

# Measuring Motions

The quantitative study on motions of Myanmar parliament  
 (1st regular session to 6th regular session)

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Parliamentary Monitoring Report#2

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**MEASURING MOTIONS:**  
**The Quantitative Study on Motions**  
*of*  
**Myanmar Parliament**  
(1st to 6th Regular Sessions)

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Parliamentary Monitoring Program  
Open Myanmar Initiative



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**Cover Design:**  
**based on a graph showing**  
to compare numbers of motions submitted in the first six terms of  
Pyithu Hluttaw, Amyotha Hluttaw, and Pyidaungsu Hluttaw.

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## Executive Summary

Report No. 2 prepared by Parliamentary Observation Program of Open Myanmar Initiative features quantitative study of motions submitted by MPs in Pyithu Hluttaw, Amyotha Hluttaw and Pyidaungsu Hluttaw from first regular session to sixth regular session.

### Major report findings

#### Motions submission

A total of 154 motions were submitted in 173 days from first regular session to sixth regular session of Pyithu Hluttaw with the average motion submission rate of 0.9 motion per day. A total of 149 motions were submitted in 169 days from first regular session to sixth regular session of Amyotha Hluttaw with the average motion submission rate of 0.88 motion per day. A total of 38 motions were submitted on 98 days from first regular session to sixth regular session of Pyithu Hluttaw with the average motion submission rate of 0.39 motion per day. Despite Hluttaw Rules allowing “no more than four motions” on each session day, the Houses of Parliament were far from reaching that limit.

#### Motions discussion

One of two motions in Pyithu Hluttaw (50%), four of five motions in Amyotha Hluttaw (80%) and one of four motions in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (25%) were discussed. There were motions, which were not accepted for discussion as well as the motions, which were accepted but not discussed in the Houses of Parliament.

#### Motions approval

Pyithu Hluttaw approved 66 motions out of 80 discussed motions from all 154 motions submitted to the house. Amyotha Hluttaw approved 70 motions out of 124 discussed motions from all 149 motions submitted to this House. Pyidaungsu Hluttaw approved only one motion out of 10 discussed motions from all 38 motions submitted to the House.

#### Role of political parties

USDP ranked the highest motions submitting party with 95 motions proposed in Pyithu Hluttaw, 95 motions in Amyotha Hluttaw and 27 in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw. It also topped the approval rankings with 47 approved motions in Pyithu Hluttaw, 53 in Amyotha Hluttaw and one in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw. NDF submitted second largest number of motions in Pyithu Hluttaw with 17 motions. NLD had second largest number of approved motions in Pyithu Hluttaw with five motions. NDF submitted nine motions and had four of them approved in Amyotha Hluttaw, taking second place in both submission and approval tally.

As the largest party in the Parliament, discussion frequencies of USDP MPs on motions outnumbered those of other parties. Even the discussion frequencies

of MPs from the same party, the MP of which submitted the motion were less numerous than discussion frequencies of USDP MPs on the relevant motion. The exception was seen in Pyithu Hluttaw, where USDP's discussion rate was lower than that of SNDP and NLD in case of motions submitted by MPs from these parties. USDP engaged in discussions of motions submitted by all other parties.

### **Motion submissions by elected MPs**

There were 286 MPs, who were elected to Pyithu Hluttaw and 108 MPs to Amyotha Hluttaw, and did not submit any motion.

### **Motion submissions and discussions of military appointees**

One military appointee submitted a motion and five peers participated in motion discussions in Pyithu Hluttaw, while one military appointee submitted a motion and 14 others took part in motion discussions in Amyotha Hluttaw. Two military appointees also participated in discussion on motions in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw.

### **Motion submissions and discussions by ethnicity**

Ethnic Bamar MPs made most motion submissions and got involved in discussions. In Pyithu Hluttaw, ethnic Bamar MPs submitted 117 motions, three times more than all other ethnic MPs submitted in total. In Amyotha Hluttaw, ethnic Bamar MPs submitted 97 motions, 1.6 times more than all other ethnic MPs submitted in total. One notable fact is that, in Amyotha Hluttaw, ethnic Chin MPs, who had only 5 percent of representatives in Parliament submitted 22 motions (14.8 percent).

### **Motion submissions and discussions by Region/State**

The participation of MPs from seven ethnic states in discussion on motions submitted by MPs from seven Myanmar Regions was found higher than the participation of MPs from seven Regions in discussions on motions submitted by MPs from seven States.

### **Purpose of motions**

Most motions were used as a tool for government oversight, with 111 motions submitted in Pyithu Hluttaw, 136 in Amyotha Hluttaw and 38 in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw for this purpose. There were only a few motions on representation and legislation.

### **Motion submissions by Committees**

Judicial and Legal Affairs Committee submitted a motion in Pyithu Hluttaw, while National Planning Committee, Public Petition Committee and Mining and Natural Resources Committee submitted four motions in Amyotha Hluttaw. These motions were not related to the respective committee's reports and bills, but were urging the executive and the Supreme Court.

# The Quantitative Study on Motions of Myanmar Parliament

## (1st to 6th Regular Sessions)

Parliamentary Monitoring Program  
Open Myanmar Initiative

### Chapter (1)

# Introduction

Certain roles of the Parliament differ from one democracy to another, but they are alike in implementing the tasks of electing the representatives in elections in order to represent their constituents in the Parliament, to approve laws, to keep checks and balances on the government, to claim the legitimacy of the government and to develop the political aspirations.

After regaining independence from the British colonial rule in 1948, Myanmar introduced Parliamentary democracy, but the role of the Parliament faded due to the political changes. After holding general elections in 2010, which were based on Constitution from 2008, Pyidaungsu Hluttaw composed of Pyithu Hluttaw and Amyotha Hluttaw and

Region/State Hluttaws were convened. By-elections were held in 2012 and the vacant seats of Pyithu Hluttaw and Amyotha Hluttaw representatives were filled.

When ninth regular sessions of Pyithu Hluttaw and Amyotha Hluttaw were convened in January 2014, a large number of facts and figures came out and some were reported by the state-owned television and newspapers as well as by the private media. Moreover, civil society organizations focusing on Parliament watch have emerged. The aim of the Parliament watch is to contribute to the emergence of powerful, transparent and responsible Hluttaws. In addition, it is aimed at encouraging participation of citizens in legislative process.

## 1.1.0 Aim of conducting research

The focus of this program of Open Myanmar Initiative is to highlight the role of the Myanmar Parliament and advantages, disadvantages and the impact of Parliament. Our research departs from knowledge and data collected from the minutes of each session and activities of the Parliament, which appeared on the Myanmar political stage for the first time after more than 50 years.

While examining the activities of the Parliament representatives, the aim is to assess the activities of each and every representative based on his/her participation in the Parliament, abilities to approve legislation, to keep checks and balances in order to exercise the effective control of the government. Results of the survey that

## 1.2.0 Methodology

Most of the facts and figures stated in this report are extracted from the minutes of the Parliamentary sessions and the state-owned newspapers and the report is based on the official facts and figures. We are convinced that Parliamentarians and related persons, journalists, researchers, constituents and the general public would be able to use basic facts and figures that came out of this study. We are, however, aware that it is impossible to assess the nature of Parliament and quality of the Parliamentarians based only on the number of the submission of proposals and their participation in discussions on legislation.

In this study, the focus was put on the main tasks of Parliament such as legislation, keeping checks and balances on the government and representation.

Different categories are based on the

come out of the collected data reveal how effectively the Parliament representatives carried out legislation and put questions and motions to the Parliament.

Within the Open Myanmar Initiative Program, we have started to release reports and research papers on our findings and to create a data base enabling the general public, all voters, interested scholars, Parliamentarians and the representatives of the international community to visit our web page [omimyanmar.org](http://omimyanmar.org) to make a general as well as detailed search. A release of facts and figures and indexed report is needed for easy reference, when massive amounts of data on Parliament are available.

respective Parliamentary activities without depending on the Union level organizations/representatives that came to answer questions in the Parliament.

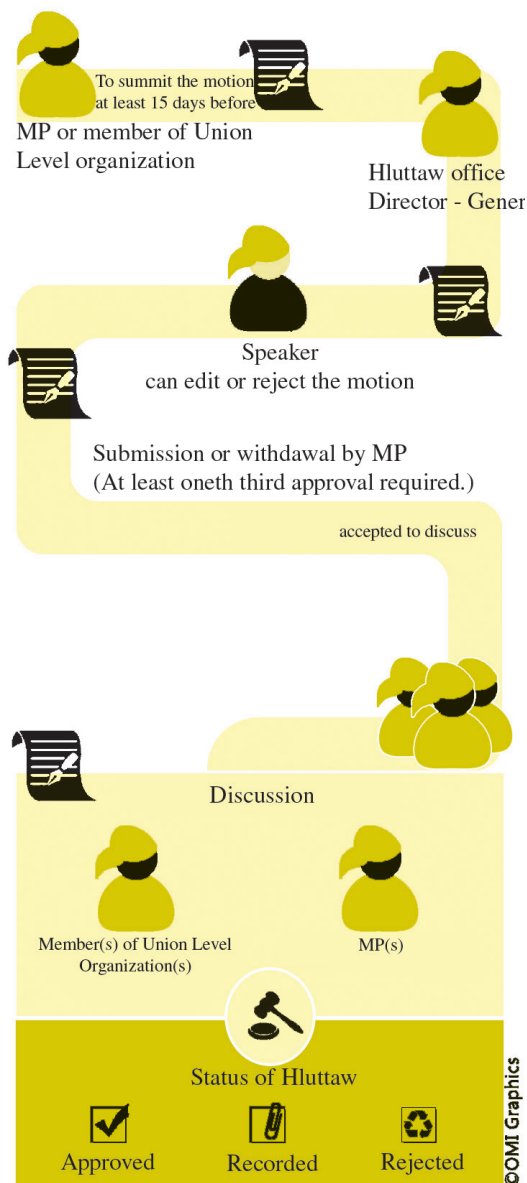
While studying PyidaungsuHluttaw, AmyothaHluttaw and PyithuHluttaw, data collection was done using the minutes of the Parliamentary sessions as main sources in order to get reliable information. A daily routine taking place in the parliament consists of putting questions to the Union level organizations, submission of proposals and bills, proposing the amendments and approving the laws. This report focuses primarily on facts and figures regarding motion submission and discussion. (Our first report on quantitative study of starred questions from first regular session to sixth regular session of the Parliament was released in February 2014.)

With the aim of improving transparency of the administrative activities of the government, promoting administrative and financial accountability of the government and achieving the rule of law, Parliament is mainly asking questions as a gesture of keeping checks and balances on the government. While asking questions, the Parliamentarians are able to send their questions to the government organizations concerned by mail and get oral responses to their questions marked with asterisks from the Union level organizations. Although we found that questions were used mainly for representation, the motions were used for scrutiny. Motions were submitted and discussed as shown in the figure.

We did not count motions of felicitations and of condolence and formal motions for legislative process. As for discussion, we did not count formal support to discuss the motions in a debate. We only considered for and against in discussions over motions after the Hluttaw had agreed to discuss these motions.

We collected data of MPs who submitted and discussed motions such as gender, political parties, ethnicity and representing region/state as well as data of particular motions such as purposes, issues and status of the motions. Selection of terms and their meanings is detailed in Sub-Chapter 1.2.1.

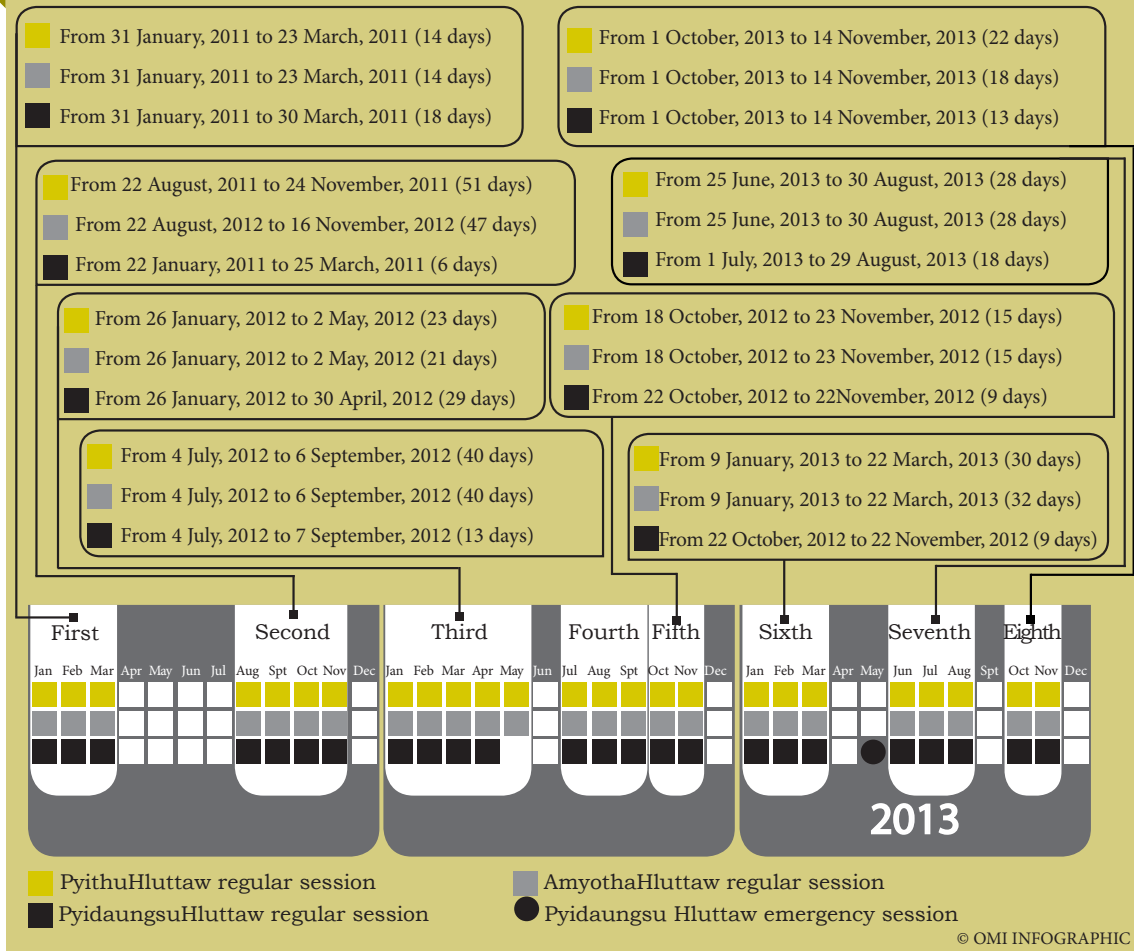
OMI’s Parliament Watch Program used Social Sciences Statistical Package software for data entry after collecting data about bills, starred questions and proposals that were submitted during the period from first regular sessions to sixth regular sessions of PyidaungsuHluttaw, AmyothaHluttaw and



Motion submission in step by step

PyithuHluttaw. We are now collecting data on seventh to ninth regular session, while catching up with the 10th regular session.

## Timeline of parliamentary sessions (2010-2013)



### 1.2.1. Selection of terms and their meanings

In order to know a representative's background, only his or her most influential job was recorded.

#### (1) Classification of Motion Status

When motions are proposed in Hluttaws, those will be ended up into one of the five status as follow. Those six statuses are classified into the decisions made by each hluttaw.

Those are; the motions that withdrawn by the proposing representative by himself or herself, the motions that are not accepted by the procedure of not winning more than one third of representatives' agreement to

discuss, the motions that are approved by the majority of representatives in hluttaw(s), the motions that are rejected by the majority of representatives in hluttaw(s), the motions that are put on record on request of the proposing representative(s) even though it was not approved, and the motions which was accepted to discuss but had not yet to be discussed till the end of sixth regular session.

#### (2) Classification of subject/section

Apart from collecting data through classified responses to the questions, classification that is not based on the ministries

and government service organizations is made also according to the subject/section of a question. For instance, questions about opening of Institute of Agriculture fall under the heading of Education despite answering to the questions by the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation.

The following is the general classification.

#### **(a) Infrastructural development**

Construction of buildings, roads, bridges and dams, maintenance and repair works. But, construction and upgrading of hospitals is listed under the heading of Health and construction of school buildings is grouped under the heading of Education.

#### **(b) Agriculture**

Various questions from disbursement of agricultural loans to fetching good price and farmers' rights come under the heading of Agriculture.

#### **(c) Health**

Matters related to health care services, appointment of health staff and health infrastructure are listed under the heading of Health.

#### **(d) Education**

Upgrading of educational infrastructure, educational reform and appointment of education staff are defined under the the subject of Education.

#### **(e) Culture and Art**

Matters related to cultural heritages, literature, art, music and cinema are defined as the subject of Culture and Art.

#### **(f) Environmental Conservation**

Conservation of lakes, rivers and creeks, forests and biodiversity and other natural resources are defined as the subject of Environmental Conservation.

#### **(g) Politics**

Matters occurred due to old and new

administrative systems and matters related to the political parties and elections are defined as the subject of Politics.

#### **(h) Real Estate**

Use and management of real estate including investments in real estate, sales, rents and mortgages are defined as the subject of Real Estate.

#### **(i) Workers' Affairs**

Matters related to workers' rights and privileges and disputes between employers and employees are defined as Workers' Affairs.

#### **(j) Energy**

Sale, management, distribution, extraction and use of energy resources are defined as matters related to Energy.

#### **(k) Administration**

Matters directly related to the government's administrative mechanism and matters under the direct management of the government's administrative mechanism are defined as Administration.

#### **(l) Transport**

Air, water and road transport management and services are defined as Transport.

#### **(m) Industry**

Establishment of industries, industrial administration and reforms are defined as Industry.

#### **(n) Services**

Other government and private services, except transport and tourism (although the business activities are also services, they are excluded from services for detailed analysis), are listed under the headline of services.

#### **(o) Tourism**

Hospitality and tourism industry, management and policies connected with hotels and tourism are defined as matters related to Tourism.



**(p) Development**

Development aid, assistance and regional and national development program are defined as Development.

**(q) National Ethnic Affairs**

Affairs of one ethnic or ethnics that are more than one including Bamar are defined as National Ethnic affairs.

**(r) Jurisdiction**

Matters related to functions of courts and the whole judicial system are defined as Jurisdiction.

**(s) Religion**

Matters related to beliefs of citizens are defined as Religion.

**(t) Sports**

Public awareness of sports activities and management of sports grounds are defined as Sports.

**(u) Economy**

Trade, import and export and matters related to businesses that run for profit are defined as Economy.

**(v) Social assistance**

Assistance directly connected with promotion of socioeconomic status of citizens and improvements in standard of living in accord with human dignity are defined as Social Assistance.

**(w) Taxation**

Tax collection, tax exemption and other matters related to taxation management are defined as Taxation.

**(x) Peace**

Peace talks with national ethnic armed organizations are defined as Peace.

**(y) Rights of Citizens**

Matters related to fundamental rights of citizens like Freedom of expression and freedom of assembly are defined as Rights of Citizens.

**(z) Legislation**

Matters related to amendment, revision and revocation of laws are defined as Legislation.

**3. Classification of aims**

In order to realize the motions reflecting Parliamentary activities such as representation, keeping checks and balances on the government and legislation, aims of the motions are classified as follows:

**(a) Representation**

Among the motions proposed by representatives, Representation is defined in terms of the fact if a representative is representing all people in his/her constituency or only some of them. For example, the act of proposing a motion calling for the government's administration to enhance food provision and regional development by the representative of Puta-O Township Constituency or one of Amyotha Hluttaw representatives representing Kachin State is defined as Representation. On the other hand, the act of proposing such a motion by a representative of other region is defined as the act of keeping checks and balances on the government.

**(b) Checks and Balances on the Government**

Proposing motions about matters which are directly connected with the government machinery including the positions, policies and functions of the government is defined as the act of keeping checks and balances on the government.

**(c) Legislation**

Although Parliament plays a role in making and passing laws, representatives proposes legislation-related motions while the executive is in the position of drafting most of the laws and exercising the existing laws.

Even though there is a procedure of moving a motion in the process of bill discussions and drafting laws, such motions will not be

### 1.3.0 Scope

Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, Pyithu Hluttaw and Amyotha Hluttaw are listed in the Parliament Watch Program of Open Myanmar Initiative. It will be possible to follow the activities of Region/State Hluttaws, when they qualify as meeting Hluttaws standards of the program.

It became clear that this is a work of epic scope for detailed studies as activities of a legislature are related to executive and judiciary. Moreover, studying only the activities of representatives in the Parliament cannot be sufficient for successful completion of the program. Only extensive research on relations with voters outside Parliament, activities of respective political parties, political stands of each representative and Parliament's capability of developing political aspirations would be considerably beneficial to political transition of Myanmar society.

While collecting data for this report, we collected data of documented motions that were submitted according to illustration on step-by-step motion submission and discussion on Page 12. So, these would not be the number of motions that MPs tried to table in the Parliament, but the motions which were documented in Parliamentary meeting minutes. Nonetheless, Report No (2) on quantitative approach to Myanmar Parliament with facts and figures and graphic illustrations based on the collected data was published as a first step in order to provide readers with more clear understanding of the Parliamentary activities.

As we mentioned in our first report, we had come across a plethora of difficulties

counted in as a separate motion in this study of decent motions.

in accessing Parliamentary information. We met the Hluttaw speakers and discussed the availability of information, when we distributed our reports to Parliamentarians in Nay Pyi Taw. Amyotha Hluttaw contributed largely to this report as they provided meeting minutes up to the eight regular session in a soft copy.

The Hluttaw agreed to provide more information for research activities and to facilitate raising questions in the Parliament. We refer to information provided by the Parliament as far as possible. More information from Parliament would help us reflect more clearly on Parliamentary activities.

### Suggestion of an MP over voting procedure

When the vote was called on the motion to impeach the Constitutional Tribunal of the Union on Day 34 of fourth regular session of Amyotha Hluttaw on 28 August, 2014, U TheinSwe of Ayeyawady Region Constituency (10) discussed against the standing vote. He suggested, "There is no chance of abstention between standing and sitting. I would suggest more mutually transparent technique." Though, the speaker turned down the discussion and proceeded with the standing vote.



## Chapter 2

# Basic Information

Myanmar Parliament, which is called Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, consists of Pyithu Hluttaw and Amyotha Hluttaw. Myanmar exercises a bicameral legislature system. Pyithu Hluttaw consists of Hluttaw representatives elected on the basis of each township, while Amyotha Hluttaw consists of Hluttaw representatives elected in an equal number of 12 representatives from each Region/Division or State.

As Defence Services personnel representatives make up one third of the total number of Hluttaw representatives, the total number of elected representatives in the two Hluttaws accounts for only 75 per cent. Pyidaungsu Hluttaw has a total number of 664 representatives— 440 from Pyithu Hluttaw and 224 from Amyotha Hluttaw. Actually, there have been 168 elected representatives in Amyotha Hluttaw and 325 in Pyithu Hluttaw since the formation of this Parliament as

**Table 2.1: Number of constituencies in each State and Region**

State	
Sagaing	37
Taninthayi	20
Bago	28
Magway	25
Mandalay	36
Yangon	45
Ayeyawady	26
Region	
Kachin	18
Kayah	7
Kayin	7
Chin	9
Mon	10
Rakhine	17
Shan	55

the elections in some constituencies were postponed in 2010 general elections. However, full appointments of Defence Services Personnel representatives were made.

Moreover, the number of elected representatives was reduced from 168 to 162 in AmyothaHluttaw and 325 to 285 in PyithuHluttaw as 46 representatives were appointed to the Cabinet. Although 2012 by-elections were held, only 43 representatives were elected. Therefore, the number of seats

### 2.1.0. PyithuHluttaw

PyithuHluttaw consists of representatives elected from each township in Myanmar. According to the Constitution, it shall be formed with 330 elected representatives and 110 Defence Services Personnel representatives. A total of 949 PyithuHluttaw candidates ran for 2010 general elections and 325 were elected to the seats in Parliament.

After 2010 general elections and 2012 by-elections, 362 representatives (325 in the 2010 general elections and 37 in the by-elections) have been elected so far. A total of 175 Defence Services Personnel representatives appointed by the Commander-in-Chief have carried out their duty in the parliament. A total of 65 substitutions were made by the Commander-in-Chief until the eighth regular sessions.

As PyithuHluttaw representatives are elected on the basis of each township, the number of PyithuHluttaw representatives in regions and states are different as seven states and seven regions are formed with different numbers of townships. Table (2-1) shows the number of constituencies in regions and states.

still left vacant in the parliament has not yet been filled until present. During the period from the date that Parliament was convened on 31 January 2011 to the final date of the sixth regular sessions, one PyithuHluttaw representative passed away. It was found that a total of 485 representatives – 166 AmyothaHluttaw representatives and 319 PyithuHluttaw representatives – were present at the sixth regular sessions.

As elections were postponed in Panhsan, Naphan, Panwaing, Maingmaw and Maingla Townships in the 2010 general elections and the 2012 by-elections, Shan State has five vacancies for PyithuHluttaw representative. Likewise, Kachin State is unable to fill PyithuHluttaw representative vacancies in Bhamo, Phakant and Moegaung Townships. In total, only 50 PyithuHluttaw representatives were elected in Shan State and 15 in Kachin State.

Union Solidarity and Development Party that won the most seats in the 2010 general elections formed the government by appointing 40 PyithuHluttaw representatives. As there was no change in the number of 110 Defence Services Personnel representatives, 27.8 per cent of the total number of representatives in PyithuHluttaw were Defence Services Personnel representatives until by-elections in April, 2012. No elections were held in five constituencies in the 2010 general elections and 40 representatives were taken in the new Cabinet. As 37 of 45 seats that were vacant before the 2012 by-elections were filled, only eight seats remain to be filled.

### 2.1.1. Number of parties in Pyithu Hluttaw

Union Solidarity and Development Party stands as the majority party with the highest number of representatives since PyithuHluttaw was formed in 2011. A total of 217 candidates from the USDP won the seats in 2010 general elections. Although 40 representatives joined the Cabinet, the number of USDP representatives in PyithuHluttaw accounts for 44.9 percent

of the total representatives. The two main political parties that won the most seats after the USDP before the 2012 by-elections were Shan Nationalities Democratic Party with 18 seats and National Unity Party with 12 seats.

But National League for Democracy has become the second-largest party in the parliament after winning 37 seats in the by-elections.

### 2.1.2. Male and female representatives' participation in Pyithu Hluttaw

There are only 12 women representatives in PyithuHluttaw. The number of elected women representatives after the 2010 general elections accounts of 3.7 per cent only.

Following the by-elections, the number

has doubled with the participation of 12 women representatives from NLD, accounting for 5 per cent of PyithuHluttaw representatives. But one woman representatives left Parliament for Cabinet after the by-elections.

### 2.1.3. National ethnics representatives' participation in Pyithu Hluttaw

Bamar ethnic representatives make up 68.5 percent of Pyithu Hluttaw representatives followed by Shan representatives with 6.3 percent, Rakhine with 4.7 percent, Kayin with 1.8 percent, Mon with 1.6 percent and Chin with 1.4 percent.

No information about ethnical background of 65 who are among 175 Defence Services Personnel PyithuHluttaw representatives was obtained. According to data collected regarding the ethnics of the remaining Defence Services Personnel PyithuHluttaw representatives, only 15 are from the ethnics. Among them, 10 are ethnic Rakhine while three are Shan and the remaining two are Mon and Kayin.

Union Solidarity and Development Party, the majority party in Parliament, has the highest number of non-Bamar representatives among political parties. Fifteen Shan

#### Motions by Committees

Parliamentary committees submitted motions during regular sessions of the Hluttaw. Committees submitted five motions from first regular session to sixth regular session. Pyithu Hluttaw Judicial and Legal Affairs Committee submitted a motion on Day 20 of third regular session of Pyithu Hluttaw. Amyotha Hluttaw Petition Committee submitted two motions, Amyotha Hluttaw National Planning Committee and Amyotha Hluttaw Mining and Natural Resources Committee submitted one motion each.

representatives are from Shan Nationalities Democratic Party, nine Rakhine representatives Rakhine Nationalities Development Party

and three Mon representatives All Mon Region Development Party while National

League for Democracy has four non-Bamar representatives.

#### 2.1.4. Beliefs of Pyithu Hluttaw representatives

Buddhist representatives account for 88.6 per cent in PyithuHluttaw while Christian representatives 5.5 per cent Muslim

representatives 0.4 per cent. No information about the religion of 38 representatives was available.

#### 2.1.5 Former occupations of Pyithu Hluttaw representatives

General classification of the former occupations of PyithuHluttaw representatives was made. Data were collected based on the fact, which job the representatives consider their primary one.

Former service personnel (including former government officials) make up 22.2 percent of the total population of PyithuHluttaw representatives. 16.1 percent used to be

businessmen. Representatives, who switched from military service to politics, account for 5.7 percent. Former service personnel include those, who were originally from the military service and switched to civil service. Representatives, who went into politics from the field of education, make up 8.5 percent. Only three percent exercised law profession.

#### 2.2.0. Amyotha Hluttaw

AmyothaHluttaw consists of Hluttaw representatives elected in an equal number of 12 representatives from each Region or State. There are 168 representatives directly elected from 14 Regions and States. Like PyithuHluttaw, AmyothaHluttaw is also formed by 168 elected representatives and 56 Defence Services Personnel representatives that account for 25 percent of AmyothaHluttaw seats.

Six seats in AmyothaHluttaw that

were left vacant since appointment of six representatives to the Cabinet had been filled after 2012 by-elections. Substitution of Defence Services Personnel AmyothaHluttaw representatives was made once.

Elections were postponed in some townships in 2010 general elections and 2012 by-elections, but AmyothaHluttaw representatives were elected fully by excluding these townships from the designated AmyothaHluttaw constituencies.

#### 2.2.1. Number of parties in Amyotha Hluttaw

Six representatives were appointed by President U Thein Sein, who was elected from among Union Solidarity and Development Party's representatives, to his cabinet. No parties have representatives numbered more than ten in AmyothaHluttaw. Rakhine Nationalities Development Party that ranked second in AmyothaHluttaw, in

which USDP held the majority of the seats, won only seven seats. The total number of representatives from the remaining parties represents only about 18 per cent of AmyothaHluttaw seats.

There were no significant changes in AmyothaHluttaw in the wake of the 2012 by-elections. National League for Democracy

gained four of the six vacant seats, while Shan Nationalities Development Party and

Union Solidarity and Development won one seat each.

### **2.2.2. Male and female representatives' participation in Amyotha Hluttaw**

Male representatives represent 97.3 percent of Amyotha Hluttaw members. Only six seats are held by women representatives that account for only 2.7 percent. Five of them are from Union Solidarity and Development

Party, while the remaining one is from National Democratic Force. As two USDP women representatives left for the Cabinet, percentage of women representatives' participation in AmyothaHluttaw dropped to 1.6 percent.

### **2.2.3. Ethnic representatives' participation in Amyotha Hluttaw**

Bamar representatives make up 62.1 percent of Amyotha Hluttaw seats followed by Rakhine representatives with 6 percent, Kayin with 5.5 percent, Mon with 5.1 percent, Shan with 4.7 percent. No information about

nine representatives was available. Nine Kayah, seven Shan, six Chin, six Kayin, four Rakhine and three Mon representatives are from the USDP with a majority in Parliament.

### **2.2.4. Beliefs of Amyotha Hluttaw representatives**

Among AmyothaHluttaw representatives, 203 are Buddhists that account for 86.4

percent while Christians account for 9.8 percent and Muslims 0.4 percent.

### **2.2.5 Former occupations of Amyotha Hluttaw representatives**

AmyothaHluttaw is formed with a high percentage of businessmen-turned Hluttaw representatives, who make up 21.7 per cent of AmyothaHluttaw seats. Former government officials form 19.6 percent of the whole number. Representatives, who switched from military service to politics, account for 3.8 percent. Actually, 19 percent

of AmyothaHluttaw representatives used to be military officers. Representatives, who went into politics from the field of education, make up 8.9 percent, from the fields of medicine and law 5.1 percent and 3.8 percent respectively. Representatives, who used to work in agricultural business, account for 4.3 percent.





## Chapter 3

# Studying Motions Submitted in Pyithu Hluttaw from First to Sixth Regular Session

The Pyithu Hluttaw considered 154 motions submitted during the first six regular sessions, which in total lasted 173 session days. So, the Pyithu Hluttaw heard 0.9 motion per day on average. The comparison of motions submitted in each session is displayed in Table (3.1).

According to Table (3.1), the fourth and sixth regular sessions heard the least numbers of motions while the third and fourth regular sessions heard higher number of motions than the average daily motion submission rate. The first and second regular sessions were the only two regular sessions, which considered more than one motions per day on average.

Despite the provision in Section 68 Sub-section (c) of Hluttaw Rule, which suggests, “No more than four motions are allowed on a single day of parliamentary session normally,” this rate is reached only on six days.

**Table 3.1: Comparison of motions submitted in Pyithu Hluttaw in first six sessions by frequencies and days**

	Numbers of Motions	Total days of regular sessions	Average Questions per day
First	17	14	1.2 ↑
Second	55	51	1.1 ↑
Third	17	23	0.7 ↓
Fourth	29	40	0.7 ↓
Fifth	23	15	1.5 ↑
Sixth	13	30	0.4 ↓
Total	154	173	(Avg) 0.9

There were 79 days of Hluttaw regular session without motions. As there were 154 motions submitted during six sessions (assuming the number of Pyithu Hluttaw representatives to be 440), three MPs submitted one motion

**Table 3.2: MPs who submitted five and above motions during six regular sessions**

Name and Constituency of MP	Number of Motions
U Thein Nyunt, Thingangyun Tsp (Yangon)	12
Thura U Aung Ko, Kanpetlet (Chin)	9
U Kyi Myint, Latha (Yangon)	6
U Ngun Maung, Haka (Chin)	6
Daw Tin Nwe Oo, Dagon Myothit (North) (Yangon)	5
U Aung Thein Lin, South Okkalapa (Yangon)	5
U Soe Win, Kyauktada (Yangon)	4
Daw Dwe Bu, N'Jiangyan (Kachin)	4
U Thein Swe, Ann (Rakhine)	4
U Win Myint, Pathein (Ayeyawady)	4

per day on average. During six sessions, a total of 78 MPs and one Committee submitted the motions. Among 78 MPs who submitted the motions, one is the military appointee. One MP submitted 12 motions which was the highest number of motions by an MP. The MPs who submitted four and above motions can be seen in Table (3.2).

During first six regular sessions, there were seven MPs who submitted three

motions; 12 MPs who submitted two motions, and 49 MPs who submitted one motion. So there are 286 MPs who did not submit any motion out of 362 elected representatives, and 174 MPs who did not submitted any motion among 175 defence service personnel appointed as MPs. Thus, there are 460 MPs in total who did not submit any motion in Pyithu Hluttaw.

### 3.1.0 Studying motions submitted in Pyithu Hluttaw

We studied the motions submitted in the Pyithu Hluttaw according to gender, ethnicity, political party and region of MPs as well as according to purposes, issues and status of motions. The questioning process is the simplest proceeding of the parliament among its functions of questioning, motion discussion and bill discussion. There is a room for the “Union-level organization members” (public office holders) to participate in

discussion of motions as well. It is important to study who participated in discussion of particular motions. So, we hereafter studied the participation in discussion of motions. The correlations of facts about motions were also studied.

In figure (3.1), it compares the number of motions proposed in each regular session and the days of each sessions.

### 3.1.1 Studying motions submitted in Pyithu Hluttaw by gender

Out of 154 motions submitted during first six regular sessions of the Pyithu Hluttaw, male representatives submitted

144 motions while their female counterparts submitted 14 motions, approximately making the ratio of motions by male MPs and

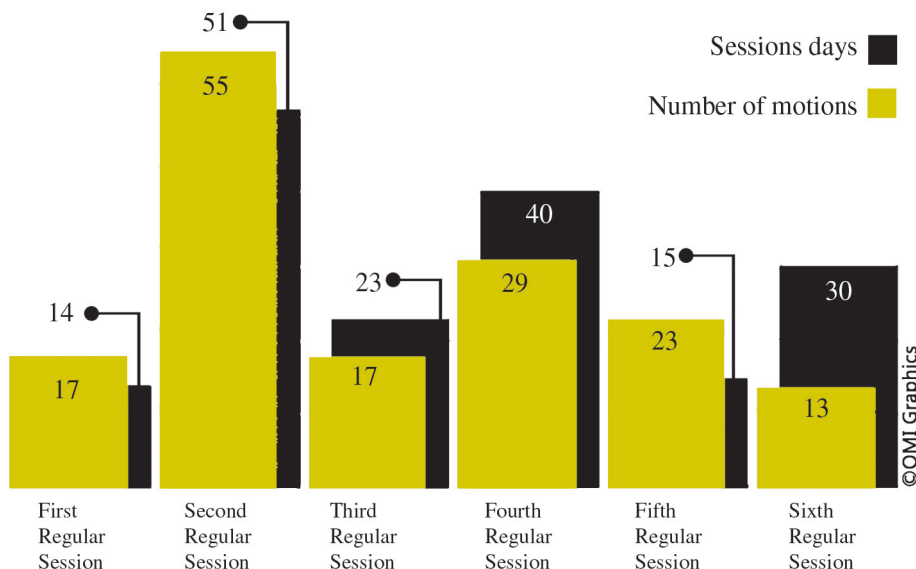


Fig (3.1) Number of motions and session days in each regular sessions in Pyithu Hluttaw

those by female MPs, 100:10. (Note: One motion was submitted by the parliamentary committee.) Although the clearcut superiority of number of motions by female MPs, they only occupied 5 percent of the entire seats in the Pyithu Hluttaw and there was no significant difference in the ratio of representation and submission motions.

Female MPs did not submit motions in first regular session, but their submission rate peaked at five motions in second regular session. They submitted four motions in the fifth regular session, three in fourth regular session and one each in third and sixth regular session.

### 3.1.2 Studying motions submitted in Pyithu Hluttaw by ethnicity

Of 154 motions submitted during first six regular sessions of the Pyithu Hluttaw, it is found that 117 motions were submitted by Bamar national MPs, thus made the most portion of motions in Hluttaws. One motion submitted by defence service personnel MPs is included in Bamar MPs' motions. The second most portion of motions submitted are Chin national MPs, of which 7 in total. The third most portion of motions submitted are Rakhine national MPs, of which 6 in total. So as to be able to compare with other nationality of motion submitting MPs, Figure (3-2) is shown.

Out of 154 motions submitted during first six sessions, Bamar national MPs

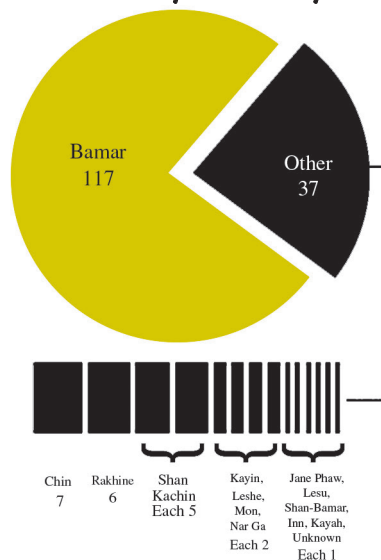


Fig (3.2) Motion submission by ethnicity in Pyithu Hluttaw

submitted 117 motions, followed by Chin national MPs with seven motions and Rakhine national MPs with six motions.

Bamar national MPs submitted 76

percent of all motions, followed by Chin national MPs with 4.5 percent. There was a huge gap between submission rate of Bamar national MPs and other ethnic MPs.

### 3.1.3 Studying motions submitted in Pyithu Hluttaw by parties

Nine out of 16 parties, which have occupied seat(s) in the Pyithu Hluttaw submitted motions from first to sixth regular session. The submission of motions by MPs from each party is displayed in Table (3.3). The frequencies of motions in each session is displayed in the Table.

One military appointee submitted one motion in six sessions (173 days) and one committed submitted a motion as well.

USDP submitted motions in all regular sessions. NDF's motions outnumbered USDP's in the first regular session with five motions while USDP submitted only three

motions. But USDP then continuously dominated the submission of motions in every other session. NLD which won seats in 2012 by-elections submitted motions in fourth, fifth and sixth regular sessions. There was no party which submitted motions in all session. RNDP, PDP and MDP are the parties which submitted motion(s) in one session each.

USDP submitted 61 percent of all the motions (95 out of 154 motions in total), followed by NDF with 18 percent, which is one third of all motions. The motion submission of seven other parties was only 21 percent in six regular session of parliamentary meetings.

**Table 3.3 Submission of motions by each party in six session**

Frequency of Motions submitted in PyithuHluttaw Regular Meetings							
	First Regular Session	Second Regular Session	Third Regular Session	Fourth Regular Session	Fifth Regular Session	Sixth Regular Session	Total
USDP	3	37	14	21	13	7	95
NDF	5	7	1	3	1	0	17
NLD	0	0	0	1	5	2	8
CNP	4	0	0	0	2	0	6
SNDP	3	0	0	2	1	0	6
UDP	0	3	0	0	0	1	4
RNDP	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Committee	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Military Appointee	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
PDP	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
MDP	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
NNDP	0	7	1	2	0	2	12
Total	17	55	17	29	23	13	154

### 3.1.4 Study of motions submitted in Pyithu Hluttaw by Region/State

MPs from Yangon Region submitted most motions with 58 motions in six sessions, followed by MPs from Chin State with 16 motions and MPs from Kachin State with 13 motions. MPs from Sagaing and Mandalay Regions and from Rakhine State submitted 12 motions each.

The Figure (3.3) shows the number of MPs from each Region/State and the number of motions they submitted. The number of seats for each Region/State is assumed to be 330, but there are changes in number of seats due to decrease or withdrawal of MPs from particular Region/State. There are also vacant seats, for which elections could not be held. As 110 military appointees are directly appointed by the Commander-in-Chief of Defense Services, they do not represent any region or state. Therefore they are not included in considering the motions submitted by MPs

representing each Region/State. There were five motions, which do not represent any Region/State—one submitted by a military appointee and one by a committee. We could assume that there were 152 motions which represented Regions/States.

Yangon Region MPs, who have 13.64 percent of representation, submitted 37.3 percent of the entire motions, followed by Chin State MPs, who have 2.73 percent of representation, submitted 10.4 percent of entire motion and Kachin State MPs, who have 5.45 percent of representation, submitted 8.4 percent of all motions. Rakhine State MPs, who have 5.15 percent of representation, submitted 7.8 percent of the entire motions. Their motion submission rate surpassed the percentage of representation of each Region/State.

Taninthayi Region MPs did not submit any motions during six regular sessions.

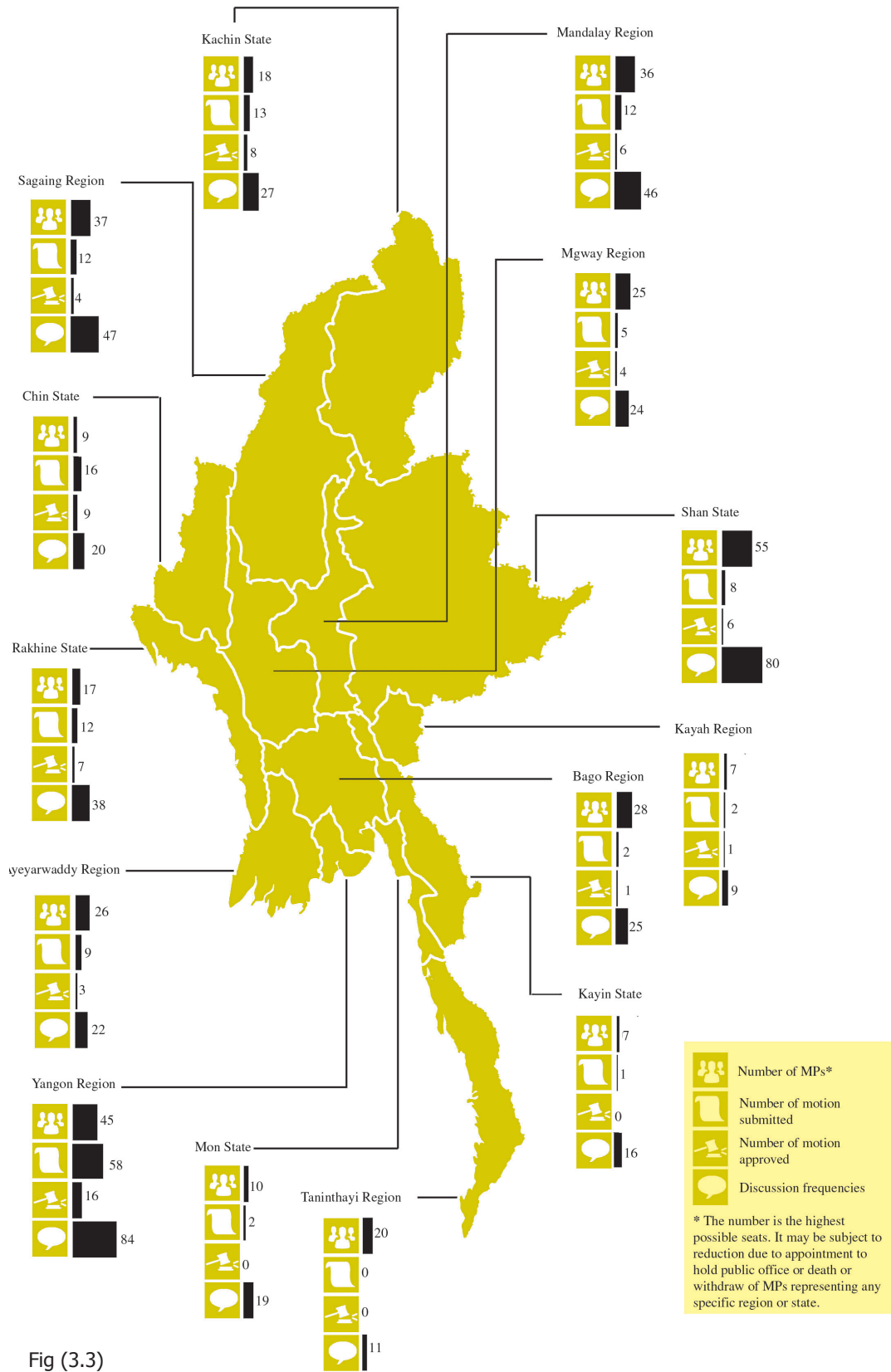
### 3.1.5 Discussion of motions in Pyithu Hluttaw

A total of 80 MPs discussed 154 out of 195 motions proposed at the Pyithu

Hluttaw from the first to sixth regular session. The motions, which were not

**Table 3.4 MPs with highest discussion frequencies in six regular sessions.**

Name and Constituency of Motion Discussing MPs	Motions discussed
U Khaing Maung Yi, <b>Ahlon Constituency (Yangon)</b>	13
U Ye Tun, <b>Hsipaw Constituency (Shan)</b>	13
Daw Nan Wah Nu, <b>Kunhing Constituency (Shan)</b>	8
Dr Sai Kyaw Ohn, <b>Namhkam Constituency (Shan)</b>	7
U Htan Lain, <b>Mindat Constituency (Chin)</b>	7
U Ko Gyi, <b>Aungmyaythazan Constituency (Mandalay)</b>	7
Daw Nan Se Oua, <b>Hpa-an Constituency (Kayin)</b>	6
U Aung Than, <b>Shwebo Constituency (Sagaing)</b>	6
U Kyi Myint, <b>Latha Constituency (Yangon)</b>	6
U Thaung, <b>Mawlaik Constituency (Sagaing)</b>	6



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Fig (3.3)

Motion submission by region/state in Pyithu Hluttaw

discussed, were the motions, which the Hluttaw did not agree to discuss and the pending ones. (More details on the acceptance and rejection of the motions in sub-chapter 3.1.8.) So, we could conclude that there are 2.4 MPs on average discussing each motion. Roughly speaking, more than MPs discussed each motion on average.

U Khaing Maung Yi from Ahlon

**Table 3.5: Motion discussion of MPs by ethnicity in first six regular sessions of Pyithu Hluttaw**

Ethnicity of MP	Frequency
Bamar	281
Shan	57
Rakhine	31
Chin	19
Kayin	17
Mon	14
Narga	8
Rawan	7
PaO	6
Inn	5
Kachin	5
Jiangphaw	4
Bamar-Chinese	4
Law Waw	3
Yin Ta Le	2
Kayah	2
Shan-PaO	2
Lahu	2
Leshi	1
Shan-Bamar	1
Bamar-Dawei	1
Wa	1

Constituency and U Ye Tun from Hsipaw Constituency contributed most to the discussion with 13 discussion frequencies and Daw Nan Wah Nu from Kunhing Constituency contributed with eight discussion frequencies. The list of MPs with highest discussion frequencies is displayed in Table (3.4).

A total of 411 motion discussions, which is 86.2 percent of all the motion discussions, were led by male representatives while 66 motion discussions, 13.8 percent, were led by female representatives. As the representation of female MPs in the Amyotha Hluttaw is 5 percent, their discussion rate is three times higher than representation.

Bamar national MPs led most motion discussions in the Pyithu Hluttaw, followed

**Table 3.6: Motion discussions by party in first six regular sessions of Pyithu Hluttaw**

Party	Discussion frequency
USDP	241
SNDP	56
NLD	41
NDF	34
NUP	26
RNDP	23
MDP	11
PDP	10
CNP	6
PNO	6
UDP	5
CPP	3
INDP	3
NNDP	2
WDP	1
KSDDP	1



by Shan national MPs. The ratio between discussion frequency of Bamar national MPs and that of Chin national MPs is roughly 5:1. Once Bamar national MPs made five discussions, Chin national MPs made one. It can be seen in Table (3.5)

MPs from USDP led most motion discussions with 240 motion discussion frequencies, followed by MPs from SNDP with 56 discussion frequencies and NLD with 41 discussion frequencies. Discussion frequencies by MPs from 17 parties are shown in Table 3.6. The ratio of discussion frequencies by MPs from USDP and that from SNDP is roughly 4:1.

Looking at regions and states, where motion-discussing MPs originated from, MPs elected in constituencies in Yangon region discussed 84 times, 17.5 percent of all the motion discussions at the Pyithu Hluttaw. They were followed by MPs from Shan State, who made 80 discussions (16.7 percent). Yangon Region and Shan State enjoyed the lion’s share of seats in the Pyithu Hluttaw with 45 seats and 55 seats. It is shown in Table (3.7).

**Table 3.7 : Discussion of MPs from Region/State in Pyithu Hluttaw in first six sessions**

Region/ State	Nos of Seats	Discussion frequencies
Yangon	45	84
Shan	55	80
Sagaing	37	47
Mandalay	36	46
Rakhine	17	38
Kachin	18	28
Bago	28	25
Magway	25	24
Ayeyawady	26	22
Chin	9	20
Mon	10	19
Kayin	7	16
Taninthayi	20	11
Kayah	7	9

**3.1.6 Study of motions submitted in Pyithu Hluttaw by issues**

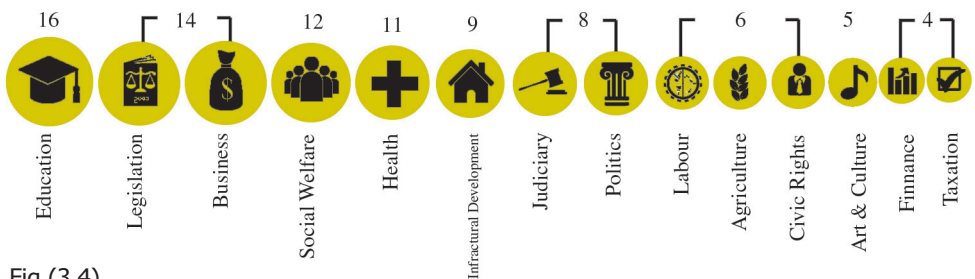


Fig (3.4) Issues of motions in Pyithu Hluttaw

The Education gets the highest attention during six sessions of the Amyotha Hluttaw with 16 motions focusing on education submitted, followed by business and

legislation with 14 motions each, and social welfare with 12 motions. Motions regarding education and health (which have approximately 11 motions ) were submitted in each

and every session. There is no motion focusing on legislation in first regular session. There are no other issues than education and health, which issues were discussed in every session.

The second regular session had the largest number of issues proposed as motions with 18 issues. The first and fifth regular session had 12 issues; the third regular session, 13 issues; the fourth regular session, 14 issues; the sixth regular session, 11

### 3.1.7 Study of purposes of motions submitted in Pyithu Hluttaw

A total of 111 motions, which made 72.1 percent of all 154 motions submitted in Pyithu Hluttaw during six regular sessions, were aimed at the government oversight. There were 30 motions focused legislation, 19.5 percent, and 13 motions with the purpose of representation, 8.4 percent. There were no motions on

issues. The third regular session's motions focused on seven issues and first and fifth regular sessions' motions covered six issues each.

A motion regarding tourism was submitted in first regular session and the issue was not put on the agenda as motion in all other sessions. Motions regarding corruption, energy and transport were each submitted in third regular session, fourth regular session and fifth regular session.

legislation and representation in fourth and fifth regular sessions. A total of 27 out of 29 motions in fourth regular session were submitted with the purpose of the scrutiny. A total of 12 motions of legislation were submitted in the second regular session. The purposes of the motions are displayed in Table (3.8).

**Table 3.8: Purposes of motions submitted in Pyithu Hluttaw in each session**

	First Regular Session	Second Regular Session	Third Regular Session	Fourth Regular Session	Fifth Regular Session	Sixth Regular Session	Total
Scrutiny	2	12	5	2	5	4	30
Representation	12	37	10	27	16	9	111
Legislation	3	6	2	0	2	0	13
Total	17	55	17	29	23	13	154

### 3.1.8 Study of status of motions submitted in Pyithu Hluttaw

The Figure (3.5) shows the frequencies of status of motions submitted in Pyithu Hluttaw and the approval received by parties in six regular sessions.

A total of 43 percent of the entire motions were approved at the Pyithu Hluttaw. There were two motions that were not accepted for discussion in the meeting, 22 withdrawn by the MPs, who submitted

the motions, 49 put on record and eight rejected. There were seven motions which were agreed by the Pyithu Hluttaw to discuss, but have yet to be discussed in the meeting. A total of 47 out of 66 approved motions were submitted by MPs from USDP. Five motions by NLD, four by SNDP, three by UDP, two each by NNDP and CNP and one by NDF were approved.

One motion by a military appointee and one by the committee were also approved.

Two motions, which were not accepted by the Pyithu Hluttaw to be discussed were submitted in second and third regular session.

Three motions from NDF and one each from SNDP, USDP, NNDP, NLD and CNP were not approved. There were not rejected motions in second, fifth and sixth regular sessions.

Six out of seven motions, which were agreed to be discussed but did not proceed, were submitted by USDP and another by NLD.

Two motions were re-submitted in fifth regular sessions. U Aung Myint from Gangaw Constituency re-submitted the same motion which he submitted on 5th September 2012 and did not get discussed as an emergency motion on 15th November 2012. U Ngun Maung from Haka Constitu-

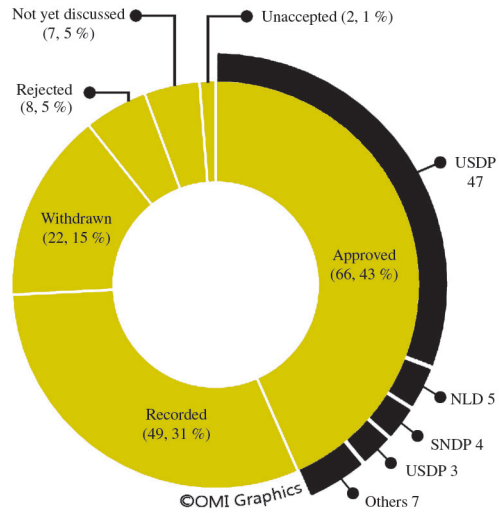


Fig (3.5) Status of motions in Pyithu Hluttaw

ency had to re-submit on the same day a motion that he submitted on 26th October 2012 as the motion was not discussed despite the Hluttaw’s approval of discussion.

### 3.1.9 Study of correlations of motion submissions and discussions in Pyithu Hluttaw

#### Studying motions by parties

Nine parties submitted the motions in Pyithu Hluttaw during the first six sessions, and those motions were discussed by MPs from 13 parties.

There is no party in Pyithu Hluttaw, which had submitted motions and their motions were not discussed by MPs from USDP. MPs from all other parties have also participated in discussions of motions submitted by MPs from USDP. MPs representing USDP in Pyithu Hluttaw discussed 178 times the USDP-initiated motions, which means that USDP-initiated by MPs from the same party. MPs from SNDP participated 36 times in discussions of USDP-initiated motions, five times less than the USDP’s same-party

discussion frequencies. Being the party with the largest number of seats in Pyithu Hluttaw, USDP’s MPs had superior discussion frequencies even in other parties’ motions than the party that submitted the motion. USDP had 22 discussion frequencies on motions submitted by NDF, which submitted the second largest number of motions in Pyithu Hluttaw, and 15 discussion frequencies on motions submitted by NNDP, while MPs from both NDF and NNDP could only discuss less than ten times their motions. Though, USDP MPs had lesser discussion rate on motions submitted by SNDP and NLD MPs. USDP MPs discussed four times on six motions submitted by SNDP MPs and one time on eight motions submitted by NLD MPs. But

MPs from NLD participated in discussion of motions submitted by USDP MPs 19 times. It is the highest number of discussion rate by NLD MPs over motions submitted by a party.

The highest interaction is seen between USDP and NDF. MPs from USDP participated in discussion of motions submitted by NDF 22 times and NDF MPs participated in discussion of USDP's motions 19 times is displayed. The discussion of motions by same-party MPs is displayed in Table (3.9).

Despite interactions between parties on submission and discussion of motions, motions submitted by RNDP were discussed by MPs from USDP alone.

MPs discussed 80 out of 154 motions submitted at the Pyithu HLuttaw. Five military appointees participated in discussion of motions. They are Col Htay Naing (two motions), Col Tint Hsan (two motions), Col Aung Myint (one motion), Col Khin Maung Tun (one motion) and Maj Myint Han (one motion). Col Htay Naing is the only military appointee, who submitted a motion. (his motion can be seen in Page 35.) Four out of five motions that they discussed were submitted by elected representatives.

USDP could touch on the largest number of issues in discussion, participating in discussion of education motions 31 times, social welfare 26 times and legislation 25 times. There are the only two other parties, which discussed a single issue more than 10 times. They were NDF, which discussed education issue 14 times, and SNDP, which discussed also education issue 10 times. The motions on legislation

**Table 3.9: Motion discussion by same-party MPs**

Party	Motions submitted	Discussion frequencies on motions submitted by fellow party members
USDP	96	178
NDF	33	4
NLD	8	7
CNP	6	2
SNDP	6	6
UDP	4	0
RNDP	2	3
PDP	1	0
MDP	1	0
NNDP	12	0

received most discussions with 75 discussion frequencies.

### Study of motions by ethnicity

Bamar national MPs participated in 280 discussions in Pyithu Hluttaw out of which 237 discussions were related to motions submitted by fellow Bamar national MPs. Bamar national MPs participated in discussions of motions submitted by all other ethnic MPs. The ratio between the discussion of Bamar national MPs and that of the all other ethnic MPs is 3:2 as there was total discussion frequency of 479. Shan national MPs made second largest number of discussions with 57 discussion frequencies out of which 29 discussions were made on motions submitted by Bamar national MPs. Shan national MPs participated in discussions of motions submitted by other ethnic MPs, except Mon and Lisu national MPs.

## Study of motions by region

Motions submitted by ethnic Bamar and Kachin MPs were discussed by all other ethnic MPs in Hluttaw.

The highest correlation between submissions and discussions of motions is seen between MPs representing Yangon Region—MPs from Yangon Region discussed 47 times on motions submitted by the MPs from the same Region. The motions submitted by Yangon Region MPs also received the largest number of discussion with 161 frequencies of discussion out of 479. The motions submitted by Yangon and Ayeyawady Regions MPs were discussed by MPs from all other Regions and States. The most obvious correlation was seen between Yangon Region MPs and Shan State MPs—MPs from Shan State discussed the motions submitted by Yangon Region MPs 22 times, while Yangon Region MPs discussed the motions submitted by Shan State MPs four times.

MPs from seven Regions discussed 104 times motions submitted by MPs from seven States, while MPs from seven States discussed 70 times motions submitted by MPs from seven Regions.

## Motion submission by military appointee

One military appointee each from the Pyithu Hluttaw and the Amyotha Hluttaw submitted one motion each from first regular session to sixth regular session.

Col Htay Naing from the Pyithu Hluttaw submitted a motion on the use of term “Myanmar” in publications on Day 26 of second regular session of First Pyithu Hluttaw, calling for devising laws to ensure the decent use of the word as it requires to cover the entire state and all ethnic races.

U Aung Kyaing of NyaungU Constituency, U Sein Myint of Botahtaung Constituency, U Sai Saw Tin of Mongyawng Constituency, U Ye Tun of Hsipaw Constituency, Dr Aye Myint of Shwe Taung Constituency and U Maung Oo of Phaungpyin Constituency participated in discussion on the motion. Another military appointee Col Tint Hsan also participated in discussion. Deputy Attorney-General U Tun Tun Oo seconded the motion which was then approved.

Submission, discussion and decision over the motion was made on a single day.

## Chapter 4

# Studying Motions Submitted in Amyotha Hluttaw from First to Sixth Regular Session

The Amyotha Hluttaw considered 149 motions submitted during the first six regular sessions which in total had 169 session days. So, the Amyotha Hluttaw heard 0.88 motion per day on average. The comparison of motions submitted in each session is displayed in Table (4.1).

According to Table (4.1), the fourth and sixth regular sessions heard the least numbers of motions, while the second, third and fifth regular sessions heard higher number of motions than the average daily motion submission rate. The first and second regular sessions were the only two regular sessions, which considered more than one motions per day on average. Despite the provision in Section 68 Sub-section (c) of Hluttaw Rule, which suggests, “No more than four motions are allowed

**Table 4.1: Comparison of motions submitted in Amyotha Hluttaw in first six sessions by frequencies and days**

	Numbers of Motions	Total days of regular sessions	Average Questions per day
First	16	14	1.14 ↑
Second	48	47	1.02 ↑
Third	20	21	0.95 ↑
Fourth	29	40	0.72 ↓
Fifth	11	15	0.73 ↓
Sixth	25	32	0.80 ↓
Total	149	169	(Avg)0.88

**Table 4.2: MPs who submitted five and above motions during six regular sessions**

Name and Constituency of MP	Number of Motions
U Thein Nyunt, Thingangyun Tsp (Yangon)	10
Thura U Aung Ko, Kanpetlet (Chin)	10
U Kyi Myint, Latha (Yangon)	9
U Ngun Maung, Haka (Chin)	6
Daw Tin Nwe Oo, Dagon Myothit (North) (Yangon)	6
U Aung Thein Lin, South Okkalapa (Yangon)	5
U Soe Win, Kyauktada (Yangon)	5
Daw Dwe Bu, N'Jiangyan (Kachin)	5
U Thein Swe, Ann (Rakhine)	5

on a single day of parliamentary session normally,” the rate was actually not even reached.

As there were 149 motions submitted during six sessions and as if we assume the number of Amyotha Hluttaw representatives to be 224, one MP submitted 0.66 motion on average. During six sessions, a total of 56 MPs and Petition Committee submitted the motions. Among 56 MPs who submitted the motions, one is the military appointee. The Public Petition Committee, Mining and Natural Resources Committee and National Planning Committee submitted four motions. Two MPs submitted 10 motions each, sharing the top spot of the

list of motion submission by MPs. The MPs who submitted five and above motions are shown in Table (4.2).

During first six sessions, there were four MPs, who submitted four motions; five MPs, who submitted three motions; 14 MPs, who submitted two motions; 28 MPs, who submitted one motion each; and three parliamentary committees submitted four motions. A parliamentary committee submitted one proposal. Out of 168 elected representatives, 108 did not submit any motion. Out of 56 military appointees, 55 did not submit any motion. In total, there were 164 Amyotha Hluttaw MPs, who did not submit a motion during six sessions.

#### 4.1.0 Study of motions submitted in Amyotha Hluttaw

We studied the motions submitted in Amyotha Hluttaw by gender, ethnicity, political party and region of MPs as well as by purposes, issues and status of motions. The questioning process is the simplest proceeding of the Parliament among its functions of questioning, motion discussions and bill discussions. There is a room for

the “Union-level organization members” (public office holders) to participate in discussions of motions as well. It is important to study who participated in discussions of particular motions. Therefore, we studied the participation in discussions of motions. The correlations of facts on motions were also studied.

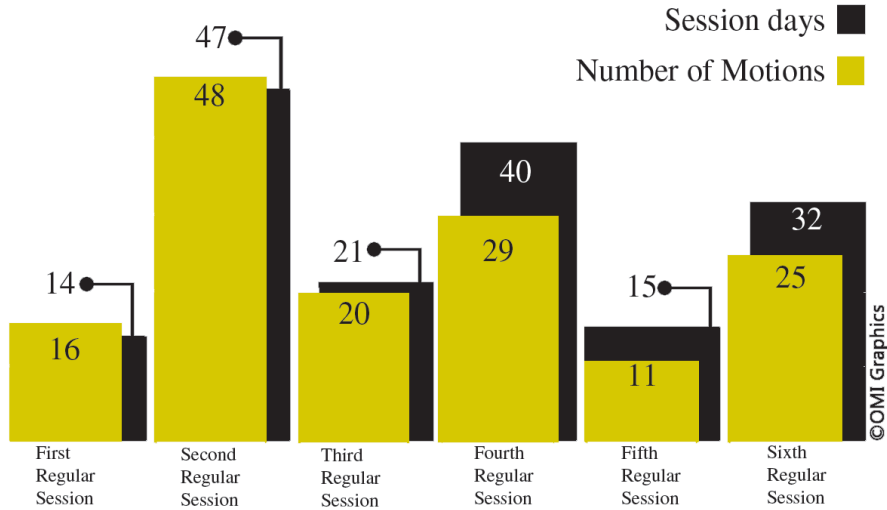


Fig (4.1) Number of motions and session days in each regular session in Amyotha Hluttaw

### 4.1.1 Study of motions submitted in Amyotha Hluttaw by gender

Out of 149 motions submitted during first six regular sessions of in Amyotha Hluttaw, male representatives submitted 139 motions, while their female counterparts submitted six motions, approximately making the ratio of motions by male MPs and those by female MPs, 100:4 (Note: One motion was submitted by the petition committee). Although there was a clearcut superiority of number of motions by female MPs, they only occupied 3.9 percent of the seats in Amy-

otha Hluttaw and there was no significant difference in the ratio of representation and submission motions.

Female MPs did not submit motions in first, fourth and fifth regular sessions, but their submission rate peaked at four motions in second regular session. They submitted one motion in the third regular session and another in the sixth regular session.

### 4.1.2 Study of motions submitted at in Amyotha Hluttaw by ethnicity

Out of 149 motions submitted during first six sessions, Bamar national MPs, who included one military appointee, submitted 97 motions, followed by Chin national MPs with 22 motions and Rakhine national MPs with 10 motions.

Bamar national MPs submitted 64 percent of all the motions, followed by Chin national MPs with 14.8 percent of all motions. There was a huge gap between submission rate of Bamar national MPs and other ethnic MPs.

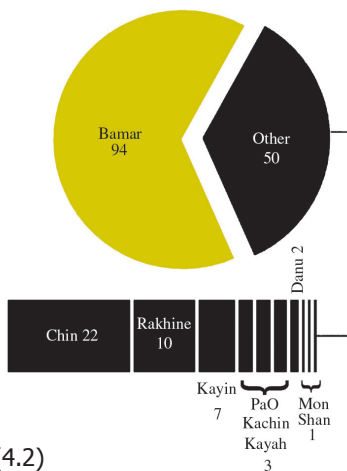


Fig (4.2) Motion submission by ethnicity in Amyotha Hluttaw



### 4.1.3 Study of motions submitted in Amyotha Hluttaw by parties

Ten out of 16 parties which have occupied seat(s) in Amyotha Hluttaw submitted motions from first to sixth regular session. The submission of motions by MPs from each party is displayed in Table (4.3). The frequencies of motions in each session are displayed in the Table.

motion in first and second regular session. 13 out of 16 motions in first regular session were submitted by CPP. There was no party, which submitted motions in all session. RNDP submitted motions in all regular sessions except the first regular session. SNDP, KPP, AMRDP and PNOP

**Table 4.3: Submission of motions by parties in six session**

Frequency of Motions submitted in PyithuHluttaw Regular Meetings							
	First Regular Session	Second Regular Session	Third Regular Session	Fourth Regular Session	Fifth Regular Session	Sixth Regular Session	Total
USDP	0	0	16	20	7	16	95
CPP	13	0	0	0	0	2	15
NDF	0	3	3	2	0	1	9
RNDP	0	1	1	3	2	1	8
CNP	2	0	0	0	0	2	4
PNOP	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
UDP	0	1	0	0	1	1	3
SNDP	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
KPP	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
AMRDP	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
NNDP	0	3	0	1	0	1	5
Military Appointee	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Committee	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
Total	16	48	20	29	11	25	149

One military appointee submitted one motion in six sessions (169 days) and the Public Petition Committee, the Mining and Natural Resources Committee and the National Planning Committee submitted four motions as well.

USDP which submitted most motions in total did not submitted any

are the parties, which submitted motions in one session each. USDP submitted 65 percent of all the motions, followed CPP. Though, USDP's submission rate was superior sixfold than the submission rate of CPP. The motion submission of eight other parties was only 22.2 percent.

#### 4.1.4 Study of motions submitted in Amyotha Hluttaw by Region/State

MPs from Yangon Region submitted most motions with 33 motions in six sessions, followed by MPs from Chin State with 22 motions and MPs from Mandalay Region with 17 motions. MPs from Magway Region and from Rakhine State each submitted 10 motions.

The Table (4.9) shows the number of MPs from each Region/State and the number of motions that they submitted. The number of seats of each Region/State is assumed to be 168, but there are changes in number of seats due to decrease or withdrawal of MPs from particular Region/State. There are also vacant seats, for which elections could not be held. As the military appointees are directly appointed by the Commander-in-Chief of Defense Services, they do not represent any Region or State. Therefore they are not included in consideration of

the motions submitted by MPs representing each Region/State. There were five motions, which do not represent any Region/State—one submitted by a military appointee and four by the Public Petition Committee, Mining and the Natural Resources Committee and the National Planning Committee. There we could assume that there were 144 motions which represented Regions/States.

Yangon Region MPs submitted 22.21 percent of all motions, followed by Chin State MPs with 14.38 percent and Mandalay Region MPs with 10.19 percent. Their motion submission rate surpassed the percentage of representation of each Region/State. Motion submission of Mandalay Region MPs neared the representation with 11.76 percent. Each Region or State had their representing MPs, who submitted motions in six sessions.

#### 4.1.5 Discussion of motions in Amyotha Hluttaw

A total of 133 MPs discussed 124 out of 149 motions proposed in Amyotha Hluttaw from first to sixth regular session. The motions, which were not discussed, were the motions, which Hluttaw did not agree to discuss and the pending ones (more details on the acceptance and rejection of the motions in sub-chapter 4.1.8). So, we could conclude that there are 0.93 MPs on average discussing each motion. Roughly speaking, about one MP discussed each motion on average.

Daw Khin Wine Kyi from Yangon Region Constituency (1) contributed to most discussion with 27 discussion frequencies and followed by Dr Banyar Aung Moe from Mon State Constituency (7) with 25 discussion frequencies. The list of MPs

with highest discussion frequencies can be seen in Table (4.4).

A total of 603 out of 634 motion discussions, which is 95.1 percent of all the motion discussions, were led by male representatives, while 28 motion discussions, 4.9 percent, were led by female representatives. As the representation of female MPs in Amyotha Hluttaw is 1.8 percent, the discussion rate is three times bigger than their representation.

Bamar national MPs participated in most motion discussions in Amyotha Hluttaw, followed by Chin national MPs. The ratio between discussion frequency of Bamar national MPs and that of Chin national MPs is 6:1. Once Bamar national MPs made six discussions, Chin national

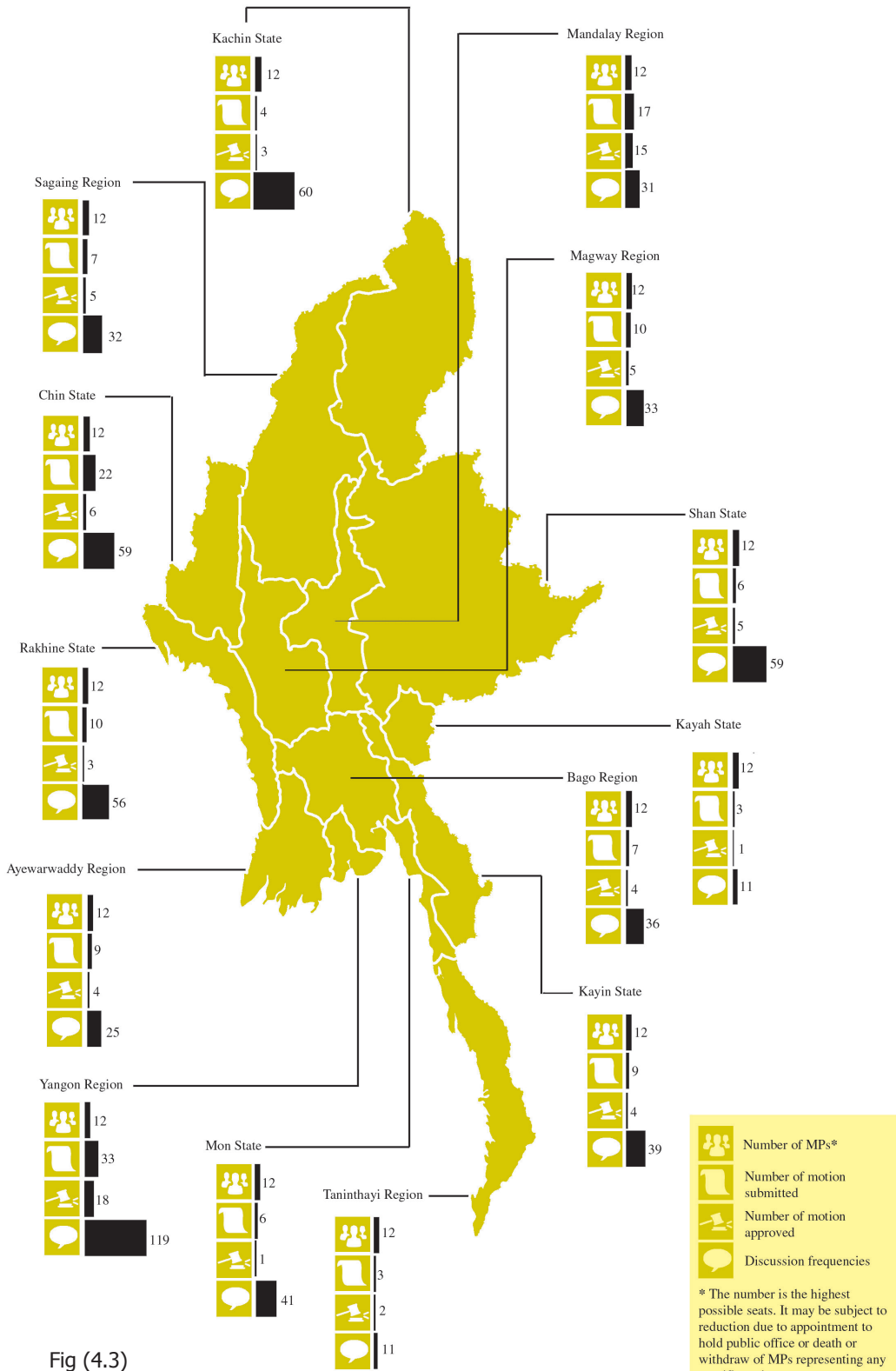


Fig (4.3)  
Motion submission by region/state in Amyotha Hluttaw

Number of MPs\*  
 Number of motion submitted  
 Number of motion approved  
 Discussion frequencies

\* The number is the highest possible seats. It may be subject to reduction due to appointment to hold public office or death or withdraw of MPs representing any specific region or state.

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MPs made one.

MPs from USDP made most motion discussions with 331 motion discussion frequencies, followed by MPs from NDF with 64 discussion frequencies and RNDP

**Table 4.4 MPs with highest discussion frequencies in six regular sessions.**

Name and Constituency of Motion Discussing MPs	Motions discussed
Daw Khin Wine Kyi, Yangon Region Constituency (1)	27
Dr Banyar Aung Moe, Mon State Constituency (7)	25
Dr Myint Kyi, Yangon Region Constituency (8)	20
U Zone Hlal Htan, Chin State Constituency (2)	17
U Khin Maung Yi, Ayeyawady Region Constituency (6)	15
U Ohn Tin, Rakhine State Constituency (10)	15
U Hla Swe, Magway Region Constituency (7)	15
Dr Myat Nyana Soe, Yangon Region Constituency (4)	14
U Saw Tun Mya Aung, Kayin State Constituency (5)	14
U Sai Thant Zin, Shan State Constituency (5)	13
Dr Khin Shwe, Yangon Region Constituency (9)	13
U San Pyae, Kachin State Constituency (7)	13
U Khat Htein Nan, Kachin State Constituency (1)	12
U J Raw Wu, Kachin State Constituency (12)	12
Dr Tin Shwe, Yangon Region Constituency (6)	12
Dr Aye Maung, Rakhine State Constituency (1)	12

with 46 discussion frequencies. Discussion frequencies by MPs from 17 parties are shown in Table 3.1. The ratio of discussion frequencies by MPs from USDP and that from NDF is roughly 5:1.

Looking at Regions and States, where motion-discussing MPs originated from, MPs elected from constituencies in Yangon region discussed 119 times, 18.9 percent of all the motion discussions in Amyotha Hluttaw. They were followed from a far distance by MPs from Shan state who made 60 discussions (10 percent). Each region or state has an equal share of 12 seats in Amyotha Hluttaw.

**Table 4.5: Motion discussion of MPs by ethnicity in first six regular sessions of Amyotha Hluttaw**

Ethnicity of MP	Frequency
Bamar	326
Chin	59
Rakhine	55
Shan	42
Kayin	40
Mon	30
Kachin	23
Lisu	12
Wa	10
PaO	9
Kayah	8
Danu	6
Palaung	5
Chin-Shan	4
Narga	3
<b>Yin Ta Le</b>	<b>1</b>

**Table 4.6: Motion discussions by party in first six regular sessions of Amyotha Hluttaw**

Party	Discussion frequency
USDP	311
NDF	58
RNDP	41
AMRDP	27
CPP	27
SNDP	26
NUP	21
UDP	12
NLD	10
WDP	9
PNOP	9
WDP	9
CNP	6
PSDP	5
TPNP	5
KPP	4
KSDDP	1

**Table 4.7 Discussion of MPs from Region/State in Amyotha Hluttaw in first six sessions**

Region/State	Nos of Seats	Discussion frequencies
Yangon	12	33
Shan	12	22
Sagaing	12	17
Mandalay	12	10
Rakhine	12	10
Kachin	12	9
Bago	12	7
Magway	12	7
Ayeyawady	12	7
Chin	12	6
Mon	12	6
Kayin	12	3
Taninthayi	12	4
Kayah	12	3

#### 4.1.6 Study of motions submitted in Amyotha Hluttaw by issues

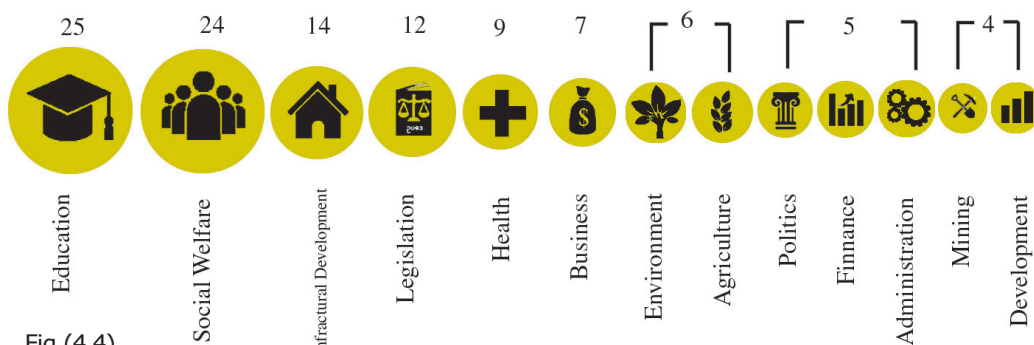


Fig (4.4) Issues of motions submitted in Amyotha Hluttaw

The military appointees discussed 21 times at in Amyotha Hluttaw. A total of 20 military appointees discussed 11 motions,

of which one is a motion submitted by a fellow military appointee and others by the elected representatives.

Education got the highest attention during six sessions of Amyotha Hluttaw with 25 motions on education submitted, followed by social welfare with 24 motions, infrastructural development with 14 motions and legislation with 13 motions. Motions regarding education, social welfare and infrastructural development were submitted in every session. There was no motion on legislation in first and sixth regular sessions. There were no other issues, which got attention in every session.

The second regular session had

#### 4.1.7 Study of purposes of motions submitted in Amyotha Hluttaw

A total of 136 motions, (which were 91.3 percent of all 149 motions submitted at the Amyotha Hluttaw during six regular sessions), were aimed at the government oversight. There were four motions with the purpose of legislation (2.7 percent), and eight motions with the purpose of representation (6 percent). There were no

**Table 4.8: Motion discussion by party**

Purpose	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Total
Legislation	0	4	1	0	0	0	5
Scrutiny	12	43	18	29	11	23	136
Representation	4	1	1	0	0	2	8
Total	16	48	20	29	11	25	149

#### 4.1.8 Study of status of motions submitted in Amyotha Hluttaw

The Figure (4.5) shows the frequencies of status of motions submitted in Amyotha Hluttaw by parties in six regular sessions.

A total of 57 percent of all motions were approved in Amyotha Hluttaw. There were six motions, which were not accepted for discussion in the meeting, 11 were withdrawn

the largest number of issues proposed as motions with 18 issues, followed by fourth regular session with 15 issues and the sixth regular session with 14 issues. The third regular session's motions were on seven issues and first and fifth regular sessions' motions covered six issues each.

A motion regarding tourism was submitted in second regular session and the issue was not seen as motion in all other sessions. Motions regarding labour affairs, ethnic affairs, energy and transportation were submitted in one session each.

motions of legislation and representation in fourth and fifth regular sessions. All 29 motions in fourth regular session and 15 motions in the fifth regular session were submitted with the purpose of the scrutiny. The purposes of the motions are shown in Table (4.7).

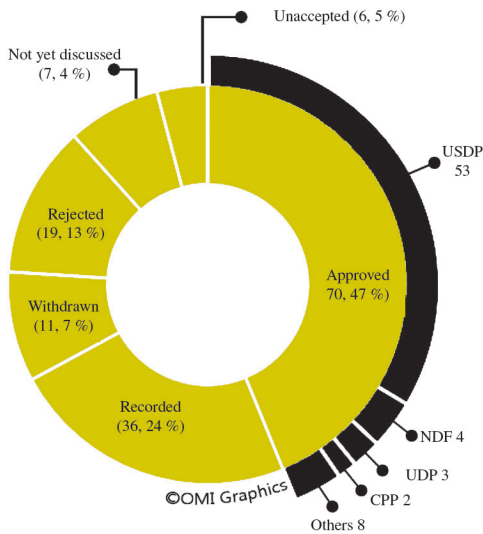


Fig (4.5) Status of motions in Amyotha Hluttaw

#### 4.1.9 Study of correlations of motion submissions and discussions in Amyotha Hluttaw

Ten parties submitted in Amyotha Hluttaw during the first six session the motion, which were discussed by MPs from 16 parties and one independent MP.

There is no party in Amyotha Hluttaw which had submitted motions and their motions were not discussed by MPs from USDP. MPs from all other parties have also participated in discussion of motions submitted by MPs from USDP. MPs representing USDP Amyotha Hluttaw discussed 249 times on USDP-initiated motions, which means a USDP-initiated motion got at least two discussions from MPs from the same party. MPs from NDF participated 45 times in discussion of USDP-initiated motions, 10 times less than the USDP’s same-party discussion frequencies. Being the party with the largest number of seats in Amyotha Hluttaw, USDP’s MPs

three each submitted by UDP, PNOP, RNDP and CPP were approved. SNDP and CNP had one of their motions approved each. One motion by a military appointee and two by the Public Petition Committee and one each by the Mining and Natural Resources Committee and the National Planning Committee were approved.

There were six motions which were not accepted for discussion in six sessions. All the motions submitted in the third regular session were accepted. USDP had three motions rejected and RNDP, NDF and CPP one each rejected. There were no rejected motions in the fifth regular session.

There were 11 motions – three by USDP, one each by RNDP, NDF and CPP – which had been accepted to discuss but were not discussed in six sessions.

had higher discussion frequencies even in other parties’ motions than the party which submitted the motion. USDP had 11 discussion frequencies on motions submitted by CPP, which submitted the

#### Motion decided to become a bill

Dr Aye Maung of Rakhine State Constituency (1) submitted a motion “urging the Union government to provide entitlements to region and state ministers as prescribed in the constitution.” In deciding the motion, the Amyotha Hluttaw speaker commented that the motion should be discussed by the Bill Committee which was tasked with drafting the bill and submitting to the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw.

**Table 4.9: Motion discussion  
by same-party MPs**

Party	Motions submitted	Discussion frequencies on motions submitted by fellow party members
USDP	95	246
CPP	15	3
NDF	14	4
RNDP	8	0
CNP	4	0
UDP	3	0
PNOP	3	0
AMRDP	1	2
KPP	1	0
<b>SNDP</b>	1	0
<b>NNDP</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>

second largest number of motions in Amyotha Hluttaw, while MPs from CPP could only discuss three times their motions. Similarly, USDP had 21 discussion frequencies on motions submitted by NDF, while MPs from NDF could only discuss six times the motions submitted by their fellow NDF representative. NDF, which had the second largest number of discussion frequencies after USDP, discussed motions submitted by all other parties except SNDP and AMRDP.

USDP-initiated motions received the largest portion of the discussion frequencies - 447 out of 634 discussions. USDP is the party, which submitted 65 percent of the motions.

The highest inter-party relation was seen between USDP and NDF as USDP representatives discussed NDF-initiated motions 20 times, while NDF representatives discussed USDP-initiated

motions 45 times.

A total of 20 military appointees participated in discussions on motions and one military appointee submitted a motion. They participated in 18 discussions on USDP-initiated motions and in three discussions on UDP-initiated motions and one submitted by a fellow military appointee.

USDP could touch upon the largest

### Motion submission by military appointee

One military appointee each from the Pyithu Hluttaw and the Amyotha Hluttaw submitted one motion each from first regular session to sixth regular session.

Col Soe Hein Naung from the Amyotha Hluttaw submitted a motion on Burmese writing styles on Day 14 of second regular session of First Amyotha Hluttaw.

U Saw Maw Tun of Bago Region Constituency (1), U Win Maw of Mandalay Region Constituency (2), U Mahn Kan Nyunt of Kayin State Constituency (2), Dr Myat Nyana Soe of Yangon Region Constituency (4) and U Than Swe of Taninthayi Region Constituency (2) participated in discussion on the motion. Another military appointee Col Nanda Aye also participated in discussion. Despite the presence of Education Minister to discuss the motion, the Speaker commented that the motion did not concerned only with the education ministry. He himself seconded the motion and then approved.

Submission, discussion and decision over the motion was made on a single day.



number of issues in discussion, participating in discussion on social welfare motions for 66 times, on education 49 times and on infrastructural development 42 times. There was only one other party, which discussed a single issue more than 10 times. NDF discussed education issues 14 times. The motions on social welfare were discussed most with 104 discussion frequencies.

### **Study of motions by ethnicity**

Bamar national MPs participated 326 discussions in Amyotha Hluttaw, out of which 237 discussions were related to motions submitted by fellow Bamar national MPs. Bamar national MPs participated in discussions on motions submitted by all other ethnic MPs. The ratio between the discussion of Bamar national MPs and that of the all other ethnic MPs is 2:1 as total discussion frequency amounted to 594. Chin national MPs made second largest number of discussions with 59 discussion frequencies, out of which 27 discussions were led on motions submitted by Bamar national MPs. Chin national MPs participated in discussion on motions submitted by other ethnic MPs except Mon and Danu national MPs.

Yin Ta Le and Narga MPs were the only two ethnic MP groups in Amyotha Hluttaw, who made no discussion on motions submitted by Bamar national MPs.

### **Study of motions by region**

The highest correlation between submission and discussion of motions is seen between MPs representing Yangon Region—MPs from Yangon Region discussed 41 times motions submitted by the MPs from the same Region. The motions submitted by Yangon Region MPs formed the largest number of discussion with 119 frequencies of discussion out of 634. The motions submitted by Mandalay Region MPs were discussed by MPs from all other Regions and States. The most obvious correlation is seen between Yangon Region MPs and Shan State MPs—MPs from Shan State discussed the motions submitted by Yangon Region MPs 13 times, while Yangon Region MPs discussed the motions submitted by Shan State MPs seven times.

MPs from seven Regions discussed 165 times motions submitted by MPs from seven States while MPs from seven States discussed 70 times motions submitted by MPs from seven Regions.

## Chapter 5

# Studying Motions Submitted in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw from First to Sixth Regular Session

The Pyidaungsu Hluttaw considered 38 motions submitted during the first six regular sessions which in total had 173 session days. So, Pyidaungsu Hluttaw heard six motions per session and one motion once three days on average. There was no motion submission in fifth regular session. The comparison of motions submitted in each session can be studied in Table (5.1).

A total of 38 motions were submitted by 30 MPs. MPs who submitted most motions were Dr Myat Nyana Soe of Yangon Region Constituency (4) with four motions, U Lun Thi of Kunchangone Constituency with three motions, U Thein Win of Sagaing Region Constituency (9) with two motions, U Ye Tun of Hsipaw Constituency with two motions and U Htayoo of Hinthada Constituency with two motions. Other

**Table 5.1: Comparison of motions submitted in Amyotha Hluttaw in first six sessions by frequencies and days**

	Numbers of Motions	Total days of regular sessions	Average Questions per day
First	9	18	0.5 ↑
Second	2	6	0.3 ↓
Third	8	29	0.27 ↓
Fourth	3	13	0.2 ↓
Fifth	0	9	0 ↓
Sixth	16	23	0.69 ↑
Total	38	98	(Avg)0.39

motions were proposed by 25 MPs, who submitted one motion each.

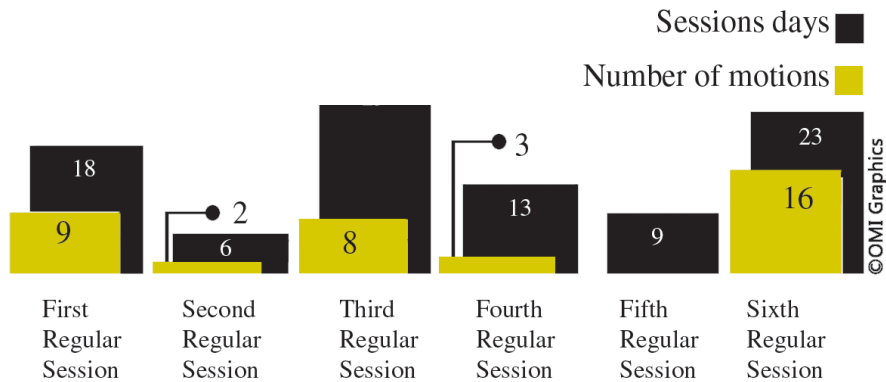


Fig (5.1) Number of motions and session days in each regular sessions in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw

### 5.1.0 Study of motions submitted in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw

USDP submitted 27 motions (71 percent) while NDF submitted six motions (13.2 percent) and SNDP, three motions (7.9 percent). AMRDP, RNDP and PNOP submitted one motion each.

USDP submitted 11 motions regarding taxation, which was the mostly raised issue with 14 motions. Finance is the second

most raised issue with eight motions.

USDP touched upon 10 issues with 27 motions while NDF on five issues.

No party in PyidaungsuHluttaw submitted motions with the purpose of representation and legislation. All motions were aimed at government oversight.

### 5.2.0 Study of motions submitted at the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw by status

Only 10 motions were discussed and one out of them was approved during six sessions of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw. The approved motion was submitted by U Tin Htut from Zalun Constituency during fourth regular session and related to land grabbing. There was only one rejected motion which was submitted by U Zaw Myint

Pe from Mandalay Region Constituency (5). A motion proposed by Dr Myat Nyana Soe from Yagon Region Constituency (4) was not accepted for discussion. Pyidaungsu Hluttaw put six motions on record. There were four motions, which MPs first proposed and later withdrawn and those MPs were from SNDP.

### 5.3.0 Study of motions submitted in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw by discussion

A total of 89 MPs participated in discussions on 10 motions out of 38 submitted motions from first regular session to sixth regular session. Other motions, which were not discussed in the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw were the ones not accepted for discussion and had yet to be discussed until

the end of sixth regular session. A motion was discussed by nine MPs in on average.

Daw Khin Wine Kyi fromYangon Region Constituency (1), Daw Nan Se Awa from Hpa-an Constituency and U Sai Kyaw Myint from Mongnai Constituency participated in most discussions, sharing

**Table 5.2: MPs with five or more submission of motions during six regular sessions**

MP and Constituency	Motions submitted
Daw Khin Wine Kyi, Yangon Region Constituency (1)	3
Daw Nan Se Awa, Hpa-an Constituency (Kayin State)	3
U Sai Kyaw Myint, Mongnai Constituency (Shan State)	3

**Table 5.3: Motion discussion of MPs by ethnicity in first six regular sessions of Pyidaungsu Hluttaw**

Ethnicity of MP	Discussion Frequency
Bamar	69
Rakhine	14
Shan	10
Kayin	4
Mon	4
Wa	2
Chin	2
PaO	1
Kayah	1
Kachin	1
Lisu	1

three discussion frequencies. There were 15 MPs, who participated in discussions of two motions, and 71 MPs each discussed one motion. The list of MPs, who actively participated in discussion is displayed in Table (5.2).

Male MPs had a share of 93 discussion frequencies out of total 111, making 83.3

**Table 5.4: Motion discussions by party in first six regular sessions of Pyidaungsu Hluttaw**

Party	Discussion frequency
USDP	58
NDF	10
SNDP	9
NLD	6
RNDP	6
NUP	5
PDP	3
MDP	3
CPP	2
AMRDP	1
CNP	1
UDP	1
WDP	1
PNOP	1
<b>KSDDP</b>	<b>1</b>

percent of all the discussions. Female MPs engaged 16 times in discussion on the motions, which is the 14.4 percent.

Ethnic Bamar MPs participated in most discussions, followed by ethnic Rakhine MPs. The ratio of discussions between ethnic Bamar MPs and ethnic Rakhine MPs is 5:1. Ethnic Rakhine MPs participated in one discussion once ethnic Bamar MPs participated five discussions.

USDP contributed to 58 discussions which is the largest number of discussion of motions by a single party, followed by NDF with 10 discussion frequencies and SNDP with nine discussion frequencies. The discussion frequencies of 13 parties

that participated in motion discussion is displayed in Table (5.4). The ratio of discussion between most party most engaged in discussion and the second most contributing party is almost 6:1.

MPs from Yangon Region discussed 23 times (20.7 percent), followed by MPs from Shan State with 17 times (15.3 percent). Yangon Region and Shan State have the largest number of seats in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw.

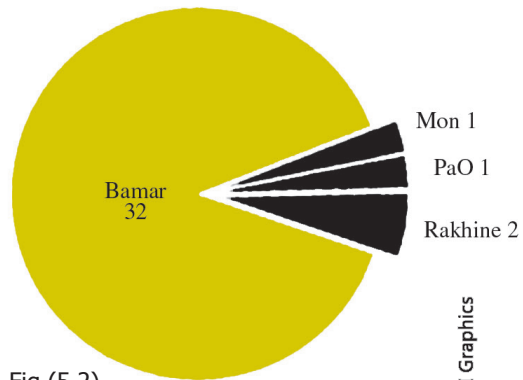


Fig (5.2)

Motion Submission by ethnicity in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw

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**Table 5.5: Discussion of MPs from region/state at Pyidaungsu Hluttaw in first six sessions**

Region/State	Number of Constituencies	Discussion frequencies
Yangon	57	23
Shan	67	17
Sagaing	49	5
Mandalay	48	13
Rakhine	29	10
Kachin	30	3
Bago	40	6
Magway	37	6
Ayeyawady	38	8
Chin	21	3
Mon	22	4
Kayin	19	4
Taninthayi	32	3
Kayah	19	2

#### 5.4.0 Study of correlations of motion submissions and discussions in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw

##### Studying motions by Parties

Four parties submitted in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw during the first six session motions, which were discussed by MPs from 14

parties. Motions from AMRDP and PNOP were not discussed at all.

There is no party in Pyidaungsu

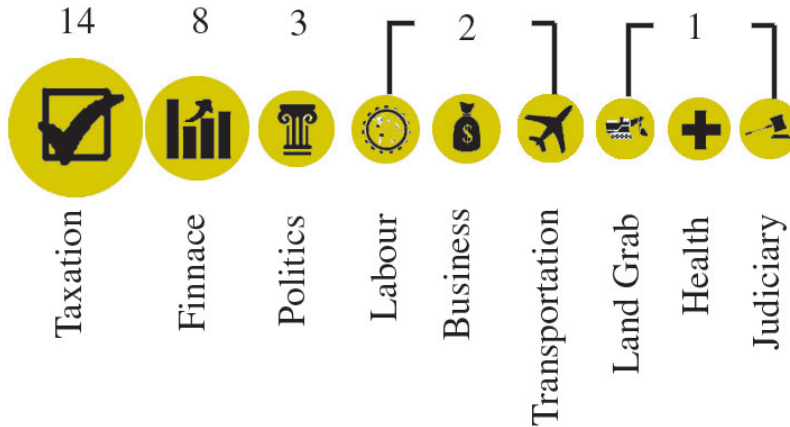


Fig (5.3)

## Issues of motions in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw

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Hluttaw, which had submitted motions and their motions were not discussed by MPs from USDP. MPs from all other parties have also participated in discussions of motions submitted by MPs from USDP. MPs representing USDP in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw discussed 45 times 21 USDP-initiated motions, which means a USDP-initiated motion got at least two discussions from MPs from the same party. MPs from SNDP participated seven times in discussions on USDP-initiated motions, six times less than the USDP's same-party discussion frequencies. Being the party with the largest number of seats in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, USDP's MPs had higher discussion frequencies even in other parties' motions than the relevant party, which submitted the motion.

The highest inter-party relation was found between USDP and SNDP as USDP representatives discussed SNDP-initiated motions seven times, while SNDP representatives discussed USDP-initiated motions seven times.

Despite active interaction between

parties in motion discussion, no other party except USDP participated in discussion of motions submitted by NDF.

A total of three military appointees participated in discussion of motions. They were Col Aung Thila, Col HlaTun and Lt-Col Ye Naing Oo. They all participated in discussion of the same motion about impeachment of the constitutional tribunal during fourth regular session.

USDP could touch on the largest number of issues in discussion, participating in discussion of land grab motions for 26 times, and politics and transportation for seven times each. There was no party which discussed a single issue more than 10 times. The motions on land grab received most discussions with 45 discussion frequencies and politics with 23 discussion frequencies.

### Study of motions by ethnicity

Bamar national MPs made 69 discussions at Pyidaungsu Hluttaw of which 59 discussions were related to motions submitted by fellow Bamar national MPs. Bamar national MPs participated in discussion of motions submitted by all

other ethnic MPs. Ethnic Rakhine MPs made second largest number of discussions with 14 discussion frequencies of which 13 discussions were made on motions submitted by Bamar national MPs. All other ethnic MPs participated in discussion of motions submitted by ethnic Bamar MPs.

### **Study of motions by region**

The highest correlation between submission and discussion of motions is seen between MPs representing Ayeyawady Region and MPs representing Shan State—MPs from Shan State discussed 10 times

on motions submitted by the MPs from the Ayeyawady Region. The motions submitted by Ayeyawady Region MPs received the largest number of discussion with 48 frequencies of discussion out of 111. The motions submitted by Mandalay Region MPs received the second largest discussions with 28 discussion frequencies

MPs from seven Regions discussed 13 times on motions submitted by MPs from seven States while MPs from seven States discussed 33 times on motions submitted by MPs from seven Regions.

## Chapter 6

# Recommendations

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Motion, a major tool of parliament, is instrumental for performing representation, government oversight and legislation by the parliament. Questions are mostly used to establish executive-legislation relations, while motions create interactive debate among parliamentarians elected from various constituencies. They also enable MPs to have their say in policy making process. Increasing and improving motions would strengthen the role of parliament in democratic transition and it is a major challenge for all parliamentary institution as well as each parliamentarian.

In assessing motions in first six sessions, there were motions, which had yet to be debated despite one third of the entire Parliament had approved them for discussion. It is inconsistent that motions, which the Parliament had prioritized to

discuss were not discussed and decided upon. The motion-submitting MPs and the supporting MPs as well as the Parliament should make certain efforts to have their motions discussed during adequate time to reach the decision on them. For instance, there were some efforts, though rare, to re-submit the motions, especially as urgent motion, if the motion was agreed to discuss but the discussion was delayed through the session. These efforts were found fruitful.

Standing vote and secret vote were used to decide on discussion and approval of motions. The Hluttaw Speakers were equipped with the authority to decide which voting technique would be used. We suggest harmonious use of these different techniques in order to increase transparency of the parliament, while ensuring certain rights of MPs to cast vote independently.



Excessive use of secret votes would hamper the openness of the Parliament, while excessive application of standing vote would narrow down options of MPs and have adverse impacts on independent stance of each parliamentarian. We suggest to establish more specific rules and regulations of voting process. Hluttaw should also keep voting records of parliamentarians and publicize them for more openness.

Parliamentarians represent their constituencies while reflecting stance of their parties in submission and discussion of motions. Despite regulations, which allow submission of amendment motions, there were no amendment of motion up to six regular session. Re-submission and submission as urgent motions would prevent motions on representation, scrutiny and legislation from being ignored.

During six sessions, Hluttaw submitted overall one motion per day on average. Hluttaw Rules suggest that no more than four motions are to be submitted each day.

The average number of motion submissions is still far from reaching the maximum. Regardless of the size of representation or number of seats in the Parliament, political parties and ethnic groups should submit more motions to serve the interests of citizens in their respective constituencies. Only then will Hluttaw become more active. Ethnic Chin representatives who held only 5 percent of all seats in Amyotha Hluttaw submitted 22 motions (14.7 percent), out of which six were approved. It indicates that there is still rooms for parties and ethnic groups in Hluttaw with a few seats for serving the interests of their voters.

Most of the motions submitted during first six sessions were on government oversight with relatively lesser motions on representation. Parliamentarians should engage more with their voters, create more channels of communication with voters, who also need to effectively use the available tools to talk to their MPs, who represent them in the Parliament.

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