Assembly to scrutinize the policies and performance of international entities like the UN to which the country contributes (from 25% to 29%). The third sub-parameter's score is also the weakest aspect of the second year of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.

Overall Score for the Effectiveness of the Provincial Assembly's Involvement in International Policy

Out of all the performance-based parameters, the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab is the weakest in its *Involvement in International Policy* with a score of 35%. While also scoring poorly under this parameter, the Provincial Assembly did improve from 32% to 35% over the tenures, an improvement of 3 percentage points.

Under this parameter, the non-legislators from the Evaluation group gave a much higher score to the Provincial Assembly at 42%, in comparison to the legislators who assigned a low score of 31%. The difference between the scores of the two is a substantial 11 percentage points.

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Part 5: A Case for Required Reforms in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab

Alongside continuity of democracy, it is critically important that reform processes continue to ensure that representative institutions carry out their responsibilities in the most effective manner. It is in this context that PILDAT proposes the following reforms for the consideration of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab:

Ouestion Hour

Reforming the Question Hour is crucial to engage members as well as make the Government accountable to the Provincial Assembly. The drop in the submission of questions from the first to the second year by 40% from 4724 to 2846 is significant as it depicts an unwelcome decrease in the interest of Members of the Provincial Assembly. The loss of interest in the Question Hour is also in part due to the fact that it often takes months for the Government to answer questions despite the mandated time of 15 days. The following is recommended to reform the Question process:

- It is proposed that there be an amendment in the rules such that fewer questions lapse by making it mandatory for them to be placed on the agenda for the subsequent sitting in the event of an adjournment.
- 2. Presently no less than 15 days to receive a reply from the Government is too long in comparison with international standards. In the UK Parliament, a member only has to give two days' notice to receive an answer to his written question, as per Standing Order 22 (4) of UK's Parliament. It is recommended that the number of days in which the Government is obliged to respond also be reduced from 15 days to 2 days.

Introduction of Question Hour for the Chief Minister

It is suggested that the Chief Minister, who is also the leader of the house, be mandated to answer questions of the Members once a week at least. This is a practice employed in most Parliamentary democracies around the world.

Introduction of a Zero Hour

There is no provision in the Punjab Assembly during which a public issues can be discussed to highlight public grievances and constituency problems, Such a provision could be called the Zero Hour which takes places after the Question Hour in a sitting, and be

Reforming the Question Hour is crucial to engage members as well as make the Government accountable to the Provincial Assembly. The drop in the submission of questions from the first to the second year by 40% from 4724 to 2846 is significant as it depicts an unwelcome decrease in the interest of Members of the Provincial Assembly

devoted solely to matters of public concern.

Reforms in the Budget Process

The following reforms are suggested to improve the budget process of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab:

- During the 13th session, the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab held its pre budget debate for the proposed budget of 2015-2016, as required by the Rules of Procedure (Chapter XV-A) of the Punjab Assembly. However according to Rule 133-A, the pre budget debate is to be held between the months of January and March, whereas in the second year the pre budget debate began on March 27, 2015 and was completed on April 06, 2015. The usefulness of the pre budget debate is minimized by the fact that the Provincial Government of the Punjab had already formulated the budget for 2015-2016 prior to the pre budget debate. The Assembly needs to improve its scrutiny of the budget by conducting the pre budget session within the first three months of Calendar Year so the recommendations of the legislators can be taken up before the Government forms the budget.
- 2. It is recommended that the Budget Session days be increased to at least 30 to 45 in order to thoroughly scrutinise the budget. In order for the Finance bill to be passed before the beginning of the subsequent fiscal year, the Government would have to present the budget to the Assembly by May.
- 3. The Sindh Assembly, as part of its Rule 144

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follows a practice whereby the Assembly must review the status of disbursed funds and the expenditures made by every quarter of the Parliamentary year. This is an amendment that can be introduced in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab so to monitor and oversee the release of funds and expenditures made by the Government of the Punjab.

- The Rules of Procedure of the Punjab Assembly do not allow committees to review budget proposals of their respective Ministries or Departments. In an amendment in Rule 201 in the Rules of Procedure of the National Assembly of Pakistan, each Standing Committee of the National Assembly is to scrutinize and suggest amendments if necessary to the Public Sector Development Programme (PSDP). Ministries must submit their budget proposals to the relevant Standing Committee by January 31, which must then make their recommendations by March 01 of the preceding financial year. It is recommended that the Rules of Procedure of the Punjab Assembly also be amended accordingly so that committees scrutinise and recommend amendments to departments' proposals before they are sent to the Ministry of Finance.
- 5. It is recommended that committees review the budget and departmental demands for grants after the budget is presented in the House. Grant proposals can thus be reviewed thoroughly by relevant committees, which can then make constructive recommendations for improvement.

Suo Moto Powers for Committees

The roles of committees must be strengthened so that they may perform their oversight functions more effectively. In an amendment of rules in the National Assembly of Pakistan, the committees were given *suo moto* powers to take up issues related to the Ministry of Department they are overseeing. The National Assembly standing committees were also empowered to accept public petitions according to Clause 201 (5) of the Rules of Procedure. It is essential that committees in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab are also given *suo moto* powers by amending their own Rules of Procedure. This should be done to help the committees to better examine any matter related to their area of work on their own similar to the provision in the National Assembly.

Increasing Public Access

The Punjab Assembly is to be commended for having a

highly transparent and user-friendly website in comparison with other Provincial Assemblies due to the live telecasts of its proceedings. Recently, the publishing of the individual attendance record of MPAs online has enhanced transparency further. However the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab can further improve the transparency of legislatures through the following measures:

- 1. MPAs are often accused of having conflicts of interest in the House with regards to the interests that they may hold outside of the Provincial Assembly. In this regard, there is a need to introduce the concept of a Register of Members' Interest. In the UK Parliament, for instance, there exists a Register of Members' Interests that allows legislators to declare any interests that they hold outside the Assembly that might create such a conflict. A Register of Members' Interests may not only curb the possibility of a conflict of interest from transpiring, but once published online, the accusations of such an occurrence may also diminish.
- 2. Keeping with the traditions of openness, the Punjab Assembly should make data available in open formats such as XML and JSON, rather than PDF.

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Appendix A

Score Card

 $Evaluation \ of the \ 16^{th} \ Provincial \ Assembly \ of the \ Punjab \ using \ the \ IPU \ Toolkit \ The \ Second \ Parliamentary \ Year: 2014-2015$

Table 3: Comparative Score Card on the Performance of the 16th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab using the IPU Toolkit

No.	Parameter and Sub Area of Evaluation	Score (Percentage) Third Year of the 15 th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab	Score (Percentage) Second Year of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab	Percentage Increase/Decr ease
1	The Representativeness of the Assembly	50	53	+3
1.1	How adequately does the Assembly represent the diversity of political opinion in the country (e.g. as reflected in votes for the respective political parties)?	64	69	+5
1.2	How representative of women is the composition of the Assembly?	61	65	+4
1.3	How representative of marginalized groups and region is the compositions of the Assembly?	51	46	-5
1.4	How easy is it for a person of average means to be elected to the Assembly?	35	33	-2
1.5	How adequate are internal party arrangements for improving imbalances in parliamentary representation?	42	41	-1
1.6	How adequate are arrangements for ensuring that opposition and minority parties or groups and their members can effectively contribute to the work of the Assembly?	45	52	+7
1.7	How conducive is the infrastructure of the Assembly, and its unwritten mores, to the participation of women and men?	50	54	+4
1.8	How secure is the right of all members to express their opinions freely and how well are members protected from executive or legal interference?	54	60	+6
1.9	How effective is the Assembly as a forum for debate on questions of public concern?	46	58	+12
2	Parliamentary Oversight over the Executive	38	39	+1
2.1	How rigorous and systematic are the procedures whereby member can question the executive and secure adequate information from it?	50	51	+1

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2.2	How effective are specialist committees in carrying out their oversight function?	37	38	+1
2.3	How well is the Assembly able to influence and scrutinize the budget, through all its stages?	39	34	-5
2.4	How effectively can the Assembly scrutinizes appointments to executive posts, and holds their occupants to account?	31	28	-3
2.5	How far is the Assembly able to hold non-elected public bodies to account?	34	38	+4
2.6	How far is the Assembly autonomous in practice from the executive, e.g. through control over its own budget, agenda, timetable personal, etc.?	35	54	+19
2.7	How adequate are the members and expertise of professional staff to support members, individually and collectively, in the effective performance of their duties?	39	35	-4
2.8	How adequate are the research, information and other facilities available to all members and their groups?	36	36	0
3	The Assembly's Legislative Capacity	44	44	0
3.1	How satisfactory are the procedures for subjecting draft legislation to full and open debate in the Assembly?	46	42	-4
3.2	How effective are committee procedures for scrutinizing and amending draft legislation?	42	45	+3
3.3	How systematic and transparent are the procedures for consultation with relevant groups and interests in the course of legislation?	33	35	+2
3.4	How adequate are the opportunities for individual members to introduce draft legislation?	42	45	+3
3.5	How effective is the Assembly in ensuring that legislation enacted is clear, concise and intelligible?	44	44	0
3.6	How careful is the Assembly in ensuring that legislation enacted is consistent with the constitution and the human rights of the population?	53	51	-2
3.7	How careful is the Assembly in ensuring a gender-equality perspective in its work?	46	47	+1
4	The Transparency and Accessibility of the Assembly	51	44	-7
4.1	How open and accessible to the media and the public are the proceeding of the Assembly and its committees?	74	54	-20
4.2	How free from restrictions are journalists in reporting on the Assembly and the activities of its members?	77	72	-5
4.3	How effective is the Assembly in informing the public about its work, through a variety of channels?	56	41	-15

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4.4	How extensive and successful are attempts to interest young people in the work of the Assembly?	45	33	-12
4.5	How adequate are the opportunities for electors to express their views and concerns directly to their representative, regardless of party affiliations?	44	48	+4
4.6	How user-friendly is the procedure for individuals and groups to make submissions to a parliamentary committee or commission of enquiry?	38	35	-3
4.7	How much opportunity do citizens have for direct involvement in legislation (e.g. through citizens' initiatives, referenda, etc.)?	25	22	-3
5	The Accountability of Assembly	38	36	-2
5.1	How systematic are arrangements for members to report to their constituents about their performances in office?	35	26	-9
5.2	How effective is the electoral system in ensuring the accountability of Assembly, individually and collectively, to the electorate?	42	48	+6
5.3	How effective is the system for ensuring the observance of agreed codes of conduct by members?	41	51	+10
5.4	How transparent and robust are the procedures for preventing conflicts of financial and other interest in the conduct of parliamentary business?	41	33	-8
5.5	How adequate is the oversight of party and candidate funding to ensure that members preserve independence in the performance of their duties?	36	31	-5
5.6	How publicly acceptable is the system whereby members' salaries are determined?	39	38	-1
5.7	How systematic is the monitoring and review of levels of public confidence in the Assembly?	34	29	-5
6	The Assembly's Involvement in International Policy	32	35	+3
6.1	How effective is each Assembly in ensuring that international commitments are implemented at the National level?	35	36	+1
6.2	How effectively is each Assembly able to scrutinize and contribute to the National reports to international monitoring mechanisms and ensuring follow-up on their recommendations?	31	35	+4

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6.3	How effective is each Assembly in monitoring of each Government's development policy as a "recipient" of international development aid?	29	32	+3
6.4	How active is the Assembly in fostering political dialogue for conflict resolution at home?	32	36	+4
6.5	How effective is the Assembly in inter-parliamentary cooperation at regional and global levels such as CPA, IPU etc.?	42	41	-1
6.6	How far is each Assembly able to scrutinize the policies and performance of international organizations like the UNDP, World Bank and IMF, which may be operating in the country on various projects and dealing with the national government?	25	29	+4
Overa Punja	all Evaluation Score for the Provincial Assembly of the	43	42	-1

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