

**YANGON UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS
MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMME**

**A STUDY ON
OVERSIGHT ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF
YANGON REGION HLUTTAW**

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EMPA – 27 (16th BATCH)**

SEPTEMBER, 2019

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OVERSIGHT ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF
YANGON REGION HLUTTAW**

A thesis submitted as partial fulfillment towards the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Public Administration (MPA)

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ABSTRACT

The 1st term of State and Region Hluttaws were not so active and they could not support well for decentralization in Myanmar. In the 2nd term, the State and Region Hluttaws began more alive and their internal functions and external functions are much better. However they still face many difficulties and in this thesis, Yangon Region Hluttaw, one of the most important hluttaws in Myanmar is being analyzed. The purpose of this study was to find out the challenges, constraints and limitations of Yangon Region Hluttaw and it also examined how effective of Yangon Region Hluttaw in the current period compared with the last term. To achieve these objectives, a qualitative, descriptive method was used. The research methodology of this paper was used literature from several books and it was based on the descriptive method using both primary data and the secondary data. Key Informative Interviews (KII) with (25) key persons of different stakeholders gave the secondary data. Findings of this paper gave us a clear understanding not only the internal and external functions of Yangon Region Hluttaw but also its strengths and weaknesses. It was found that some difficulties are related with 2008 constitution and some are because of the lack of political experiences in leadership role. The best knowledge we got from this paper was to build up a good institution with all stakeholders' support is important.

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LIST OF ABBEVIATIONS

AD	Assistant Director
ALD	Arakhan League for Democracy
AMDP	All Mon Region Development Party
ANDP	Arkha National Development Party
ANP	Arakhan National Party
CNP	Chin National Party
CPP	Chin Progressive Party
DD	Deputy Director
DDG	Deputy Director General
DPM	Democratic Party (Myanmar)
INDP	Inn National Development Party
KDUP	Kokang Democracy and Unity Party
KPP	Kayin People's Party
KSDP	Kachin State Development Party
LNDP	Lahu National Development Party
LNDP	Lisu National Development Party
MNP	Mon National Party
MP	Member of Parliament
MPU	Myanmar Parliamentary Union
NDF	National Democratic Force
NLD	National League for Democracy
NNDP	New National Democratic Party
NUP	National Unity Party
PNO	PaO National Organization
RNDP	Rakhine National Development Party
SNDP	Shan Nationalities Democratic Party
SNLD	Shan National League for Democracy
SPDC	State Peace and Development Council
TLNDP	Tai' Lang National Development Party
TNP	Ta'ang National Party
UDPKS	Unity and Democracy Party of Kachin State

UEC	Union Election Commission
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USDP	Union Solidarity and Development Party
WNP	Wa National Party
WNUP	Wa National Unity Party
YCDC	Yangon City Development Committee
ZCD	Zomi Congress for Democracy

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale of the Study

A parliament (Hluttaw) is a legislative body of government and generally, a modern parliament has three functions, representing the electorate, making laws and overseeing the government via hearing and inquiries. In Myanmar, political system has been changed from military dictatorship to Democratic regime since 2010 and it practices Presidential system at the Union Level and Parliamentary system at the States and Region level. Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (Union Parliament), Amyotha Hluttaw (Upper House) and Pyithu Hluttaw (Lower House) are in Union level and they work together with Union Government. States and Regions have their respective Hluttaws (parliaments) and they work together with their respective governments. Thus, there are altogether seventeen Hluttaws (parliaments) in Myanmar.

In the 1st term (2011-2015) the Hluttaws (Parliaments) in Myanmar were not so active and could not perform well because citizens as well as members of parliament were not so familiar with the legislative branch. Most citizens had just noticed the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (Union Parliament) in Nay Pyi Taw and some people knew the members of parliaments in Pyithu Hluttaw (Lower House) and Amyotha Hluttaw (Upper House). People were not so interested in States and Regions Hluttaws (Parliaments). People did not know even the name of the States and Regional members of Parliaments in their constituencies and what are their duties and responsibilities in Democratic country and how local Hluttaws are important for federal country like Myanmar.

According to 2008 constitution, Myanmar cannot practice decentralization well till now and State and Region governments are under the control of Union Government in most issues. Actually, State and Region Hluttaws exist separately and they are not under the control of Union Hluttaws. But local Hluttaws cannot perform well during five years. Members of Parliament are in a challenging position to effectively apply checks and balances on the executive institution of the state and

region. Structural constraints as well as organizational and individual limitations became the obstacles for building effective federal institutions.

Therefore, to study about the oversight functions of Yangon Region Parliament (Hluttaw) makes us to know more about the operating situations of State and Region parliaments (Hluttaws) and what the challenges of State and Region parliaments (Hluttaws) have. It also helps to get the valuable information and baseline data that assist continuing efforts to develop effective mechanism for them. Mainly it supports to know how important of legislative branch in States and Regions, key federal institutions in Myanmar and how to apply their strength and efforts effectively for the development of Myanmar.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are to explore what are the challenges , constraints and limitations of Yangon Region Parliament (Hluttaw) , to examine how effective Yangon Region Parliament (Hluttaw) has been in the current period and to support the better idea for effective democratic institution.

1.3 Method of Study

This study is based on the descriptive method using both primary data and the secondary data. The primary data are collected through Key Informative interview (KII) with key persons of different stakeholders such as the current members of parliament, the first term members of parliament, government Minister, Hluttaw staff, Media, political parties and active citizens. These interviews were conducted with twenty-five interviewee from different fields related to the Yangon Region Hluttaw. Most of the interview questions began with “What”, “How” and “Why” to know the real situation of Hluttaw. The secondary data used in this study are collected from books, reports, articles and relevant topics from internet.

1.4 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study focuses on the stakeholders such as the current members of Yangon Region Hluttaw, the first term members of Yangon Region Hluttaw, Yangon Region government Ministers, Hluttaw staff from Yangon Region, Media, political parties and active citizens from Yangon. For the interview, the sample size is limited for 25

keys persons who are directly related with the Yangon Region Hluttaw. The study is limited to cover the 1st term and the 2nd term of Yangon Region Hluttaw.

1.5 Organization of the Study

This thesis is composed of five chapters. Introductory of this thesis including rationale, objectives, scope, limitations and method of study are included in the chapter One. Chapter two gives Literature review including about the parliaments and their systems, democracy and parliaments, overview of the legislative systems, decentralization, some forms of state's legislature and review on previous studies. Then Chapter three focuses on legislative systems in Myanmar, the background situation of State and Region Hluttaws in Myanmar and mainly focuses on Yangon Region Hluttaw. In Chapter four, Survey Analysis containing survey profile, design and results are included. Analysis of survey findings on the roles of the stakeholders in Yangon Region Hluttaw and their perspectives on the strength and weakness of Yangon Region Hluttaw are presented by using descriptive method. Finally, the summary findings and recommendations of this study are concluded in the Chapter Five including references.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Parliaments and Their Systems

In politics, a parliament is a legislating body or a branch of government in democratic countries. Generally, a modern parliament has three main functions, representing the respective constituency, making, amending and abolition laws and overseeing the government via public hearing and inquires. Members of parliament represent their respective constituencies by listening what the constituents need. Parliament makes new laws for the need of people, amends the old laws and abolish the unnecessary laws for the sake of people. Parliament examines what the government is doing, what kinds of projects they carry out and what are their new plans for country. Parliament has to practice “Check and Balance” to executive branch and judiciary branch.

The term ‘parliament’ is similar to the idea of senate or congress that were commonly used in presidential system. Historically, parliaments included various kinds of deliberative, consultative, and judicial assemblies.

The definitions of parliament in some dictionaries are nearly the same with slightly different. In Cambridge Dictionary, the meaning of parliament is that “In some countries, the group of (usually) politicians or other people who make the laws for their countries. In Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, the definition of parliament is that “The group of people who are elected to make a country’s laws and discuss important national affairs. In Collins, the meaning is a group of people who make or change its laws and decide what policies the country should follow.

The word, Parliament, is derived from French ‘Parler’, which means “to speak”. Public debate, exchanging arguments and even political disputes governed by clearly defined rules are the core business of any parliaments. The English term ‘Parliament’ is derived from Anglo-Norman during the 14th century.

Since ancient times, there were some councils and assemblies where people could discuss for the countries or states such as ‘The Athenian assembly’ and

'legislative assemblies' in Roman Republic. Documented councils were held in 873, 1020, 1050 and 1063 but the Corte of Leon what is considered to be the first parliament, was held in the Kingdom of Leon in 1188. It was an independent kingdom situated in the Northwest region of the Iberian Peninsula. According to the UNESCO, it was the oldest documentary manifestation of the European parliamentary system.

The development of the modern concept of parliamentary government back to the kingdom of Great Britain (1707-1800) and the parliamentary system in Sweden during the Age of Liberty (1718-1772). The British parliament is often referred to as the Mother of Parliament and it has been the model for most other Parliamentary system. In the UK Parliament, the House of Commons and the House of Lords are included and there is a Monarch and the British practices the Monarchy system. The House of Lords is a body of long-serving and they are appointed. There are 92 who inherit their titles, 588 who have been appointed to lifetime seats and 26 bishops in the House of Lords. The House of Common is composed of 650 elected members.

Parliament, the legislative institution, is the very center of any form of democracy but the roles and responsibilities of parliament may vary from country to country. Parliaments usually consists of chambers or houses (It is called Hluttaws in Myanmar), and are usually either bicameral or unicameral although there are more complex models in different political systems.

Thus, Parliament is a complex multi-functional institution with two houses (bicameral) or one house (Unicameral). Bicameral system is a system of government in which the legislature comprises two houses or chambers. It is a Latin word and it means a two-house legislative system. This system is originated in UK Parliament, the Mother of Parliaments. In bicameral, the upper house (sometimes called the senate, House of Lords or Federal Council) represents States and the lower house (sometimes called the House of Representatives, House of Commons and Federal Assembly) represents people of the country. Upper Houses tend to be the smaller of the two legislative bodies and members of upper Houses customarily serve longer terms but frequently possess less power than their lower chamber counterparts. The Upper House varies in its composition and in the manner because its members are selected through inheritance and sometimes appointment by indirect or direct elections.

Thus, the members of the two houses are often elected or selected by different methods, which vary from country to country. Generally the powers are shared by the two houses and the relationship between the two chambers also varies widely among

countries. In some countries, they have equal power but in some countries, one chamber is superior in its power. Normally the first can be seen in federal systems those with presidential governments and the latter can be seen in unitary states with parliamentary system but it is not always true.

No matter the house of common (lower house) is the more important of the two in theory and practice because they are usually elected representatives and represent for people of their constituency. The House of Lords (upper house) performs a number of mostly mundane but important functions. In United States, the Founding Fathers favored a bicameral legislature with the idea of having the Senate be wealthier and wiser. The bicameral structure is adopted in United Kingdom, United States, and India and so on. There are some advantages of bicameral system. The first point is that the members of parliaments represent diverse constituencies such as state, region and ethnic. Thus they facilitate a deliberative approach to legislation and it is more effective for legislation. They hinder the passage of flawed or reckless legislation and lastly the bicameral system provides well for enhanced oversight and control of the executive branch.

A unicameral system is a government with one legislative house or chamber and it is the Latin word. In this system, a single central unit has got the wholesome right to make laws and decide upon government policies. It is most often established in countries structures on a unitary governmental system. Worldwide, as of April 2014, about 59% of national government were unicameral while about 41% were bicameral. Denmark, Hungary and Sweden are the countries with unicameral governments. During the 20th century, some countries like Greece and New Zealand switched from a bicameral to a unicameral system. Unicameral legislatures are also common in official Communist states such as the People's Republic of China and Cuba. There are some advantages of unicameral system. In this system, only one body is needed to adopt legislation and it makes the legislation process rapid and it has the graded accountability because the legislators need not to blame the other chamber if legislation fails to pass. Next good advantage is that there are fewer elected officials for the population to monitor because of only one chamber and it makes the country to reduce cost to the government and taxpayers.

In each system, therefore, there are advantages and disadvantages. The principle advantage of a unicameral system is more efficient lawmaking, as the legislative process is much simpler and there is no possibility of deadlock. The

primary objective of a bicameral system is to ensure just and fair representation of all the sectors or groups of the society, in the parliament.

In practice, parliament's performance of its functions depend on party and parties are the engine of parliament in most Democratic countries. Members of parliaments have to follow the guideline, rules and regulations of the respective party. However, these are also affected by the personnel of parliament and by the resource made available to sustain them in their roles as MPs and peer.

2.2 Democracy and Parliaments

Democracy is a system of government where the citizens exercise their power to choose the government by voting and in other word, people power is the fundamental need to practice Democracy. It allows citizens to express their political preferences and provides a guarantee of civil liberties. It has constraints on the power of the executive. The term "Demo" first appeared in ancient Greek. The political and philosophical thought in the city state of Athens during classical antiquity in 508-507 BC. The word comes from Demo, "Common People" and Kratos "Strength". So democracy can be thought of as "Power of the People" and it is a way of governing which depends on the will of the people.

In the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, a government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through the system of representation usually involving periodically held free election. Democracy is not autocracy or dictatorship where one person rules the country and it is not also oligarchy where a small segment of society rules. A democracy, at least in theory, is government on behalf of all the people according to their will.

Democracy can be exercised in by citizens or through elected agents. There are so many different models of democratic governments around the world. Normally, there are two forms of Democracy, Direct Democracy and Indirect Democracy. Direct Democracy, also called pure democracy, forms of direct participation of citizens in democratic decision making. In a direct democracy, the citizens as a whole form a governing body and vote directly on each issue. Athenian democracy took the form of direct democracy and in ancient days, most states practiced direct democracy. Indirect Democracy is also called representative democracy. In a representative democracy, the citizens elect representatives from among themselves to work for them. These representatives have to form a governing body, such as legislature.

According to American political scientist Larry Diamond, democracy consists of four key elements: free and fair election, public participation, human rights and rule of law. A country needs to have a political system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections and there cannot be a democratic country without a free and fair election. The active participation of the people is very important for Democracy because democracy means “People’s power”. Protection of the human rights of all citizens is one of the key elements and it cannot be called a democratic country without ‘Human Rights’ in this country. The last but not the least key element is a rule of law, in which the law and procedures apply equally to all citizens.

A country cannot be a democracy if there is no freedom of speech and association and no rule of law. (Diamond, 2008) There are many important features of Democracy and the main feature is “People Power”. People have the main powers in democracy and they can elect their own representatives via free and fair elections. These representatives work together for the sake of country. Thus, most remark that people participation is vital important for Democracy. People can participate in government by voting, by standing for office and they can also become a representative of the people,

Another feature is “Equality”. Equality is ensuring individuals or groups of individuals are not treated differently or less favorably, on the basis of their specific protected characteristic, including areas of race, gender, disability, religion or belief, sexual orientation and age (Edinburgh, 2016) .In short, everyone has an equal opportunity to make the most of their lives and talents. Inequality poses a threat to the legitimacy of a democracy (Daul, 2006). Democracy is mostly based on equality and every citizen is treated equality. Democracy require equality of democratic agency which is different from the forms of equality that flows from the values of distributive justice or fairness (Post, 2006).

In democracy, the party which gets the majority will generally win the elections and it is accepted by all parties. It is called “Political Tolerance”. Political tolerance, defined as the willingness to grant political rights to disliked groups, is central to studies of democratic values given its links with civil liberties and political freedoms (Marquart-Pyatt, 2015). Political tolerance in a democracy requires that all political ideas (and the groups holding them) get the same access to the marketplace

of ideas as the access legally extended to the ideas dominating the system (Gibson, 2011).

“Majority rule and minority rights” is the one important value of Democracy. The majority rule is the electoral process but individual rights are protected by the maintenance of decentralized local government bodies. Minorities are given preference in democracy and they are allowed to participate in discussions. Every individual is provided with some basic fundamental rights which are not to be violated. Democracy is of course a system of procedures by which majorities tend to have their way: the majority rules. Liberal democracies require mechanisms of aggregating citizen preferences within majoritarian institutions and this is the essence of the concept of democracy.

The feature which is vital important in Democracy is “Rule of Law”. Democracy strictly follows the rule of law and everyone should abide by the law. In Democracy, judiciary is independent from other institutions such as legislature and executive. It always supports the truth and law. According to World Justice Project, the rule of law is a durable system of laws, institutions, and community commitment that delivers four universal principles.

The first principle is “Accountability” and it means not only the government but also the private actors are accountable under the law. The second principle is “Just Laws” and it means the laws have to be clear, stable and publicized and they need to be applied evenly. Laws have to protect fundamental rights for people. The third point is “Open Government”. The processes by which the laws are enacted, administered and enforced are accessible, fair and efficient for citizen and the last principle is “Accessible and Impartial Dispute Resolution”.

Currently, out of 192 recognized countries, 123 of them are democratic. Most countries in Europe and the Americas are democracies. Some parts of Africa especially in the West and the South have democratized. So too have countries in Asia. Today, more than half of the world’s population live in democratic countries. If a nation has free and fair elections, coupled by competing parties with varied representative interests, it can be classified as a democracy. Tom Clancy said that” democracy is spreading across the world. Democracy is only possible with easy access to information and good communication. And technology is a way of facilitation communications.

Thus, according to the data, more than half of the countries of the world had some variety of democratic or near democratic system. Types of democracy are classified according to various distinguishing features, including constitutional democracy, liberal democracy, parliamentary democracy, presidential democracy, guided democracy, to name a few.

To measure the state of democracy in 165 independent states and two territories countries, The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), a UK based company has published the Democracy Index since 2006. Out of 167 countries, 166 are sovereign states and 164 are UN member states. The democracy index is based on 60 indicators grouped in five different categories, electoral process and pluralism measuring pluralism, civil liberties, the function of government and political participation and political culture. According to the score and ranking, there are four regime types: full democracies, flawed democracies, hybrid regimes and authoritarian regimes.

According to Democracy Index 2018, 20 countries are full democracy and Norway is standing in the first rank and all full democracy countries are from Europe, Oceania, North America, South America and Africa. 55 countries are flawed democracy and 38 countries are hybrid regime. The rest which are under 4.06 scores become the authoritarian. Myanmar is at the rank of 118.

2.3 Overview of the Systems of Government with Respective Legislative Branches

There are 206 countries in the world and the system of government are vary country to country. Following are common systems of government.

- (1) Presidential republics with an executive presidency separate from the legislature
(For example; United States, Brazil, etc.)
- (2) Parliamentary republics with an executive presidency dependent on the legislature
(For example; Czech Republic, Germany, etc.)
- (3) Semi-presidential system with both an executive presidency and a separate head of government that leads the legislature, who is appointed by the president
(For example; Poland, Sri Lanka, etc.)

- (4) Parliamentary republics with a ceremonial/non-executive president, where a separate head of government leads the executive
(For Example; South Africa, Botswana, etc.)
- (5) Constitutional monarchies with a ceremonial/non-executive monarch, where a separate head of government leads the executive
(For Example; United Kingdom, Malaysia, etc.)
- (6) Constitutional monarchies with a ceremonial monarch, but where royalty still hold significant executive and /or legislature power (For Example; Brunei, Saudi Arabia, etc.)
- (7) Absolute monarchies where the monarch lead the executive (For Example; Oman, Vatican City State, etc.)
- (8) One-party states where dominant role of a political party is codified in the constitution
(For Example; China)
- (9) Military dictatorship
(For Example; North Korea)
- (10) Countries which do not fit any of the above systems

Among the above government systems, most countries have the legislative branch though their structures, functions, procedures and effectiveness can be varied according to the system of government. There may have some exception for the countries like absolute monarchies, one party system and military dictatorship.

Among the government systems, presidential system is the dominant form of government in the continental Americas, with nineteen of its twenty-two sovereign states being presidential republics. It is also prevalent in central and southern West Africa and in Central Asia. In Asia, Indonesia, Philippines, South Korea, Maldives and Palau are practicing the Presidential system.

Presidential systems are based on an executive with considerable power in the constitution and it has generally full control of the cabinet and the administration with the representatives who are elected by the people (directly or by an electoral college elected for that purpose) for a fixed period of time. The president is independent of the legislative branch and he or she is not only the holder of executive power, but is also the symbolic head of state who cannot be dismissed between elections except in rare cases of impeachment.

Therefore, it is said that, in presidential system, head of government leads an executive branch that is separate from the legislative branch and this head of government is in most cases also the head of states, which is called president. The presidential system of government originated in the United States of America and it soon spread to other parts of the world, most notably Latin America, Africa and the countries of the former Soviet Union. All other presidents in the presidential system of governments are elected directly through regular presidential elections. The only exception is the United States of America where the president is elected through an electoral college system of voting. (Kevin YL Tan, 2017)

But the countries that features a presidential or semi-presidential system of government are not the exclusive users of the title of president. Heads of state of parliamentary republics largely ceremonial in most cases are called president. The term, “president” is sometime used in “one party states.”

Even though there are some weakness, “Presidential system” is widely used in the world. There are many strengths practicing the presidential system and the two main characteristic features of this system are that it consists of a single individual and thus unipersonal and this person is independent of other two branches: the legislative and judicial branches of government. Thus, it is said that the most important advantage of this system is “separation of power”. The presidency and the legislature go forward as two parallel structures in this system. So the two branches can check and balance each other and it prevents abuse of power.

Next good point for this system is about “direct election.” It means, in presidential system, president is often elected directly by the people and it makes the president’s power more legitimate than that of a leader appointed indirectly like in parliamentary system. But some presidential states have an indirectly elected head of state. A president has the power to charge some issues but sometimes the process goes slow because of the separation of power. However, for the stability of the political situation, the presidential system may support the country more than the parliamentary system. This is because the president has a personal mandate to lead the country, whereas in parliamentary system a candidate who become the prime minister might only receive a personal mandate to represent his/her constituency.

All in all, proponents of presidential systems government often cite four advantages of presidential over parliamentary systems: (a) legitimacy from direct

elections; (b) separation of powers; (c) stability; and (d) expediency and responsiveness. (Kevin YL Tan, 2017)

Like presidential system, parliamentary system is also a prominent form of government system. It is a democratic form of government in which the political party that wins the most seats in the parliament during the federal elections forms the government and this party which gets the majority seats chooses a leader to be a Prime Minister and other cabinet members. In this system, all of the power is vested in the parliament. Parliamentary government originated in Great Britain and now most countries all over the world use this form of democracy although there are a few differences between them.

In parliamentary system, there are some parliamentary democratic countries where a monarch is the head of state while the head of government is almost always a member of parliament. For example; UK, Denmark and Japan. And another form of parliamentary system is the form of parliamentary republics, where a mostly ceremonial president is the head of state while the head of government is regularly from the legislature. For example: Germany, India and Italy.

Parliamentary systems have a clear distinction between the head of government and head of state. One of the commonly attributed advantage to parliamentary system is that it is faster and easier to pass legislation as the executive branch is formed by the direct or indirect support of the legislature branch and often includes the members of legislature. Thus, the executive has a majority of the votes and can pass legislation at will. If the executive and the majority of the legislature are from different political parties like in presidential system, then stalemate can occur.

In addition to quicken legislative action, this system has attractive features for nations that are ethnically, racially, or ideologically divided and it is also one of the advantages of this system. The power is more evenly spread out in parliamentary government, as the government and prime minister do not have the power to make unilateral decisions, as the entire government cabinet is answerable and accountable to parliament. Therefore, a 2001 World Bank study that parliamentary systems are associated with less corruption.

Thus, it is one of the dominant forms of government in Europe, with thirty-two of its EU sovereign states being parliamentarian. It is also common in the Caribbean and ten of its thirteen island states and in Oceania are practicing this system. In other part of the countries, the countries that are former colonies of the

British Empire also practice this form of government. Actually, Democracy and parliamentarianism became increasingly prevalent in Europe after World War I. The democratic victors, Great Britain and France imposed this form of government on the defeated countries like Germany.

For the legislative branch, both presidential system and parliamentary system may be either bicameral or unicameral. Bicameral means the two chambers of parliament (Or in presidential system it is also called houses) and unicameral has just one parliamentary chamber. In the case of a bicameral parliament, this is usually characterized by an elected lower house that has the power to determine the executive government and an upper house which may be appointed or elected through a different mechanism from the lower house. US, UK and Germany are practicing the bicameral system and Denmark, Sweden are unicameral parliamentary. Smaller countries with long-established democracies tend to have unicameral system, while larger countries may have either a unicameral or bicameral system.

2.4 Decentralization

In federal democratic countries, decentralization is essential factor to build up the federal states. A federal constitution is by definition a more decentralized arrangement than a unitary one. Decentralizing is the transfer of authority and responsibility for public function from the central government to subordinate or quasi-independent government. The dictionary definition is “the removal of certain centralize power or control to various areas, usually where operation take place” (Webster 1995). A national government has to consider to decentralize its authority and responsibilities after they have decided to build up federal states.

Decentralization, or decentralization governance, refers to the restructuring or reorganization of authority so that there is a system of co-responsibility between institutions of governance at the central, regional and local levels according to the principle of subsidiarity, thus increasing the overall quality and effectiveness of the system of governance, while increasing the authority and capacities of sub-national levels. Decentralization could also be expected to contribute to key elements of good governance, such as increasing people’s opportunities for participation in economic, social and political decisions; assisting in developing people’s capacities; and enhancing government responsiveness, transparency and accountability (UNDP, 1997).

For political stability, effective service delivery, poverty reduction and equity, decentralization of central power authority to sub-nation of entities can be important. When ill-conceived or inapplicable to country's circumstances, however decentralization can also carry serious risks. In Europe and Latin America, the trend toward decentralization has been especially strong, but a variety of initiatives in that direction have also been taken in many developing countries (Schiavo-Campo & Sundaram, *To Serve and To Preserve: Improving Public Administration in a Competative World*, 1999).

Political decentralization aims to give more power to citizen or their elected representatives. In pubic decision making, it shifts the decision making power to lower level of government, encouraging citizens and their elected representatives to participate in decision making process. To be effective, it requires regular elections, clearly defined jurisdictions and powers, and the appropriate legal, political and functional space. (World Bank, 2013). In a fully decentralized structure, lower level of government formulates and implements policies in dependently, without intervention from higher level of government (Schiavo-Campo & Sundaram, 1999).

The concept implies that the selection of representative from local electoral jurisdiction allows citizens to know better their political representative and allows elected officials to know better the needs and desire of their constituents. Actually federalism and democracy are inseparable and citizen participation in the political process guarantees that the full potential of federalism can be mobilized. Federalism is the framework for bottom-up politics based on the principle of subsidiarity. The lower level of government can keep in touch with people more closely and it fulfills the citizens' need quickly and also makes the efficiency of public policies improve (Niedermeier & Ridder, 2018).

Decentralization stimulates the search for program and policy innovation, first of all because it is an innovative practice of governance. Second, because through its implementation, local governments are required to assume new and broader responsibilities in order to provide public services for all. The assumption of new responsibilities through decentralization often requires improved planning, budgeting and management techniques and practices; the adoption of new tools and the development of improved human resources to operate the decentralized programmes (UN, 1996).

2.5 Some forms of State Legislature

A state legislature is a legislative branch or body of a political subdivision in a federal system. Following are some forms of State Legislature.

United States of America

Under the Tenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, all powers not granted to the federal government are reserved for the States and the people. Like federal government, all state governments consist of three branches: executive, legislative, and judicial. A state legislature is the legislature body of any of the 50 US States but the formal name are not the same and they varies from state to state.

In 25 states, such as Arizona, California, and Hawaii, the legislature is simply called the legislature, or the State legislature. In 19 states, such as Arkansas, Indiana, and Utah, the legislature is called the General Assembly. In Massachusetts and New Hampshire, the legislature is called the General Court, while the North Dakota and Oregon designate the legislature “The Legislature Assembly.”

As a legislative branch of government, a legislator generally performs state duties for a state in the same way that the US Congress performs national duties at the National level. Generally, the same system of check and balance that exists at the federal level also exists between the state legislature, the state executive officer (Governor) and the state judiciary, though the degree to which this is so varies from one state to the next. For most Americans, they have more daily contact with their state and local governments than with the federal government. Generally, police department libraries, and schools fall under the oversight of state and local government but it may varies state to state according to their constitutions. They have their own written constitutions and these documents are often far more elaborate than their federal constitution.

But there are some important differences between the US Congress and state legislature. They also differ among themselves. In all 50 states, legislatures are made up of elected representatives and they have to legislate the matters brought forth by the governor or introduce by its members to become laws. They also initiate tax legislation, approve a state’s budget and articles of impeachment besides from their constituent activities. A system of check and balance is an important part among the three branches of government and it is like a mirror the federal system and it can also prevent any branch from abusing its power.

All states have a bicameral system which is made up of two chambers: a smaller upper house and a larger lower house except for one state, Nebraska which has a unicameral system. The smaller upper chamber is always called the senate like in the federal legislative and generally the senators have to serve longer term with four years. The larger lower chamber is most often called the house of representative but in some states, it is called the Assembly or the House of Delegates. They have to serve only two years.

Some have large full-time legislatures bodies with numerous committees and large staff but most state legislatures are smaller. Some states have part-time legislatures which meet annually or biannually sometime for only a few weeks. For example, in Alabama legislature, they fix the time for regular annual sessions in February and it takes 30 meeting days. There are two kinds of meeting and one is “Legislative days meeting” and the other days they devote to committee meetings.

As with other legislature bodies throughout the world, US state legislature operate mainly through committees when considering proposed bills. Like other countries, committee action is probably the most important phase of the legislative process because they are small “General Assembly” and “the Small State Legislature”. Various committees are set up in state legislature and small group of committee members examine bills in detail and allow for an informal debate in the legislature. They scrutinize legislations and also examine budgetary allocations for various department and other policies of the government.

Committees have to work not only doing in session but also not in session. Therefore most of the legislature is done by committee. They need to submit the annual reports about the performing of their committee to the state legislature. There may be different kinds of committee such as “Administrative committee, interim committees, session or standing committees and so on. Sometime they also form issue-related committees and subcommittees.

Most bills cannot be enacted into laws until it has been referred to, acted upon by a standing committee in each house. The committee members are the first person who read the bills. They are charged with the important responsibility of examine bills and recommending action to the senate or House. If they need, they can discuss with some operations or experts about this subject and they can take some advantage for their bills.

Each state legislature exercises law making process over the subjects of the State list and concurrent list. In unicameral legislature, all the power are exercised by the state legislature assembly. In bicameral, almost all the power are exercised by state legislature assembly and the legislature council plays only a secondary and minor role. The state legislature can enact any bill under the state list and the concurrent list and it becomes an act with the signature of the Governor.

Therefore, as a state legislature, they debate, votes on bills and work in committee. In many states, being a legislature is not a full time job. 16.4% of state legislatures were working full time as of 2007. Most have their own occupation and most are attorney or business owners.

India

In India, there are 28 states and 3 union territories. Chief Ministers are the heads of the council of ministries in states. The constitution of India provides for a legislature in each state and entrusts it with the responsibility to make law for the state. Each state has a legislative assembly and it is called “State Legislative Assembly” Some states have only one house (Unicameral legislature) and some have two houses (Bicameral Legislature). There are seven India states having bicameral legislature and the rest of remaining 21 states are unicameral. The two union territories, Delhi and Puducherry are unicameral legislatures.

In unicameral legislature, legislative assembly is also called as “Vidhan Sabha”. In bicameral legislature, there are two houses called legislative assembly” Vidhan Sabha” (lower house) and legislative council is called as “Vidhan Parishalupp”. There are some differences between Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council in India. Legislative Assembly represents the residents of the State and the Members of Legislative Assembly are elected by the people directly in elections. According to the population of the states, the strength of legislative assembly varies from 60 to 500 members. It is a temporary body and it continues to operate for a period of 5 years.

Legislative Council is the permanent body at the state level and Members of Legislative Council are indirectly elected through proportional representation system while Members of Legislative Assembly are elected through First Past the Post system by people in state elections. Legislative Assembly can create or abolish the Council when it passes a resolution by two-thirds majority of members, who are

present and voting in the State Assembly for the same and then request the parliament. The maximum numbers of the State Legislative Council should not be more than one-third of the members of Legislative Assembly. The tenure of the members is six years and 33.33% of its members retire after every two years.

The speaker who is elected by the members from among the members leads the Legislative Assembly and the chairman who is chosen by the members themselves heads the Legislative Council. To become a member of Legislative Assembly, one should be at least the age of 25 and for the legislative Council, one should be 30 years.

In India, State Legislatures sit for 31 days a year on an average and the Primary function of the State Legislature is law-making and it is empowered to make laws on State List and Concurrent List. For the Concurrent Lists, both the Parliament and the Legislative Assemblies have the right to make laws on the subjects mentioned in it but the Parliament shall prevail when there is a contradiction between the Union and State law. All bills can be introduced in either Upper House or Lower House (if the State Legislature is Bicameral) but budget bill is just first introduced in the Legislative Assembly. The State Legislature have the power to control over finances of the State.

Various committees with members of State Legislatures are set up and they examines bills in detail and allow for an informed debate in the legislature. These committees have to emphasize for budgetary allocations for various departments and other policies of the government. Moreover, they arrange the forum for law makers to develop expertise, provide a meeting with citizens and they can also provide a platform for building consensus on various issues because these committee consist of members from different parties. The main three types of committees are (1) Financial Committees (2) Department-related Standing Committees and (3) Other Committees. According to the size of the State Legislatures, committees numbers are vary state to state.

The Functions of the State Legislature is the same with the functions of the Parliament in the Union but there is a difference of degree in their relative powers. Union Parliament is more powerful than each state legislature and there are many specific limitations on the power of a State Legislature.

Malaysia

Malaysia is a federation of 13 states and three federal territories – Kuala Lumpur, Putrajaya and Lubuan. Governance of the states is divided between the federal and the state governments, with different power reserved for each and the federal government has direct administration of the federal territories together with local authorities. All 13 states adopt the Westminster Parliamentary system and each state has a unicameral State Legislative Assembly whose members are elected from single- member constituencies during state elections through the first-past-the-post system. State governments are led by Chief Ministers, who are state assembly members from the majority party in the assembly.

A state legislative assembly is the legislative branch of the state governments of each for the 13 Malaysian states. The size of the State Assemblies are different according to the population of each state from 15 seats to 82 seats. The assemblies have powers to enact state laws as provided for by the constitution of Malaysia. The state legislative assemblies are unicameral while the Parliament of Malaysia is bicameral.

According to the Federal Constitution, the state legislature is empowered to legislate on matters such as agriculture, local government, land issues, forestry and public works. For the Concurrent Lists, state legislatures are allowed to make the laws and if there is a conflict between the Parliament and state legislatures, federal laws would prevail. Among the states, Sabah and Sarawak occupy the special position in the Federation compared to other states because these states are the very first states to form a federation in 1963.

2.6 Review on Previous Studies

Unluckily, there is no direct study related studies with Parliaments (Hluttaws) to review but there are some similar previous studies concerned with politics.

Seng Swam, (2017) revealed on the Roles of Stakeholders Contribution to the 2015 Myanmar Elections. It was found how related with Democracy and Elections and how important of elections in the democratic countries in the world. The roles of the Stakeholders are vital important for election process and Union Elections Committee (UEC) and other Stakeholders such as political parties, citizens, civil society, international organizations and media relationship are essential for elections to be successful.

Khaing Mar Htay, (2019) studied Women Participation in Legislative Pillar of Myanmar Government and it was found that female members of parliament belonged to only nine political parties at the national level and regional level in 2015 general elections and the vast of majority are from the National League for Democracy. It was also noted that in the States and Regions, 79 (12.5%) of the elected parliamentarians and five (17.2%) of the 29 elected ethnic affairs ministers are women. For the suggestions, women' representation in Myanmar's Hluttaw (2015) is now higher than 2010 general elections but remains low compared with other countries and need more trainings and skills in technical areas for women.

Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation (EMReF) (2017) studied about local legislatures in Myanmar in the report of State and Region Hluttaws (Local Legislatures) of Myanmar (2010-2015). Legislative outputs, legislative effectiveness and constraints and oversight roles were included in this report and Kayin state, Mon state, Shan state, Ayeyarwaddy region, Sagaing region and Tanintharyi region were examined in this report. The study identified structural limitations as the top factor undermining the roles and effectiveness of local legislatures.

CHAPTER III

OVERVIEW ON YANGON REGION HLUTTAW

3.1 Legislative Systems in Myanmar

Myanmar is practicing a Unitary parliamentary constitutional republic under its 2008 constitution. It has started new political system since 2010 after long terrible history of military dictatorship. Till 2016, however Myanmar was rated as a “hybrid regime” by The Economist Intelligence Unit though she passed two general elections – 2010 and 2015 because the military of Myanmar hold a large amount of power in the government under the 2008 constitution.

No matter, more than five decades after the military seized power in 1958, Myanmar was experiencing another return to parliamentary Democracy. After independence from British colony in 1948, Myanmar practiced parliamentary democracy for the first time and it was a bicameral parliament with a Chamber of Deputies and a Chamber of Nationalities. After that the first coup was happened in 1958 by the military and it ran the country for two years. In 1962, General Ne win led a coup and from that time on, parliamentary system in Myanmar was abolished. In 2010, the State Peace and Development Council held the first general elections under the 2008 constitution and main military-backed party, USDP claims resounding victory. No matter, the re-emergence of parliament in Myanmar has proven to be one of the most starting illustration of transformation at work since the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC or Junta) was disbanded.

However, the NLD decided to boycott the 2010 General Election on the grounds that the 2008 Constitution was under democratic and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, General Secretary of NLD must be expelled from the NLD under the Political Parties Registration Law and other reasons. The Nov.8, 2015 General Election was a milestone in the transition process launched in 2011. The transition towards democracy was highly controlled, with the military and the nominally civilian government- largely composed of former senior army officers- setting the pace and the direction. Nonetheless, the transition led to and opening of political space.

Political parties expanded their activities, and the formerly suppressed opposition party National League for Democracy (NLD) gained parliamentary representation following the 2012 by-elections in which it won all but one seat it contested. (Center, 2015)

The first bicameral legislature in post-colonial Myanmar was convened in January 31, 2011 after the controversial general elections on November 7, 2010. Not only international societies but also political analysts in Myanmar regarded as a controversial election because the military stepping back from political power but still holding on to some key institutions, including 25% reserved seats in the new Union Parliament and three important ministries such as Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Border Affairs.

While the Union Parliament has put into operation its legislative, representative and oversight functions, it is still very much in a nascent phase of development. It will require reforms, some upgrade programs and further support to achieve efficiency, effectiveness and public trust.

Under the 2008 constitution, the legislature power of the Union is shared among the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (the Assembly of the Union) and State and Region Hluttaws. (Section 12(a), the 2008 constitution). Myanmar is divided into twenty-one administrative subdivisions which included seven states and seven regions which has equal status, six self-administrated zones and one self-administered division. In each State and Region, there has a state Hluttaw or Regional Hluttaw. Thus, there are altogether fifteen legislature branches in Myanmar. Legislature power stipulated by 2008 constitution shall be shared to the Self-Administered areas. (Section 12 (a), the 2008 constitution)

3.1.1 Assembly of the Union (Pyidaungsu Hluttaw)

Myanmar, officially known as the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, established the national-level bicameral legislature by the 2008 National Constitution in 2011 and it is called “The Assembly of the Union” (Pyidaungsu Hluttaw). The Pyidaungsu Hluttaw is made up of two houses, the Amyotha Hluttaw (House of Nationalities) with two hundred and twenty four seats and the Pyithu Hluttaw (House of Representative) with four hundred and forty seats.

The Amyotha Hluttaw can be mentioned as an upper house and the Pyithu Hluttaw can be mentioned as a lower house. In each Hluttaw, 25% of representatives

are for the military and they all are nominated by the commander-in-chief of the Defense services. Therefore, out of two hundred and twenty four seats in Amyotha Hluttaw, fifty-six representatives are from the military and in Pyithu Hluttaw, out of four hundred and forty seats, hundred and ten are from military's nomination. The Hluttaw representatives from Pyithu Hluttaw are elected on the basis of township as well as population while the Hluttaw representatives from Amyotha Hluttaw are elected in equal numbers from Regions and States. (Section 74 (a) and (b), the 2008 constitution)

The Pyidaungsu Hluttaw has the power to enact the laws for the entire or any part of the Union related to matters prescribed in Schedule One of the Union Legislatives List. (Section 96, the 2008 constitution) The Legislative Power is vested in the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw relating to other matters not enumerated in the legislative list of the Union, Region or State and Self-Administrated Division Leading Body or Self-Administered Zone Leading Body (Council, 2009). (Section 98, the 2008 constitution)

In the first term of Amyotha Hlluttaw (House of Nationalities), there were fifteen parties in the election and USDP got the most seats with one hundred and twenty-nine. The following table showed the winning parties and the seats they got in the very first general election in 2010.

Table (3.1) Representatives for each party in the 1st term of Amyotha Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	USDP	129
2	NUP	5
3	NDF	4
4	SNDP	3
5	RNDP	7
6	All Mon Region Democracy Party	4
7	CPP	4
8	Phalon-Sawaw Democratic party	3
9	CNP	2
10	Pa-O National Organization	1
11	Kayin People's Party	1
12	Ta'ang National Party	1
13	Wa Democratic Party	1
14	Unity and Democracy Party of Kachin State	1
15	Kayin State Democracy and Development Party	1
16	Independent	1
	Total	168

Source: Union Election Commission Website

In the second term of Amyotha Hluttaw, there were nine parties that ran for the general election and NLD got the most seats with one hundred and thirty-five. The following table showed the winning parties and the seats they got in the second general election in 2015.

Table (3.2) Representatives for each party in the 2nd term of Amyotha Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	NLD	135
2	USDP	11
3	ANP	10
4	SNLD	3
5	Ta'ang National Party	2
6	Zomi Congress for Democracy	2
7	Mon National Party	1
8	National Unity Party	1
9	Pa-O National Organization	1
10	Independent	2
	Total	168

Source: Union Election Commission Website

In the first term of Pyithuhluttaw, there were eleven parties in the election and USDP got the most seats with two hundred and fifty nine. The following table showed the winning parties and the seats they got in the very first general election in 2010.

Table (3.3) Representatives for each party in the 1st term of Pyithu Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	USDP	259
2	NUP	12
3	NDF	8
4	SNDP	18
5	RNDP	9
6	All Mon Region Democracy Party	3
7	PaO National Organization	3
8	CPP	2
9	Phalon-Sawaw Democratic party	2
10	CNP	2
11	Wa Democratic Party	2
12	Kayin People's Party	1
13	Inn National Development Party	1
14	Ta'ang National Party	1
15	Unity and Democracy Party of Kachin State	1
16	Independent	1
	Total	325

Source: Union Election Commission Website

In the second term of Pyithu hluttaw, there were eleven parties and NLD got the most seats with two hundred and fifty five. The following table showed the winning parties and the seats they got in the second general election in 2015.

Table (3.4) Representatives for each party in the 2nd term of Pyithu Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	NLD	225
2	USDP	30
3	ANP	12
4	SNLD	12
5	Ta'ang National Party	3
	PaO National Organization	3
6	Zomi Congress for Democracy	2
	Lisu National Development Party	2
8	Kachin State Democracy Party	1
9	Kokang Democracy and Unity Party	1
10	Wa Democratic Party	1
	Independent	1
	Total	323

Source: Union Election Commission Website

For the women participation in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, a mere 28 seats out of 466 elected seats total or 6% of elected Union Parliamentarians were elected in the first term. There were only four seats in the Upper House and only 24 seats in the Lower House. In January 2014, only two women representatives were appointed to the 166 seats representing the military bloc in the Union Parliament, previously there were no female military representative.

In the Second term, the number of women parliamentarians increased significantly and 23 women parliamentarians entered the Amyotha Hluttaw and 44 entered the Pyithu Hluttaw and the number of female representatives in the Union Parliament more than doubled from 6 % to 13.7% of all elected Member of Parliaments.

3.2 The background situation of State and Region Hluttaws (Parliaments) in Myanmar

The 2010 General election introduced subnational governments (states and regions), each with a legislature, Judiciary and Executive in Myanmar. This was the second election held under the Military Government (the first one was 1990 General Election) and it was held based on the 2008 constitution. Historically, Myanmar's fiscal, administrative and political structures have been highly centralized (Dickenson-Jones, De, & Smurra, 2015) and these structures of government are new institutions for Myanmar. Thus, Myanmar's State and Region Hluttaws are very young democratic institutions and they have operated since 2011 and currently halfway through their second parliamentary term. Because of the short time, their abilities to act as a check and balance on regional government has been stifled by a lack of capacity and also a constitution that puts power largely in the hands of regional governments appointed directly by the president (Defaria & Annawitt, Situation Analysis of Myanmar's Region and State Hluttaws, 2018).

Actually, the State and Region Hluttaws or local legislatures are important pillars of Myanmar's political infrastructure. They are critical for the development of a federal system in Myanmar. Although local legislatures are crucial to decentralization, inefficient attention has been paid to their current performances and the challenges they must overcome to strengthen as institutions (EMref, 2017). Therefore, understanding the progress of decentralization in Myanmar, it is necessary to support well to policy-makers and key stakeholders in State and Regions Hluttaws.

The internal functions of state and region Hluttaws are basically the same in Myanmar. They include the role of the speaker, the functions of the plenary and committee, the role of the Members of Parliament, the role of Hluttaw administration and how Hluttaw perform their law making and oversight functions in cooperation with the region or state government and the Union government. There are external functions of Hluttaw such as meeting with international community and NGOs, CSOs which support for Myanmar's democratization.

Unlike Union parliament, the fourteen state and region Hluttaws are unicameral and all Hluttaws are composed of two elected Members of Parliament from each township in the respective Regions or States, elected ethnic affairs ministers representing minority ethnic groups which have a population which constitutes 0.1 percent and above from region and state-wide constituencies, and MPs appointed by

the military, who make up roughly one-third of the total number of Hluttaw Representatives in each State and Region Hluttaw. (Section 161, the 2008 constitution)

According to size and composition, state and region Hluttaws are vary and the largest Hluttaw is Shan State Hluttaw with 137 MPs and the smallest one is Kayah State Hluttaw with only 20 members.

Among the state and region Hluttaws, Shan State Hluttaw is the biggest one in size and the most diversity. It consists of 137 members – 103 elected members and 34 military representatives. In the second term of Hluttaw, there are 13 parties in the Hluttaw and the speaker, U Sai Lone Seng is from the USDP. Ethnic-ministers are altogether 7 ministers and it is the greatest number of ethic ministers compared with other State and Region Hluttaws. Ten Committees are composed with all members of parliament and all the chair of the committees are male. The following table expressed the winning parties and the seats they got in the second term.

Table (3.5) Representatives for each party in Shan State Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	USDP	33
2	SNLD	24
3	NLD	23
4	Ta'ang National Party	7
5	PaO National Organization	6
6	Lahu National Development Party	2
7	Wa Democratic Party	2
8	Shan Nationalities Democratic Party	1
9	Arkha National Development Party	1
10	Kokang Democracy and Unity Party	1
11	Lisu National Development Party	1
12	Wa National Unity Party	1
13	Independent	1
	Total	103

Source: Union Election Commission Website

Rakhine State Hluttaw is also distinguished one and the robust ethnic party ANP leads the Hluttaw. There are 22 ANP members of parliament out of 35 MPs and there are three parties in the Hluttaw. The speaker and deputy-speaker are U San Kyaw Hla and U Pho Min who are from ANP. There are five committees and there is no woman MP in this Hluttaw. The following table expressed the winning parties and the seats they got in 2015 general election.

Table (3.6) Representatives for each party in Rakhine State Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	ANP	18
2	NLD	9
3	ALD	4
4	USDP	3
5	Independent	1
	Total	35

Source: Union Election Commission Website

Mon state Hluttaw is regarded as “the strongest Hluttaw” among the state and regions Hluttaw. The speaker is Daw Tin Ei from NLD and Deputy speaker is U Aung Naing Oo from All Mon Region Democracy party. This is the only one Hluttaw that possesses the female speaker. Because of ten townships, there are only twenty MPs, three ethnic ministers and eight military representatives. Four political parties are in the Hluttaw and there are only eight committees. These committees are composed with not only MPs but also other technicians and volunteers. The Members of Parliament in Mon State Hluttaw can practice very well for the oversight role of the Hluttaw. The following table expressed the winning parties and the seats they got in 2015 general election.

Table (3.7) Representatives for each party in Mon State Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	NLD	19
2	MNP	2
3	AMDP	1
4	USDP	1
	Total	23

Source: Union Election Commission Website

Kayin and Kayah State Hluttaws are the smallest Hluttaws among the State and Region Hluttaws with 14 members of representatives in each Hluttaw. But the ethnic ministers in Kayin state Hluttaw are three and Kayah State Hluttaw has only one ethnic minister. Thus, Kayah State Hluttaw becomes the smallest one with 20 seats in Hluttaw and Kayin State Hluttaw becomes the second smallest Hluttaw with 23 seats. Kayin State Hluttaw consists of 17 elected MPs and 6 military appointees and it is led by Saw Chit Khin from NLD. There are three parties in the Hluttaw and the following table expressed the winning parties and the seats they got in 2015 general election.

Table (3.8) Representatives for each party in Kayin State Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	NLD	13
2	USDP	3
3	KPP	1
	Total	17

Source: Union Election Commission Website

Kayah State Hluttaw is composed with 20 members including 15 elected members and 5 military representatives. The Speaker is U Hla Htwe from NLD and only two parties are in the Hluttaw. The following table showed the parties in the Hluttaw and the seats they got in the 2015 general election.

Table (3.9) Representatives for each party in Kayah State Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	NLD	11
2	USDP	4
	Total	15

Source: Union Election Commission Website

Chin State Hluttaw is composed of eighteen members MPs elected from nine townships and six MPs appointed by the military. There is no ethnic minister in Chin state Hluttaw and it is the only one Hluttaw in Myanmar that is no ethnic minister. The Speaker U Zo Bawi is from NLD and only three political parties are in Chin state Hluttaw. The following table showed the parties in the Hluttaw and the seats they got in the 2015 general election.

Table (3.10) Representatives for each party in Chin State Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	NLD	12
2	USDP	4
3	ZCD	2
	Total	18

Source: Union Election Commission Website

In Kachin state Hluttaw, there are altogether fifty-three seats and thirty-six are townships representatives, thirteen is from military and four are ethnic ministers. The Speaker is U Tun Tun from NLD and six political parties' representatives are in the Hluttaw. The following table showed the parties in the Hluttaw and the seats they got in the 2015 general election.

Table (3.11) Representatives for each party in Kachin State Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	NLD	26
2	USDP	7
3	KSDP	3
4	LNDP	2
5	SNLD	1
6	UDPKS	1
	Total	40

Source: Union Election Commission Website

Sagaing Region Hluttaw is the third largest one with one hundred and one seats behind from Shan State Hluttaw and Yangon Region Hluttaw. There are thirty-seven townships and so, seventy-four township representatives and twenty-five MPs are appointed by military. Out of seventy-six elected members, two members are for the ethnic ministers. The Hluttaw is led by the Speaker U Than of the NLD and there are three parties in the parliament. The following table showed the parties in the Hluttaw and the seats they got in the 2015 general election.

Table (3.12) Representatives for each party in Sagaing Region Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	NLD	69
2	USDP	5
3	TLNDP	2
	Total	76

Source: Union Election Commission Website

The ancient city, Mandalay possessed the strong Regional Hluttaw with seventy-six seats. It was composed of only three parties' representatives and 25% of military representative. The Speaker is U Aung Kyaw Oo and there are thirteen committees in the Hluttaw. All the leadership positions in Hluttaw are influenced by male MPs.

Table (3.13) Representatives for each party in Mandalay Region Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	NLD	48
2	USDP	8
3	DPM	1
	Total	57

Source: Union Election Commission Website

In Ayeyarwddy region Hluttaw, U Aung Kyaw Khine leads it and in the parliament, there are fifty-four representatives from township and eighteen military representatives. There are two ethnics ministers- Kayin and Raknine.

Table (3.14) Representatives for each party in Ayeyarwaddy Region Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	NLD	51
2	USDP	3
	Total	54

Source: Union Election Commission Website

Tanintharyi region Hluttaw is also a small parliament composed with only twenty-eight members including twenty-one elected members and seven military representatives. Out of twenty-one elected, one is ethnic ministers. The distinguished feature of Tanintharyi Region Hluttaw is that only one party (NLD) won all seats in the general election. The Speaker U Khin Maung Aye leads the Hluttaw. The

following table showed the parties in the Hluttaw and the seats they got in the 2015 general election.

Table (3.15) Representatives for each party in Tanintharyi Region Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	NLD	21
	Total	21

Source: Union Election Commission Website

Magway Region Hluttaw is also like Tanintharyi Region Hluttaw having one party - NLD in the Hluttaw. There are sixty-eight members in the Hluttaw including fifty-one elected members and seven military representatives. U Tar is the Speaker of Hluttaw and there is one ethnic minister in Magwe Region Hluttaw. The following table showed the parties in the Hluttaw and the seats they got in the 2015 general election.

Table (3.16) Representatives for each party in Magwe Region Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	NLD	51
	Total	51

Source: Union Election Commission Website

In Bago region Hluttaw, U Khin Maung Yin, leads it and in the parliament, there are fifty-seven representatives from townships and nineteen military representatives. There is one ethnic minister- Kayin.

Table (3.17) Representatives for each party in Bago Region Hluttaw

Sr.no	Party	Numbers of Representatives
1	NLD	55
2	USDP	2
	Total	57

3.3 Yangon Region Hluttaw

Yangon is the former capital city of Myanmar and it is also an international gateway city of Myanmar. It is composed of 45 townships including one island township, Cocokyun. Therefore, there are altogether 90 elected members from 45 townships and there are two elected ethnic ministers for Rakhine and Kayin ethnics. NLD, USDP and ANP are involved in the current Hluttaw and there are 31 military

representatives and altogether there are one hundred and twenty-three seats in Yangon Region Hluttaw. Ten committees are composed with elected members and military representatives and there is also one commission named “Special Issues Assessment Commission”

In the 1st term General Election, NLD boycotted for the election and military-backed party, USDP won most constituencies and became the ruling party. There was only a few opposition in the Hluttaw and it was difficult for check and balance process. No matter, in 2015, NLD decided to contest the General Election because of the changes of political situation and NLD won most seats in Hluttaw.

3.3.1 Members of Representatives in 1st term and 2nd term of Yangon Region Hluttaw

The Union Solidarity and Development party influenced in the 1st term Hluttaw. Thirty-nine political parties contested in 2010 general election and eight parties won the election. USDP had got seventy-five seats out of ninety-two elected members from each constituency (ninety members of parliament were from each township and two were ethnic representatives who are Rakhine and Kayin ethnicity.) Seventy-five MPs from USDP, eight MPs from NUP, 2 MPs from NNDP, one MP from KPP, one MP from RNDP, 2 MPs from NDF, one MP from the 88 Generation Student party, one MP from Democratic party (Myanmar) and one independent candidate were in the first term hluttaw.

Table (3.18) Representatives for each party in the 1st term of Yangon Region Hluttaw

Name of parties	No. of Representatives
USDP	75
NUP	8
NNDP	2
KPP	1
RNDP	1
NDF	2
88 Generation Students Party (Union of Myanmar)	1
Democratic Party (Myanmar)	1
Independent	1
Total	92

Source: Union Election Commission Myanmar

The current Hluttaw was influenced by NLD with eighty-seven representatives from each constituency and one ethnic minister. Twenty eight parties and individuals ran for 2015 General Election in Yangon Region Hluttaw and only three parties won the seats in Hluttaw. There were 87 elected from NLD, three elected MPs from USDP and one elected MP from Arakhan National Party (ANP). Kayin Erhnic Minister was elected from NLD and Rakhine Ethnic Minister was from ANP.

Table (3.19) Representatives for each party in the 2nd term of Yangon Region Hluttaw

No	Name of party	No. of Representatives
1	NLD	87
2	USDP	3
3	ANP	1
	Total	92

Source: Union Election Commission Myanmar

In the 1st term, the Speaker of Yangon Region Hluttaw was U Sein Tin Win from Kunchankone constituency (2) and he was a senior member of USDP. He was a former colonel and (63) years old. Deputy speaker was U Tin Aung form East-Dagon constituency (2) and he was (58) years old. He was also from USDP. The Speaker could manage the Hluttaw's functions and he had good relationship with the chief minister who was formerly senior military personal and also supervised the Hluttaw well. He understood what he should do as a Speaker and conduct the difficulties to go forward for the role of check and balance.

Out of ninety-two elected members, seven representatives became the Ministers in the Cabinet led by U Myint Swe, the Chief Minister, from USDP parties. He contested at Seik-Kyi-Kha-Naung-Toe (1) constituency. U Hla Myint, the Mayor, was not an elected Hluttaw representative.

In the 2nd term, the Hluttaw Speaker, U Tin Maung Tun, a former headmaster is lack of experiences to implement his duties and responsibilities. He is 65 when he was elected as a member of parliament from Dagon constituency (1). U Lin Naing Myint from Kamaryut constituency (2) is Deputy speaker and he is (42) years old. The Speaker rares to share the duties and responsibilities of the functions of Hluttaw with the Deputy Speaker and he sometimes hesitates to decide some important matters in the Hluttaw.

Out of ninety-two elected members, only three became the ministers and they became the members of cabinet in Yangon led by the Chief Minister, U Phyo Min Thein from Hlegu (1) constituency. U Maung Maung Soe, the Mayor, is not an elected representative. Other ministers are not elected and they are appointed as the respective ministers.

According to the 2008 Constitution, the State and Region members of parliaments are allowed to run for the election if they are at least at the age of twenty-five. (Section 169, the 2008 constitution) In the 1st term of Yangon Region Hluttaw, (24) MPs are over sixty and (60) MPs are between forty and sixty. (8) MPs are under forty and the youngest MP from the USDP is (32) years old. In the second term of Yangon Region Hluttaw, (15) MPs are over sixty and (49) MPs are between forty and sixty. (28) MPs are under forty and the youngest MP from NLD is (27) years old. The table (3.3) shows the ages of the Representatives of 1st term and 2nd term of Yangon Region Hluttaw.

Table (3.20) Ages of the representatives of 1st term and 2nd term of Yangon Region Hluttaws

Age(Years)	1st Term	2nd Term	Remark
Under 40	8	28	-the youngest was 32 from USDP in 1 st term. -the youngest is 27 from NLD in 2 nd term
Between 40 and 60	60	49	
Over 60	24	15	

Source: Yangon Region Hluttaw

For Education Level, in the first term, there are 65 graduates MPs and 6 MPs are Master degree holders. There are seven doctors and 14 MPs are under graduated.

In the 2nd term of Hluttaw, there are 66 MPs who are graduates and two MPs are Master degree holders. Among graduates, (9) MPs studied Laws and (8) MPs are engineers. (4) MPs studied about Economics and three MPs are doctors. 24 are under graduated.

Female representatives are relatively low and only six women were elected in 2010 general election in Yangon Region Hluttaw. It was only (5.52) % of elected MPs and (4.8) % of all MPs, elected and appointed. Among them, (4) belonged to USDP and one is from NNDP and one is independent (Latt, Ninh, Myint, & Lee, 2017)

In the Second term of Yangon Region Hluttaw, there are (18) female representatives in the Yangon Region Hluttaw and all are from NLD and 16.56% of elected members and after counting one female military officer, (15.44) % of all MPs, elected and appointed. The following table (3.4) expresses the numbers of male and female elected Representatives in the Yangon Region Hluttaw.

Table (3.21) Male and Female Elected Representatives in the Yangon Region Hluttaw

	2010-2015	2015-2020
Male	86	74
Female	6	18

Source: Union Elections Committee Myanmar

3.3.2 Legislating, Submitting Proposals and Raising Questions

As a legislator, legislative process is very important for him or her and actually it is the main duty of a legislature. Local legislators are allowed to enact laws for the entire or any part of the State and Region related to matter prescribed in schedule two of the State and Region Hluttaw Legislative list. (Section 188, the 2008 constitution)

There are two kinds of law _ non routine laws and routine laws. Routine law means the laws that have to submit by the State and Region government as a bill every year. There are three bills that can be drafted exclusively by the State Government (Cabinet) and they are; (1) annual budget, supplementary budget allocation bill (2) the local development plan outlining local priorities (3) revenue/taxation bill. (Section 190 (b), the 2008 constitution) These bills are reviewed not only by the Legislative committee but also by the Public Account Committee (PAC). For the planning bill, not only Legislative committee and Public Account Committee but also the Finance, Planning and Economic committee also has to review.

Non routine law means, the other laws except the three laws mentioned in above. The non-routine bills may be introduced by MPs or by any state-level body or government department and the draft bills must be within the topics in schedule two of the constitutions. (Section 191, the 2008 constitution) Examples of non-routine laws include the Fishery law, the law for Village Firewood Plant and the law for Fire and Natural Disaster Preventive Measures. Some amended and replaced laws are also considered as non-routine laws. Actually, the number of non-routine laws that can enact in State and Region Hluttaws is a key visible and tangible output indicator of legislative effectiveness. However, State and Region Hluttaws are weak in drafting the non-routine bill not only in the 1st term but also in the 2nd term.

The number of non-routine laws is a key visible and tangible output indicator of legislative effectiveness (EMRef, 2017). For the legislative situation in the first term of Yangon Region Hluttaw, Hluttaw enacted 24 laws within five years. Out of 24, 14 are routine laws and the other are non-routine laws and two amendment laws are included in the ten non-routines laws.

The eight new laws are the Fishery law, Labor law, YCDC law for thirty three townships, YDC law for twelve townships (Outside YCDC), the Beverage law, the law for Systematic Transportation of Motor Vehicles, the law for Systematic Transportation of Water Vehicles and the law for Salt and Products of Salt. The two amendment laws are for YCDC law.

In the 2nd term, during over three years Hluttaw passed only twenty-six laws and out of twenty-six, only four are non-routine and five are amendment. The rest seventeen laws are routine. The YCDC law 2018, the law for Fire and Natural disaster preventive measures and the law for household industry and the Libraries law are included as the non-routine law. The five amendment laws are the Beverage law (2016), the Beverage law (2018), the Tax law (2018), the YCDC law (2018), the Fishery Law(2019). The table (3.5) shows the legislations in Yangon Region Hluttaw.

Table (3.22) Legislations in Yangon Region Hluttaw

	2010-2015 (five years)	2016-2019 (Three years)
Routine laws	14	17
Non-routine laws (New)	8	4
Non-routine laws (Amendment)	2	5
Total laws	24	26

Source: Yangon Region Hluttaw

For submitting proposals, in the 1st term of Yangon Region Hluttaw, 64 proposals were approved within 5 years. During in the first three years, the Hluttaw could approve 30 proposals.

In the 2nd term of Hluttaw, there were only (25) proposals that were submitted until the 9th Session of Yangon Region Hluttaw. Out of 25, 17 were approved, 1 was disapproved, and 7 were recorded within three years.

For the questions, the 1st term Hluttaw asked (522) questions in the very first year of Hluttaw and there were (271) questions in the second year of Hluttaw. In the third year, the (329) questions were be asked in the Hluttaw.

In the 2nd term, all together (1147) starred questions and 146 un-starred questions are asked in the Yangon Region Hluttaw until 9th Session.

3.3.3 The Committees

The committees play vital roles in parliaments and they are regarded as a small Parliament. They can be formed according to the section 167, 2008 constitution. The section 167 said that the Region Hluttaw or State Hluttaw may, if necessary, form committee and bodies with the Region or State Hluttaw representatives concerned to study and submit legislation, national races affairs vested by the constitution. They have to work not only in the plenary sessions but also in sessions. The work of committee is governed by the Hluttaw's rules and procedures. They can determine their own business independently, with limited governance by the speaker. They have ToR (Term of Reference) outlining their mandates and ToR can be amended by the Hluttaw.

A Region or State Hluttaw committee consists of the Committee Chair, Committee Secretary and Committee members. In some committees, there is a deputy

chair. All members including military representatives are appointed to the committee by the Speaker and at least two Hluttaw Staff have to support to the committee. Committee chairs are very important for the success performance of committees.

The role of the committee chair are that he or she calls the meetings and arrange the committee affairs with the help and support of the committee secretary and Hluttaw staff. The committee chair can arrange the call meeting with not only the cabinet members but also the other stakeholders if the committee needs to investigate some issues. In some cases, the committee chairs are free for investigations and studies within the mandate of the committee and in other cases, they must liaise and consult with the speaker prior to initiating an activity. This may be depending on the Hluttaw Speaker. For the travel plan for the field visits, the committee chairs have to submit to the Speaker's office so that the Hluttaw administration can provide logistical and administration support to the committee (Defaria & Annawitt, 2018).

In the fourteen States and Regions Hluttaw, the numbers of committees are not the same. For the 1st term, the Hluttaws did not emphasize about the committees. In the 2nd term, they found up the committees according to their States and Regions need. For example, there are (8) committees in the Mon State Hluttaw and in Mandalay Region Hluttaw, there are (13) committees. In most Regions Hluttaw, there are at least (10) committees and in some small States Hluttaw such as Kayin and Kayah, the numbers of committees are less than others. A new committee can also be founded up according to the decision of the Hluttaw Speaker and if need, suitable citizens can also be included in the committee. For example, Mon State Hluttaw founded up a new committee titled with "Women and Children rights committee" in 2017.

In Yangon Region Hluttaw, there were only three committees in the 1st term of Hluttaw and they were Bill Committee, Hluttaw Representatives vetting committee and Ethnic affairs committee. In the Bill Committee, U Hla Tun from Panbetan constituency (1) was the committee Chair and there were only (9) members in the committee. In the Hluttaw representative vetting committee, U Mya Ngwe from Kamaryut constituency (2) was committee chair and it was also found up with 9 committee members. U Saw Tun Aung Myint who was also the Kayin ethnic minister was the Ethnic affair committee Chair and the committee members was the same with other two committees. The distinguish point for the first term Hluttaw committees was that the military representative were not in the committees. Moreover, the Hluttaw did not found up the Public Account Committee (PAC), one of the important

committees for Hluttaw, they could not scrutinize the annual budget well and also the annual audit report.

In the 2nd term, there are ten committees in the Yangon Region Hluttaw. All committees are founded up with eleven members of parliament including two military-officer. All committees have their own roles and responsibilities, e.g.: The Bill committee led by U Thein Myint from Tarmwe constituency (2) reviews bills submitted by MPs or the government. Public Account Committee (PAC) led by U Tint Lwin from Pazuntaung constituency (2) reviews the budget proposed and the reports of the auditor-general's office. U Khin Maung Win from Pazundaung constituency (1) leads the government pledges and Vetting committee and their committee reviews how the government implements proposals adopted by the Hluttaw and pledges made by the government at the plenary session. U Myint Lwin from North Okkalapa constituency (2) leads the Complaints committee and they have to undertake inquiries for the issues that is submitted by the citizen.

Daw Sandar Min from Seikgyi Khanaungto constituency (1) is the chair of Finance, planning and economics committee and they review the planning bill, audit report and the new projects done by the government. Daw Aye Aye Mar from Lanmadaw constituency (1) leads the Representatives Vetting Committee and their main responsibility is to scrutinize the members of parliament attendance. The Ethnic Affairs committee is led by U Aung Htoo from Botataung Constituency (1) and they emphasize about the ethnics affairs. The Transportation, Communication, Construction and Industry committee is led by U Thet Tun Win from Botataung constituency (2) and they have to solve the complaints letters related with those issues. U Thar Aung from Insein Constituency (1) leads the Social Affairs and Management committee and they review the YCDC issues, education issues and health care issues in Yangon.

3.3.4 The organizational structure of Hluttaw Staff in 1st term and 2nd term

The role of the Hluttaw administration plays the important role for the internal function of State and Region Hluttaws. Most administrative and scheduling decisions in the State and Region Hluttaws are made by the Speaker with the support and advice of the Deputy-Speaker, the DDG and the relevant Directors. The Hluttaw Administration have to manage the Hluttaw Administration Office, Hluttaw staff and

the Hluttaw Budget and they also have to provide service to the Hluttaw plenary and the committee.

In the 1st term of State and Region Hluttaws, the administrative support office of local legislature was sub-departments of the general administration department (GAD). The ministry of Home Affairs handled the appointment of key office staff and the minister of that ministry was appointed by the Commander in Chief. Therefore, the heads of Hluttaw offices were required to be accountable to the Deputy Director General of GAD who served as an Executive Secretary in each State and Region government. It means that there was lack of check and balance between executive branch and legislative branch.

In those time, there was only one Director and one Deputy Director who manage the whole Hluttaw Administrative. Two Assistant Directors helped them and there were altogether over (50) staffs and all are from Home Affairs Ministry.

In 2017, there was a significant reform for Hluttaw administration. After comprehensive administration reform, State and Region Hluttaw administration are parts of Pyidaungsu Hluttaw administration in term of organization but perform independently guided by the Hluttaw speaker. The DDG is the head of the State and Region Hluttaw Administration or Secretariat. The DDG reports to the Speaker and he or she also acts as secretary to the administrative and management budget of Hluttaw (Defaria & Annawitt, 2018)

In the 2nd term of Yangon Region Hluttaw, the current DDG is Daw Thi Thi New and former DDG, Daw Kyi Kyi Swe was retired in 2018. There are one director who help DDG and four AD who take care each respective sector. Though full organizational structure is (82) staff, now the Hluttaw is running with (76) staff.

After reforming the Hluttaw administration, there are four sections in the State and Region Hluttaws and divided into eight units such as (1) Plenary sessions, (2) committee affairs (3) Laws (4) Motions and Questions (5) Administration and Finance, (6) Administrative and support Services (7) Complaint letters and report and (8) Library, Archives and Research. Several different units have responsibilities for different documents, which make central tracking of document status and circulation of information to MPs potentially complicated. Detailed duties and functions of sections and units in the region and state administration are as follow.

In section (1), there are two units such as plenary session and Affairs Committees. The main duties of the plenary sessions are to invite the MPs to the

sessions to arrange the agenda, to arrange for voting for same issues and to records the whole session. Affairs committees have to form committee and structures and to committee the NGO, INGO and CSO.

In section (2), law unit and questions unit are included. The functions of law unit are to arrange the procedures for submitting bill and have to arrange all the procedures till this bill become the law. Not only law but also by-laws, rules and regulations are arranged by this unit and question unit have to do all related with the questions.

In section (3), two units are included such as Admin/finance unit and administrative and support services. Admin/ finance unit have to arrange all the matters to communicate with the president and the chief ministers. They also write with MPU. Other their duties and functions are finance matter, media relations, reporting special cases, vehicles and arranging international and in country travel and expense for receiving guests.

For the administration and support service unit, they have to arrange for MP affairs, staff affairs, building function and even natural disaster affairs.

In section (4), complaint letters and report unit and library, archives and research. Complaint letters and reports unit have to handle with the complaint letters and reports and they also have to investigate and arrange hearing. For the last unit, they have to control all the workers related with library, archives and research. They have to maintain the main point of speech and they are related with ICT program in Hluttaw (Defaria & Annawitt, 2018).

3.3.5 The workshops and trainings holders

As all the MPs and Hluttaw Staff are very new to Sub-national parliamentary system, they need a lot of support relating with Political system and parliamentary system form not only international but also local organizations. The support from International INGOs, NGOs and local CSOs were clearly seen after 2012 by election.

In the 1st term of Yangon Region Hluttaw, the support of International Organizations such as INGO and NGO were only a few and there were only (10) workshops for MPs. KAS (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung) form Germany arranged 3-days workshop about “ Regional development and Political Administrative and Fiscal Decentralization International Dialogue” in 2012. In 2014, UNDP arranged one day

workshop titled with “Workshop on Budgeting and Oversight for State and Regional Parliament and NDI arranged 2-days workshop about “Legislating” in Nay Pyi Taw.

One of the INGO from Germany arranged two workshops – about “Statistics” and “Democracy” during 2014 and another Germany INGO, FNF (Friedrich Neumann foundation) arranged a 3-days workshop about “Anti-corruption”. UNDP also arranged for a workshop for 4 days about “Parliamentary Procedures for Sub-national Parliaments and training for Parliamentary staff on key support services and the efficient management of tasks”. In 2015, Global Hope Network International (GHNI) arranged 4-days workshop on “Transformational Leadership Development”.

Myanmar Red Cross also gave an awareness program about Red Cross in 2014 and Yangon Immigration department arranged a workshop about 2014 Census Data. In 2015, UNDP arranged a workshop about “Strategic Planning and Balancing of Hluttaw Procedures” in Kayin state and invited some MPs from Yangon.

In the 2nd term, even in the very first year of Hluttaw, there were 13 trainings and workshops arranged by international NGOs and local NGOs in the Yangon Region Hluttaw. In 2017, there were 21 trainings and workshops and 8 in 2018. There were also 8 trainings and workshops till June, 2019. Thus, altogether there were 50 trainings and workshops arranged by INGOs and NGOs for Yangon Region Hluttaw during four years. (Appendix C)

CHAPTER IV

SURVEY ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1 Survey Profile

Myanmar had been a centralized country since 1962 and people were far away from democratic principles for many years. Subnational governments in Myanmar were introduced in 2010 by the 2010 general election. The State and Region Hluttaws play the important role of the Myanmar's political infrastructure. They are crucial because Myanmar is trying to build up a federal system. In fact, these structures of governance are really new institution for Myanmar. To build up a federal state, local legislation are important pillars but people did not have enough attention to the local government and they ever did not notice about the local legislative in their regions and states in the 1st term of democratic government. A few people were interested in the parliaments in Nay Pyi Taw and most of them do not know there are State and Region parliaments in every states and regions.

People are not so interested in State and Region Hluttaws in the 1st term and it may be because of the performance of the 1st term Hluttaw. They are so quiet and not so active. Moreover, the structural constraints as well as organizational and individual limitations make the local legislatures to be ineffective for federal institutions. These constraints and limitations hinder decentralization.

To understand more about the progress of decentralization in Myanmar, it is necessary to provide policy makers in State and Region Hluttaws to be smart and support by the INGOs, NGOs, and CSOs for some resources. Actually, in the 1st term, INGOs and NGOs only focused on the Pyithuhluttaw (Lower House) and Amyothar Hluttaw (Upper house) and they could not support well for the State and Region Hluttaw. It may be because of state and Region Hluttaws are not so active in this time and all Myanmar people emphasized on the Union Hluttaw. Even in the 2nd term, only some State and Region Hluttaws were provided by the technical support from INGOs and NGOs. This may be not because of their limitations but because of the slow response for doing something and some barriers of State and Region Hluttaws.

This survey was mainly conducted in Yangon Region Hluttaw and main interviewee were members of Parliament. Some interviews were from media sector, party members and the citizen from Kyauktada township. In Yangon Region Hluttaw, there are altogether 123 MPs included army representatives and 83 Hluttaw staff. There are ten Hluttaw Committees and one commission namely Special Issues Assessment Commission. 25 interviewee were chosen for this survey analysis to know for the current situation of Yangon Region Hluttaw and to get response of their opinion and suggestion for future.

4.2 Survey Design

To reveal the stakeholders' opinion about the current situation in Yangon Region Hluttaw and to get some suggestions, a qualitative research method was applied for this survey by using KII (Key Informative Interview) with well-structured questions. Survey questionnaires were designed mainly based on internal issues of Yangon Region Hluttaw such as strength, weakness, challenges and limitations of Yangon Region Hluttaw.

For this Key Informative Interview, there are twenty five key persons who were related with Yangon Region Hluttaw in same ways. The interviewees were from different roles in Hluttaw such as the Kayin Ethnic Minister, the Deputy Speaker, committee chairs, committee secretary, members of committee, women MPs, DDG, AD, Hluttaw staffs, former MPs, media and Citizens. Three respondents are from USDP and two are MP not only in 1st term but also in 2nd term in Yangon Region Hluttaw. One was a former minister and now MP of Cocokyun constituency (1). Ten is from NLD and one is Deputy Speaker. Some are committee chairs and secretaries. Some are women MPs. Five is from Hluttaw staffs and one out of five has experience for the 1st term. Two is from media and one has an experience for former Hluttaw. Two were NLD party members and one was from Kyauktata.

Data collection for this survey was carried out during June and July 2019. The descriptive method was used for analyzing result.

4.3 Survey Result

The Survey findings are analyzed with three parts in this section. Firstly roles of stakeholders in Yangon Region Hluttaw are analyzed as the part (1). In the second part, Stakeholders' perspectives on the law making process of Yangon Region

Hluttaw are expressed and in the last part, Stakeholders' perspective on strength and weakness of Yangon Region Hluttaw.

4.3.1 Roles of Stakeholders in Yangon Region Hluttaw

In State and Region Hluttaws, there are three main groups of stakeholders. The first important group is the Speaker and the deputy speaker. They are very important to lead the Hluttaw for more effective. Second group are MPs and they are key persons to shape the Hluttaw and the third group are Hluttaw Staffs. The more they support to the Hluttaw, the more effective the Hluttaw will be.

(a) The Speaker and Deputy Speaker

The Speaker and Deputy Speaker are the key persons of the local legislature. They have significant influence in the effectiveness of the Hluttaw because all the performance of the Hluttaw depends on their ability and good will to handle the whole Hluttaw to manage all the activities. The most important thing is that they are the main responsible persons to develop relationship with State and Region chief ministers. Because of the different leadership styles in State and Region Hluttaw, the relationship between State and Region Hluttaws and chief minister will be different.

The role of the Speaker in the State and Region Hluttaw is important and central to the operation of the Hluttaw. In the State and Region Hluttaw law, the roles and responsibilities of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker are expressed in the Chapter 5, the act 31. There are 23 roles and responsibilities of the Speaker. The Speaker has full authority to supervise the Hluttaw and the plenary section.

The Deputy Speaker has to help to the Speaker and he also takes responsibilities to supervise the Hluttaw if the Speaker is not healthy or he is away in some case. He has to involve all the functions in the operation of Hluttaw if the Speaker gives the duty. He oversees the function of the Hluttaw administration. If the Speaker and Deputy Speaker have strong leadership abilities, they are able to lead this Hluttaw to be observable level of success. In Yangon Region Hluttaw, the respondents expressed concerns over the influence of the Chief Minister on the speaker in the second term of Yangon Region Hluttaw.

He always follows what the chief minister said and even the schedule of Hluttaw is always decided by the chief minister not by him.

Sometimes members of parliament know that there is a parliament session during this week and they shift their other meetings or activities to next week but the speaker

change the date for opening parliament session according to the Chief minister arrangement.

The former security minister from USDP and one former MP from USDP conducted the situation because they have experience with both Parliament terms.

In the 1st term, U SeinTin Win, the Speaker of Yangon Region Hluttaw was very strong and could manage the Hluttaw's functions as well. Now, the speaker is a little weak to manage the function of Hluttaw. For example, last term, we can know the schedule of plenary sessions in advance that which days the plenary session will be started and will be ended.

In the first term, the Hluttaw and Government held the meeting before the start of the plenary session to discuss about the plenary and now there is not any meeting with the government and the speaker did not arrange even a meeting with the committee chairs and secretaries. He did not share the duties and responsibilities of Hluttaw with the deputy speaker.

All in all, in the first term, the speaker is strong and the members of parliament are a little weak but in this term, members of parliaments are so strong and the speaker is weak.

Most administration and scheduling decisions in the State and Region Hluttaws are made by the Speaker with the support and advice of the Deputy Speaker, DDG and the related Director. To ensure that the Hluttaw operates in an effective and inclusive manner, it is important that MPs have the opportunities to provide input into important decisions that affect the operation of parliament. Many parliaments have a body or committee that advises the parliamentary leadership in determining business.

In some State and Region Hluttaws, the Speaker holds Hluttaw officials to discuss upcoming business and coordinate with the government as well as other issues concentrate with Hluttaws. Hulttaw staff explained as follow:

In the 1st term, the Speaker holds the meeting with MPs from different parties, the ministers and administrative officials before plenary sessions. He discussed about the questions and proposals for the upcoming plenary sessions and so the plenary session went well though there were some weak-points for check and balance.

In the 2nd term, the Speaker of Yangon Region Hluttaw did not hold any coordination committees. In the 1st and 2nd years of 2nd term Hluttaw, the Speaker calls for MPs one by one to discuss about their questions and proposals. But later, he did not do that and there have some problems with the questions and proposals of

MPs. Because of that MPs cannot know that either their questions will be asked in the plenary session or not. Most proposals are denied by the Speaker without asking the decision of MPs. They do not know either their questions and proposals are denied to answer and to discuss by the Speaker or the cabinet. They did not have enough information for that.

One of the MPs said that “I submitted nine questions in the 5th plenary session and only three answers were asked and I don’t know exactly other questions are denied by the speaker or the cabinet. When I enquired to the Speaker, he did not give me the exact answer. In Pyithu Hluttaw, if our questions are not in the current session, the speaker asks the MPs move these questions to the next session or change to No-starred questions. But in here, there is no process for that”. All respondents have like those experience concerning with proposal and questions. The Kayin Ethnic Minister expressed her opinion concerned with questions:

According to law, questions that each MP ask should not be the same and it means one MP does not need to ask again the question that another MP has already asked in the Parliament section. Some questions should be asked as not-starred questions but MPs ask as the starred questions. The Speaker and the Deputy speaker cannot scrutinize the questions. Moreover the Speaker should control some Ministers when they answered the questions not effectively and directly to the questions of MPs.

Two committee chairs and eight MPs pointed out the point that there is no Hluttaw time-table and they are in difficulties to arrange their constituency works without knowing the time-table of the plenary session. They just know today if there is a parliament session tomorrow and they feel uncomfortable for that situation. To be more effective of Yangon Region Hluttaw, the leadership is very important role.

From the responses over all, to function the Hluttaw well the speaker and the deputy speaker are very important and their political experience and their will to emphasize to run Hluttaw better is essential. But their efforts are still questionable for Hluttaw effectiveness.

(b) Members of Parliament

In the 1st term, (75) MPs are from USDP and the Hluttaw was influenced by USDP. The other MPs are (8) from National Unity Party (NUP), (2) from National Democratic Force (NDF), (2) from New National Democratic Party (NNDP), (1) from Rakhine National Development Party (RNDP), (1) from Democratic Party (Myanmar) and one independent MP. Compared with 1st term, the 2nd term Yangon Region

Hluttaw is influenced by NLD and only three parties are in the Hluttaw_ two is from USDP and one is from Rakhine National Party (ANP).

Looking at the age level in 1st term Hluttaw and 2nd term Hluttaw, MP who are over sixty in 1st term is more than in the 2nd term but MP who are between forty and sixty in the 1st term is more than in the 2nd term. Under 40 MPs increased clearly in the 2nd term with 28 MPs. So do the female representatives. Not only the youth respondents but also old respondents remarked the youth participation in Hluttaw is very effective.

Because of the young age, they can do more actively in their constituencies and they are more familiar with Information Technology. It is really effective for Hluttaw functions and it is also good point for future political situation.

In the 2nd term, MPs can do more parliamentary tasks and they understand more about their constituency activities. But most MPs emphasizes their constituency activities and community development. The respondents recognized the capacity of MPs in the second term but seven MPs including the deputy speaker expressed that MPs need to know more about their main duty and responsibility.

They cannot emphasize the whole region even though they are Yangon Region Member of Parliament. Only some MPs are interested in the legislating and discussing the proposals, Audit report and the projects that are submitted by the Yangon Region Government.

The performance of MPs improve year after year but some MPs from Northern District and Southern District know more about how to manage the constituency development plan rather than legislating and oversight roles.

Some MPs represent the whole region and are interested in discussing the budget and proposals. Some can represent only their township. We need to arrange more supportive programs for their capacity.

Five of the respondents remarked the relationship between the speaker and MPs as follow:

In this term, people more rely on us and that is why there are more challenges for us rather than in the first term. Moreover sometime we cannot perform as we wish in the Hluttaw. We want to ask very important questions for our constituency but the speaker did not allow to ask.

Committees are more active and the members of committee have much capacity. But lack of negotiation between the Speaker and the members of parliament.

But two respondents think in a positive way like that:

The political experience of the speaker is very important to handle the Hluttaw and the speaker may handle the Hluttaw well year after year when he has some experience.

Looking at the respondents, it is clear that most MPs in the current Hluttaw are active but they need to analysis well the main responsibilities of the legislators and they should emphasize the art of legislating.

(c) Hluttaw Staff

Hluttaw administration is very important to support the Speaker and Deputy speaker to handle all functions of Hluttaw. The main functions of Hluttaw Administration are to manage the Hluttaw Staff, Hluttaw Budgets and to provide service to the plenary session and Hluttaw Committees. If Hluttaw Administration is smart, they can support the Hluttaw to be more effective.

The DDG, DD and Hluttaw staff explained the situation of the Hluttaw in State and Region Hluttaw as follow:

In the first term, all Hluttaw Staff were from GAD and we were not well-trained for the Hluttaw functions. In those time, the capacity of Hluttaw office staffs are questionable.

The main concern is that the frequent transfer of office staff from one place to another within the GAD system. When we, the experienced staffs of Hluttaw are transferred, and the new staff have to learn the process and procedure of Hluttaw again. The legislatures are also inconvenience working with the staff who are unfamiliar with not only Hluttaw procedure but also the necessary political knowledge for the position.

Because of some negative effects for the efficiency of the Hluttaw, the leadership know well to do some reform process in Hluttaw. there was a significant change for Hluttaw administration in 2017 and State and Region Hluttaws' administrations can perform independently guided by the Hluttaw Speaker. Organizational structure of Hluttaw Administration is stronger than former Hluttaw. The Hluttaw Administration can manage the internal functions concerned with Hluttaw Staff by ourselves such as human resource and capacity building for the Hluttaw Staff. It is a good point.

MPs believed that it may need more time for Hluttaw administration to be settle to have more capacity. A sample of typical comments are as bellows:

Though they are honest, they are lack of capacity and there are many thing they need to learn. They cannot arrange systemically especially in the committee affairs.

They need to work hard. We are not so satisfied with them especially law making process and they cannot support well.

It is good to manage Hluttaw staff separately and the Hluttaw have to arrange the capacity building for them to support the MPs and committees very well.

Most staff are new and they need to have more capacity building trainings. The capacity of staff is still weak and they cannot arrange the meetings or field trips systematically. It is difficult for them if MPs ask for some help such as finding some documents and some data.

4.3.2 Stakeholders' perspectives on the law making process of Yangon Region Hluttaw

For the legislators, out of their three main functions – Legislating, oversighting and constituent outreaching, legislating is the most important function. How Hluttaw is effective can be analyzed with how many laws they enact during their term. There are two kinds of laws – Routine laws and Non-routine laws and the number of non-routine laws is a key visible and tangible output indicator of legislative effectiveness. Most non-routine laws are prepared and passed by local Hluttaws in response to local policy needs in their respective geographic area, as determined by the schedule two of the 2008. Some laws related with sectors such as Economic sector and Industrial sector cannot be passed in the State and Region Hluttaws though these sectors are listed in schedule two of 2008 constitution. That is why, some active MPs expressed their thoughts that schedule two of the 2008 constitution is a major limitation for State and Region Hluttaws' legislative power and they do believe that it cannot be built up Federal States in Myanmar with this constitution.

It is also related with the weakness of State and Regions government that have to develop policies and to identify and propose necessary bills based on policy. That's why, State and Region governments should have a policy framework specific to their region or state.

Moreover, limited legal knowledge of local legislature members, particularly in drafting laws is also a significant constraint to Hluttaw effectiveness. By looking how many bills they can draft and enacts the laws, the Hluttaw can be guessed whether it is effective Hluttaw or not.

9 MPs including one bill committee member expressed their feelings concerned with legislating such as:

The first reason is that there are much limitations in 2008 constitution to legitimate for State and Region Hluttaws and the second reason is that MPS are not so interesting in legislating.

In the 2nd term, Hluttaw passed only twenty-six laws over three years. Only four are non-routine and five are amendment. The rest fifteen laws are routine. The YCDC law 2018, the law for Fire and Natural disaster preventive measures, the law for household industry and the Libraries law are included as non-routine laws. Now one bill are being discussed and they are Yangon Development Council law.

MPs participation in discussing bills is also interesting issue for this study. Only (19) MPs enrolled to discuss for YCDC bill that is very important law for (33) townships within YCDC area. For the bill for Fire and Natural disaster preventive measures, only (4) MPs enrolled to discuss and (6) MPs participated to discuss for household industry bill. For the Libraries law, there are (9) MPs for discussion the bill. As a legislator, he or she should discuss for the bill and it is their main responsibility. But most are really weak in emphasizing drafting bill. Some active MPs identified that as a legislator, he or she should try to discuss in drafting bill at least one time in their parliamentarian life.

Analyzing at the response and the quantity for discussing bills, the Hluttaw should emphasize the legislative process during the rest one year of second term.

4.3.3 Stakeholders' Perspective on strength and weakness of Yangon Region Hluttaw

The fundamental roles and responsibilities of the State and Region Hluttaws are the same but the way of practicing the function are different according to the leadership. Based on in-depth interviews with twenty interviews, some stakeholders have positive views on current Hluttaw and some think that Yangon Region Hluttaws should do more effective procedure and leadership should be stronger and stronger because Yangon is the most important region with the population of over seven million and it is most important commercial city with 23% of National GDP. Moreover State and Region Hluttaws play an important role to build up the federal country.

Overall, a vast majority of not only stakeholders but also citizens believe that State and Region Hluttaws are more effective compared with the first term of Hluttaw although there were some needs.

(a) Strength of the current Yangon Hluttaw

All the respondents including MPs, Hluttaw staff and Media remarked that “The invisible strength of current Yangon Region Hluttaw is Members of Parliament. Most MPs are active and willing to do well for their constituencies and people noticed that there are two MPs for one constituency for helping not only for their personal issues but also other issues in the township and filling their desire concerned with the constituency. MPs emphasize for the development of the constituencies.”

The deputy speaker and the committee chairs expressed their thoughts with positive view for young MPs that “Youth participation is very important for Politics”. Younger politicians are involved in Yangon Region Hluttaw in 2015 and (28) younger MP involved in current Hluttaw.

The current MP who was former security minister pleased the issues relating with budget process and he remarked that “Current MPs emphasize about the budget process, audit report and also check and balance process and we didn’t know well to scrutinize the annual budget and audit reports like that in the last term”

Even though the legislative branch and executive branch are from the same party, each stands their roles and perform their duties and responsibilities. The respondents explained when government submit a new project, MPs discuss this project well and point out their ideas and opinions without bias. For the annual audit reports, MPs are really interested in and discuss well. The result is that people in Yangon know more about the management of Yangon region Government and they can know well what is the progress and improvement of NLD government.

Another strength is Committees in Yangon Region Hluttaw. In Yangon Region Hluttaw, there were only three committees in the 1st term and now there are ten committees in the 2nd term. All committees are founded up with eleven members of parliament including two military-officer. All committees have their own roles and responsibilities, e.g.: The Bill committee reviews bills submitted by MPs or the government. Public Account Committee (PAC) reviews the budget proposed and the report of the auditor-general’s office. PAC can work the detail check for budget proposal and it makes a lot of benefit for citizen. So, do Finance, Planning and Economic committee.

The government pledges and vetting committee reviews how the government implements proposals adopted by the Hluttaw and pledges made by the government at the plenary session. Complaints committee have to undertake inquiries for the issues

that is submitted by the citizen. This committee also goes to the police stations and the township courts to check the situations of detainment centers and to cooperate with them for more effective situations for people.

The transportation, communication, construction and industry committee have to undertake the problems of transportation system in Yangon such as YBS (Yangon Bus Service) and the issues of Industrial Zone in Yangon. This committee is responsible for telecommunication system such as Telenor, MPT and Ooredoo. Social Affairs committee goes around the public hospitals in Yangon and collaborates with the hospitals. This committee undertake most of the issues concerned with YCDC issues.

Not only MPs but also Hluttaw Staff and Media remarked as follow:

Most committees are so active and they try to carry out their duties and try to solve the problems that are related with the victims. Because of the committees' performance, citizens know the right information and get the more opportunities to help their problems.

The three MPs who are worked for the first term expressed their feelings as follow:

The committees in 2nd term are stronger than the 1st term. In the 1st term, we founded up only three committees and they were weak in the performance. Now we can see the important power of the committees and the committee members can work together for the committee.

Concern with the Hluttaw Staff, all respondents remarked that the reform structure of Hluttaw staff make the Hluttaw stronger. Even though they need some capacity, compare with the first term, they can understand well about their duties and they can support the hluttaw well. Moreover they can work with MPs well in the committees and their supports for committees are very fruitful.

(b) The weakness of Current Yangon region Hluttaw

In law making process, there are some weak points. But it is not only the problem of Yangon Region Hluttaw and it is the negative impact of 2008 constitution. In the chapter 4, article 188 of the constitution, it is stated that “ The Region or State Hluttaw shall have the right to enacts laws for the matter prescribed in Schedule two of the State and Region Hluttaw legislative list.” Actually the schedule two of the constitution, discourage legislators make efforts and interests at the local level. One limitation to the State and Region Hluttaw is that they have to enact the laws related the issues within the schedule two. Sometime some active MPs try to enact the new

bill that will be very useful for their region but they give up it because this is not in their limit and it is out of schedule two. That is why, the ambiguity and confusion of legislative authority in the 2008 constitution has hindered local legislative efforts.

Moreover the limited knowledge of local legislative members is a significant constraint to Hluttaw effectives. The deputy speaker and bill committee members remarked the law making process as follow:

The Hluttaw cannot emphasize well to enact the bill in the first year because most MPs are very new to the legislative process and they just emphasize their constituency development. Some MPs try to learn the main responsibilities of a Legislator but some think that only doing the community development for their constituency is enough.

We need to do more capacity building for legislative process for the members of parliament in Yangon. The rest year of parliament terms, we have to summit some important and useful bill for Yangon.

For the proposals and questions, five MPs including two women MPs expressed their feelings that scrutinizing for the questions is weak and sometime the important questions submitted by MPs for their respective constituencies are denied by the Speaker and MPs don't know the reasons why these questions are denied. Some questions are similar to other questions that are being asked in the last plenary sessions. For the proposals, only a few proposals are allowed to submit in the plenary section and most are denied. Some are asked to change as questions by the Speaker.

Another weakness for Yangon Region Hluttaw is lack of check and balance power on Executive branch. Some MPs are strong for check and balance power on Government Budget and government projects but as the whole Hluttaw, it is still weak. Hluttaw cannot oversight the government very well. Most respondents identified legislative oversight is an important duty of Hluttaw. There are four types of oversight actions. They are (1) oversight through committees (2) submission of proposals (3) submission of questions and (4) investigation of complaints and appeals submitted by the public.

Some Active MPs said that "All those oversight actions will do well if the speaker allowed to oversight them". Sometime the Speaker does not allow to oversight for proposals and questions and that is why, even though some proposals are approved in the plenary session, government did not implement well and the Hluttaw cannot do anything. Yangon Region Government rare to implement the actions concerned with the committees' reports. When the committees send to reports to the

government about the investigation of complaints and appeal submitted by the public, the government give very slow response.

Thus, they also comment about leadership role in Hluttaw as below:

As a leader of Legislative branch, he has a power to do check and balance with executive branch but he rarely uses this power and most think that Yangon Region Government has influenced to the Yangon Region Hluttaw.

For the external relationship with INGOs, NGOs and CSOs, Yangon Hluttaw is still lack of coordination with them. Most organizations would like to support Yangon Region well because it is important local legislative branch for Myanmar politics. But the people from civil society organizations expressed their feelings that it is really difficult to contact with Yangon Region Hluttaw and they have to send email for three times and sometimes they cannot get a reply letter. It takes so long and very slow response.

For the media sector, two respondents from media sector give advices such as to have a suitable time for taking photos before the plenary session and to get information easily when they need some detail information. They said that it is really difficult to ask the Hluttaw Administration for some more information.

There is no coordination meeting between the Speaker, the members of parliament and Hluttaw administration in Yangon. It also makes the performance of Hluttaw very weak. There is no Hluttaw Schedule and MPs cannot guess when will the Hluttaw start and will end. So they cannot arrange their constituency plans. For asking the questions, MPs just know today evening whether their questions are in the list of tomorrow agenda or not. So MPs cannot prepare well for their questions. So leadership roles in Local legislative is very important and if the leadership is strong, the Hluttaw will also be strong.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

5.1 Findings

The roles and responsibilities of the State and Region Hluttaws are basically the same but effectiveness of hluttaws will be vary according to the leadership. Yangon Region Hluttaw is remarked by many people as an active regional hluttaw but there are some difficulties in implementing of some functions of Hluttaw. Some difficulties are related with 2008 constitution and some difficulties are because of the lack of political experience of the people in leadership roles. The specific findings for Yangon Region Hluttaw on this paper include:

(a) The Stakeholders in Hluttaw

Leaders of local legislatures are the speakers and the deputy speakers. They have significant influence on the effectiveness of the Hluttaw. They are also important to build up a relationship with the Chief Minister and his cabinet. In Yangon Hluttaw, there is a weak relationship between the legislative branch and executive branch. The speaker does not do any meeting such as consultative body before the plenary session and that is why, there is lack of information between the Speaker, Members of Parliament and Hluttaw Administration.

The speaker need to arrange some important meetings with the MPs such as Pre Budget discussion and so all the cases are discussed in the plenary session and it makes more misunderstanding between MPs and the cabinet. The Speaker should give enough time for MPs to discuss for Budget process and Audit reports. It is also weak to scrutinize the questions and proposals before the plenary session.

Some MPs are just interested in their constituency development programs and they need to know more about the roles and responsibilities of a legislator. For example, as a legislator, they should discuss the bill, annual budget, annual audit report and some big projects submitted by the government. Some active MPs are facing some challenges in their legislative efforts and oversight roles as the Hluttaw speaker control all initiations of legislation and oversights. Because of the time

limitations for discussion, MPs face difficulties to study in detailed for most important issue such as budget bill and annual audit reports.

Out of 92 elected MPs, 18 are female MPs (including one Kayin Minister) and it is only 16.56 % and if including army officers, it becomes 19 female MPs because there is one female army officer in Yangon Region Hluttaw. Among them, only two female MPs are Committee Chairs out of ten committees. When the speaker is male, normally he cannot emphasize the opportunity of female leadership position.

Committees are strong compared with the first term. Most committee members are interesting to emphasize the committee affairs but some are still lack of interested. It is because they cannot choose the committee on their interests and the speaker placed them in the committees according to his decision. The Chief Minister also influenced to place the MPs for respective committees. No matter committees can arrange the meetings with other stakeholders to discuss for public issues and they also arrange a lot of meetings with government officers including the ministers from different departments to inquire more for public issues.

Hluttaw administration has to struggle with new staff recruited only 2017 and they still need for the powerful institutional development. The Hluttaw needs to support them not only for technological skills but also for social welfare programs.

(b) The Law making process

There are three main limitations for Law making process. One is limitation of Schedule two of 2008 constitution and the other is that lack of experience of MPs. The last is over control of the Hluttaw speaker on legislation.

(c) Public Access and Communication

Even though, Yangon Region Hluttaw has established website for effective communication and information, the information is not perfect and it needs to upgrade for further data and information. There is no Hluttaw Journal in Yangon Region Hluttaw. For the media relation, there is no person to communicate with media for their information.

5.2 Recommendations

To improve the roles and responsibilities of Yangon Region Hluttaw for future, this paper would like to recommend the following areas to be improved by the each stakeholder.

Hluttaw should consider to found up a consultative body to arrange the plenary session go well and to share the information between the speaker and MPs about the upcoming plenary session. In this consultative body, the chairs, secretaries of committees and DDG should be included. The speaker has to arrange the Hluttaw affairs with the help of the deputy speaker and DDG. The speaker should give enough time for MPs to discuss budget bill and annual audit reports. To promote the oversight functions of Hluttaw, the speaker has to support not only the individual MP but also the committees.

The legislative body needs to have a better relationship with the executive body (the government) and Hluttaw has to try to have mutual respects and understandings. The legislative body should build up as a strong institution and should not rely on government. Legislative branch and Executive branch stand separately and should not influence each other. Cooperation and coordination between local administration and legislators are very important.

To improve committee effectiveness, the speaker reduces his over control on the committees and give committees the chance to work better under control of respective laws. Members of parliaments should have a chance to choose the committees according to their interests to some extent and it makes them more effective to work in their committees.

Hluttaw has to support well the committees to manage their roles and responsibilities without any limitations. Hluttaw has to provide with well-trained staff to the committees. And the speaker must support committees to coordinate with relevant committees in the Union Hluttaw.

To improve the effectiveness of rules and regulations of Local Hluttaw, Hluttaw should reviews the State and Region Hluttaw Law with the help of the Union-level Hluttaw. It will also help for future federal states.

To get the support of International organizations and local NGOs, Hluttaw should emphasize the external communications and have to arrange without delay and it is better to have a special committee for external communications. Hluttaw should consider to upgrade the Hluttaw Website and it will be useful for future plan such as e-government system.

Hluttaw should give some suggestions to Union-level Hluttaw to have a special training school for Hluttaw staff. It is essential to invest in staff capacity to improve their abilities to support the plenary session, the committee and MPs. The

speaker needs to support the Hluttaw staff to study in Union-level Hluttaws and he should arrange some capacity building trainings for the Hluttaw staff.

Individual capacity is major important for the effectiveness of the Hluttaw and Hluttaw should consider for the institutional capacity building of local legislatures with the help of Union-level Hluttaw, international and local CSOs. Local legislators may need for regular coordination and learning platforms among local legislatures. The role and the space for female MPs should be promoted. The Hluttaw should emphasize the participation of women leadership and also should give a chance to young MPs.

Hluttaw should build up a good relationship with Public via hearing and keep in touch with them via committees' field trips. Hluttaw should arrange suitable time for media to take photos before the plenary session and there should be a liaison officer from Hluttaw administration to communicate with the media.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Interview Questions

1. Do you think regional parliaments are important for citizen in Myanmar?
Why?
2. As a Speaker, Deputy-Speaker, committee chair, staff, what are your main responsibility?
3. Can you tell me a significant change between 1st term and 2nd term?
4. As a member of parliament, what do you want to change in Yangon Region Hluttaw?
5. In the 1st term, what are the biggest challenges for you as it was very new for everyone in Myanmar?
6. What are the improvement of 2nd Hluttaw compared with 1st term Hluttaw?
7. How important of leadership role in Hluttaw? Can you explain me?
8. How do you think women participation in Hluttaw?
9. How do you think youth participation in Hluttaw?
10. What is the role of Hluttaw Administration in States and Region Hluttaws?
11. How do you think the support of NGO compared with 1st term Hluttaw?
12. How they change the supporting process in the 2nd term compared with 1st term?
13. How about the media and their support to democracy process?
14. What are the strength of Yangon Region Hluttaw?
15. What are the weakness of Yangon Region Hluttaw?
16. What are the strength and weakness of committees?
17. How do you think the performance of individual MP? Are they different compare to 1st term MP?
18. Do you please with the performance of yourself and Huttaw?

Appendix B

List of the interviewees are following

1. U Lin Naing Myint (Deputy.Speaker- Yangon Region Hluttaw)
2. Daw Naw Pan Thinzar Myo (Kayin Ethnic Minister)
3. U Tint Lwin (Chair- Public Account Committee)
4. U Tin Win (Deputy Chair- Public Account Committee)
5. Daw Aye Aye Mar (Chair- the Representatives vetting committee)
6. Daw Soe Pa Pa Hlaing (Secretary- Agriculture, Livestock, Energy, Electricity and Mining Committee)
7. U Wai Phyo Han (Secertary- Transportation, Communication, Construction and Industry Committee)
8. U Nay Phone Latt (MP-Yangon Region Hluttaw)
9. Daw Khaing Mar Htay (MP- Yangon Region Hluttaw)
10. U Zaw Win Naing (MP-Yangon Region Hluttaw)
11. U Than Naing Oo (MP- Yangon Region Hluttaw)
12. U Yan Aung (MP- Yangon Region Hluttaw)
13. U San Kyaw (MP- Yangon Region Hluttaw)
14. U Aung Naing (MP- Yangon Region Hluttaw)
15. Daw Nwe` Nwe` Win (MP – Yangon Region Hluttaw)
16. Daw Thi Thi Nwe (DDG)
17. U Soe Min Oo (DD)
18. Daw Nu Nu Yin (AD)
19. U ED Zaw Thu Khaing (Deputy Staff officer)
20. Daw Win Pa Pa San (Senior Clerk)
21. U Pyae Phone Aung (Journalist ,DVB)
22. U Phyo Htet Aung (Video Journalist, MNTV)
23. U Phone Kyaw Myint (Ward administer, Kyauktada township)
24. Daw Hla Hla Win (NLD member, Kyaukdata Township)
25. U Min Htet Ther (NLD member, Kyaukdata Township)

Appendix C

The workshops and seminars held by Yangon Region Hluttaw in the second term are as follow;

Sr.no	Date	Titles	Organizer	Remark
1	20.6.2016	ASEAN Community	-	
2	23.6.2016	Social Media and applicable ICT	LAREASIA and MIDO	
3	25.6.2016	Transformational Leadership	Global Hope Network International	
4	28-29.6.2016	First Aid Awareness	Myanmar Red-Cross Association	
5	1-3.7.2016	State Building, the role of governments, parliaments, members of parliaments	Union Parliament: Oversight Committee	
6	9.8.2016	Budget for Gender	CARE International in Myanmar	
7	19.8.2016	Population and Census (2014)	UNFPA	
8	22.8.2016	Law for Disables	The Leprosy Mission Myanmar	
9	7.9.2016	Meeting	British Council (My Justice)	
10	22.9.2016	Public Management Seminar by Prof, Dr Aung Tun Thet	MPAN	
11	24.9.2016	Transformational Leadership Development	Global Hope Network International	
12	20.10.2016	Federalism and the activities of Private Security Service Association	Private Security Service Association	
13	29.12.2016	Current Economic Situation and Challenge by Dr Khin Maung Nyo	Finance, Planning and Economic Committee	

14	6.1.2017	Pay Roll service	KBZ bank	
15	11.1.2017	Global Network in Federalism and Devolved Governance	Forum of Federation	
16	30-31.1.2017	Transparency and Public Outreach workshop	Members of Yangon Region Hluttaw	
17	2.2.2017	Result Based Management and Budging	Dr Aung Tun Thet	
18	15.2.2017	Budget Analysis	Mizzima Media Group	
19	16.2.2017	Art of Law Drafting	Advocate U San Lwin	
20	9.5.2017	Workshop for Women and Child Right	Dr Mya Thaung	
21	28.6.2017	Research Briefing for Hluttaw	Women MPs	
22	7.7.2017	Decentralization	Members of Yangon Region Hluttaw	
23	11.7.2017	Bureaucracy and Administration	Members of Yangon Region Hluttaw	
24	24.7.2017	Workshop for Law enforcement, Administration, and Trade for Forest	Members of Yangon Region Hluttaw	
25	26.7.2017	Seminar for Land Law	Landesa group	
26	1.8.2017	Seminar for Health Awareness	Members of Yangon Region Hluttaw	
27	2-4.8.2017	ICT Capacity Upgrading and Internet	UNDP	
28	11.8.2017	Seminar for Urban and Housing Development	Ministry of Construction	
29	28.8.2017	Political Economic and Lessons learned for Myanmar from World's Countries in Transitional Period	Richard Q. Turesanyi (Ph.D in International Relation from Masaryk University, Czech Republic	

30	12.9.2017	Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and UN Global Compact (UNGC)	Dr Aung Tun Thet	
31	28.9.2017	Education for All	Edin (Yound Disable Care Center)	
32	7.11.2017	Seminar for Project Designing, Budget Planning and Taxation	Members of Yangon Region Hluttaw	
33	7.12.2017	Electrical Emission	MEE (IPP, TLS)	
34	20.12.2017	Seminar for Amending Fiscal Year 2018-2019	Renaissance Institute, in-country partner of Asia Foundation	
35	26.1.2018	Rule of Law in Yangon Region	Chief of Yangon Police, and GADs	
36	5.2.2018	Seminar for Myanmar Railway (Lower Myanmar)	Myanmar Railway (Lower Myanmar)	
37	19.2.2018	Draft Law of YCDC	DIPD	
38	19.2.2018	Draft Law of YCDC	PACE	
39	6.6.2018	Discussion for Project Report for Multipurpose Terminal	Members of Yangon Region Hluttaw	
40	7.12.2018	Procedure of Federalism	US Embassy	
41	12.12.2018	Discussion for Industrial Zone and Investment Plan (Htan-da-bin)	Members of Yangon Region Hluttaw	
42	27.12.2018	Promoting Good Governance	Prof, Dr Aung Tun Thet	
43	11.1.2019	Incoming Plan of Yangon Payment Service	Members of Yangon Region Hluttaw	
44	21.3.2019	Corporatization of YCDC	Prof, Dr Aung Tun Thet	
45	29.4.2019	UMRT	JICA	
46	29.4.2019	Discussion for supporting Law Drafting	NDI	

47	3.6.2019	Future Yangon Plan	Yangon Project Bank	
48	10.6.2019	Discussion for Yangon Economic Development Plan	Members of Yangon Region Hluttaw	
49	17.6.2019	Ex-change program of Art of Analytical after Law provision	Westminster Foundation for Democracy-WFD	
50	26.6.2019	Seminar for Influenza Type A(H1N1) pdm 09		