





Please read these few pages first. They will help you get the most from teaching this course.

## a. Introduction to the book

### What is this book about?

*Politics: Ideas, Institutions and Actors* is a civic education module designed for Myanmar adults. It encourages readers to participate fully in their community and its development. It aims to support informed citizens who are empowered to create positive change and advocate for social justice. The activities and topics in *Politics: Ideas, Institutions and Actors* engage readers through three kinds of learning – developing civic knowledge, civic skills and civic values:

#### Civic Knowledge...

involves learning **about** politics through exercises that promote knowledge about the ideas, institutions and actors that affect students' communities. They encourage readers to develop critical and enquiring minds and to make informed decisions through discussion and group work.

Each chapter focuses on one topic and provides readers with relevant background information, case studies, interactive classroom activities and questions to encourage analysis and discussion.

#### Civic Skills...

involves learning **through** active citizenship by taking part in activities that require students to practice skills such as critical thinking, active listening, debate and teamwork.

It is not possible to “teach” civic education in the same way that some other subjects are taught. It has to be learned through experience. This is why many of the activities are designed to encourage students to gain direct experience of civic participation. These activities give the students a chance to practice civic skills so that they can confidently apply them in their community.

#### Civic Values...

involves learning **for** active citizenship through activities that require students to reflect on the values that they and their communities apply in their lives, and the values that they think are important for fair and peaceful communities.

The reflection and discussion activities in *Politics: Ideas, Institutions and Actors* are designed to give students the opportunity to identify, clarify and express their own beliefs and values. This gives students opportunities to confront their differences in a framework based on freedom of thought and expression, and respect for others' opinions.

## b. Adapting the book to your context

There are many different ways of teaching and learning about political participation. You may be a youth worker, a trainer, schoolteacher or adult education tutor, a member of a discussion group or an activist. Whoever you are and wherever you are working, we trust there will be something for you in this module.

We hope you will develop the ideas in the module to meet your own needs and those of the people you work with. There is no “right” way to use *Politics: Ideas, Institutions and Actors*. It is a flexible resource. You do not need to follow every word of the book – it should be used to match the needs of your students. For example:

- ▶ If you don't have enough time to teach the whole course, leave out some sections and activities that will take a long time or won't be very useful for your students.
- ▶ If an activity won't work well in your context, change it to something that will.
- ▶ If you want to teach the subject in more depth, supplement it with other materials: books, documentaries, websites, magazines and so on.
- ▶ If the material is too difficult, teach only the most important parts, and have students work in pairs or groups so stronger students can help weaker students.
- ▶ If the language is too difficult, explain the content in students' first language. Another alternative would be to use the Myanmar language version of *Politics: Ideas, Institutions and Actors*.

## c. Teaching methods used

When writing the instructions for how to run activities, we have assumed that people know and understand terms such as “brainstorm”, “group work” and “discussion”. For convenience, they are clarified here.

### Brainstorming

Brainstorming is a way to introduce a new subject, check students’ previous knowledge of a subject, and generate a lot of ideas quickly. It can be used for solving a specific problem or answering a question.

How to brainstorm:

1. Write the topic or issue as a word, a simple question or a statement on the board.
2. Students contribute their ideas. Write the ideas on the board (e.g. using a mind map or lists).
3. If useful, you can leave it on the board, and refer back to it in following activities.

### Group work

Group work is the foundation of many of the exercises. Smaller groups might be better for more personal topics, larger groups for activities that require negotiation or compromise. Most activities work best in mixed groups, with students of different gender, ethnicity and beliefs. That way, students have the opportunity to hear the experiences of other communities.

Some important aspects of group work to encourage are:

- ▶ Developing communication and listening skills.
- ▶ Developing co-operation and leadership skills.
- ▶ Developing decision-making and compromise skills.

### Discussion

Discussions are an important part of civic education.

Through discussion, people learn to analyse information, think critically, develop communication skills, share opinions and learn from experience.

Discussions usually involve the whole group, but can also be done in smaller groups. In this case, ask groups to share what they spoke about with the class.

Discussions should take place in a safe environment where students feel confident about expressing their ideas and opinions. This means it is important to make sure everyone has the opportunity to speak, not just the loudest or most talkative students in the group.

## d. Ways we represent data in this book

### i. Timeline

A timeline shows a list of events in chronological (time) order. At the back of the book, on pages 162-164, there is a timeline of important events in Myanmar history from 1885-2013.

Some activities require students to look at the timeline, think about the events and place them on a spectrum or a Venn diagram (see next page).

### ii. Actors List

The actors list, on pages 165-170, is a list of some key political actors in modern Myanmar history. They are listed by name, in alphabetical order.

This is not a complete list of all people important to Myanmar’s history. We selected actors who provided examples of key issues of importance in the book. This actor’s list may be controversial, as many people will have different opinions about these political actors. It is important to remember that any possible answers given in this teacher’s books are only meant to be examples. They are given to demonstrate the kinds of answers that are expected, and do not represent the only “right” answers. These questions are designed to encourage critical thinking and debate.

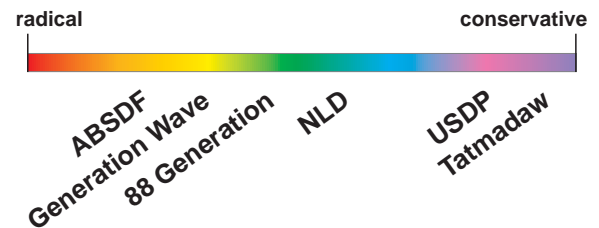
*For more comprehensive information about the events and people important to Myanmar’s history, we recommend Mote Oo’s Histories of Burma textbook (2013).*

### iii. Spectra

A spectrum is a scale which usually shows opposites, or extremes, and the places in between. They are used in this book to help students think about opposing ideologies and extremes of belief (democratic to authoritarian, for example). They also help students to remember that often, things are not simple. Some politicians may be extremely democratic, some may be extremely authoritarian. However, the actions of political actors often show us that really they are somewhere in between.

The spectrum on the right has “radical” at one end and “conservative” at the other (so “moderates” would be somewhere in the middle). Below are some possible answers, taken from the timeline:

1. ABSDF (very radical)
2. Generation Wave (radical)
3. 88 Generation (a bit radical)
4. NLD (moderate)
5. USDP (conservative)
6. Tatmadaw (very conservative)

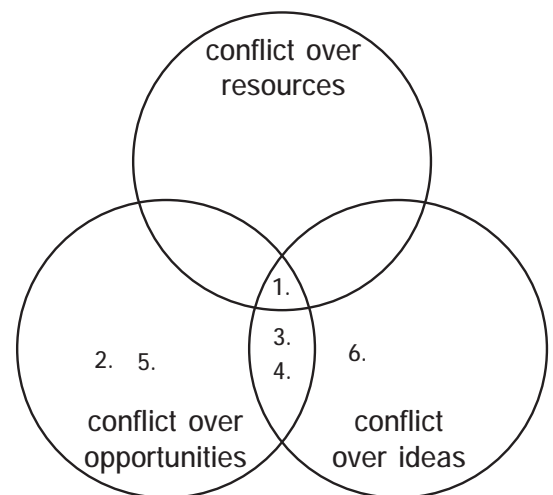


### iv. Venn diagrams

A Venn diagram is a diagram with two or more overlapping circles. In this book, we use them to show the connections and differences between ideas, actors and events.

The Venn diagram here has three circles, one for “conflict over resources”, one for “conflict over opportunities” and a third for “conflict over ideas”. Below are some possible answers from the timeline:

1. 1946 – Civil War begins (R, O, I)
2. 1944-1945 Anti-fascist revolution (O)
3. 1962 – Coup: General Ne Win (O, I)
4. 1988 – Demonstrations (O, I)
5. 1990 Elections (O)
6. 1961 Ne Win introduces Buddhism as state religion (I)



#### Making conclusions from the Venn diagram

From this small number of events, it is possible to draw a few conclusions. Adding more events may lead us to different conclusions. Here are possible conclusions that students may draw (from the answer key on page 8 of the teacher’s book):

- » Most of the conflicts are conflicts over opportunities and something else.
- » There are not very many conflicts over only resources.
- » Half of the conflicts are over more than one issue.

## e. Teaching sensitive issues

Students will probably not agree with all the ideas mentioned in this book. They should, however, provide a starting point for discussions. Because topics like social exclusion, conflicting values and social justice can be sensitive, there are some things to think about when you are teaching with *Politics: Ideas, Institutions and Actors*. Before each lesson, consider the needs of your group and think about how you might best manage each discussion and activity.

When addressing personal or controversial issues you need to make sure that students feel secure and that they do not feel embarrassed or forced to reveal more than they wish to about themselves or their beliefs. Address sensitive issues with forethought and care. If an issue is taboo in your community, discussing it might cause resistance from the group, the community or people in authority. If this happens, consider addressing these issues indirectly. For example, get students to reflect on current issues by using a historical rather than contemporary example.

## f. Managing conflict

Conflicts are difficult to anticipate and may be hard to resolve, especially if they arise because participants feel insecure about questions related to sensitive issues or conflicting values.

Some tips for resolving conflict:

- ▶ Take enough time for the discussion. If necessary, make more time.
- ▶ Help to clarify people's positions, opinions and values.
- ▶ Encourage everybody to listen actively to each other.
- ▶ Stress what unites people rather than what separates them.
- ▶ Search for consensus. Get people to look at their common interests rather than trying to compromise and move from their opinions.
- ▶ Offer to talk to those involved privately at another time.

## g. The use of *Burma*, *Burmese* and *Myanmar*

1. In this book, the words *Burma* and *Burmese* are used for the following reasons:
  - a. To describe the country and people until the name was officially changed to Myanmar in 1989.
  - b. In the name of a group or an organisation.
  - c. In an original text.
2. The word Myanmar is used for the following reasons:
  - a. To describe the country and the people after the official name change in 1989.
  - b. In the name of a group or organisation.
  - c. In an original text.

## h. About this book and Mote Oo Education

We hope you enjoy using this book as much as we enjoyed writing it. Here are a few additional notes.

### i. Copyright

**This book has been published under a Creative Commons license and you can use it freely. We only ask that if you choose to adapt the text, please credit Mote Oo Education as the original authors on either the back or the front cover, with a Mote Oo Education logo (email for a copy of the logo).**

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### ii. Mistakes and corrections

If you see any mistakes in the text, or you strongly disagree with any of the facts or Myanmar-specific information, please contact us at [info@moteoo.org](mailto:info@moteoo.org).

### iv. Finally

If you have any other comments or questions, please contact us at [info@moteoo.org](mailto:info@moteoo.org). To order this or any Mote Oo Education books or to discuss teacher training, please contact us at [info@moteoo.org](mailto:info@moteoo.org).

Mote Oo Education, 2014.

# Chapter 1: Politics

## 1.1 WHAT IS POLITICS?

### Preview

1. Brainstorm the meaning of “politics”.

- Write students’ ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 1.1. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

- » Politics is about how people make decisions.
  - » Politics is about who gets what, when and how.
2. Students look at the pictures and choose the one that best represents their idea of “politics”.
- In pairs, students discuss their choices.
  - Get some students to explain their choices to the class.
  - If they have difficulty, ask them to think about what each picture means to them, and then ask how that is connected to politics.
3. In pairs, students discuss the question.
- Get some students to explain their choices to the class.

#### Possible answers:

##### Best

- » Politics is about a making a just society.
- » Politics is about cooperating.
- » Politics is about avoiding and resolving conflicts.
- » Politics is about compromise.

##### Worst

- » Politics is about conflict.
- » Politics is about getting as much power as you can.
- » Politics is about doing anything you can to stay in power.
- » Politics is about keeping the poor in poverty and the wealthy rich.
- » Politics is unfair. Leaders like Hitler, Pol Pot, and Idi Amin are all examples of bad politicians.

## 1.1.1 – POLITICS AS CONFLICT

### Preview

- Discuss the questions.
- Write students’ ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 1.1.1. Were their ideas similar to the text? Have they changed their minds after reading it?

#### Possible answers:

1. Politics is about making collective decisions for a group of people. It is normal that there are conflicts when people have to make decisions about “who gets what, when and how” in a community, because there are only limited resources and opportunities. The way that decisions are made can also create conflicts because there are many different ideas about how this should be done.
2. Conflict does not always create problems; it can sometimes be useful and positive. Conflict can lead to positive social change, and competition often causes people to work harder to achieve their goals.

## Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the Focus on Myanmar. Clarify anything they don't understand.

## Exercise

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. **Conflict over Resources:** The police stopped the protests. The mine project continued.

**Conflict over Opportunities:** The NLD was denied the opportunity to represent their supporters and make decisions for the community. SLORC remained in power.

**Conflict over Ideas:** The KIO and other ethnic armies started a rebellion in opposition to the Act.

2. **Conflict over Resources:**

**Negative** – the villagers lost their land anyway, and some protesters were injured or imprisoned.

**Positive** – it drew attention to land rights issues.

**Conflict over Opportunities:**

**Negative** – the NLD was denied power.

**Positive** – it put pressure on SLORC to reform the political system.

**Conflict over Ideas:**

**Negative** – it led to armed conflict.

**Positive** – it highlighted the importance of respecting religious diversity.

## Discussion

- In pairs or groups, students identify examples of positive and negative conflict in Myanmar.

### Possible answers:

#### 1. Positive:

- » Independence struggle – resulted in independence.
- » Myitsone Dam – lead to suspension of the project.
- » 8888 Uprising – lead to the creation of the democracy movement.
- » Ethnic conflicts – highlighted the importance of respecting ethnic diversity.

#### 2. Negative:

- » Independence struggle – lead to a lot of death and destruction.
- » Myitsone Dam – lead to bad relations with China.
- » 8888 Uprising – lead to destabilisation and greater authoritarianism.
- » Ethnic conflicts – lead to disunity and environmental destruction.

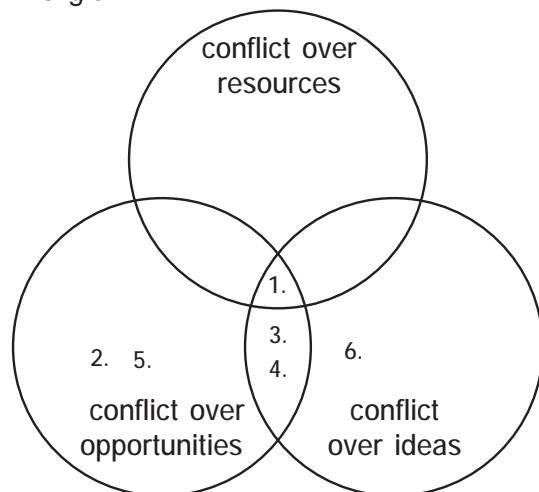


## Activity

1. Students look at the timeline on pages 162-164.
- Individually or in pairs, students identify six examples of conflict.
- They put them on the Venn diagram according to whether they are conflicts about resources, opportunities and/or ideas.

### Possible answers:

1. 1946 – Civil War begins.
2. 1944-1945 – Anti-fascist revolution.
3. 1962 – Coup: General Ne Win.
4. 1988 – Demonstrations.
5. 1990 – Elections.
6. 1961 – Ne Win introduces Buddhism as state religion.



2. In pairs or groups, students think of other examples of conflict.
- They can use the examples from the *Focus on Myanmar* section on page 7, and others they can think of.
- They add these to the Venn diagram.
3. Discuss the diagrams. What do students think is interesting about them?

### Possible answers:

- » Most of the conflicts are conflicts over opportunities and something else.
- » There are not very many conflicts over only resources.
- » Half of the conflicts are over more than one issue.

## 1.1.2 – POLITICS AS COOPERATION

### Preview

- Discuss the questions.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 1.1.2. Were their ideas similar to the text?

### Possible answers:

1. Making group decisions in a community requires community members to compromise, negotiate and work together.
2. Making group decisions about "who gets what, when and how" requires cooperation.
  - » Some of the reasons why people cooperate in politics are to promote security, peace and/or development in their communities.

## Discussion

- In groups, students identify examples of successful and unsuccessful cooperation in their communities.
- Groups answer the questions.
- Groups present their ideas to the class.

## Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the Focus on Myanmar. Clarify anything they don't understand.

## Exercise

- Individually or in pairs, students identify cooperation for peace and stability, development and prosperity and security and defence in the Panglong Agreement.

### Possible answers:

Cooperation for peace and stability – the agreement aimed to promote peace by deciding on a system that all the different groups agreed with.

Cooperation for development and prosperity – the agreement aimed to promote development by getting all groups to work together for the development of the Union.

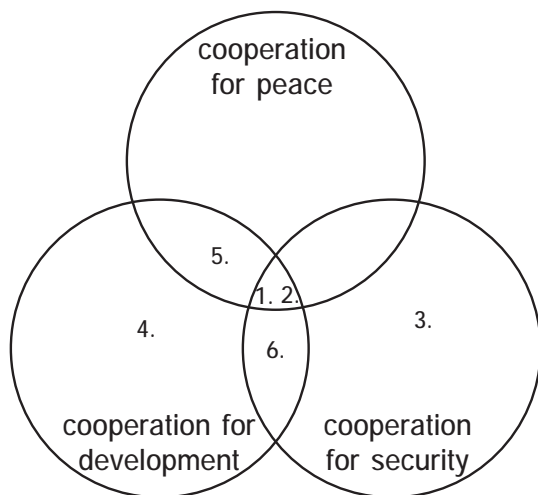
Cooperation for security and defence – the agreement aimed to promote security by giving all the groups a unified position against Britain.

## Activity

1. Students look at the timeline on pages 162-164.
- They identify six examples of cooperation.
- They put them on the Venn diagram according to whether they are cooperation for peace (P), security (S) and/or development (D).

### Possible answers:

1. 1958, 1963 – Peace talks with armed resistance groups begin (P, S, D)
2. 1946-1947 – Panglong Conferences (P, S, D)
3. 1948 – Ethnic minority alliances (P, S)
4. 2008 – Cyclone Nargis (D)
5. 2008 – A new constitution is drafted (P)
6. 1997 – ASEAN accepts Burma as a member. (D)



2. In pairs or groups, students think of other examples of cooperation.
  - They can use the examples from the Exercise on page 7, and other examples they can think of.
  - They add these to the Venn diagram.
3. Discuss the diagrams. What do students think is interesting about them?

### Possible answers:

- » A lot of cooperation is for more than one reason.
- » Cooperation for peace and stability is more common after violent conflicts.

## 1.1.3 – POLITICS AS THE SEARCH FOR JUSTICE

### Preview

1. Brainstorm the meaning of “justice”.
2. Discuss whether students live in a just community.
  - Write students’ ideas on the board.
  - Students read Text 1.1.3. Were their ideas similar to the text? Have they changed their minds after reading it?

### Possible answers:

#### 1. Answers will vary. Points to elicit:

- » peace
- » balance
- » equality
- » fairness
- » rightness

#### 2. Answers will vary.

## Reflection

1. Students choose a question from the text in 1.1.3
  - They think of an example of this issue.
2. In groups, students answer the questions.
3. As a class, discuss the answers. Try to agree on a class answer for each question.

### Possible answers:

Yes, because we are all equal.

No, because different people have different needs. For example, treating people with physical disabilities exactly the same as others could be unjust.

Yes, because the goal should be to maximise the well-being of society as a whole.

No, because each individual has rights that must never be violated.

Yes, because improving the lives of the greater number does what is best for the majority.

No, because it is not fair to harm some people just to improve the lives of others. It is not fair to the people who are harmed.

4. Some challenges may include:
  - » People have strong opinions.
  - » People do not understand the issues well enough to have an opinion.
  - » The answers depend on the details of the situation.
  - » People do not always agree.
  - » People do not always understand each other.
  - » People find it difficult to think of examples
  - » Some examples are sensitive.

## Discussion

- In groups, students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

#### 1. Answers will vary. Points to elicit:

- » Some people say that treating everyone differently would be very complicated (e.g. minority rights, religious diversity, education system).
- » Some people want to use violence to achieve a just situation (e.g. ethnic armed groups fighting for autonomy, military coups).
- » Some people want to do what is best for the majority, even if the minority suffers (e.g. minority rights, religious diversity, education system).

2. Different people have different ideas about justice. This can create problems in diverse communities because it makes it difficult for groups to resolve conflicts. Different people might have different ideas about what acceptable behaviour is. For example, one community might think that a crime should be harshly punished but another thinks that an apology is enough. In this case, the conflict between the two groups might be difficult to resolve.

#### 3. Politics as Conflict

- » civil war in Kachin State
- » conflict over constitutional reform
- » communal violence

#### Politics as Cooperation

- » peace-building
- » senior-level ceasefire agreements
- » integration into ASEAN

#### Politics as the Search for Justice

- » discussions in the Hluttaw on federalism
- » pressure for free, fair and inclusive elections
- » democratic and lawful protest over constitutional amendments

# 1.2 IMPORTANT IDEAS IN POLITICS

## 1.2.1 – RIGHTS

### Preview

- Discuss the questions.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 1.2.1. Were their ideas similar to the text?

### Possible answers:

1. Rights are important in politics because they set rules that affects who gets what, when and how. They also have an important role of defining what governments and leaders are, and are not, allowed to do.
2. **Answers will vary. Points to elicit:**
  - » freedom of speech (expressing different ideas about politics)
  - » freedom of association (forming parties to take part in government)
  - » freedom of assembly (protesting and meeting to discuss issues)
  - » freedom of the press (spreading information and monitoring government)
  - » the right to vote (choosing leaders democratically)
  - » the right to run for office (taking part in government)
  - » the right to equality (having the same rights to take part in politics as other people)
  - » education (understanding issues so that people can engage with them)

## Reflection

- Students decide which rights – civil/political or social/economic/cultural – are more important and why.
- Either:
  - a. Students discuss their ideas in groups.  
or
  - b. Students write their ideas in a reflective journal.  
or
  - c. Students write an essay.
- When you mark their essays, check that they understand all the main points of the section:
  - » Civil and political rights are closely related to the idea of liberty.
  - » Social, economic and cultural rights are closely related to the idea of equality.
  - » Check that students justify their answer by explaining how these rights promote liberty and/or equality in society.

## Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the Focus on Myanmar. Clarify anything they don't understand.

## Exercise

1. Individually or in pairs or groups, students classify the rights into the correct columns on the table.

### Answers:

#### **Civil/political**

1. Non-discrimination (based on race, birth, religion, status, official culture, sex and wealth).
2. Equal opportunity (in public employment, occupation, trade, business, etc.)
3. Equality before the law.
4. Equal rights for mothers, children and pregnant women.
5. Non-discrimination in the civil service (except for "positions that are suitable for men only").
6. Right to life and personal freedom ("unless the person has broken other laws").
7. Freedom of expression, assembly and association ("unless this goes against other laws that protect Union security... community peace, or public order and morality").
8. Protection of property.
9. Privacy and security of home, property, correspondence and other communication.
10. Prohibition on enslaving and trafficking in persons.
11. Prohibition on forced labour (except hard labour for convicts and public-interest duties).
12. Freedom of conscience and religion (subject to public order, morality, and health; the "abuse of religion for political purposes" is forbidden).
15. The right to elect and be elected to Hluttaws (subject to the Constitution and relevant laws).

16. The right to freely conduct business; the right to private invention and patent.
17. The right of an accused to a defence.
18. Prohibition on any person being held in custody for more than 24 hours without permission of a court (except "precautionary measures taken for the security of the Union or prevalence of law and order...").
19. The right to seek protection of the Union in relations with foreign countries.
20. The right to a fair trial (except in time of foreign invasion, insurrection or emergency).
21. Equality of salary and rights at work for women and men.

#### **Social/economic/cultural**

13. The right to education and to receive free compulsory basic education.
  14. The right to health care ("in accord with health policy laid down by the Union").
2. As a class, discuss which kinds of rights are more common, and what this says about the Myanmar Constitution.

### Possible answers:

Most of the rights in the list are civil and political rights.

This might show that the constitution sees these kind of rights as more fundamental than social, economic and cultural rights.

## Reflection

- This activity is designed to give the students experience of consensus decision making. Encourage the students to experiment with different ways of resolving conflict and making decisions such as voting, negotiation and compromise.
1. In pairs, students decide on the six most important rights.
    - They write these rights in a pyramid, with their most important right at the top, the second most important pair of rights in the middle, and the third most important group of rights at the bottom.
    - Point out that there are no right or wrong ways in which to choose and order the rights, as different people have different experiences and priorities. However, the aim is to try to reach consensus.
  2. Pairs join with others to make a group of four. Groups discuss and agree on a rights pyramid.
  3. Groups join with another group, and agree on a larger group rights pyramid.
    - Continue this until there is a whole class rights pyramid.
  4. As a class, analyse the activity. Discuss what students have learned about the values of the class.
    - Discuss which rights are not important to the students, and why.
    - Discuss which rights were important for all or most students and why.
    - Discuss which rights were controversial, and why. Discuss what difficulties students had trying to reach agreement.
    - Discuss how these challenges apply to decision making in their community and country.
  5. Discuss what difficulties students had with this exercise, and how these difficulties are related to conflict and cooperation.

### Possible answers:

There was conflict over which rights were most important because different people had strong feelings about some of the rights in the table.

There was cooperation towards the end of the activity when we all had to agree on a ranking because the time was running out.

6. Discuss how they overcame those difficulties.
7. Make a class list of rules to avoid these difficulties in decision making.
  - Write this list on a large piece of paper, and put in on the wall.
  - Add to this list throughout the course, as students have new ideas for cooperative decision-making.
  - Some ideas for rules might include:
    - » Everyone should respect each other.
    - » People should not make personal attacks.
    - » Always make an agenda with time limits.
    - » Everyone should have equal time to talk.
    - » Try and find a neutral facilitator.
    - » Always give reasons for your arguments.
    - » Give everyone the opportunity to present their arguments.



## 1.2.2 – EQUALITY

### Preview

1. Brainstorm the meaning of “equality”.
  2. Discuss whether students live in a equal community.
- Write students’ ideas on the board.
  - Students read Text 1.2.2. Are their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answer:

1. Everyone is given the same rights, opportunities and respect.
2. Answers will vary.

#### Note:

A different set of terms to describe equality of opportunity and opportunity of outcome that is often used are “equality” and “equity”.

In this case, “equality” means opportunity and “equity” means opportunity of outcome

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the question.
- Points to bring up might include:
  - » gender
  - » age
  - » race/ethnicity
  - » religion
  - » disability
  - » wealth
  - » education

### Exercise

- Individually or in pairs, students answer the questions.

#### Possible answer:

1. Civil and political rights are usually related to achieving equality of opportunity. These rights guarantee the opportunity for everyone to have the same chances in society, but do not go further than that.
2. Social and economic rights seek to achieve equality of opportunity.

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

#### 1. Advantages:

- » It focuses on the needs of the least fortunate.
- » It produces more social and economic equality.
- » It promotes social justice.
- » It promotes participation.
- » It prevents exploitation and abuse.

#### Disadvantages:

- » Equality of outcome usually requires the government to redistribute wealth from one group to another. This can lead to authoritarianism.
- » It is a top-down system where the political leaders decide what the people need.
- » It doesn't encourage people to work hard, because they are rewarded whether they work hard or not.

- 2. **Bad idea** – government needs to redistribute wealth from one group to another. This reduces the freedom of the group who has their wealth taken from them.

**Good idea** – redistributing wealth protects (poorer) people from marginalisation and exploitation by making sure that they do not have to live in poverty.

## Exercise

- Students read the *Ideas in Action* box. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Students look at the cartoon.
- In groups, they decide how the cartoon relates to equality.
- Groups explain their answers to the class.

### Possible answers:

The cartoon shows the difference between equality of opportunity and equality of outcome.

Picture 1 (equality of opportunity): giving one box to each of the boys means that the smallest one cannot see the sports game. This shows that equality of opportunity is based on giving the same opportunities to everyone. This is not always enough for everyone to be able to use those opportunities.

Picture 2 (equality of outcome): the smallest boy has two boxes and the middle sized boy has one, so all three boys are able to see the game. This shows how equality of outcome involves redistributing resources so that all people have similar access to the resources they need to participate.

## Reflection

- Students think about affirmative action laws for businesses, and whether they are a good idea.
- Either:
  - a. Students discuss their ideas in groups or as a class.  
or
  - b. Students write their ideas in a reflective journal  
or
  - c. Students write an essay.
- When you mark their essays, check that they understand all the main points of the section:
  - » Affirmative action is trying to achieve equality of outcome.
  - » The aim of affirmative action is to promote social justice.
  - » Affirmative action means favouring people from marginalised groups over people from non-marginalised groups.
  - » Critics of affirmative action claim that it discriminates against non-marginalised groups.

## 1.2.3 – LIBERTY

### Preview

- Brainstorm the meaning of “liberty”.
- Write students’ ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 1.2.3. Are their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

Liberty means that people are free to do what they want without interference or limitations from other people.

### Exercise

- Students analyse the chart and answer the questions.

#### Possible answers:

1. liberty
2. equality
3. Some people would support liberty more because they want more social, economic and political freedom.  
Some would support equality more because they want to reduce poverty and discrimination.  
Some would support both equally.

## Discussion

1. In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. Yes, because everyone has the same civil and political rights and freedoms protected by the Constitution.

No, because poverty, discrimination and unequal development means that some people are not as free as others.

2. Note: this answer depends on which kind of equality (outcome or opportunity) students are talking about.

Yes, there is a conflict between equality (of outcome) and liberty. Equality of outcome means that the government needs to redistribute wealth from one group to another. This violates the freedom of the group who has their wealth taken from them.

No, because redistributing wealth does not violate peoples liberty. It protects (poorer) people's liberty by making sure that they do not have to live in poverty.

3. Equality is more important because there cannot be any political liberty without economic equality. Political liberties like right to vote, right to contest elections, right to hold public office, etc. are useless if you

are starving. Poor and less educated people cannot be free unless there is economic equality in the state.

Liberty is more important because if the government starts redistributing people's wealth it will lead to dictatorship. It is wrong to violate the liberty of the individual in the way that wealth redistribution requires.

## Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the Focus on Myanmar. Clarify anything they don't understand. It might help to show students the full Myanmar translation (see below).

## Exercise

- Individually or in pairs, students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. Text One is mostly about equality of opportunity and Text Two is mostly about equality of outcome.
2. **1947 Constitution** – focuses on civil and political rights (liberty of thought, expression etc.).  
**Revolutionary council** – claims that liberty is only possible when people's basic needs are met. More emphasis on social, economic and cultural rights.

### စာတမ်း (၂) ။ ပြည်ထောင်စုဗမာနိုင်ငံတော် တော်လှန်ရေးကောင်စီ၊ 'ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ယုံကြည်ချက်'

ဤလောက၌ လူလူချင်း ခေါင်းပုံဖြတ်၍ မတရားအမြတ်ရှာစားသော စီးပွားရေး စနစ်ဆိုးများ တည်ရှိနေသရွေ့ကာလပတ်လုံး လူအပေါင်းကို လူမှုကွဲများမှ လွတ်မြောက်စေလိမ့်မည်ဟု မယုံကြည်။

ဤပြည်ထောင်စုဗမာနိုင်ငံတွင် လူလူချင်းခေါင်းပုံဖြတ်ခြင်းကင်း၍ တရားမျှတမှုရှိသော ဆိုရှယ်လစ်စီးပွားရေးစနစ်ကို တည်ဆောက်နိုင်မှ သာလျှင် လူမျိုးမရွေး၊ ဘာသာမရွေး ပြည်သူလူထုအပေါင်းသည် အစားဆင်းရဲခြင်း၊ ပိုကွ၊ အဝတ်ဆင်းရဲခြင်း၊ ပိုကွ၊ အနေဆင်းရဲခြင်း၊ ပိုကွ၊ အမ မတောင့်သဖြင့် သီလ မစောင့်နိုင်သော ပိုကွ အစရှိသည် လူမှုကွဲအပေါင်းမှ လွတ်မြောက်ကျလျက် ကိုယ်စိတ်နှစ်ဖြာ ကျန်းမာ ချမ်းသာကြမည့် သာယာဝပြောသော လောကသစ်ကြီးဆီသို့ ရောက်ရှိနိုင်မည်ဟုယုံကြည်သည်။

### စာတမ်း (၁) ။ ၁၉၄၇ ဖွဲ့စည်းပုံအခြေခံဥပဒေ

ဥပဒေအောက်ခံ

နယ်စပ်ဒေသများနှင့် ကရင်နီနယ်များအပါအဝင် ဗမာနိုင်ငံ၏ နိုင်ငံသားများဖြစ်ကြသော ကျွန်ုပ်တို့သည် အချုပ်အခြာ အာဏာ ပိုင်လွတ်လပ်သောဗမာနိုင်ငံကို အခိုင်အမဲအညီအညွတ်တည်ထောင်ရန် သန္နိဋ္ဌာန်ချ၍လည်းကောင်း၊ တရားမျှတခြင်း၊ လွတ်လပ်ခြင်း၊ ညီမျှခြင်းတည်းဟူသော လောကပါလတရားတို့ကို အခြေပြုကာ လူသတ္တဝါခပ်သိမ်းတို့၏ ငြိမ်းချမ်း သာယာရေးကို ခိုင်မြဲတည်တံ့အောင် ထိန်းသိမ်းရန် သန္နိဋ္ဌာန်ချ၍လည်းကောင်း၊ လူမှုဆက်ဆံရေးတရားမျှတမှု၊ စီးပွားရေးတရားမျှတမှု၊ နိုင်ငံရေး တရားမျှတမှု၊ လွတ်လပ်စွာ တွေးကြံနိုင်မှု၊ လွတ်လပ်စွာ ဖွင့်ဟရေးသားဖော်ပြနိုင်မှု၊ လွတ်လပ်စွာယုံကြည်နိုင်မှု၊ လွတ်လပ်စွာ ကိုးကွယ်နိုင်မှု၊ လွတ်လပ်စွာ ဘုရားကျောင်းကန်တို့ကို သွားလာဝတ်ပြုနိုင်မှု၊ လွတ်လပ်စွာ ပရိယေသနာရှာမှီးနိုင်မှု၊ လွတ်လပ်စွာ စည်းရုံးနိုင်မှု၊ လွတ်လပ်စွာ ပြုမူဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်မှု၊ အဆင့်အတန်း ညီမျှမှု၊ အခွင့်အလမ်းညီမျှမှု၊ တရားဥပဒေအရာတွင် ညီမျှမှုတို့ကို နိုင်ငံသားအားလုံး ရရှိခံစားနိုင်စေခြင်းငှာ အခိုင်အမာသန္နိဋ္ဌာန်ချ၍လည်းကောင်း၊ ဗမာသက္ကရာဇ် (၁၃၀၉)ခုနှစ်၊ သီတင်းကျွတ်လဆန်း (၁၀) ရက်နေ့ (ခရစ်သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၉၄၇ ခုနှစ်၊ စက်တင်ဘာ နှစ်ဆယ့်လေးရက်နေ့) တွင် ဤဖွဲ့စည်းပုံအခြေခံဥပဒေကို ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ တိုင်းပြည်လွတ်တော်၌ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့သည် လက်ခံ၍ ဥပဒေအဖြစ်အတည်ပြုပြီးလျှင်၊ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့အား နှင်းအပ်လိုက်သည်။

## 1.3 CHAPTER 1 CASE STUDIES

### Exercise

- Students read the India case study. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs or groups, students answer the questions.

#### Possible answers:

1. The reservation system was introduced to reduce the effects of caste discrimination.
2. Answers will vary.

### Exercise

- Students read the Sri Lanka case study. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs or groups, students answer the question.

#### Possible answer:

Just, because the minority should respect the majority's culture.

Unjust, because the majority is abusing the rights of the minority groups.

## Exercise

- Students look at the table.
- Individually or in pairs, students identify differences in equality between the Sinhala and Tamil communities in Sri Lanka.

### Possible answers:

The table shows that Tamil (minority) communities feel that there is less equality and less freedom of speech in their society than Sinhala people do.

This could mean that the Tamil community face more discrimination and inequality because they are a minority.

## Exercise

- Students read the South Africa case study. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs or groups, students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. There is a conflict because the redistribution of land means that some groups will have to give up their property to other groups.  
This might conflict with the government's laws about respecting property rights.
2. Yes, because the black community had their land stolen and are disadvantaged.  
No, because this is a kind of discrimination based on race.
3. Increases, because black communities are poorer and so they need more support to reach the same level of wealth as the white community.  
Decreases, because it means that the government is making laws that take people's land and property based on race.

## Discussion

- In groups, students discuss the questions.
- Groups present their answers to the class.

### Possible answers:

1. **India** – affirmative action (laws were made to reverse the effects of caste discrimination).  
**Sri Lanka** – discrimination (laws were made to deny Tamil communities opportunities).  
**South Africa** – affirmative action (laws made to reverse the effects of racial discrimination).
2. **India** – equality, search for justice, rights, affirmative action.  
**Sri Lanka** – equality, rights, conflict  
**South Africa** – affirmative action, rights, equality, search for justice, conflict, cooperation.
3. **India:**
  - » The social status of Dalits is similar to some social groups in Myanmar.
  - » The Constitution bans discrimination, but discrimination is still a problem.**Sri Lanka:**
  - » Civil wars over political representation, regional autonomy and minority rights.
  - » Majority's language recognised as the official language.**South Africa:**
  - » Discussions about constitutional reform.
  - » Minority and land rights debates.

# Chapter 2: Power, Authority & Legitimacy

## 2.1 POWER AND AUTHORITY

### 2.1.1 – POWER

#### Preview

- Brainstorm the meaning of “power”, and words students associate with power.
- Write students’ ideas on the board.
- Try to elicit:
  - » weapons
  - » political leaders
  - » parents and elders
  - » national Flag
  - » media
  - » the Hluttaw
  - » popularity
  - » force
  - » resources
  - » hierarchy
  - » energy
  - » intelligence
  - » money
- Students read Text 2.1.1.

### 2.1.2 – TOP-DOWN VS. BOTTOM-UP POWER

#### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students’ ideas on the board.
- Students read text 2.1.2. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

Top-down power is used when powerful people or groups make less powerful people do what they (the powerful) want.

Bottom-up power is when less powerful people join together to defend their rights and interests against more powerful people (usually government or business), e.g. when people strike against unfair work conditions.

## Exercise

- In pairs or groups, students identify examples of top-down and bottom-up power.
- Discuss these examples as a class.

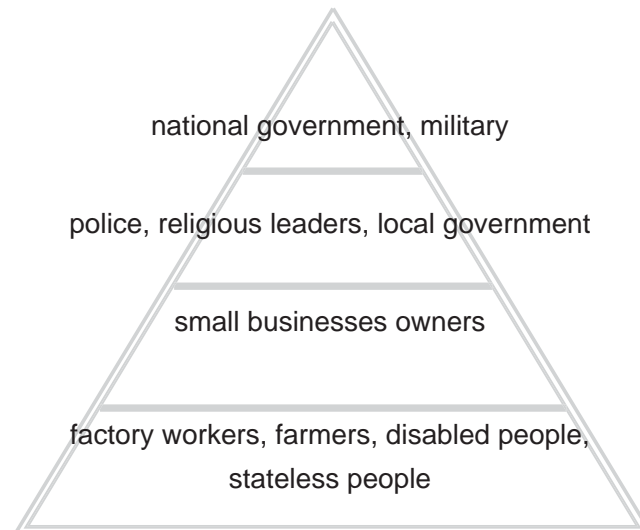
### Possible answers:

1. **Top-down:** any orders, acts, rules or laws, made by powerful people, that less powerful people don't agree with.  
These could include:
  - » Curfews during a state of emergency.
  - » Demonetisation during Ne Win's era.
  - » Land grabbing.
  - » Robbery.
  - » Forced marriages.
  - » Your teacher ordering you to hand in an assignment before 9 am the next day.
2. **Bottom-up:** any events, changes or pressure that comes from people working together to defend their rights and interests against groups with top-down power.  
These could include:
  - » Factory strikes.
  - » 2007 demonstrations.
  - » NLD boycotts of the 2008 referendum and 2010 election.
  - » '88 uprising.
  - » Complaint letters to representatives or ministries.
  - » Free and fair elections.
  - » Trade unions.
  - » Collective demands and bargaining, like the Panglong agreement with the British government.

## Activity

1. In groups, students rank the social groups, jobs and sectors of people on the pyramid.
  - Those with the most power are at the top, and those with the least power are at the bottom.
  - Groups make posters of their pyramid on a large piece of paper.

### Possible answers:



2. Groups add more social groups, jobs and sectors of people to their pyramids.
  - Put the posters around the class.
  - Students walk around looking at other groups' pyramids.



## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. National government controlling local government; land relocation; the school system (teachers' power over students); ranks in the military; police intimidation.
2. Labour strikes; protests against land confiscation; pressure from parliament on the president; elections.
3. **Top-down** – most important political decisions are made by powerful groups. Suggestions or demands from the bottom are not usually considered.  
**Bottom-up** – protests, demonstrations, and armed uprisings show that bottom up is a more powerful force in Myanmar.

## 2.1.3 – VISIBLE VS. HIDDEN POWER

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 2.1.3. Were their ideas similar to the text?

### Possible answers:

Visible power is when a powerful person or group uses visible actions to make a less powerful person or group do what they want. Some of the most common kinds of visible power are coercion, intimidation, and persuasion.

Hidden power is when a powerful person or group uses ideas and beliefs to make a less powerful person or group do what they want. Some of the most common kinds of hidden power are: fear, exclusion, setting the agenda, and manipulation.

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. Police violence, land confiscation, protests, voting in elections, labour strikes.
2. Forced marriages, forced early voting, electoral fraud and intimidation, corruption, domestic abuse, trade unions, community empowerment (education, gender, etc.).
3. Visible power is a more powerful force because the military, police and armed groups are the most powerful people and they all use visible power.

Hidden power is a more powerful force because the “rules” about who should have power are all a kind of hidden power. This can be seen in issues such as gender, religious or age discrimination.

## Activity

1. In pairs or groups, students look through the events on the timeline on pages 162-164.
- They look for events where power was used, and think about what kind of power it was. Make sure students understand that in most events, both top-down and bottom-up power are used.
- They classify events from the timeline into the four categories in the table.
- Remind students that events can go into more than one category.
- If they have difficulty putting events in categories, encourage them to debate and give reasons. Remind them that there is no “right” answer. The point of this activity is to think about and discuss the ideas in the chapter.

### Possible answers:

#### Visible Top-down:

- » 1990 Elections
- » 1974 The Constitution
- » 1942-1945 Japanese occupation
- » 1962 Military coup
- » 1974 U Thant affair

#### Visible Bottom-up:

- » 1936 The second university student strike
- » 1930-1931 Saya San Rebellion
- » 1930 Founding of the Dobama Asiayone
- » 1938 1300 Revolution
- » 1944-1945 Anti-fascist revolution
- » 1988 8888 Demonstrations
- » 2007 Saffron Revolution

#### Hidden Top-down:

- » 1961 State Religion Act
- » 1958 1960 Caretaker Government
- » 2008 The Constitution

#### Hidden Bottom-up:

- » 1989-1995 Ceasefires
  - » 2011 Myitsone Dam
2. Groups add events from the exercise in 2.1.2 (page 23) to their tables. Groups add any other examples from their community that they can think of.
  3. Groups look at the events on the table, and infer how visible and hidden power are used.

### Possible answers:

Visible power is seen during important historical events. There are less important historical events that show how hidden power works. Hidden power works in quiet ways.

Many events fit into many of the categories. This reflects the complexity of political events. Important events usually have many different actors expressing their power in different ways.

## 2.1.4 – SOURCES OF POWER

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 2.1.4. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

Some sources of power include strength, wealth, status and knowledge.

### Exercise

1. Individually or in pairs, students decide which is the most important source of power within their communities.
2. Students identify where these people get their power from.

#### Answers:

- a. status, knowledge
- b. wealth, status, strength
- c. status, knowledge
- d. wealth, status
- e. status, strength, knowledge
- f. status, knowledge
- g. status, strength, knowledge
- h. status, knowledge
- i. status, knowledge
- j. status, knowledge

### Activity

- Individually or in pairs or groups, students list ways power is used in their communities.
- They can use their lists from the exercise on Page 25, and other uses they think of.
- Students classify these uses of power into sources, and whether they are visible or hidden.

#### Possible answers:

##### **Power from Strength – Top-down**

- » police violence
- » domestic abuse

##### **Power from Strength – Bottom-up**

- » labour strikes
- » demonstrations

##### **Power from Wealth – Top-down**

- » land confiscation
- » corruption
- » bribery
- » purchasing/investment

##### **Power from Wealth – Bottom-up**

- » micro-credit
- » boycotts
- » community based fund raising

##### **Power from Status – Top-down**

- » forced marriages
- » forced early voting

##### **Power from Status – Bottom-up**

- » voting in elections
- » joining a union

##### **Power from Knowledge – Top-down**

- » electoral fraud and intimidation
- » military intelligence
- » spying

##### **Power from Knowledge – Bottom-up**

- » community empowerment (education, gender etc.)
- » civic education
- » human rights education

## Activity: People with Power

- In groups, students think of a person with power.
- They complete the sentences about this person and write them on a poster.
- If possible, they find or draw a picture of the person on the poster.
- Groups put their posters on the wall.
- Students walk around and look at other groups' posters.

### Example:

U Thein Sein

1. The power that he has is visible and hidden, and top-down.

2. He has the power because the majority USDP in the Hluttaw elected him.

3. He might lose his power if he fails to be re-elected.

- This would also make a good 'Guess the Person' activity:
- Students do not write the name of the person. They just write answers to questions 2-4 without mentioning the name.
- Students then go around reading other students' posters, and guessing who the person is.

## 2.1.5 – POWER AND AUTHORITY

### Preview

- Brainstorm a list of people students think should have power in their community.
- Write their ideas on the board.

### Possible answers:

- » doctors
  - » teachers
  - » police
  - » army
  - » politicians/government workers
  - » parents
- Students read Text 2.1.5.

## Discussion

- Students work in the same groups as in the poster activity on Page 27.
- In these groups, they answer the questions based on their posters.

### Possible answer

(based on the example in 2.1.5):

1. U Thein Sein has power and authority.
2. His authority is right because he won an election. He has the consent of the Hluttaw.

## 2.1.6 – AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITY

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 2.1.6. Were their ideas similar to the text?

### Possible answers:

People who have authority also have the responsibility to make sure that their actions, decisions and commands are for the benefit of the people, not just for themselves.

### Exercise

- Individually or in pairs or groups, students choose an event from the timeline on pages 162-164.
- They answer the questions about this event.

### Possible answer – 1990 elections:

1. Power alone was used.
2. To accept the result of an election.
3. Violent.

### Possible answer – 1958-1960 Caretaker Government:

1. Both power and authority were used.
2. To hand back power to the civilian government
3. Non-violent.

### Possible answer – 1961 State Religion Act :

1. Both power and authority were used.
2. To respect minority rights.
3. Violent.

### Possible answer – 1962 Coup:

1. Power alone was used.
2. To respect civil and political rights.
3. Violent.

## 2.2 LEGITIMACY

### 2.2.1 – LEGITIMACY

#### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 2.1.1. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

- » Because people with authority are chosen by the people.
- » Because people with authority do not abuse their power.
- » Because people with authority are fair and effective leaders.
- » Because authority is based on the consent of the people.

#### Discussion

- In groups, students discuss the questions.
- Groups present their ideas to the class.

#### Possible answers:

1. Elections (to the government).  
Appointments (within the government).
2. Answers will vary.
3. Health (medicine, doctors, hospitals, treatment).  
Education (teachers, books, schools, teaching)  
Transportation (buses, trains, drivers).
4. Answers will vary..

## Activity

- Students read the information in the table. Check they understand what it means:

**This table shows levels of legitimacy in twelve countries. This is calculated using four indicators:**

- » *Group grievance* – opposition to the state based on recent or past injustices or conflict. This could include human rights abuses committed against ethnic or social groups by the state, discrimination or communal violence.
  - » *Legitimacy of the state* – corruption or mismanagement by the government. This could include a lack of transparency, accountability and political participation. This results in loss of popular support for the state.
  - » *Public services* – a lack of basic state functions that serve the people, including health, education, sanitation, public transportation.
  - » *Human rights* – abuse of legal, political and social rights. This could include harassment of the press, use of police and military for political reasons, repression of political opponents or religious or cultural discrimination.
- Students work in groups. Each group chooses one of the countries from the table. Make sure each group chooses a different country.
  - Using the information about that country, groups answer the questions.
  - Groups make a presentation about the legitimacy of the country, and how that affects the people living there.
  - Groups present their information to the class.

**Possible answers:**

Country	Lacking (above 7)	Not Lacking	Legitimate? (under 5)
Iraq	GG, LS, PS, HR		illegitimate
North Korea	LS, PS, HR		illegitimate
South Africa		GG, LS, HR	answers will vary
Timor-Leste	LS, PS	HR	answers will vary
Iran	GG, LS, HR	PS	answers will vary
China	GG, LS, HR		answers will vary
Israel/West Bank	GG	PS	answers will vary
India	GG	LS	answers will vary

Cuba		GG, PS	answers will vary
Saudi Arabia	HR	PS	answers will vary
Malaysia		GG, LS, PS	legitimate
Sri Lanka	GG, LS, HR	PS	answers will vary
South Korea		GG, LS, PS, HR	legitimate

- If you like, groups choose another country and repeat the activity.

### Extra Idea

Groups research their country on the internet or in a library. They look for information about events that support the information in the tables, and any other information relevant to the government's legitimacy.

## 2.2.2 – LEGITIMACY, EFFECTIVENESS AND STABILITY

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 2.2.2. Were their ideas similar to the text?

**Possible answers:**

Legitimacy is important for a government because it helps it to rule a country peacefully and effectively. Without legitimacy, the government can easily lose support from its citizens.

## Exercise

- Individually or in pairs or groups, students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. Legitimate governments are usually better at dealing with social conflict. Citizens are more likely to compromise during conflict if they trust that the government is thinking about the needs of the whole country (not just themselves). This often makes legitimate governments more peaceful and more stable.
2. Citizens are more likely to cooperate with the government if they believe it is legitimate. Legitimate governments can rely on people's cooperation because people think that obeying the government is the "right" thing to do.



## 2.2.3 – WHAT IS A SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT?

### Preview

- Brainstorm the meanings of 'democracy' and 'authoritarianism'.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 2.2.3. Were their ideas similar to the text?

### Possible answers:

1. Democracy is a political system where the people are ruled by the people. Some of the most important characteristics of democracy include:
  - » free and fair elections
  - » freedom of assembly
  - » multi-party elections
  - » minority rights
  - » strong and diverse civil society
  - » free and independent media
  - » independent judiciary
  - » the rule of law is enforced
  - » freedom of speech
2. Authoritarianism is a political system where power is held mainly by the government. Some of the most important characteristics of authoritarianism include:
  - » a single leader or small group of leaders with unlimited political power
  - » limited political participation
  - » repressing dissent, violently if necessary
  - » corruption is very common
  - » no limitations or checks and balances on government power
  - » censorship
  - » persecution of minorities
  - » weak or pro-government civil society
  - » weak rule of law

### Extra Info: Democracy

- The following characteristics are generally considered to be essential for genuine democracy:
- Decisions about public policy are made by elected representatives.
- Elected representatives chosen in regular, free and fair elections.
- Elected representatives use their constitutional powers without opposition from unelected officials.
- All adult citizens have the right to vote in elections.
- All adult citizens have the right to run for public office.
- Citizens have the right to express themselves on political matters without the risk of state punishment.
- Citizens have the right to access information, from the news media and internet.
- Citizens have the right to form independent associations and organisations, including political parties and civil society organisations.
- Elected representatives have effective control over state institutions. Including the police and military.
- Citizens can exercise their rights without any discrimination as to race, gender, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

## Activity

- In pairs or groups, students look at the timeline on pages 162-164.
- They identify events that involved a change in the system of government and add these to the table.
- They decide whether these changes were top-down or bottom-up, and violent or non-violent.

### Possible answers:

There are no exact correct answers. This is just an example, and people may disagree with it. Encourage debate. The important thing is for students to think about their answers, and support them with evidence.

Year and Event	Old System	New System	Top-down or Bottom-up?	Violent or Non-violent?
<b>1948 Independence</b>	British colony	democracy	bottom-up	somewhat violent
<b>1962 Military coup</b>	democracy	authoritarian, one-party	top-down	non-violent
<b>1988 SLORC coup</b>	authoritarian, one-party	authoritarian	top-down	violent
<b>2008 New constitution</b>	authoritarian, one-party	partially democratic	top-down	non-violent

## Exercise

- Individually or in pairs or groups, students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. Authoritarian leaders often claim that political rights must be limited to guarantee order and stability.  
To support free competition between political actors, democracies value and defend rights, such as the right to vote and the right to run for office.
2. Authoritarian leaders often claim that personal liberty must be limited to guarantee order and stability.  
To support free competition between political actors, democracies value and defend personal liberties such as freedom of speech, assembly and the press.
3. Authority
4. Power

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

- » Most changes were top-down.
- » Most systems of government have been authoritarian.

## Activity

- Individually or in pairs or groups, students choose some actors from the actor's list on pages 165-170.
- They put them on the spectrum between democratic and authoritarian.

### Possible answers:

There are no exact correct answers. This is just an example, and people may disagree with it. Encourage debate. The important thing is for students to think about their answers, and support them with evidence.



## Activity: Contrasting Statements

- Individually or in pairs, students read the statements.
- They decide whether people would say these things in a democratic or authoritarian system.

### Answers:

**Authoritarian – 2, 3, 5, 7, 8**

**Democratic – 1, 4, 6, 9, 10**

### **Extra Info: Authoritarianism**

The following characteristics are common in authoritarian systems of government:

- People do not have right to choose who rules the country (who is in power).
- Elections either do not exist at all or if they take place, they are not competitive. There is no real choice, e.g. only one candidate from the ruling party.
- Parties are banned or controlled by the government.
- Opposition candidates and activists are in jail, or in exile, or marginalised as “dissidents”.
- Leaders are above the law and above the constitution.
- No real separation of the state powers into legislative, executive and judiciary. Executive power is often dominant. Parliament does not exist or is fully controlled (e.g. China, Vietnam). There is no independent judiciary.
- Human rights are not respected nor protected.
- Civil liberties and political rights are severely repressed.
- Media is usually state-owned or controlled by groups connected to the ruling regime. Media is heavily censored and repressed.
- Civil society is very limited.

## 2.2.4 – DEMOCRATIC LEGITIMACY

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 2.2.4. Were their ideas similar to the text?

### Possible answers:

Some of the sources of democratic legitimacy are participation, transparency, accountability, the rule of law, and good governance.

## Discussion

- In groups, students answer the questions.
- They give examples for each idea.

### Possible answers:

#### 1. Easy, because citizens can:

- » Join a political party.
- » Join a civil society organisation.

#### Hard, because it can be difficult to:

- » Demonstrate without permission.
- » Run for office.
- » Be eligible for a place in government.

2. Yes, 2012 by-elections were free and fair. Anti corruption measures are coming into effect. No, reforms are slow and many government workers are only accountable to their own party.
3. Not transparent: Many decisions are still made behind closed doors.  
Transparent: many decision, debates and processes are much more transparent now than they used to be. Media has more freedom to report on government and politics.
4. Not effective: civil wars, corruption and sectarian violence are a sign of poor rule of law.  
Effective: anti-corruption policy and capacity building of police and judiciary show improvement in the rule of law.
5. Not effective: slow to respond, lack of capacity, corrupt.  
Effective: military is powerful, recent reforms are improving effectiveness, NGOs and businesses can operate more easily.
6. Democratic reforms:
  - » abolition of the press scrutiny board
  - » anti-corruption policy
  - » peace talks
  - » loosening internet censorship
  - » releasing political prisoners
  - » 2012 by-elections

## 2.2.5 – JUSTIFICATIONS FOR AUTHORITARIAN GOVERNMENTS

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 2.2.5. Were their ideas similar to the text?

### Possible answers:

Authoritarian governments often justify their rule by claiming that they are necessary to maintain the stability of the country. They often also use nationalism, religion, economic development and national security as reasons that authoritarian government is needed.

## Activity

- Students read the examples of actions that authoritarian governments often do. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs, students match these actions with the justifications.

### Answers:

- A. 4, 8, 11
- B. 2, 6, 10
- C. 3, 7, 12
- D. 1, 5, 9

# Chapter 3: Ideologies

## 3.1 BASIC IDEOLOGIES

### 3.1.1 – IDEOLOGIES

#### Preview

1. Brainstorm the meaning of “ideology”.
  - Write students’ ideas on the board.
  - Students read Text 3.1.1. Were their ideas were similar to the text?

**Possible answers:**

An ideology is a set of beliefs about politics and how they relate to politics in the real world. It involves an explanation of the current political situation, beliefs about what politics should be and a plan to change the current political situation to reflect those beliefs.

2. Brainstorm a list of ideologies.
  - Write students’ ideas on the board.

**Possible answers:**

- » anarchism
- » communism
- » conservatism
- » liberalism
- » environmentalism
- » fundamentalism
- » feminism
- » socialism
- » libertarianism
- » fascism

#### Extra Idea

If your students already know a lot of political ideologies, you could do this as a Group Brainstorm Competition.

Give each group a piece of paper, and each group appoints a writer.

Groups have three minutes to list as many ideologies as they can. The group with the most ideologies is the winner.

#### Reflection

1. Students decide which of the values is most important to them, and why.
2. They form groups with people who have the same values.
3. Groups discuss the reasons they consider these values to be important.

## Reflection:

### *Our Ideology, Part 1*

1. Students decide which three values they think a community should prioritise.
2. Based on these values, students get into groups of about 3-6 members, with similar values.
  - Ensure there are at least three groups.
3. Groups complete the sentences about communities' problems, ideal situations and strategies to achieve these situations.
  - Some groups might focus on the wider, ongoing situation and what would be best overall. Other groups might choose to deal with more immediate problems. Either approach is OK.
  - If groups have difficulty with this, elicit some possibilities, e.g.
    - » At the moment, the biggest political problem is... *the constitution.*
    - » At the moment, the biggest social problem is... *ethnic conflict.*
    - » At the moment, the biggest economic problem is... *poverty.*
    - » The best political situation would be... *a political system that all ethnic groups agreed to.*
    - » The best social situation would be... *no armed or communal conflict.*
    - » The best economic situation would be... *no more poverty.*
    - » We need to stop... *armed and communal conflicts.*
    - » We need to increase... *jobs and wealth.*
    - » We need to create... *a constitution that everyone agrees to.*

## Activity

1. In the same groups, students make a poster based on their ideas from the Reflection.
  - They make their poster on a large piece of paper, using the outline in the book.
2. Groups present their posters to the class.
  - While each group is presenting, students think of questions they can ask the group about their posters.
  - After each presentation, groups hold a question and answer session with the class.



### 3.1.2 LIBERALISM

#### Preview

- Discuss whether students prefer a dictatorship, or no government at all.
- What would be the advantages and disadvantages of each?
- Try to elicit:
  - » Dictatorship: security, but lack of freedom
  - » No government: freedom, but lack of security
- Students read Text 3.1.2.

#### Note:

Like “conservative” (see page 52), the term “liberal” can have many different meanings:

1. As a political ideology outside of North America: the ideology described in this textbook. One that supports liberty and tolerance, and favours economic freedom over economic equality.
2. As a political ideology in North America: an ideology similar to moderate socialism.
3. As a political economy: favouring a limited state role in the economy.
4. As a political attitude: that is in favour of moderate change (i.e. another word for moderate).

## Exercise

- Individually or in pairs, students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. Liberals believe in equality of opportunity, but they are against equality of outcome. They think that when the state redistributes resources and opportunities to make society more equal, this takes people's liberty away.
2. They would consider it to be a violation of personal liberty because the government is denying opportunities to some people because of their race, gender etc.
3. According to a liberal, a government is legitimate if:
  - » It only focuses on providing basic services (national defence, currency, postal services).
  - » It allows individuals to participate in politics and the economy freely.

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. **Answers will vary. Some suggestions:**
  - » Opposition parties such as NLD, NDF and some ethnic parties.
  - » Civil society organisations such as 88 generation.
  - » Public figures such as Kyaw Thu, Zar Ga Nar.
  - » Media such as DVB and many other interest groups.
  - » Some members of the Hluttaw who advocate for more political, economic and personal liberty.
2. **Answers will vary. Points to elicit:**
  - » Parliamentary democracy in the 1948 constitution.
  - » Recently, Myanmar governments have been more open to foreign investment.
  - » The 2008 constitution includes many civil and political rights.
  - » Increasing privatisation since 2011.
  - » Removing restrictions on freedom of speech and freedom of the press since 2011.
3. **Answers will vary. Some starting points:**
  - » racism
  - » sexism
  - » religious hatred

### 3.1.3 – CONSERVATISM

#### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas and opinions on the board.
- Students read Text 3.1.3.
- Have students changed their opinions after reading the text?

## Exercise

- Individually or in pairs, students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. Answers will vary. Some suggestions:
  - » Personal freedom: the idea that individuals should have the right to take part in social and economic activities without the interference of the government. This is dangerous because it could lead to immoral or unsafe behaviour.
  - » “Popular sovereignty”: the idea that anything a government does must be based on the agreement of the people. This is dangerous because the government can not do what it considers good for society if the people do not want it.
  - » Tolerance: the idea that people should accept values, beliefs and lifestyles that are different to their own. This is dangerous because allowing people to express immoral or dangerous views could lead to conflict.
  - » Economic freedom: the idea that everyone seeks his or her economic self-interest. This is dangerous because this will lead to a selfish and unequal society.
2. They would find it dangerous because conservatives are strong believers in law and order. They might think that libertarianism could lead to a society with no respect for tradition or culture.
3. If it maintains the security and stability of the community (e.g. by preventing crime). Conservatives would also see a government as legitimate if it protects the traditions and culture of the community.

## Discussion

- As a class, discuss the question.

### Possible answers:

1. **Answers will vary. Some suggestions:**
  - » Myanmar society values its traditions, e.g. every parliamentary session is celebrated with a traditional ceremony and MPs wear their traditional dress.
  - » The role that religion and tradition plays in Myanmar society and politics.
  - » Military, police, monks, teachers and parents are respected.
2. **Answer will vary. Some suggestions:**
  - » A lot of decision-making is top-down.
  - » Seats in parliament are reserved for military personnel, ‘for security and stability’.
  - » In a state of emergency, the power of the commander in chief is almost unlimited.
  - » Most of Burma’s recent history was under authoritarian rule (e.g. BSPP, SLORC/SPDC).
3. Answers will vary.

### 3.1.4 – SOCIALISM

#### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas and opinions on the board.
- Students read Text 3.1.4.
- Have students changed their opinions after reading the text?

## Exercise

- Individually or in pairs, students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

#### 1. Answers will vary. Suggested answers:

- » Liberals believe that freedom from economic restrictions leads to the best kind of society. Liberals do not try to achieve the goal of economic equality. They argue that if everyone seeks his or her economic self-interest without the interference of the government, then the whole of society will become richer and freer.
- » Because socialists want a society based on equality, they say that resources should be given to people based on need. This means that the government/community has to redistribute resources to achieve the goal of equality of outcome. This goes against the liberal idea of economic liberty.

#### 2. Answers will vary. Suggested answers:

- » Economic freedom: If everyone seeks his or her economic self-interest, this can lead to a selfish and unequal society.
- » Capitalism: resources and goods should be distributed by private businesses. This can lead to exploitation of the poor by the rich.
- » Equality of opportunity: If governments do not try and achieve equality of outcome, then marginalised people might be excluded from economic, social and political participation.

#### 3. Answers will vary. Suggested answers:

- » If it distributes resources based on need.
- » If it promotes equality of outcome.
- » If it promotes common ownership and political participation.
- » If it stops exploitation of the workers.

## Discussion

- As a class, discuss the question.

### Possible answers:

#### 1. Answers may vary. Some suggestions:

- » Close relationship with the military.
- » Emphasis on the rural (rather than urban) population.
- » Influenced by nationalism.
- » Influenced by Buddhism.

#### 2. Answers may vary. Some suggestions:

- » AFPFL was a socialist government:
- » During the AFPFL era, many trade unions were established and industries were nationalised.

- » The successor Ne Win Government nationalized land and many other firms
  - » Ne Win's Burmese way to Socialism was very influential in politics
  - » BSPP ruled the country for many years
3. Answers will vary.

## 3.1.5 – REFLECTING ON THE THREE BASIC IDEOLOGIES

### Reflection

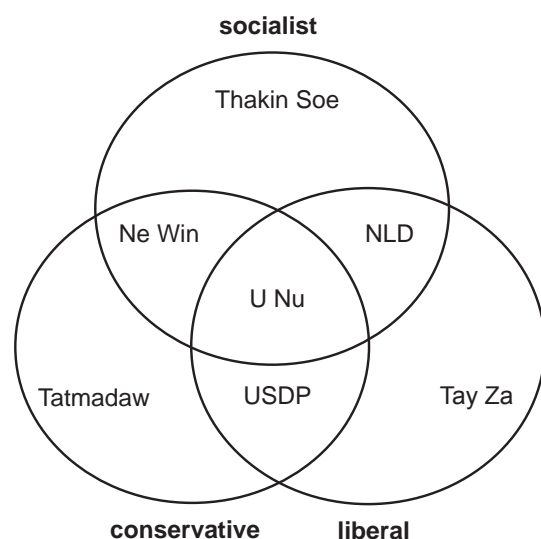
- Students work in the same groups from 3.1.1.
1. Groups discuss which ideology – liberalism, conservatism or socialism – is most similar to their group's ideology.
  2. Groups look back at their posters from 3.1.1, and decide whether they would like to make any changes.
- If necessary, give groups a new piece of paper to make a new poster.

### Activity

- Individually or in pairs or groups, students make a Venn diagram (see pages 8 and 10 for examples) for the three ideologies.
- They choose six actors from the list on pages 165-170 and put them in the Venn diagram.

### Possible answers:

**There are no exact correct answers. This is just an example, and people may disagree with it. Encourage debate. The important thing is for students to think about their answers, and support them with evidence.**



## 3.2 EVALUATING IDEOLOGIES

### 3.2.1 – EVALUATING IDEOLOGIES

#### Preview

- Students think about which of the ideologies in 3.1 best reflects their values.
- Get a few students to explain their ideas to the class, or have students discuss this in groups.
- Discuss why it is important to think critically about ideologies.
- Try to elicit these points:
  - » If people analyse the advantages and disadvantages of ideologies, they can evaluate how an ideology might work in their country.
  - » Some people use the names of ideologies without understanding their meanings and what the ideology wants to achieve.
- Students read Text 3.2.1.

#### Activity

1. Individually or in pairs or groups, students look at the pictures, and match them to the captions.

#### Answers:

- a. ii
- b. iii
- c. iv
- d. v
- e. vi
- f. i

2. They join with another student, pair or group and explain their answers.

#### Answers:

- a. Others see socialist governments (the police) as using coercion (the gun) to take people's wealth away from them to redistribute it.
- b. Liberals see a liberal society that is free from government control (no police, both people have their own guns) will lead to a very rich society (the bags of money).
- c. Others see liberalism as a situation where the rich (the person with money) can exploit (the gun) the poor (the person without money or a gun).
- d. Others see conservative governments as using coercion (the police with a gun) to oppress people (the person on the floor) and support the rich and powerful (the judge with the money).
- e. Conservatives see a conservative society is where peoples wealth and security is protected by a strong government (the police) and just leaders (the judge).
- f. Socialists see a socialist society as promoting a society where all people are equally wealthy (equality of outcome).

## Activity: Political Quotes

- Individually or in pairs, students match the statements with the ideologies.

### Answers:

- a. 1, 3
- b. 4, 6
- c. 2, 5

## Reflection

- Students decide which quotes they agree or disagree with, and why.
- Either:
  - a. Students discuss their ideas in groups.  
or
  - b. Students write their ideas in a reflective journal  
or
  - c. Students choose one of the quotes and write an essay on it.
- When you mark their essays, check that they have provided reasons for why they agree or disagree with the quote they chose, e.g.
  - » I disagree that society should always respect an individual's beliefs, even if they go against the traditions of the community, because:
    - It could lead to immoral behaviour.
    - It could lead to conflict in society.
    - It could lead to the destruction of traditions and culture.



## Exercise

- Students read the *Ideas in Action box*. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs, students list the advantages and disadvantages of a liberal economic system.

### Possible answers:

#### **Advantages**

- » It is more efficient because people are trying to make money, so there is less waste.
- » Because markets naturally calculate the best price for a product, it makes the work of the government much easier.

#### **Disadvantages**

- » Free market systems create insecurity because the economy is run by forces that no one can control.
- » It makes the rich richer and the poor poorer, which leads to exploitation, inequality, social conflict and poverty.
- » It promotes greed and selfishness.

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss whether a free market economic system would be good or bad for Myanmar, and why or why not.
- Try to elicit these points:

#### **Good**

- » More economic development.
- » More economic freedom (anyone can start a business).
- » More foreign investment.

#### **Bad**

- » More economic inequality.
- » Bigger gap between rich and poor
- » Less control of the economy.

## Exercise

- Students read the *Ideas in Action* box. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs, students list the advantages and disadvantages of a socialist economic system.

### Possible answers:

#### **Advantages**

- » It means that the economy is controlled by people, instead of the unpredictable forces of free markets.
- » It guides the economy so that it meets human needs, rather than just economic growth.
- » It produces more social and economic equality.

#### **Disadvantages**

- » It requires a lot of government control. This can lead to authoritarianism.
- » It is a top-down system where the political leaders decide what the people need.
- » It doesn't encourage people to work hard, because they get the same reward if they do or not. This can lead to less economic growth.

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss whether a socialist economic system would be good or bad for Myanmar, and why.
- Try to elicit these points:

#### **Advantages**

- » The government could control the economy to meet its development goals.
- » A socialist economy could focus on providing basic services to the people such as health and education.
- » It could help to close the gap between rich and poor.

#### **Disadvantages:**

- » It would be very expensive to organise a planned economy.
- » It would give the government more power to control the economy/society.
- » It could lead to a less productive economy.

## Activity: Political Quotes

- Individually or in pairs, students match the statements with the ideologies.

### Answers:

- a. 2, 3
- b. 4, 5
- c. 1, 6

## Reflection

- Students decide which quotes they agree or disagree with, and why.
- Either:
  - a. Students discuss their ideas in groups.  
or
  - b. Students write their ideas in a reflective journal.  
or
  - c. Students choose one of the quotes and write an essay on it.
- When you mark their essays, check that they have provided reasons for why they agree or disagree with the quote they chose, e.g.
  - I agree that “political freedom without economic equality is a lie; and the workers want no lying”, because:**
    - » Political freedom is useless if you do not have enough education to take part in politics.
    - » Political freedom is useless if you are too poor/ too busy working to take part in politics.
    - » Political freedom is useless if there are wealthy people in society who can buy much more political power than most other people.

## Activity: Our Ideology, Part 2

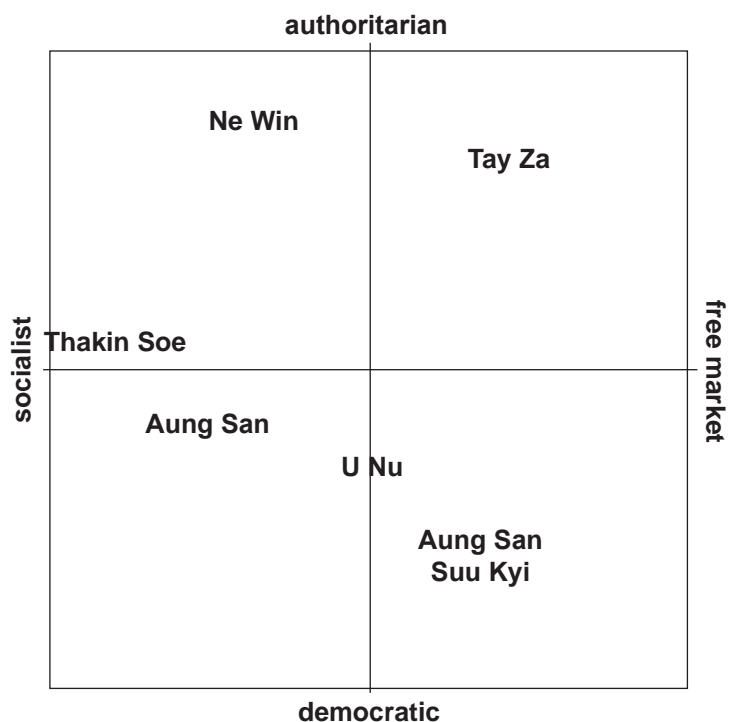
- Students work in the same groups as *Our Ideology, Part One* (page 39).
1. Groups make a values pyramid. They can look at the rights pyramid on Page 15 for an example.
    - Groups decide on the six most important values.
    - They write these values in a pyramid, with their most important value at the top.
    - Point out that there are no right or wrong ways in which to choose and order the values, as different people have different experiences and priorities. However, the aim is to try to reach consensus.
  2. Groups make a poster with their group's ideas and opinions about the items listed.
    - Groups present their posters to the class.
    - Groups answer questions about their posters.

## Activity

1. In the same groups, students decide where their ideology fits on the diagram.
  - For example, if they believe in a more socialist economic system, they would be further to the left. If they believed in a very authoritarian state, they would be further towards the top.
  - Remind them they can put themselves anywhere in the diagram, not only on the lines.
2. Groups choose six actors from the actor's list on pages 165-170. They put them in the diagram.
  - They choose individual actors, not groups.
3. They add any other actors they can think of, from their communities, country or internationally.

### Possible answers:

There are no exact correct answers. This is just an example, and people may disagree with it. Encourage debate. The important thing is for students to think about their answers, and support them with evidence.



## 3.2.2 – POLITICAL ATTITUDES

### Preview

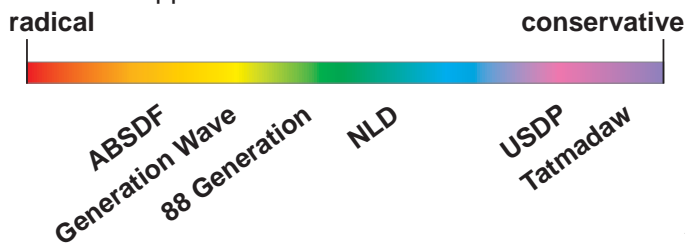
- Discuss political change. Do students think it creates opportunities, or does it create risks?
- Write students' ideas on the board, under columns headed *Opportunities* and *Risks*,
- Students read Text 3.2.4.
- Did their opinions change after they read the text?

### Activity

1. Students choose actors from the actor's list on pages 165-170. They put them on the spectrum.
- They can choose individual actors or groups.

#### Possible answers:

There are no exact correct answers. This is just an example, and people may disagree with it. Encourage debate. The important thing is for students to think about their answers, and support them with evidence.



2. Students analyse their spectrums, and look for useful information about the actors on it.
  - They discuss the events these actors were involved in, and the results of these events.
  - They discuss how the actors' ideology relates to the events.
  - Try to elicit these points:
    - » Actors with radical attitudes are usually associated with revolutions, armed conflict or coups.
    - » Most radical opposition actors in Myanmar had socialist/liberal ideology.
    - » Most government/military coups were lead by actors with socialist/conservative ideology.
    - » Some examples that illustrate these trends include:
      - 1948 Independence: Thirty Comrades (socialist/liberal), AFPLF (socialist/liberal).
      - 1946 Civil War: Communist Party of Burma (socialist).
      - 1962 Military Coup: BSPP (conservative/ socialist).
      - 1988: SLORC (conservative/socialist).
      - 1988: 8888 uprising: 88 Generation Students' Group (socialist/liberal), Democratic Party for a New Society (socialist/liberal), All Burma Students' Democratic Front (socialist/liberal).
      - 2007 Saffron Revolution: All Burma Monks Alliance (conservative).

### Activity: The Attitudes Spectrums

- Students look at the political quotes activities on Pages 47 and 50.
- They decide which conversation is between radicals, and which conversation is between moderates.

#### Answers:

**Page 47 – moderate**  
**Page 50 – radical**

## Reflection

- Students read the questionnaire. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Make sure they understand that all these statements are radical (very different from current situation).
- They should not be confused by the ideology behind some of the statements. For example, most people with a conservative ideology support compulsory military service for men. But forcing both men and women to do military service might only be supported by people with a more radical attitude.
- Individually, students answer the questions.
- After they finish, they count the number of 'yes' answers.
  - 0-10 'yes' answers – conservative
  - 11-15 'yes' answers – moderate
  - 16-20 'yes' answers – radical
- As a class, discuss these results. Is anyone surprised by their result?

# Unit 1 Review

## Comprehension

- Students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. Politics is about making collective decisions for a group of people. It is normal that there are conflicts when people have to make decisions about “who gets what, when and how” in a community, because resources and opportunities are limited. Additionally, the way that decisions are made and power is exercised can also create conflicts, because there are many different ideas about how that should be done.
2. Making group decisions in a community requires community members to compromise, negotiate and work together. This means that making group decisions about “who gets what, when and how” requires cooperation.
3. Economic, social and cultural rights.
4. Affirmative action means making rules or policies that favour those groups who have been (or still are) unfairly discriminated against. Affirmative action takes place most often in employment or education, but can also be seen in politics.
5. Libertarians believe that all individuals should have total control over their own lives. They support the right for everyone to be totally free as long as it doesn't interfere with anyone else's personal liberty.
6. Top-down power is used when powerful people or groups make less powerful people do what they (the powerful people) want. Bottom-up power is when less powerful people join together to defend their rights and interests against more powerful people.
7. Visible power is when a powerful person or group uses visible actions to make a less powerful person or group do what they want. Some of the most common kinds of visible power are coercion, intimidation, and persuasion.  
Hidden power is when a powerful person or group uses ideas and beliefs to make a less powerful person or group do what they want. Some of the most common kinds of hidden power are: fear, exclusion, setting the agenda, and manipulation.
8. Power means the ability to make someone do what you want.  
Authority means having the right to make someone do what you want.
9. Legitimacy refers to the level of acceptance that people have for the authority of a leader, institution or government.
10. Participation, transparency, accountability, the rule of law and good governance.
11. An ideology is a set of beliefs about politics and how they relate to politics in the real world. An ideology has 3 parts: an explanation of the current political situation, a set of beliefs about what politics should be like and a plan of actions that is necessary to make the current political situation reflect those beliefs.
12. Liberty; equality of opportunity; tolerance and economic freedom.
13. Tradition; law and order; hierarchy and authority.
14. Solidarity; equality of outcome; social need; and common ownership.
15. A political ideology refers to actions that need to be taken to achieve a better situation. A political attitude refers to the speed and types of changes that are necessary to achieve a better situation.









# Chapter 4: States and Nations

## 4.1 STATES

### 4.1.1 – STATES

#### Preview

1. Brainstorm the meaning of “state”.

- Write students’ ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 4.1.1. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

The word “state” can refer to a region that is part of a country, e.g. Myanmar has seven states that are part of the Union of Myanmar. Political scientists use “state” to refer to a bigger political community i.e. a country (or, in the case of Myanmar, the Union).

## Activity

- As a class, discuss the six functions of the state in 4.1.1.C. Check that students understand these.
- Individually or in pairs, students match these functions with the actions.

### Possible answers:

1. a
2. c
3. f
4. e
5. b
6. d

## Reflection

- In pairs, students rank the list of state functions in order of importance.
- Pairs join with another pair and decide on a group ranking.
- Groups join with another group and agree on a ranking.
- Agree on a class ranking.
- Try to use consensus decision-making as much as possible.

## 4.1.2 – IMPORTANT FEATURES OF STATES

### Preview

- Brainstorm the differences between a state, and other political communities (such as a city, region or an ethnic group).
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 4.1.1. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

- » States have sovereignty (the right to self-determination without interference from other political communities).
- » Some say that states have the monopoly on the legitimate use of violence.

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, discuss the questions.

#### Possible answers:

##### 1. Suggested answers for question 1:

- » The state/government and armed ethnic groups control people and territory.
- » Some say that the state has sovereignty, because it is the highest authority in the country. It is the only actor that can make national laws, and it is recognised by other states and international organisations.
- » Some say that armed ethnic groups have sovereignty, because they are the only authorities that are recognised (and obeyed) within their territories.

2. Yes, because only the state can control the armed forces and police of a country. No, because there are non-state armed actors that also claim to use legitimate violence. They believe that the state does not represent them and/or uses violence against them. From their perspective the state's use of violence is illegitimate. These actors sometimes fulfil the functions of the state in the areas under their control. When public goods such as education, health care and security are being provided by these actors, some people also believe their use of violence is legitimate.

##### 3. Answers will vary. Some outline answers:

- » The state, the Myanmar Army (Tatmadaw), police.
- » Ethnic armed groups and militias, and revolutionary armed struggle groups.
- » Criminal gangs, drug cartels.
- » Violent mobs, rioters.

##### 4. Legitimate:

- » **The state, the Myanmar Army (Tatmadaw), police** – Only the state can use legitimate violence to keep peace and stability throughout the country. Only the state can defend the people against inside as well as outside threats. The army and the police force have monopoly of legitimate violence because they are part of the state.
- » **Ethnic armed groups and militias** – The use of violence by some ethnic armed groups and militias is legitimate because they represent their respective ethnic nationalities. Some say that because these groups provide public goods such as education, health care, and security, so their use of violence is legitimate.

##### Illegitimate:

- » **The state, the Myanmar Army (Tatmadaw), police** – There are non-state armed actors that claim that the state does not represent them. The state does not have the consent of all its population so the state's use of violence is not always legitimate.
- » **Ethnic armed groups and militias** – Ethnic armed groups do not have the monopoly of legitimate use of violence because the territories they claim to represent are part of the state. These armed groups are also illegitimate because they are not democratically elected to represent the people in their respective states.
- » **Criminal gangs, drug cartels** – Criminals use violence only for their own benefit. They also do not have the consent of a political community they claim to represent and defend.
- » **Violent mobs, rioters** – Mobs or rioters do not have the consent of a political community they claim to represent and defend.

##### 5. Answers will vary.

## Exercise

- Individually or in pairs, students classify the institutions in the table based on the information in the text.

Answers:

Feature of a State	Related Institutions
<b>Sovereignty (making decisions)</b>	government courts
<b>The monopoly of legitimate violence (using force)</b>	police military
<b>A set of political institutions (providing services)</b>	hospitals libraries schools and universities

- Some students might complete the table based on the recent history of Myanmar. If so, they might put 'military' under sovereignty.

## 4.1.3 – ANARCHISM: DO WE NEED A STATE?

### Preview

- Brainstorm the meaning of "anarchism".
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 4.1.3. Were their ideas similar to the text?

Possible answers:

Anarchism is an ideology that is against having a state. Most anarchists say that government power and capitalism are the cause of most of the political and social problems in the world. Anarchists think that decisions should be made directly by the people.

## Discussion

- In groups, students discuss the questions.
- Groups explain their ideas to the class.

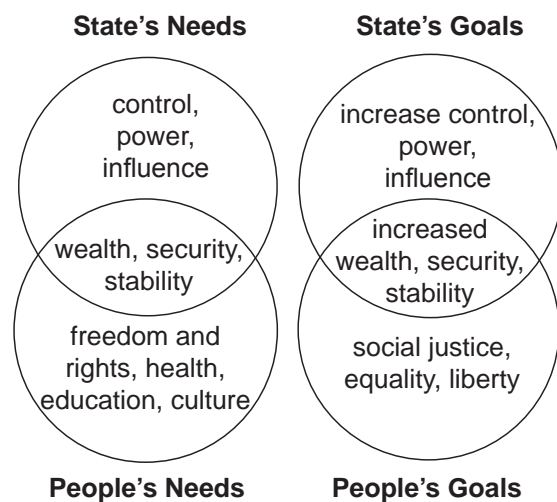
Possible answers:

Answers will vary.

## Activity

- In groups, students make Venn diagrams about the needs of the people/needs of the state and goals of the people/goals of the state.
- If students have difficulty with this draw examples on the board, and elicit these points:
  - » What do states need to survive?
  - » What do states work hard to achieve?
  - » What do people need to survive?
  - » What do people work hard to achieve?

Possible answers:



## 4.2 NATIONS AND NATIONALISM

### 4.2.1 – NATIONS

#### Preview

- Brainstorm the meaning of “nation”.
- Write students’ ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 4.2.1. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answer:

A “nation” usually refers to a community that shares the same culture, language, and history. Nations usually live and work together in the same territory. They also usually share political goals and interests.

#### Exercise

- Individually or in pairs, students complete the table, describing characteristics of nations and ethnic groups.
- They write “always” or “not always” in the table.

#### Answers:

	<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Nation</b>
<b>Shared culture, language, and history?</b>	always	not always
<b>Shared political goals and interests?</b>	not always	always

#### Discussion

- In pairs or groups, students discuss the questions.
- Groups explain their answers to the class.

#### Possible answers:

1. Answers will vary.
2. The Karen/Kachin/Pa-O are nations because they all share the same culture, language and history. They also live in the same territory and share political goals such as the desire for autonomy or sovereignty. The Karen/Kachin/Pa-O are ethnic groups because they are all part of a larger nation. Also, ethnic groups have diverse smaller groups within them who have different goals and interests.

## 4.2.2 – ETHNIC VS. CIVIC IDENTITY

### Preview

- In pairs or groups, students discuss what is more important, their ethnicity or their citizenship. Why?
- Discuss this as a class.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 4.2.2. Did anyone change their ideas after reading the text?

### Exercise

- Individually or in pairs, students complete the table with the phrases on the list.

Answers:

	<b>Ethnic Identity</b>	<b>Civic Identity</b>
<b>Based on?</b>	the community you are born into	citizenship
<b>Values come from?</b>	traditions, culture, religion	civic values



## Reflection

- Students think about their ethnic and civic identities and answer the questions.
- Either:
  - a. Students discuss their ideas in groups.  
or
  - b. Students write their ideas in a reflective journal.  
or
  - c. Students write an essay.
- When you mark their essays, check that they have addressed the following points:
  - » What defines their ethnic identity?
  - » What defines their civic identity?
  - » What are the similarities and differences between the two?
  - » Which identity they consider to be more important?
  - » The reasons why they feel that their ethnic/ civic identity is more important to them.

## 4.2.3 – NATIONALISM

### Preview

- Brainstorm the meaning of “nationalism”.
- Write students’ ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 4.2.3. Were their ideas similar to the text?

### Possible answer:

- » Feelings, ideas and actions that express pride and loyalty to a community.

## Activity

- Students put the characteristics in the table, according to whether they are likely in a state-nation or a nation-state.

Answers:

	nation-state	state-nation
state identity	1	6
culture	9	4
secessionist parties	3	7
citizen identity	8	2
loyalty	5	10

## Activity

- Students look at the timeline on pages 162-164.
- Individually or in pairs or groups, students identify events that were inspired by nationalism.

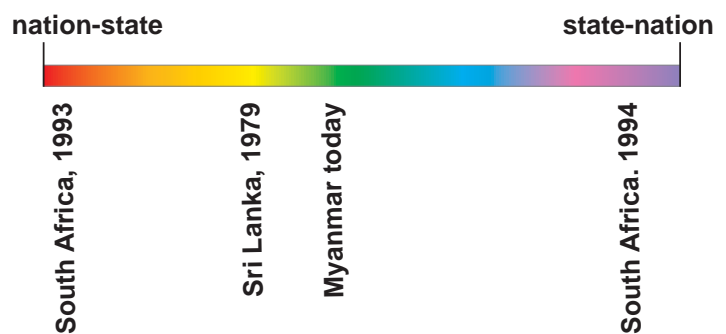
Possible answers:

- » 1885 Third Anglo-Burmese War
- » 1920 University boycott
- » 1930 Founding of the Dobama Asiayone (We Burmese Association)
- » 1930-31 Saya San Rebellion
- » 1936 The second university student strike
- » 1938 1300 Revolution
- » 1942-1945 Japanese occupation
- » 1944-1945 Anti-fascist revolution
- » 1946 Civil War
- » 1946-1947 Panglong Conferences
- » 1948 Burma's Independence
- » 1948 Ethnic minority alliances
- » 1994-95 Rise and fall of Manerplaw
- » 2012 Buddhist-Muslim conflicts

## Activity

- Individually or in pairs, students look back at the case studies on pages 20-21.
- They decide where the countries would be on the spectrum.

Possible answers:



## 4.2.4 – DIFFERENT KINDS OF NATIONALISM

### Preview

- Students discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 4.2.4. Were their ideas similar to the text?

### Possible answers:

- » Ethno-nationalism: nationalism based on ethnic identity.
- » Radical nationalism: nationalism that seeks to expand the territory of the nation.
- » Conservative nationalism: nationalism that tolerates other cultures as long as they integrate.
- » Religious nationalism: nationalism based on religious identity.
- » Civic nationalism: nationalism based on civic identity (citizenship).

### Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the *Focus on Myanmar*. Clarify anything they don't understand.

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the question.

### Possible answers:

#### Advantages:

- » It can promote unity within a group.
- » It can encourage people to struggle for freedom.
- » It can encourage people to fight against oppression.

#### Disadvantages

- » It can encourage conflict between groups.
- » It can promote racism and xenophobia.
- » It can lead to violence and war.

### Original Text:

I recognise both the virtues and limitations of pure nationalism, I love its virtues, I don't allow myself to be blinded by its limitations, though I knew that it is not easy for the great majority of any nation to get over these limitations. In so far as nationalism encourages us to love our people and love others, or at least encourages us not to hate others, there I am completely with nationalism. In so far as nationalism inculcates in us a sense of national and social justice which calls upon us to fight any system that is oppressive or tyrannical both in our country and the world, there I am completely with nationalism. I hate Imperialism whether British or Japanese or Burmese.

## 4.2.5 – ETHNO-NATIONALISM

### Preview

1. Brainstorm the meaning of “ethno-nationalism”.
2. Discuss the question.
  - Write students’ ideas on the board.
  - Students read Text 4.2.5. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

1. Ethno-nationalism is nationalism that is based on ethnic identity. Ethno-nationalists use the symbols, history and traditions of an ethnic group to attract support.

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the question.

#### Possible answers:

- No, because it will lead to oppression, resentment and conflict.
- Yes, because it will mean that the country is more unified by the dominant culture.

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the question.

#### Possible answers:

1. Radical nationalism can turn into hatred or racism. This can cause violence, and lead to human rights abuses. That is especially true when community leaders convince people that they have been treated badly by other ethnic groups or races, or that their group’s territory needs to be expanded.
2. These conflicts can destabilise governments in several ways. It can mean that opposition groups do not take part in national politics. Strikes, boycotts and demonstrations about nationalist issues can lead to political instability, especially if the police react violently. In serious cases, radical nationalism can lead to civil war, terrorism, ethnic and communal conflict and even genocide.

## 4.2.6 – CIVIC NATIONALISM

### Preview

- Discuss the questions.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read the introduction paragraph to Text 4.2.6. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

1. Civic nationalism is nationalism based on civic identity. Civic nationalists use the shared values of the state to attract support.
2. Civic nationalism is not based on an identity that comes from the community that someone is born into. It does not involve traditions, culture or language that are based on one ethnic group alone. Civic nationalism is based on the shared values of the state.

### Discussion

- Students read Text 4.2.6.A.
- In groups or as a class, students list the civil and political rights that pluralism needs.

#### Possible answers:

- » The right to vote.
- » The right to political equality.
- » The right to run for office.
- » Free speech.
- » The right to assemble.
- » Freedom of the press.
- » The right to be free from discrimination.

### Discussion

- Students read Text 4.2.6.B.
- In groups or as a class, students discuss the question,

#### Possible answers:

Civic nationalism is based on shared civic values. These shared values can promote unity and tolerance in diverse political communities. Civic nationalism promotes equal rights for all citizens, regardless of their ethnicity. This means that discrimination and resentment is less likely to cause conflict.

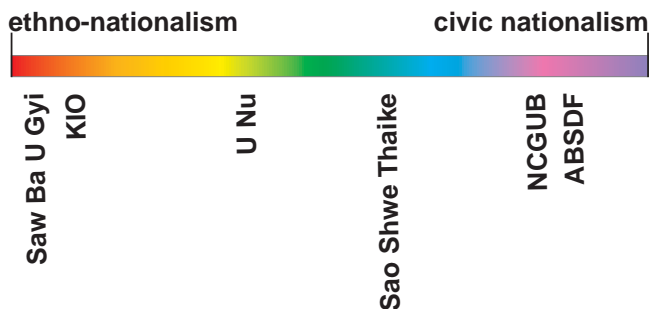
Civic nationalism is also based on a shared set of political institutions and practices. These unite people and promote pluralism and political participation. They also provide a legal framework for resolving conflicts fairly and non-violently.

## Activity

1. In pairs or groups, students choose six actors from the actor's list on pages 165-170. They put them on the spectrum.
  - They can choose individual actors or groups.

### Possible answers:

There are no exact correct answers. This is just an example, and people may disagree with it. Encourage debate. The important thing is for students to think about their answers, and support them with evidence.



2. Students add other actors to the spectrum.
  - They compare their lists with other groups. Are their ideas similar?
  - If you like, make a class spectrum on large sheets of paper, and put it on the wall. Students can add to it throughout the course.
3. Students look at the timeline on pages 162-164.
  - In groups or as a class, discuss events from the spectrum activity.
  - Decide whether these events are related to civic or ethnic nationalism.

### Possible answers:

#### **civic nationalism**

- » 1946-1947 Panglong Conference
- » 1944-1945 Anti-fascist revolution
- » 1948 Burma's Independence
- » 1948 Ethnic minority alliances
- » 1994-95 Rise and fall of Manerplaw
- » 1958, 1963 Peace talks
- » 1974 Constitution rewritten
- » 2008 New constitution completed
- » 2013 Nationwide ceasefire negotiations

#### **ethno-nationalism:**

- » 1885 Third Anglo-Burmese War.
- » 1920 University boycott.
- » 1930 Founding of the Dobama Asiayone.
- » 1930-31 Saya San Rebellion.
- » 1936 The second university student strike.
- » 1938 1300 Revolution.
- » 1942-1945 Japanese occupation.
- » 1946 Civil War.
- » 2012 Buddhist-Muslim conflicts.

## Activity

- Students read the quotes.
- Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs, they classify the quotes into ethnic and civic nationalism.

### Answers:

**ethno-nationalism** – 2, 3, 5, 7

**civic nationalism** – 1, 4, 6, 8

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, discuss the questions about nationalism in Myanmar.
- Try to elicit these points:
  - » Previously nationalism was very important during the independence struggles against the Japanese and the British.
  - » Nationalism has always been a very important part of Myanmar politics (AFPFL, BSPP, SLORC/SPDC).
  - » Nationalism is responsible for many of the armed conflicts between the government and ethnic groups.

## Reflection: Laws to Promote Peace

»

1. Individually or in pairs, students read the laws and classify them into ethno- and civic nationalist.

**Possible answers:**

**Ethno-nationalism** – 2, 4, 5, 8, 10, 12

**Civic nationalism** – 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11

2. In groups, students rank these laws in order of how effective they would be at avoiding or solving ethnic conflict.

- If students have difficulty, look at one or two laws and discuss the effect this might have on ethnic conflict, e.g.

**1. All schools and universities must teach in the majority language only.**

- » This is likely to disadvantage many ethnic groups, as many people do not speak the majority language fluently. Many people might feel concerned that their language will decline in use.

On the other hand it might ensure that everyone can speak the same language so communication is easier.

3. In groups, students choose three laws that would best promote national unity.

- Groups write the reasons these laws are useful and important.
- If they can think of better laws than those listed, they can use them instead.
- Groups present their laws to the class.
- If you like, make a class list of laws for national unity, and put it on the wall.

## Activity: The Temple on Church Street

- Students read the text. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- 1. Individually, students consider whether they agree or disagree with this plan.
- Remind them to think as if they are Oldtown residents.
- They make notes of their opinions and ideas.
- 2. The class forms four groups. Students join one of these groups, depending on their opinions and beliefs:
  - c. The Respect Party (multiculturalist).
  - d. The National Defence League (radical nationalists).
  - e. The Oldtown Civic Society (civic nationalist).
  - f. Traditional Nation (conservative nationalist).
- 3. Groups decide on a response to the plan.
- They provide:
  - » An outline of what should happen.
  - » A strategy for achieving this.
  - » Reasons why this should happen.
  - » Examples of other, similar situations.
- 4. Groups hold a debate.
  - » Groups brainstorm their arguments as to why their solution is the best.
  - » Encourage them to predict other groups' likely arguments, and think of counter-arguments to these.
  - » Each party chooses three representative speakers.
  - » Each group speaks in turn. Speaker 1 from group a speaks first for 2 minutes, then Speaker 1 from group b, then c, then d.
  - » Next, Speaker 2 from each group speaks for two minutes.
  - » Speaker 3 from each group needs to listen carefully to the other groups, and argue against the points they make.
  - » After everyone has spoken, the class votes on the best plan.

## Reflection

1. Students think about whether their opinions of the situation changed as a result of the debate, and how.
2. Students look back at the *Our Ideology* activities in Chapter 3 (pages 39 and 51)
  - Has the debate caused them to re-think these beliefs? How?
  - Either:
    - a. Students discuss their ideas in groups or as a class.  
or
    - b. Students write their ideas in a reflective journal.





## 4.3 CHAPTER 4 CASE STUDIES

### Exercise

- Students read the case studies. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs, they answer the questions.

#### Possible answers:

##### 1. South Africa

- » Conflict over opportunities for parliamentary representation.
- » Conflict over ideas (Apartheid and segregation vs. racial equality).
- » Cooperation for peace/social justice (solidarity of coloureds and Indians with blacks).

##### Sri Lanka

- » Conflict over ideas (official language for all citizens vs. native language and culture of minority Tamils/minority rights).
- » Conflict over opportunities (autonomy and linguistic minority rights vs. political dominance and power to govern).
- » Cooperation for peace and linguistic minority rights/some degree of autonomy (between Tamil population, Federal party, Bandaranaike and Chelvanayakam).

##### 2. South Africa – Ethno-nationalism (political issues based on race, not on shared civic values or identity).

- » Civic nationalism (solidarity between coloured, Indians and blacks against the Apartheid government).

**Sri Lanka – Ethno-nationalism** (the conflict between Sinhala and Tamil is based on ethnic, not civic identity).

##### 3. South Africa – No, many people think that the South African apartheid regime was based on racism and extremely unjust. Black South Africans were socially, politically and economically discriminated against.

**Sri Lanka – No**, it can be argued that Tamils were not treated fairly and did not have the linguistic rights they claimed. If they couldn't use their native language in administrative matters, injustice in terms of opportunities may arise.

#### 4. South Africa – Similarity

- » NLD boycotting the election over freedom of participation in 2010.
- » Little ethnic minority representation in the current parliament.
- » Ongoing civil war reflects dissatisfaction with the system of government.

##### Difference

- » This South African case study is in the past. Myanmar's current constitutional and ethnic political issues are ongoing (as of May 2014).
- » In the 1983 South African case, the majority group (blacks) are excluded from the parliament. In Myanmar, this is not the case.

##### Sri Lanka – Similarity

- » Myanmar has one official language.
- » Myanmar has had race riots and civil wars.
- » There have been attempts for loose autonomy to settle differences, but up until May 2014, these have not succeeded.
- » Voting along ethnic lines.

##### Difference

- » Violent opposition to government in the 1960s was about the state religion act, not an official language act.
- » In Sri Lanka there was one major minority opposition group, in Myanmar there have been several.

# Chapter 5: Government

## 5.1 GOVERNMENT

### 5.1.1 – GOVERNMENT

#### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 5.1.1. Were their answers similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

Government is the leadership of a state. It is made up of institutions with authority to make and implement decisions about public policy.

#### Activity: *If We Were the Government.....*

1. In groups, students divide a budget of 100 million dollars (approximately 10,000 million Kyats) between the items listed.
  - Discuss the reasons why you think each item should receive more or less money.
2. Groups present their budgets to the class, and explain the reasons they decided to allocate the money in this way.
3. Negotiate a class budget.

## 5.1.2 – PUBLIC POLICY AND LAWS

### Preview

- Discuss the questions.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 5.1.2. Were their answers similar to the text?

### Possible answers:

1. Public policy refers to a plan of actions that governments take to achieve their goals. These goals are often about meeting the needs of the people and solving society's problems.
2. Laws are rules that control people's behaviour, their quality of life and access to resources and opportunities. Laws are made, implemented and enforced by governments.
3. Laws are tools that governments use for maintaining stability and security, and accomplishing their policy goals.

## Activity: Population Growth Policies

- Students read the scenario and the policies. Clarify anything they don't understand.
1. In pairs or groups, students do a pyramid ranking (see page 23) with the policies.
- The most effective policy should be at the top, and the three least useful should be at the bottom.
2. Groups join with another group, and compare pyramids.
- Groups try to reach consensus on a class pyramid ranking.
3. In groups or as a class, decide which policies are more liberal, conservative and socialist, and why.

### Possible answers:

#### **Liberal**

- » A. Taxation Policy (because reducing taxes promotes economic freedom).
- » D. Rural Development Policy (because creating businesses reflects economic freedom).

#### **Conservative**

- » F. Immigration Policy (because limiting immigration requires strong law and order and can stop new influences from entering the country).

#### **Socialist**

- » B. Empowerment of Women Policy (because empowering women promotes equality of outcome and solidarity).
- » C. Care of the Sick and Elderly Policy (because taking care of the sick and elderly is responding to social need).
- » E. Education Policy (because providing education promotes equality of outcome).

## 5.1.3 – THE THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT

### Preview

- Discuss the questions.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 5.1.3. Were their answers similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

1. The executive, the legislative and the judiciary.
2. The executive branch administers the country and implements laws.  
The legislative branch make laws.  
The judicial branch interprets and enforces laws.

### Exercise

- Individually or in pairs or groups, students answer the questions.

#### Possible answers:

1. It prevents tyranny of one institution over the others (and over the state in general).
  - » It avoids corruption and instability.
  - » It supports transparency, accountability and the rule of law in government.
2. Solving problems might take a long time and cause conflict.
  - » The executive and legislature can be in a position of deadlock when trying to pass a law or form a government.
  - » Deadlock can stop the work of government and the people suffer as a result.

## 5.1.4 – LEGISLATURES

### Preview

- Discuss the questions.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 5.1.4. Were their answers similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

1. The legislature is the branch of government that is responsible for making laws.
2. Legislatures discuss and change potential laws (bills) until the majority of members agree. If they are then approved by the other branches, they become laws.
3. Answers will vary.

### Exercise

- Individually or in pairs or groups, students answer the questions.

#### Possible answers:

1. The legislature has the power to suggest laws. The executive has the power to approve them.
  - » Lower houses directly represent the current wishes of the people. Upper houses are often allowed to veto or change the decisions of the lower house.
  - » The lower house has the power to suggest laws, the upper house (in some governments) has the power to veto suggested laws.
2. In some governments, executives and judiciaries can stop a law (made by the legislature) from coming into effect.
  - » Upper houses can make sure that proposed laws are not too dangerous (i.e. lead to rights abuses or violent conflict). This provides checks and balances on the laws proposed by the lower house.
  - » Many upper houses are not directly elected, but appointed. This is usually intended to provide checks and balances on the lower house (the will of the majority).
  - » Lower houses reflect the social (ethnic, religious etc.) make-up of the country, so they can often be dominated by the main majority group. Some upper houses are designed to increase minority representation so their rights and interests are not ignored by the majority. In some federal states, the upper house (representing regions or ethnic groups) provides checks and balances against the lower house (often dominated by the majority).

## Discussion

1. In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

Possible answers:

### 1. Disadvantages

- » In a unicameral system, power is located in one house. There can be confusion of roles in a bicameral legislature.
- » Two assemblies can result in rivalry and even deadlock between the two. This can slow down or even stop the law making process.
- » Bicameral legislatures are often more expensive than unicameral legislatures.

### Advantages

- » Having two houses provides another set of checks and balances which can produce more transparency and accountability.
- » A second house can reduce the workload of the first by considering legislation in detail, leaving the first house to deal with bigger issues.
- » Bicameral legislatures can protect minority rights more in federal states. This can help to prevent or resolve regional conflict.
- » Upper houses can control dangerous or unjust laws that the lower house suggests.

### 2. Less Democratic

Lower houses (and unicameral legislatures) are directly elected by the people. Voters can vote for a specific candidate or for the party they wish to see in power. Some people claim this is more democratic than some upper houses that rely on appointment, heredity or systems based on region.

### More Democratic

Because bicameral legislatures have two houses, this is another form of checks and balances. This builds democratic legitimacy by promoting transparency and accountability in government.

## Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the *Focus on Myanmar*. Clarify anything they don't understand.

## Exercise

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

Possible answers:

1. The two houses of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw are the Pyithu Hluttaw (People's Assembly) and the Amyotha Hluttaw (Nationalities Assembly).
2. Laws must be approved by both assemblies before they are sent to the President for approval.
  - » Members of the legislature are elected for five year terms.
  - » Each region or state can send up to 12 elected representatives to the Amyotha Hluttaw.



## Activity: *Our Government*, Part 1

- Students read the scenario and the proposed laws. Clarify anything they don't understand.
  - Students form groups of 4-6. They will work in these groups for all *Our Government* activities in this section.
1. Groups choose one or two laws, or give each group one or two laws. Ensure all the laws are allocated.
  - Groups list the positive and negative effects of their law or laws.

### Possible answers:

#### 1. Positive

Less competition for jobs, less competition for houses, less scarcity of public goods, e.g. places in schools or hospitals.

#### Negative

Stopping legal immigration will encourage illegal immigration, restricts freedom of movement, reduces cultural diversity.

#### 2. Positive

Reduces poverty, promotes equality, promotes social justice.

#### Negative

Discriminates against the wealthy, limits the freedom of richer people to spend their money how they want, rich people might leave the country which could be bad for the economy.

#### 3. Positive

Care provided for old people, less burden on families, people have fewer children (to look after them in old age).

#### Negative

#### High cost

#### 4. Positive

Higher levels of education, social problems like crime and drug abuse might get reduced, good for the economy if more people finish high school.

#### Negative

Difficult for poor families who need children's income, restricts freedom to work instead of study, high cost

#### 5. Positive

Improves health of the population, limits infectious diseases, people have fewer children (because less children die of preventable diseases).

#### Negative

High cost

#### 6. Positive

Promotes gender equality

#### Negative

Discriminates against men, could lead to less qualified MPs

#### 7. Positive

Promotes rural development, reduces urbanisation

#### Negative

Discriminates against urban populations, high costs of construction for small populations

2. Groups present their law or laws to the class explaining the benefits and disadvantages of it.

- Students take notes about each presentation.

3. After all presentations are finished, have a class vote on whether to pass each law.

- Make a record of which laws are passed on a big piece of paper and put it on the wall. You will need this for activities later in the chapter.

4. In groups or as a class, decide which policies are liberal, conservative or socialist, and why.

### Answers:

#### Conservative

- » Law 1. Conservatives value security and tradition, closing borders would be a policy that supports these two values. (tradition, law and order)
- » Law 4. The state is forcing people to stay in school, even if they don't want to (authority)

#### Socialist

- » Law 2. Taxing the rich to support the poor is a way of promoting equality of outcome (equality of outcome, social need).
- » Law 3. Spending state revenue on care facilities is responding to the social need of old people who cannot afford pay for private care facilities. (social need).
- » Law 5. Spending state revenue on health is responding to the social need of sick people who cannot afford private health care. (social need).
- » Law 6. Affirmative action policies are trying to achieve equality of outcome by distributing public opportunities. (equality of outcome, solidarity)
- » Law 7. Distributing public goods (hospitals and schools) according to social need is trying to promote social equality (equality of outcome, social need)

## 5.1.5 – EXECUTIVES

### Preview

- Discuss the questions.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 5.1.5. Were their answers similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

1. The executive is the branch of government that is responsible for leading the country and implementing laws.
2. The executive is responsible for implementing laws, relations with other countries, and leading the country during crises.

### Activity

- Establish that students understand the five roles of the executive:
  - » Diplomacy
  - » Creating government budgets
  - » Control of the military
  - » Management and administration of government workers
  - » Emergency leadership, e.g. in times of natural disaster or violent conflict.
- 1. In pairs or groups, students rank these functions in order of
  - a. Importance
  - b. Difficulty
  - c. Riskiness (how much danger there is if they make the wrong decision)
- 2. Groups discuss what they notice about these rankings.

#### Possible answers:

- » Some of the most important roles are also the riskiest.
- » Some of the most important roles are also the most difficult.
- » Some roles are at the bottom of all three lists.

### Exercise

- Individually, or in pairs or groups, students answer the questions.

#### Possible answers:

1. In some presidential systems, presidents have the right to suggest, accept and veto laws made by the legislature.
  - » In some countries, there is a president or monarch who is the head of state, and a prime minister who acts as the head of government.
2. The executive has the power to implement laws that are made by the legislature. In some systems, it can veto bills, but it does not have the power to create laws or get involved in the law creation process.

#### **Extra Info: Parliamentary systems**

- Legislative: People elect representatives (MP) in Parliament
- Executive power comes from the legislature. The government is responsible to the legislature is dependent upon it.
- The head of government is elected by Parliament. The head of government is often the leader of the majority party in parliament. He or she chooses the cabinet but the cabinet (administration, government) must be approved by the legislature.
- The prime minister and the cabinet members remain in office as long as they have support from a majority in the legislature.
- This system has less separation of powers.
- Example: Great Britain

### Extra Info: Presidential systems

- Legislative power and executive power are separated, and independent of one another.
- The head of state – the president – heads the executive branch, and therefore the government. Direct elections give more power to the president because legitimacy comes from people directly. In this system, there is no prime minister. The president chooses his cabinet. President has much greater power than in parliamentary democracies.
- Strong separation of power –efficient check and balances. It allows each structure to monitor and check the other, preventing abuses.
- However decision making can be slow in case of strong disagreement between President and Parliament (veto).
- Example: The United States

### Extra info: Semi-presidential democracy

- Separation of powers that combine the presidential and parliamentary democracy.
- In semi-presidential systems there is a division of executive power between the president and the government or the prime minister.
- Executive power shared by 2 people. For example, both a prime minister and a president are independent from one another.
- People elect the president (head of state).
- Prime Minister (head of government) is elected by Parliament, like in Parliamentary system. Prime minister is the leader of the majority party in parliament.
- Example: France

## Discussion

1. In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

#### 1. Separation of powers: (suggested answers)

- » Members of the Union Assembly nominate three presidential candidates. One is chosen by the People's Assembly, one by the Nationalities Assembly, and one by the military Members of Parliament.
- » Only the President can declare war or peace.
- » Only the President can make or break treaties.
- » Only the President can declare a state of emergency.
- » The President is responsible for appointing most of the Ministers in the Cabinet.
- » The Commander-in-Chief appoints the Ministers for Defence, Home Affairs and Border Affairs.

2. The President signs and approves laws.

#### 3. Executives, because:

- » They can make decisions more easily without arguing or debating.
- » They are responsible for carrying out the laws and policies, so they will make decisions that they think are possible to actually achieve.
- » They are responsible for foreign policy, so they can balance the needs of national and international needs.

#### Legislatures, because:

- » They are elected directly by the people, so will express the will of the people better because they are more accountable.
- » They need to cooperate and compromise to make laws, so the laws will represent the needs of more diverse groups of people.

## Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the *Focus on Myanmar*. Clarify anything they don't understand.

## Activity: *Our Government, Part 2*

- Students read the scenario, and look back at the activity they did on Page 80 (*Our Government, Part 1*).
  - Ensure students can see the list of laws passed from Part 1.
  - Point out that this time, they are the executive, who have to consider the bills the legislature passed in Part 1.
1. In groups, students choose one or two of the laws passed from Part 1.
    - Ensure all passed laws are allocated to a group.
    - Groups consider their bill or bills, and complete the table. They need to think about what obstacles the government will face when they implement the law, and what it will cost.
    - Cost here does not mean the exact amount of money. It refers to the things needed to implement the law (including money).

### Possible answers:

1. **Obstacles** – Objections from businesses who rely on immigrant labour.
  - » Objections from human rights groups.
  - Costs** – **More border guards.**
2. **Obstacles** – Objections from wealthy people.
  - Costs** – **Little.**
3. **Obstacles** – Limited number of care workers and facilities.
  - Costs** – **More care workers and facilities.**
4. **Obstacles** – Limited numbers of teachers and schools.
  - » Objections from poor families.
  - Costs** – **More teachers and schools.**
5. **Obstacles** – Limited number of health care workers and facilities.
  - » Objections from other sectors (education, military, etc.).
  - Costs** – **More health care workers and facilities.**
6. **Obstacles** – Objections from men.
  - Costs** – **Little.**
7. **Obstacles** – Objections from urban communities.
  - Costs** – **High construction costs for small populations.**

2. Groups present their tables to the class explaining the obstacles and costs of implementing the new law or laws.
  - Students take notes about each presentation.
3. **After all presentations are finished, have a class vote on whether to accept the law as it is from Part 1, or whether to return the law to the legislature to change.**
  - Make a record of which laws are accepted and which laws require change on a big piece of paper and put it on the wall. You will need this for activities later in the chapter.

## 5.1.6 – JUDICIARIES

### Preview

- Discuss the questions.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 5.1.6. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Answers:

1. The judiciary is the part of government that is responsible for enforcing the law. Judiciaries are responsible for fairly resolving legal conflicts, making legal decisions and dealing with crime.
2. **Answers may vary. Suggested answers:**
  - » Township courts
  - » High courts
  - » The Supreme Court
  - » Military courts

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, discuss whether Myanmar courts protect and uphold the rule of law.
- Prompt them with these questions:
  - Do they...**
    - » Make sure that the law is applied equally to government officials and ordinary citizens?
    - » Make sure that people cannot bribe officials to avoid punishment?
    - » Make sure that people who are wrongly accused by the authorities are not found guilty?
    - » Make sure that people get punished fairly for the crimes that they commit?
    - » Enforce the laws in the constitution that limit the powers of government?
    - » Make sure that actions of government workers, the military and the police are restricted to what the law allows?
    - » Convince people that if people follow the law, the government will not interfere with them?

## 5.1.7 – CONSTITUTIONAL COURTS

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 5.1.7. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

It is responsible for checking that laws passed by the government do not conflict with the basic laws of the constitution. Other roles include:

- » To interpret the constitution.
- » To carry judicial review: it can declare a law or action by the legislative or executive branch illegal because it conflicts with the constitution.
- » To settle disputes between different branches of government.
- » To check abuse of power.
- » Decide on cases where individuals complain that their constitutional rights have been abused.

### Exercise

- Individually or in pairs, students identify examples of checks and balances from Texts 5.1.6 and 5.1.7.

#### Answers:

- » The judiciary acts as an independent judge that settles disputes in a neutral way.
- » Lower courts might be more vulnerable to political pressure or corruption, so the right to appeal is an important part of the rule of law.
- » Constitutional courts make sure that the other branches of governments do not make decisions that go against the constitution.
- » Constitutional courts check the abuse of power.

## Discussion

1. In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

**Possible answers:**

**1. No, because:**

- » The judiciary is supposed to be “above” political conflicts. Without it, there would be no neutral body to solve conflicts.
- » It is the job of the judiciary to know the constitution so well that they can make decisions. Without them there would not be a group who understood this complicated issue well enough to make sure that politicians followed the constitution.
- » Without the judiciary, it would be much harder to enforce the separation of powers if the executive or the legislature became too powerful.
- » Some legal cases about constitutional rights are so complicated that politicians cannot make good decisions about them.

**Yes, because:**

- » People lead large organisations without a judiciary.
- » There have been several authoritarian states that have governed a country without an effective judiciary.

**2. No, because:**

- » They support the rule of law, transparency and accountability. All of these things build democratic legitimacy. Judiciaries also make sure that executives and/ or legislatures do not abuse their power, which is an example of democratic checks and balances.
- » **Yes, because:**
- » Judges are not chosen in a democratic way. They are not elected, and there is no way of removing them after they have been chosen.

## Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the *Focus on Myanmar*. Clarify anything they don't understand.

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

**Possible answers:**

1. The main separation of powers in the Myanmar judiciary is between township, high and supreme courts.
  - » Township courts deal with most people who are accused of breaking laws.
  - » High courts deal with cases which can't be decided by township courts.
  - » The Supreme Court makes decisions about treaties between Myanmar and other countries, legal issues between national and the regional/state governments and legal issues between regional/state governments.
2. Checks and balances in Myanmar's judiciary include:
  - » The President nominates a Chief Justice.
  - » Nominations must be approved by the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw.
  - » The Constitutional Tribunal of the Union rules on issues related to the constitution.

## Exercise

1. Individually or in pairs, students look at the timeline on pages 162-164 and identify events that have caused changes in the system of government.

### Answers:

- » 1948 Burma's Independence
- » 1962 Military coup
- » 1974 Constitution rewritten
- » 1988 Demonstrations/1988 SLORC
- » 2008 New constitution completed

2. Students identify the separation of powers existing at the times of these first four changes.

### Answers:

#### **Union of Burma 1948-1962**

- » Two houses in parliament.
- » Head of state and head of government.
- » Independent judiciary.

**1962-1974: none**

**Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma: none.**

**Myanmar 1988-2008: none.**

3. Students identify the checks and balances of existing at the times of these changes.

### Answers:

#### **Union of Burma 1948-1962**

- » Two houses in parliament.
- » Constitutional court.

1962-1974: none.

Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma: none.

Myanmar 1988-2008: none.

4. Students look at these answers, and decide whether these systems of government are more democratic or more authoritarian.

### Answers:

Union of Burma 1948-1962: democratic.

1962-1974: authoritarian.

Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma: authoritarian.

Myanmar 1988-2008: authoritarian.

5. Students complete the last row in the table about Myanmar's government from 2008.

### Possible answers:

#### **Legislature**

- » The 2008 Constitution describes a bicameral legislature called the Union Assembly (Pyidaungsu Hluttaw).
- » The two houses of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw are the Pyithu Hluttaw (People's Assembly) and the Amyotha Hluttaw (Nationalities Assembly).  
Executive – The President is the head of state and the head of government.  
Judiciary – Yes.

## Activity: *Our Government, Part 3*

1. Students read the scenario, and look back at the list of constitutional rights on page 14.
  - They then review the activity they did on page 83 (*Our Government, Part 2*).
  - Ensure students can see the list of laws passed from Parts 1 and 2.
  - Point out that this time, they are the Judiciary, who have to consider the laws the Executive debated in Part 2.
2. In groups, students check these laws to see if they conflict with constitutional rights.

### Possible answers:

1. Right #1 – discriminates against citizens with foreign spouses and/or family.  
**Right #6 – restricts personal freedom**  
**Right #10 – if it leads to illegal immigration**
  2. Right #1 – Discriminates against rich people.  
Right #6- Restricts personal freedom to spend money the way people want.
  3. Right #1 – Discriminates against young people.  
Right #6 – Restricts personal freedom not to study.
  4. Right #1 – Discriminates against poor families who need income from working.  
Right #16 – If someone wants to start a business at the age of 17.
  5. -
  6. Right #1 and #5 – Discriminate against men.
  7. Right #1 – Discriminates against urban communities.  
Right #13 and #14 – If urban communities don't have enough schools and hospitals.
3. Groups make a presentation to the class on ways any of these laws might violate the constitution.

## Exercise

- Individually or in pair or groups, students complete the diagram describing the process of how laws are made.

### Answers:

- a. 11
- b. 2
- c. 8
- d. 12
- e. 4
- f. 3
- g. 5
- h. 6
- i. 7
- j. 1
- k. 9
- l. 10



## 5.2 UNITARY AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS

### 5.2.1 – CENTRALISATION OR DECENTRALISATION?

#### Preview

- Brainstorm the meanings of “centralisation” and “decentralisation”.
- Write students’ ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 5.2.1. Were their answers similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

Centralisation – when more power is given to the central, rather than local, governments.

Decentralisation – when power is taken away from central government and given to local governments.

#### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, discuss the dangers of centralisation and decentralisation

#### Possible answers:

##### **Decentralisation:**

- » A weak centre can lead to a lack of unity and even conflict.
- » Different tax rules and legal, educational and social systems in different regions can cause confusion and waste.
- » Centralised governments are often better at promoting equal development because they have a “bigger picture” of the needs of the whole country. This is important because often the areas where people have the most needs are the areas with the fewest resources – a decentralised government might not be able to support them as well.
- » Local governments do not think about the whole country when they make decisions. A strong central government makes sure that the government considers the common interests of the country, rather than just the interests of all the local, ethnic or regional groups.

##### **Centralisation:**

- » Centralisation can reduce political participation: local government is more effective than central government in providing opportunities for citizens to participate in the political life of their community.
- » Central governments are often less responsive to local needs. Local institutions are usually closer to the people and understand their needs better.
- » Local governments are often directly accountable to the communities they come from.
- » Centralisation can make it easier for central government to oppress smaller communities.
- » Having strong local government provides checks and balances on central government power.
- » Centralisation can be inefficient or ineffective, because decisions are made by people who are far away from the workers who implement these decisions.

### 5.2.2 – FEDERAL AND UNITARY STATES

#### Preview

- Brainstorm the meanings of “federal state” and “unitary state”.
- Write students’ ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 5.2.2. Were their answers similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

1. A federal state is a state where the rights and responsibilities of government are divided between one central government and several regional governments.
2. Unitary states are much more centralised than federal states. In unitary states, local governments are much less powerful than the central government.

## 5.2.3 – FEDERAL SYSTEMS

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 5.2.3. Were their answers similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

A federal system divides control between a central (federal) government and smaller governments who control provinces, states or territories. The responsibilities of each government are defined in the constitution and cannot be easily changed.

Constitutions also outline those areas that central government is not allowed to interfere with (e.g. education, housing etc.). Usually, federal governments have control over national affairs, like the postal service, the military and relationships with other countries.

## Activity

1. Individually or in pairs, students put the correct labels on the sections of the Venn diagram.

**Answers:**

**i. a**

**ii. c**

**iii. b**

2. They add the functions to the diagram.

**Answers:**

**iv. b**

**v. c**

**vi. a**

## 5.2.4 – UNITARY SYSTEMS

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 5.2.4. Were their ideas similar to the text?

**Possible answers:**

A unitary system has one central government which has much more power than federal states. Regional governments are much more limited, e.g. they cannot create laws or decide their own education policy.

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. Yes, because the people in a state are unified by one set of symbols, policies and systems.  
No, because centralisation creates resentment. If local communities cannot make decisions for themselves and promote their own cultures and autonomy, it could lead to conflict.
2. Yes, because unitary states can control the social and economic situation of all the regions in a state. This gives them a “bigger picture” that helps them to make policies that consider all citizens in a state, not just the citizens of one region.  
No, because unitary states don’t understand the needs of local communities well enough to solve local problems. This can lead to inefficiency and waste which stops development. Also even if they have control over the whole country, central governments might still favour one group or region more than the others.

## Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the Focus on Myanmar. Clarify anything they don’t understand.

## Exercise

1. Individually or in pairs, students add the functions to the table, according to the level of government that usually runs them.

### Possible answers:

Answers might vary. Responsibilities of local and community level government might be different in different areas. The answers for the national and regional level are based on the constitution.

Level of Government	Functions of Government
<b>National</b>	Libraries, international relations, pollution control, education, police, economic development, transportation.
<b>Regional</b>	Libraries, pollution control, parks, economic development, housing, transportation.
<b>Local</b>	Libraries, parks, housing.
<b>Community</b>	libraries, parks, housing

2. Students add more functions to their tables, e.g.
  - » postal service (national)
  - » census (national)
  - » international trade regulation (national)
  - » foreign policy (national)
  - » granting citizenship (national)
  - » national defence (national)
  - » maintaining law and order (national/regional)
  - » public transport (national/regional)
  - » police force (national)
  - » making laws (national/regional)
  - » natural resources and the environment (national/regional)
  - » health services (national/regional)
  - » social welfare (national/regional)
3. As a class, students discuss what they have learned from this exercise.

### Possible answers:

- » It is possible for several functions to be performed by the different levels.
- » The number of functions decreases with the level of government
- » The number of functions that are carried out by central, regional and local government shows how centralised or decentralised a state is.

## 5.2.5 – FEDERAL VS UNITARY SYSTEMS

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write student's ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 5.2.5. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

Unitary systems are better because they are more decisive and promote more unity.  
Federal systems are better because they are more democratic and promote minority rights.

### Activity

- In pairs or groups, students imagine they are in charge of a country.
- They decide which level of government should have responsibility for these functions, and add them to the table.

#### Possible answers:

Responsibility	National or regional?	Why?
Funding of schools	regional	Because local communities understand the needs of local schools better.
Water and power distribution	national	To make sure that water and power is distributed to all areas efficiently and fairly.
Laws against discrimination	national	So that national standards can be set and local authorities cannot discriminate.
Language in schools	regional	Because schools should teach in the local language.
Complaints against the police	national	Because local government might protect corrupt police.
Ownership of land	regional	Because local government understands local needs better.
Natural resources	regional	Because profits from natural resources should go to local communities.
Military service	national	Because the military needs to be coordinated in case they need to defend the whole country.
Foreign treaties	national	Because foreign treaties are a national issue that can affect all regions.
Tackling corruption	national	Because local government might be corrupt themselves.
Labour laws	national	So that national standards can be set and local authorities cannot hide exploitation.

### Discussion

- Students refer back to the population growth laws pyramid ranking they made on page 76.
- As a class, discuss whether each law would be better implemented at a national or regional level.
- For each law, ask students:
  - » What national perspectives would be helpful? (comparing to other countries, national coordination and standardisation).
  - » What challenges would national government face that local would not? (lack of local knowledge, lack of community participation).
  - » What local knowledge would be helpful? (understanding culture, needs, concerns of local communities, speaking local languages).
  - » What challenges would local governments face, that national would not? (lack of resources and experience, lack of qualified staff, etc.).

## Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the *Focus on Myanmar*. Clarify anything they don't understand.

### Activity

- Individually or in pairs or groups, students create a table listing the advantage of unitary and federal states.

Possible answers:

unitary	federal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>» Central government is more accountable because there is less confusion about roles or responsibilities.</li> <li>» Often better organised and more decisive.</li> <li>» Can help national unity by bringing different groups together to focus on national issues.</li> <li>» Facilitates the equal distribution of regional resources (e.g. through national tax system).</li> <li>» Helps the creation of a system of equal rights and responsibilities for all citizens.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>» More checks and balances.</li> <li>» Encourages consensus and compromise between federal and state authorities</li> <li>» Can protect the rights of minorities.</li> <li>» Can maintain the unity of the country by containing regional divisions, avoiding dangerous conflicts.</li> <li>» Creates opportunities to respond to the different needs and demands of groups in different regions.</li> </ul>

## Discussion

- Students think about whether they think a unitary or federal system is best for Myanmar, and why.
1. Hold a debate on this. Students work in teams of 3-5. You need an equal number of people in each team.
 

*Either:*

    - a. Teams decide which side they will argue for.
    - or
    - b. Allocate teams a side to argue for.
- Teams prepare their arguments. Each team member must take a turn at speaking.
  - Put each federal team with a unitary team.
  - If you have a small class, hold the debate(s) in front of the class. In a larger class, have them do it in teams.
  - Speaker One from the federal team speaks first, then Speaker One from the unitary team. They are followed by Speaker Two (federal), then Speaker Two (unitary), etc.
  - Discuss or vote on which team(s) had the stronger arguments.

# Chapter 6: Constitutions

## 6.1 UNDERSTANDING CONSTITUTIONS

### 6.1.1 – CONSTITUTIONS

#### Preview

1. Brainstorm the meaning of a “constitution”.

- Write students’ ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 6.1.1. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

- » A constitution is a (usually written) document that outlines out the structure and powers of government. They often include:
  - » the basic values of the state
  - » the rights, responsibilities and powers of institutions of government
  - » the process of how to make, implement and enforce laws
  - » the fundamental rights of citizens

2. Discuss the question.

## Activity

- In groups, students discuss the advantages and disadvantages of each method of decision-making.
- Groups decide on a process to use and present their ideas to the class.

### Possible answers:

#### **Majority voting**

##### **Advantages:**

- » Little time is needed to make decisions.

##### **Disadvantages:**

- » Minority resentment and disagreement about decisions.
- » Less discussion and debate.
- » No diversity of ideas, experience and skills.
- » Minority will be less committed to the decision.

#### **Choosing representatives**

##### **Advantages:**

- » Less time is needed to make decisions.
- » Representatives can be chosen based on their knowledge, skills and experience.
- » More checks and balances than one permanent decision maker.
- » Decision makers can be changed.

##### **Disadvantages:**

- » Less discussion or debate.
- » Less diversity of ideas, experience and skills in the decision making processes.
- » Others will be less committed to the decision.
- » Others might not agree with decisions.

#### **Choosing permanent decision-makers**

##### **Advantages:**

- » Little time is needed to make decisions.

##### **Disadvantages:**

- » One person is unlikely to be the best at all decisions.
- » No discussion or debate.
- » No diversity of ideas, experience and skills in the decision making processes.
- » Others will be less committed to the decision.
- » Others might not agree with decisions.

#### **Consensus**

##### **Advantages:**

- » Having more ideas can produce creative, high-quality decisions.
- » More commitment by all members to implement the decision.
- » Uses the knowledge, skills and experience of all members in the decision making.

- » Less resentment and disagreement about decisions if everyone can participate.

- » All needs are considered.

##### **Disadvantages:**

- » Takes a lot of time and energy.
- » Stubborn or talkative people can waste the group's time.
- » Not effective when a quick decision needs to be made (e.g. in an emergency)
- » It is not always possible to agree.

## 6.1.2 – PARTS OF A CONSTITUTION

### Preview

- Brainstorm the parts of a constitution.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 6.1.2. Were their ideas similar to the text?

### Possible answers:

#### **Most constitutions have four main parts:**

- » Preamble.
- » Fundamental rights (bill of rights).
- » Institutions and offices of government.
- » Amendments (how amendments are made).

## 6.1.3 – PREAMBLES

### Preview

- Brainstorm the meaning of "preamble".
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 6.1.3. Were their ideas similar to the text?

### Possible answers:

A preamble is a statement at the beginning of a document that explains the importance of that document. In a constitution, a preamble explains the political values and goals of the people in the country.



## Reflection

- Students work in four groups.
1. Groups decide on the six most important values from the list. These values will be part of a constitution.
    - They write these values in a pyramid, with their most important value at the top.
    - They should use one of the decision-making methods from the activity on Page 95.
  2. Groups put their pyramids up around the room.
    - Students walk around the room looking at other groups' pyramids.
    - If another group's pyramid better matches their own values, they change groups.
  3. Groups join with another group, and agree on a larger group values pyramid.
    - If this is difficult, try a different decision-making method from the activity on Page 95.
    - Encourage students to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the different methods.
    - Repeat this, and negotiate a class values pyramid.
    - Put the class values pyramid on the wall. You will need it for activities later in the chapter.

## Discussion

1. As a class, think about the six values agreed by the class.
  - Discuss whether these values are likely to be the same for most other people in their community or country,
2. Discuss which decision-making processes were the most effective and why.

## Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the Focus on Myanmar. Clarify anything they don't understand.

## Exercise

1. Individually or in pairs, identify values in the Myanmar Constitution Preamble.

### Answers:

- unity, stability, sovereignty, justice, equality, liberty, peace, prosperity, multiculturalism, non-discrimination, patriotism, diplomacy.
  - Discuss whether these values are the same as the ones in the class values pyramid.
  - Encourage students to reflect on the similarities and differences.
2. Students identify goals in the Myanmar Constitution Preamble.

### Answers:

- » Non-disintegration of the Union.
  - » Non-disintegration of National solidarity.
  - » Perpetuation of sovereignty.
  - » Perpetuation of peace and prosperity of the National people.
  - » Racial equality.
  - » Co-existence among nations with a view to having world peace and friendly relations among nations.
3. As a class, discuss how much is happening in Myanmar to achieve these values and goals.

### Possible answers:

- » Ceasefire talks.
- » Strengthening of the army.
- » Constitutional protection of minority cultures and rights.
- » Economic development projects.
- » Increased international trade.
- » Peace and neutrality in international relations.
- » Less restriction on freedom of speech.

## Activity

- Students read the preambles of the different countries' constitutions. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs or groups, students answer the questions about each preamble.
- If you don't have much time, allocate the countries so that students do two/four each.

### Answers:

#### **The Russian Federation**

1. Independence/nationalism ("self-determination").
2. Civic nationalist ("multinational"), centralisation/nationalism ("preserving the unity of the state").
3. Federal, conservative ("respecting the memory of our ancestors").

#### **Indonesia**

1. Freedom, social justice.
2. Improve public welfare, have a world based on justice, peace and freedom.
3. Socialist ("to improve public welfare, to educate the life of the people ... social justice"), liberal ("freedom").

#### **China**

1. Equality, unity and mutual assistance.
2. No information about future goals.
3. Unitary multinational state, civic nationalist ("of all its nationalities"), socialist ("relations of equality").

#### **Japan**

1. Peaceful cooperation, liberty.
2. Peace ("never again shall we be faced with the horrors of war...").
3. Liberalism ("liberty").

#### **Vietnam**

1. Unity ("unite millions as one"), patriotism, independence ("the spirit of self-reliance and self-improvement").
2. Build the country.
3. Socialism.

#### **Nepal**

1. Equality ("class, ethnicity, region and gender").
2. "Restructure the state", solve the country's problems relating to "class, ethnicity, region and gender".
3. Socialist ("class"), federal ("region"), civic nationalist ("ethnicity").

#### **Thailand**

1. Participation ("participation in the administration of the country"), accountability and transparency ("concretely check and cross-examine the use of the state power").
2. Encourage participation in the country's administration.
3. Democratic ("participation in the administration of the country"), liberal ("people's right and liberty", "cross-examine the use of the state power").

#### **East Timor**

1. Independence.
2. No information about future goals.
3. Liberal/socialist ("tyranny, oppression, social, cultural or religious domination"), civic nationalism ("social, cultural or religious domination and segregation").

## 6.1.4 – FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

### Preview

1. Brainstorm the meaning of “fundamental rights”.
  - Write students’ ideas on the board.
2. Discuss what rights students think are fundamental.
  - Write students’ ideas on the board.
  - Students read Text 6.1.4 A. Were their answers similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

1. Fundamental rights are rights that are considered to be more important than others because they protect citizens’ life, liberty and political participation. Fundamental rights are usually protected by the constitution.
2. Fundamental rights include freedom of expression, freedom of religious worship, freedom of assembly and freedom of movement.

### Activity

1. Students look back at their class values pyramid, and at the rights from the 2008 Myanmar Constitution on page 14.
2. In groups, students choose two rights to support each value on the pyramid.
3. Groups stick their rights around the values pyramid, and put these on the wall.
4. Students look at other groups’ rights. Are they similar, or did groups choose different rights?

#### Possible answers:

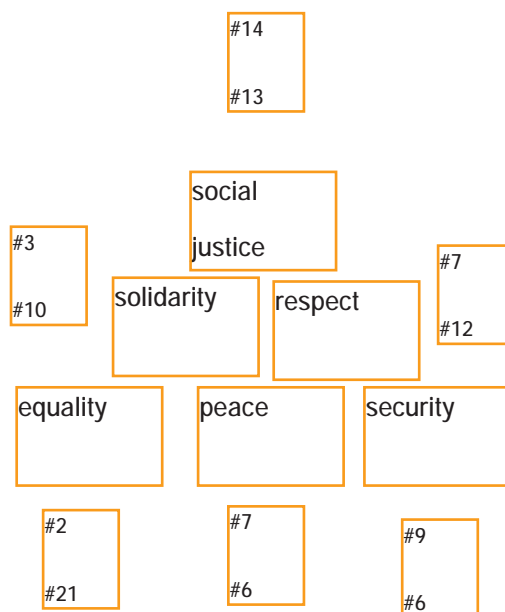
3. See example pyramid (right).
4. Some rights support several different values:
  - » Some values are hard to find rights that support them.
  - » It is easier to find rights that support the more important values.

### Discussion

- Students read Text 6.1.4 A and B.
- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

#### Possible answers:

1. Yes, because it makes sure that racist, violent or other extremist parties will never be able to gain political power.  
No, because banning political parties is a kind of censorship, which is undemocratic.
2. Yes, because it makes sure that racist or other extremist groups will not be able to use their democratic rights to incite hatred or violence.  
No, because banning some opinions is a kind of censorship, which is undemocratic.



## Discussion

- Students read Text 6.1.4 C and D.
- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. Yes, because racism, violence and other extremist ideologies always create instability and conflict, and so laws which reduce this would be effective in any country.  
No, because the rule of law is not effective in some countries, and so a “Hitler-proof” constitution would just be ignored.
2. Yes, because they can very easily lead to dictatorship and/or human rights abuses.  
No, because in some situations it is necessary for the government to make very quick decisions to protect the people from danger (even if this means suspending rights).

## Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the Focus on Myanmar. Clarify anything they don’t understand.

## Discussion

1. In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

#### 1. Answers may vary. Some suggestions:

- » Hate speech (e.g. racism or extreme ethno-nationalism that incites violence).
- » National security (e.g. military secrets)
- » During emergencies (e.g. if rumours in the media could cause panic or harm).

#### 2. Answers may vary. Some suggestions:

- » Extremist groups (e.g. racism or extreme ethno-nationalism that incites violence)
- » National security (e.g. violent or revolutionary armed groups).
- » During emergencies (e.g. if large groups of people could lead to high numbers of deaths or injuries like riots, bombings or earthquakes).

#### 3. Answers may vary. Some suggestions:

- » Hate speech (e.g. racism or extreme ethno-nationalism that incites violence).
- » National security (e.g. if one ethnic group is provoking others to violence).

## 6.1.5 – INSTITUTIONS AND OFFICES OF GOVERNMENT

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board
- Students read Text 6.1.5. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

Constitutions set the rules of how different institutions relate to each other and to the people. They do this by outlining the rights, responsibilities and decision-making processes of the different institutions of government.

### Activity

1. Students look at the diagram of the checks and balances in the US Constitution.
2. Individually or in pairs, students add the powers to the diagram.

#### Answers:

1. a
2. c
3. d
4. b
5. e
6. f

## 6.1.6 – AMENDING CONSTITUTIONS

### Preview

- Discuss the questions.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 6.1.6. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

1. Yes, through a process called amendment.
2. If the social and political situation changes, then it might be necessary to change some parts of the constitution to reflect those changes. For example, the United States Constitution gives everyone the right to keep weapons. The reason for this was to allow people to defend themselves from the British Army. This is no longer an important danger, so some people believe it is no longer necessary to be included in the constitution.

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students list issues that might create enough demand for constitutional change.

#### Possible answers:

- » National reconciliation.
- » A more democratic system.
- » Peace and stability.
- » Representation and autonomy of ethnic nationalities.
- » Protection of minority rights.
- » Protection of fundamental rights.
- » Promotion of social justice.

### Discussion

- Students read Text 6.1.6 B.
- In groups or as a class, students discuss referenda. Do they think it is a good decision-making method for making political changes?

#### Possible answers:

Yes, because it is a very democratic way to make decisions. If everyone has the opportunity to vote (not just politicians) then the decision will better reflect the will of the people.

No, because there could be problems with the vote. If people do not understand the issues, then the majority might vote for a decision that is bad for the country.

- » Because referenda include the whole country, if someone doesn't vote, this will be seen the same as a "no" vote. This might not be an accurate way of measuring what people want.
- » If people are not informed about how to vote, or if the vote is not free and fair, then the result will not reflect what the people really want.

## Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the *Focus on Myanmar*. Clarify anything they don't understand.

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. Empowerment – laws that increase people's opportunity to participate in decision-making that affects their lives.
  - » Co-operation – laws that help people work together and interact.
  - » Equality – laws that guarantee all citizens the same rights, such as an educational or health system that everyone has access to.
  - » Sustainability – laws that make sure that the needs of this generation do not limit the resources available to future generations.
  - » Security – laws that protect people from threats, such as disease, poverty or violence.
2. Protecting rights – laws to prevent human rights abuses.
  - » Dialogue – laws to promote increased dialogue, consensus and cooperation between different ethnic groups.
  - » Autonomy – laws to promote greater autonomy in ethnic areas.
  - » Justice – laws to grant amnesties to some people who make full apologies and punish people who abused human rights during violent conflicts.
  - » Peace building – laws to promote healing, reconciliation and coexistence among ethnic communities.
3. Participation – laws to give men and women an equal voice in decision-making. Laws to strengthen institutions that represent minority interests. Amendments that promote freedom of association, freedom of speech and political participation.
  - » Rule of law – laws to create legal frameworks that are fair, impartial and effective. Strengthen laws on human rights.
  - » Transparency – laws to make information directly accessible to the public.
  - » Effectiveness and efficiency – laws to improve processes and institutions so they meet needs while making the best use of resources.
  - » Accountability – laws to make sure that decision-makers in government, the private sector and civil society organisations are accountable to the public.
4. Answers will vary.

## 6.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF CONSTITUTIONS

### 6.2.1 – WHY ARE CONSTITUTIONS IMPORTANT?

#### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 6.2.1.A. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

- » Constitutions create stability by setting out the most basic rules about how government and politics work in a country.
- » Constitutions support checks and balances by making clear rules about the rights, responsibilities and powers of institutions.
- » Constitutions protect citizens' rights by setting clear rules about which areas the government doesn't have the authority to interfere in.
- » Constitutions can increase the effectiveness of a state by establishing an organisational chart for government to prevent waste and confusion.



## Activity

- Students read the preamble to South Africa's constitution. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Students look back at 1.3 (page 21) and 4.3 (page 72) and review the information about South Africa.
- Individually or in pairs or groups, students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. The preamble makes a clear reference to the injustice in South Africa's past and the need to work together for forgiveness and reconciliation.
2. The language used tells us that forgiveness and reconciliation are important parts of South Africa's hopes for the future.

## 6.2.2 – MAJORITY RULE AND MINORITY RIGHTS

### Preview

- Brainstorm the meanings of "majority rule" and "minority rights".
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 6.2.2. Were their ideas similar to the text?

### Possible answers:

Majority rule means that a decision is accepted if more than 50% of the decision makers vote for that decision.

Minority rights guarantee that if a majority wants to do something that would violate the rights of a minority, they will not be allowed to.

## Activity

- Students read the quote from the Myanmar Constitution. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs, students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. This section of the Constitution could be related to protecting religious and racial minorities from discrimination (by the majority).
2. **No, because:**
  - » Some minority religious groups have trouble getting permission to repair religious buildings or build new ones.
  - » Discrimination.
  - » Hate speech..
  - » Communal violence.

### Yes, because:

- » There is a lot of cultural diversity.
- » Some minority holidays are national holidays.

## 6.2.3 – MAJORITY RULE

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 6.2.3. Were their ideas similar to the text?

### Possible answers:

Majority rule is important in politics because majority voting is one of the most common/ effective decision making process for political decisions.

### Reflection

- Students think about the decision-making process they chose in 6.1.1 and answer the questions.
- Either:
  - a. Students discuss their ideas in groups.or
  - b. Students write their ideas in a reflective journal.

## 6.2.4 – MINORITY RIGHTS

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 6.2.4. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

Minority rights prevent laws, leaders or policies that could lead to the majority using its power to abuse the rights of minorities.

### Reflection

- Students think about the decision-making process they chose in 6.1.1 and answer the questions.
- Either:
  - a. Students discuss their ideas in groups.  
or
  - b. Students write their ideas in a reflective journal.

### Activity: The Sports Club

- Students read the scenario. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- In pairs or groups, students answer the questions.

#### Possible answers:

##### 1. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » Distributed to both groups, based on the size of the group.
- » Distributed to both groups equally.
- » Distributed to either one group or the other based on who has the most members.

##### 2. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » majority vote
- » consensus
- » representatives
- » permanent leader/decision maker

##### 3. Yes, because if they are not being treated fairly in the group, then they should have the right to start a new group to meet their needs. No, because if small groups are allowed to split from the main one, then it can lead to disunity.

##### 4. Voting should only be used after the group has tried to make a decision by consensus.

- » Before each vote, anyone who wants to explain their ideas to the group should be allowed to talk
- » Any vote that is won by less than 60% should be taken again after both sides have been allowed to discuss their ideas one more time.
- » The majority cannot decide to exclude the minority from taking part in the decision making process
- » The majority cannot change the rules of the voting process to favour them.

## Reflection

- Students analyse the previous activity. They answer the questions.
- Either:
  - a. Students discuss their ideas in groups.  
or
  - b. Students write their ideas in a reflective journal.  
or
  - c. Students write an essay. Some possible areas where majority rule and minority rights are seen in Myanmar politics are:
    - » Debates about amending the Constitution (e.g. the rules about the how seats are allocated in the Hluttaw, rules about who can hold certain positions in government).
    - » Debates about federalism (e.g. social, political and economic autonomy for minority ethnic states).
    - » Debates about secession (minorities' right to leave the union vs. the majority's desire for unity).
    - » Debates about religious minority rights (the position of Buddhism vs. equality and diversity).
    - » Debates about other minority rights (LGBT, disabled, stateless people etc.).

## 6.2.5 – ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

### Preview

- Brainstorm what students know about Myanmar's electoral system.
- Write students' ideas on the board.

### Possible answers:

- Myanmar has a single member district (first-past-the-post) system similar to the British electoral system.
- Students read Text 6.2.5.

## Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the Focus on Myanmar. Clarify anything they don't understand.

## Exercise

- Individually or in pairs or groups, students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. SMD is a majority rule system. There can only be one winner in each constituency. It often leads to governments dominated by one or two very popular parties.
2. PR is based more on minority rights. PR systems calculate representation in legislatures based on the percentage of votes that a party gets. For example, a small minority group that only got 5 percent of the vote could still get a seat in parliament and represent the interests of that group.

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

#### 1. SMD system advantages

- » It is easy for voters to understand.
- » It is fast for officials to count and announce votes.
- » It often leads to stable governments.

#### SMD system disadvantages

- » It can make some voters feel like there is no purpose to their vote, especially if people vote for a minority party.

#### PR system advantages

- » It reduces the amount of “wasted” votes.
- » Having more smaller parties in a legislature can increase political participation of minority groups.
- » It can lead to more compromise and cooperation in government.

#### PR system disadvantages

- » More ideological diversity can lead to more conflict in government.
- » More parties can make it hard to make decisions quickly.
- » It can lead deadlock if different parties in the legislature cannot negotiate an agreement.

2. Answers will vary.

## Activity: Constitutional Consultants

- Students read the scenario. Clarify anything they don't understand.

1. In groups of 4-6, students answer the questions.

2. Groups present their ideas to the class.

- This activity is likely to take a long time, so allow an entire lesson, if necessary.
- Encourage groups to divide the task, allocating one or two questions per group member.

## 6.3 CHAPTER 6 CASE STUDIES

### Exercise

- Students read the extract from the Sri Lankan Constitution. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs or groups, students answer the questions.

#### Possible answers:

##### 1. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » Minority religious rights are not very strong.
- » The constitution favours the majority religion.
- » Minority religions are not given the same position.

##### 2. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » Minority language rights are not very strong.
- » The majority language is the official language.
- » The secondary language is recognised but important texts are translated only from the official language.

### Exercise

- Students read the extract from the South African Constitution. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs or groups, students answer the questions.

#### Possible answers:

1. There is a conflict between the right to own property (as mostly the whites do) and the right to be compensated for past discrimination (blacks having their land stolen). This is a very difficult situation for the government to deal with fairly without causing conflict.
2. Minority rights are important in South Africa because it has a very diverse population and a history of racial discrimination. Minority rights are also controversial in South Africa because the minority white population used to have all the power. They abused the rights of the majority black population during Apartheid, so minority rights are used to protect the white community from revenge and/or discrimination. This situation shows a conflict between justice, equality, majority rule and minority rights.

## Exercise

- Students read the extract from the Malaysian Constitution. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs or groups, students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. There is a conflict between the Yang di-Pertuan Agong having the power to appoint senators in the legislature and a duty to protect the special position of the majority ethnic group. This could lead to choosing senators who are pro-Malay and anti-minority rights.
2. **Answers may vary. Suggested answers:**
  - » It shows a situation where minority rights are not very strong.
  - » It shows that minorities do not have the same rights to political participation and representation as the majority ethnic group.
  - » It shows that the legislatures are appointed in a way that favours the majority group.

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students compare the situations in the three countries to the situation in Myanmar.

### Possible answers:

#### **Sri Lanka – Similarities**

##### **Religion – The 2008 Constitution states that:**

- » The Union (the Myanmar state) recognises the special position of Buddhism as the religion of the great majority of the citizens of the Union.
- » The Union also recognises Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Animism as the religions existing in the Union when the constitution was written.
- » The Union may assist and protect the religions it recognises.

##### **Language – The 2008 Constitution states that:**

- » Myanmar language is the official language.
- » The Union shall assist to develop language, literature, fine arts and culture of the National races.
- » Citizens have the right to develop their religion and customs without prejudice.

#### **South Africa – Similarities**

- » Forced relocation has been a social issue in both countries.
- » Both countries have experienced ethnic conflict and now face a difficult process of reconciliation.

#### **Malaysia – Similarities**

- » Some of the members of the legislature in Myanmar are appointed, rather than elected.



# Unit 2 Review

## Comprehension

- Students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

**1. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:**

- » Every state has three parts (people, territory and institutions).
  - » States have sovereignty.
  - » States have the monopoly of legitimate violence in a territory.
  - » States are a set of political institutions.
- 2.** Nations (and ethnic groups) usually refer to a community that shares the same culture, language and history. However, nation usually refers to a community who works and lives together. Ethnic groups might be spread across the whole world. Nations share political goals and interests, ethnic groups might not. A nation can contain many ethnic groups.
- 3.** Ethnic identity is related to the feeling of belonging to an ethnic group. Civic identity is based on being a citizen of a state.
- 4.** Ethno-nationalism is based on ethnic identity. Ethno-nationalists use the symbols, history and traditions of an ethnic group to attract support.
- 5.** Civic nationalism is based on civic identity. Civic nationalists are more likely to use civic symbols and values to promote cooperation, compromise and unity.
- 6.** Laws apply to every citizen, while policies are limited to the government that creates them. Other people may disagree with or ignore them. Laws are more permanent. A government must follow a specific process to change or cancel a law. Policies, on the other hand, might be different with every new government.
- 7.** Checks and balances means that different branches of government have the ability to limit each other's power so that the three branches' power are balanced (or at least, more equal). It also forces these branches to work together because they depend on each other.
- 8.** Constitutional courts are responsible for checking that laws passed by the government do not conflict with the basic laws of the constitution.
- 9.** Decentralisation is when power is taken away from central government and given to local governments.

**10.** A federal state is a political system where the rights and responsibilities of government are divided between one central government and several regional governments.

In unitary states, the central government is much more powerful (compared to regional/local governments) than it is in federal states..

**11.** A constitution is a document that outlines the structure and powers of government. It often includes:

- » the basic values of the state
- » the rights, responsibilities and powers of institutions of government
- » the process of how to make, implement and enforce laws
- » the fundamental rights of citizens

**12.** Emergency powers usually:

- » means all decision making power goes to the executive
- » means fundamental rights are temporarily limited or cancelled.
- » are only used during times of national crisis.

**13.** Minority rights are important because they allow governments to be as democratic as possible, without abusing the basic rights of its citizens. Minority rights make sure that a small majority cannot make decisions that:

- » cannot be changed in future (e.g. establishing a dictatorship).
- » deny minorities the right to take part in the decision making process.
- » lead to discrimination or human rights abuses against minority groups.

**14.** In an SMD system, there is only one legislative "seat" per constituency. Voters vote for a candidate (not a party). The candidate with the largest number of votes joins the legislature.

**15.** PR systems are based on multimember districts (MMDs), where there is more than one seat for each constituency. Voters vote for a party (not a candidate). The party chooses which of their members will take the seats for that constituency.







# Chapter 7: The Media

## 7.1 – THE MEDIA AND POLITICS

### 7.1.1 – PUBLIC OPINION

#### Preview

1. Brainstorm the meaning of “public opinion”.
  2. Discuss why it is important in politics.
- Write students’ ideas on the board.
  - Students read Text 7.1.1. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

1. Public opinion is how people feel about a political actor (e.g. politician, party, or government), or an issue, decision, or event.
2. Public opinion reflects how popular a politician, government, decision, etc. is. In a democracy, being unpopular with the public can cause the ruling party to lose an election and lose their power.

#### Exercise

- Individually or in pairs, students answer the questions.

#### Possible answers:

1. When political or research organisations give out questionnaires to see how people feel about an issue.
2. Public opinion polls are a way of measuring public opinion. This allows politicians to know which policies or ideas are popular with the people so they can increase their popularity by supporting these policies and ideas.

#### Activity

1. Students look at the timeline on pages 162-164.
- In pairs or groups, they identify events where public opinion affected government decisions.

#### Possible answers:

- » 1974 U Thant Affair
  - » 1988 Demonstrations
  - » 1990 Elections
  - » 2007 Saffron Revolution
  - » 2011 Myitsone Dam
  - » 2012 Letpadaung Mine Protests
  - » 2012 Buddhist-Muslim conflicts
  - » 2012 By-elections
2. Students identify events where government decisions affected public opinion.

#### Possible answers:

- » 1920 University boycott
- » 1930 Founding of the Dobama Asiayone
- » 1930-31 Saya San Rebellion
- » 1946-1947 Panglong Conferences
- » 1961 State Religion Act
- » 1962 Military Coup
- » 1974 Constitution rewritten
- » 1974 U Thant Affair
- » 1988 Demonstrations

## Activity: Opinion Polling

- Students look back at the questionnaire on Page 53, and at the example questionnaire below. Point out that:
  - » These all are yes/no questions.
  - » Every *yes* answer means that they agree with one side of the argument.
  - » Every *no* answer means that they agree with the other side of the argument.
- 1. In groups, students choose one of the issues discussed in this book to survey the class about. This can be:
  - » An ideological issue (e.g. are they more socialist or liberal?).
  - » An identity issue (do they favour a nation-state or state nation more?).
  - » A institutional issue (e.g. do they want more regional or national decision-making?).
- Groups develop a questionnaire, with 5-10 questions on their issue.
- This needs to be a new questionnaire. It should not use the issues and questions in either of the examples (unless they really want to focus on those issues).
- 2. Groups survey the whole class. Each group member goes around the class asking the survey questions and recording the results.
- After the answers are completed, groups count up the results.
- Based on these results, they analyse the class opinion on the issue.
- 3. Groups present their survey results and analysis to the class. This presentation should include:
  - aim (what they are trying to find out)
  - results of the questionnaires
  - analysis/conclusion (what the results tell us about the ideology/identity/opinions of the class)

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, analyse the previous activity. Students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

#### 1. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » The class is more socialist than liberal.
- » The class is more ethno-nationalist than civic nationalist.
- » The class is more in favour of decentralisation.

#### 2. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » family
- » education
- » reading newspapers, watching TV news
- » talking about politics
- » personal reflection and reasoning

#### 1. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » gender
- » age
- » race/ethnicity
- » religion
- » class
- » wealth
- » education

## 7.1.2 – ADVANTAGES AND DANGERS OF PUBLIC OPINION

### Preview

- Discuss the questions.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 7.1.2. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

**1. Answers may vary. Suggested answers.**

- » Measuring public opinion helps the government to make policies that reflect the concerns of the people.
- » Governments can see how popular their actions and policies are.
- » It can help governments to make difficult decisions about different policy options.

**2. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:**

- » Measurement tools can be inaccurate or biased.
- » People might not understand social issues very well.
- » Public opinion can change very easily. It can be manipulated through propaganda and censorship.

### Activity

- Individually or in pairs, students classify the points about public opinion into advantages and dangers.

#### Answers:

**Advantages – 1, 3, 5**

**Dangers – 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9**

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss how much public opinion should influence government decisions.

## 7.1.3 – THE MASS MEDIA

### Preview

- Discuss what kinds of media students read, listen to or watch.
- List the types of media (e.g. websites, newspapers, radio) on the board.
- Under each one, list the specific sources they use, e.g:

#### **Newspapers**

- » Eleven Daily News
- » Myanmar Times
- » Bangkok Post
- » The Voice Weekly Journal
- » The New Light of Myanmar

#### **Radio**

- » Shwe FM
- » Mandalay FM

#### **Television**

- » MRTV4
- » MWD

#### **Internet**

- » Facebook
- » Thit Htoo Lwin

- Students read Text 7.1.3.



## 7.1.4 – THE MAIN ROLES OF THE MASS MEDIA

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 7.1.4. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

- » entertain people.
- » provide information
- » report the news
- » analyse current events

### Activity

- Students look at the different roles of the media (pictures a-f). Clarify anything they don't understand.
1. Individually or in pairs or groups, students rank these roles in order of importance to them (what they want from the media).
  2. They rank them in order of what the average newspaper reader might consider important.

#### Possible answers:

1. Entertaining people. (a)
  2. Reporting the news. (b)
  3. Analysing the news. (d)
  4. Identifying problems. (c)
  5. Setting the agenda. (e)
  6. Making profit. (f)
3. They rank them in order of what a newspaper owner or editor would consider important.

#### Possible answers:

1. Making profit. (f)
2. Setting the agenda. (e)
3. Entertaining people. (a)
4. Reporting the news. (b)
5. Analysing the news. (d)
6. Identifying problems. (c)

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, analyse the activity.
- Prompt students with these questions:
  - » Which was most important?
  - » Why?
  - » Which was least important?
  - » Why?

#### Possible answers:

- » Newspapers care more about profit. This is because private newspapers are businesses so making profit is the most important thing for them.
- » Newspaper readers care most about entertainment. This is because most people read about sports and celebrities and do not care about other issues as much.
- » Some newspaper readers care about analysing the news most, because now that there is more freedom in the media, people want to know what is really happening in politics.
- » Setting the agenda and making profit are very important for newspapers. This is because mass media organisations try to be as powerful as possible.
- » Analysing the news is very important. This is because understanding the social and political situation is necessary for civic participation. A lot of newspapers don't feel this way since they focus on sports and other non-controversial issues.

## 7.1.5 – THE IMPORTANCE OF A FREE MEDIA

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 7.1.5. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

Freedom of the press is important because it promotes transparency and accountability in politics. It allows the media to publish information about the government so that people can hold them accountable. Without it, any government could do whatever they want and the public would never know about it. Freedom of the press also allows the media to inform people about important issues during elections and inform the government about public opinion.

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

#### Possible answers:

##### 1. Answers may vary. Suggested answers.

- » Reporting on the law making process so it is open to the public.
- » Reporting on the policies and acts of the executive to make sure the people are informed.
- » Reporting on court proceedings and other legal activities so it is open to the public.
- » Reporting on the police, military and bureaucracy in case there is corruption or rights abuses.

##### 2. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » The policies of different candidates or parties.
- » The performance of the current government.

##### 3. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » How popular they are (both as a government and as a party).
- » How popular their policies are/have been.
- » How much the media is informing the people about any mismanagement, corruption or waste in government.
- » How popular the opposition is.
- » What policies the opposition is proposing.

## 7.1.6 – FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 7.1.6. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

- » The government must not attempt to control the content of the media.
- » The government must not be able to control, intimidate or punish journalists.
- » Laws that protect freedom of the press must be enforced.
- » The government must not censor the media.

### Exercise

- Individually or in pairs or groups, students list threats to freedom of the press.

#### Possible answers:

- » If the majority of the media is owned by the government (or a few big businesses).
- » Harassment and intimidation of journalists.
- » Censorship laws.

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the relationship between freedom of the press and democracy.

#### Possible answers:

- » Main functions of the mass media are to cover events, gather and spread information and report on the behaviour of the government. This promotes transparency.
- » The information about government that the people get from the media helps them to make decisions about the performance of the government. If people think that the government is doing badly, they can hold them accountable, e.g. through voting in elections.
- » The media also gives people the opportunity to express their opinions in public (participation) and monitor the government and businesses for corruption or waste (the rule of law and good governance).

## 7.1.7 – CENSORSHIP

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 7.1.7. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

No, because this is censorship. Censorship weakens democracy and leads to authoritarianism.

Yes, but only in certain situations. These include:

- » In the interests of national security or public safety.
- » To prevent disorder or crime.
- » To protect public health or morals.
- » To protect the reputation or the rights of others.

## Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the *Focus on Myanmar*. Clarify anything they don't understand.

## Activity: The Pros and Cons of Censorship

- Students read the arguments about censorship. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs, they classify them into arguments for or against censorship.

### Answers:

**For** – 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 15

**Against** – 1, 4, 6, 8, 12, 13, 14, 16

## 7.2 MEDIA AND GOVERNMENT

### 7.2.1 – PRIVATE VS. STATE-CONTROLLED MEDIA

#### Preview

- Discuss who should control the media.
- Write students' ideas on the board.

#### Possible answers:

- » Government, because the media (like education or health care) is so important that only governments have the resources to manage it effectively.
  - » Private individuals, because this avoids censorship and control of the media by the government.
  - » Both, because this avoids the dangers of government controlled and private media
- Students read Text 7.2.1.

### Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the *Focus on Myanmar*. Clarify anything they don't understand.

## 7.2.2 – STATE-CONTROLLED MEDIA

### Preview

1. Discuss “state-controlled media”. Students list which state-controlled media sources they read, watch, or listen to.
- Some examples of state-controlled media in Myanmar are:
  - » Kyemon
  - » Myanma Alin/New Light of Myanmar
  - » MRTV
2. Students discuss why they read, watch or listen to these media sources.

#### Possible answers:

- » They are easily available.
  - » They have good sports news.
  - » They are cheap.
- Students read text 7.2.2.

### Exercise

- Individually or in pairs, students list the advantages and the dangers of state-controlled media.

#### Possible answers:

1. False or biased information can be controlled by the government.
  - » Making the media accountable to the government can prevent dangerous or misleading information from spreading.
  - » State-controlled media is more likely to look at important social issues or public debates, not just what is popular (e.g. entertainment).
2. State control makes it easier for the government to censor the news or produce propaganda.
  - » A state-controlled media cannot provide transparency in politics as well as private media.
  - » It is much more difficult for journalists to expose government waste, corruption or incompetence if the media is controlled by the government.

## 7.2.3 – PRIVATE MEDIA

### Preview

1. Discuss “private media”. Students list which private media sources they read, watch, or listen to.
  - Some example of private media in Myanmar are:
    - » Eleven Media
    - » The Irrawaddy
    - » Mizzima
2. Students discuss why they read, watch or listen to these media sources.

#### Possible answers:

- » They are more critical of the government.
  - » They focus on important social issues.
  - » They are more interesting.
- Students read text 7.2.3.

### Exercise

- Individually or in pairs, students list the advantages and the dangers of private media.

#### Possible answers:

1. Private media is more likely to protect freedom of expression, transparency and accountability.
  - » An independent press can help limit corruption and inefficiency in government.
  - » Private newspapers who want to sell a lot of copies reflect the opinion of the largest section of society. This means that the people set the agenda for the news rather than the government.
2. The media may focus on stories that are popular rather than socially important.
  - » Most of the media may come to be controlled by a few large corporations. These may ensure all of their media sources (newspapers, TV channels, etc.) share and promote the same ideology, which reduces pluralism.
  - » A free private media may spread misinformation, prejudice or other harmful ideas.
  - » They have no responsibility to do what is best for the public.
  - » They can be less accountable than state-run media.

## Activity: What Is “News”, and What Is Not?

1. Students collect different newspapers and bring them to class.
  - Encourage them to bring in both state-controlled and private newspapers.
2. In groups, they go through at least three different newspapers and list the topics covered,
  - Groups identify the differences (if any) in the topics covered in private and state-controlled newspapers.
  - Groups complete the table.

Possible answers:

Newspaper Title	Headline	Headline Topic	Newspaper close to government or more independent?
The State’s Right	Minister Opens Orphanage	development	close to government
The Critical Voice	Minister in Bribery Scandal	corruption	independent
Mingalaba!	Football Player Marries Pop Star	celebrity gossip	private, but close to government

## Reflection

- In pairs or groups, students discuss the advantages and disadvantages of state-controlled and private media.
  - or**
- Students write a short essay outlining their opinions about state-controlled and private media.



## 7.2.4 – MEDIA MANAGEMENT

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.

#### Possible answers:

- » It can affect how popular or unpopular they are.
  - » It can express the views of voters so politicians can understand their needs and concerns better. This helps them to propose more popular policies.
  - » It can offer politicians a way of making information (e.g. about their values or policies) available to the public.
  - » It provides a platform for political discussion between the public, journalists and politicians.
- Students read Text 7.2.4.

### Exercise

- Individually or in pairs, students answer the question.

#### Possible answers:

Media management is important for politicians because it allows them to increase their popularity with voters. Politicians can limit information that makes them unpopular, and increase information that makes them more popular. In a democracy, politicians can use media management to increase the number of votes they get in elections.

## 7.2.5 – SPIN

### Preview

- Discuss the meaning of "spin".
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 7.2.5. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

Spin is when the government manipulates the media to make themselves look better.

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students list the dangers of media management.

#### Possible answers:

- » Can lead to censorship.
- » Can be used to direct blame from the government to minority groups.
- » Can reduce cooperation and trust between different political parties.
- » Can lead to manipulation of public opinion.
- » Can be used to cover up dishonesty and corruption in government.
- » Can weaken the checks and balances that a free media puts on government.

## Activity

- Students read the two articles. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- In pairs or groups, students answer the questions.

»

### Possible answers:

1. The first is more sympathetic to the police, while the second is more sympathetic to the protesters.
2. I felt sympathy for the police and angry at the protesters.
3. I felt sympathy for the protesters and angry with the police.

### 4. Emotional Language

- » Text 1: "Violent rioting"
- » Text 2: "beating of a 13 year-old boy"  
Leaving some facts out
- » Text 1: 'threatened to set fire to vehicles and buildings'
- » Text 2: running to escape two men"  
Descriptions of actors
- » Text 1: "The police tried to maintain order",  
"who seemed to be starting the violence"
- » Text 2: "charged into crowd with batons",  
"this trouble started with the unfair arrest and mistreatment of a 13 year-old boy"

#### Headlines

- » Text 1: "Violent youths"
- » Text 2: "police brutality"

### 5. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » To influence public opinion to be more supportive of the police/government
  - » To increase sympathy for the police/government.
6. To influence public opinion to be more critical of the police/government
    - » To reduce the popularity of the police/government.
  7. No. More information such as witness statements, police records, interviews with the actors and reports from independent journalists would be necessary to decide which of the two reports is more accurate.
- ### 8. Yes. For example, it is possible to:
- » be critical of the youth and the police.
  - » be critical of neither.
  - » blame a third group for the disturbance (foreigners, communists, etc.).

# Chapter 8: Civil Society

## 8.1 CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

### 8.1.1 – CIVIL SOCIETY

#### Preview

- Brainstorm the meaning of “civil society”.
- Write students’ ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 8.1.1 A. Were their ideas similar to the text?

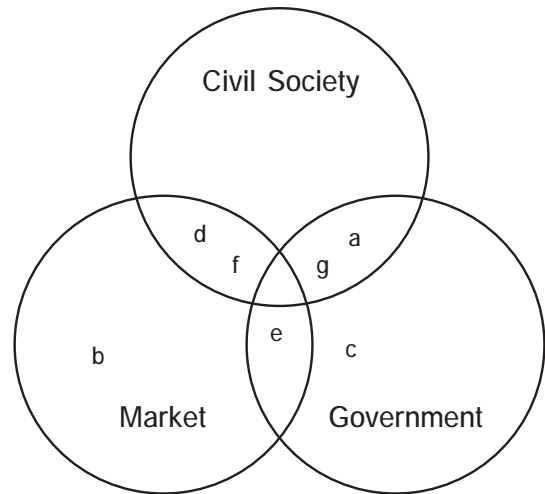
#### Possible answers:

Civil society is the area of social and political activity carried out by non-governmental actors.

#### Activity

- Individually or in pairs, students put the activities on the Venn diagram.

Answers:



## Discussion

- Students read Text 8.1.1.B.
- 1. In groups or as a class, students list the CSOs they know that are working in their communities.
- 2. For each one, they list the issues that CSO is working on.

## Activity: *Our Organisation, Part 1*

1. Individually, students choose a social issue that they consider important.
2. Students form groups based on their choice of issue.
  - Groups choose a specific issue to focus on.
    - » This should be realistic, e.g. “reduce the amount of plastic burned in the community” rather than “prevent global warming”.
3. Groups identify one core goal, e.g.
  - » Health – to create a community where all people have access to affordable and high quality health care.
  - » Education – to create a community where all people have access to affordable and high quality education.
  - » Human rights – to create a community where all people are safe in their homes, schools and places of work.
  - » Community development – to create a prosperous community where all people have equal opportunities to develop their personal, professional and social abilities.
  - » The environment – to create a sustainable community that protects and values the environment.
  - » Gender equality – to create a community where all women and girls make their own decisions and have control over their lives.
4. Groups calculate their size – one hundred members for each group member.
  - Groups calculate their budget – 1,000,000 kyat (or 1000 dollars or 30,000 baht) for each group member.
    - » e.g. A group of seven would have 700 members and a budget of 7 million kyat).
  - Groups record and keep their goal statements, size and budget, as they will use this later in the chapter.

## 8.1.2 – THE IMPORTANCE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

### Preview

- Discuss why civil society is important.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 8.1.2. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

- » Civil society organisations are a platform for groups to express their needs and interests to the government.
- » CSOs inform people about social and political issues so that it is more difficult for the government to ignore them.
- » A strong civil society shows that citizens are actively participating in politics.
- » Independent CSOs often promote transparency and accountability and act as checks and balances on government power.
- » Civil society can play a very important role in the transition from authoritarianism to democracy.

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

#### Possible answers:

1. Answers will vary.

**2. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:**

- » Fewer services for poor and marginalised communities.
- » The health, education and development situation would be worse.
- » The state would be more dominant.
- » Less advocacy for social justice and human rights.

**3. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:**

- » Fewer checks and balances on government power.
- » Less transparency and accountability of government power.
- » Less political participation.

## 8.1.3 – COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANISATIONS

### Preview

- Brainstorm the meaning of “community-based organisation”.
- Write students’ ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 8.1.3. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

Community-based organisations (CBOs) are grassroots civil society organisations. CBOs bring community members together to provide services in areas such as health, education and social welfare.

### Exercise

- In pairs or groups, students list the strengths and weaknesses of community-based organisations.

#### Possible answers:

##### **Strengths**

- » They are independent because their community finances most of their activities.
- » Their community is directly involved in the planning and implementation of their projects.
- » Their local knowledge means that CBO activities can address the concerns and needs of the community.

##### **Weaknesses:**

- » Their funding is limited because the community finances most of their activities.
- » They often lack the resources and skills that bigger organisations have.
- » Because all of their members come from the community, they might not be able to provide the same services (medical, educational, technical) that more professional CSOs can.
- » They do not always represent the needs, values or goals of the whole community.

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

## 8.1.4 – NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

### Preview

- Brainstorm the meaning of “non-governmental organisation”.
- Write students’ ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 8.1.4. Were their answers similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are nonprofit organisations that operate independently from governments. They may operate at a local, national or international level.

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.
1. Make a class list of NGOs working in students' communities.
  2. For each one, they list the services that the NGO provides.
- If there are a large number, choose between six and eight organisations and list their services.
3. Discuss the challenges faced by those NGOs.
  4. Discuss the goals of those NGOs and how successful they are at achieving them.

## Exercise

- Students read Text 8.1.4.B.
- Individually or in pairs, students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. NGOs work on public issues such as public health, the environment, human rights and development. If the government is failing in these sectors, NGOs might challenge them on this.
  - » If NGOs are concerned with areas in which government performance is lacking, they often criticise government policies. This means that their activities can be quite political.
  - » Advocacy NGOs campaign via the media, awareness raising and through directly engaging with political actors to call for social change. This can include politically sensitive issues such as human rights, social justice or environmental protection.
  - » NGOs often have better local knowledge and networks than state actors. This helps them to provide goods and services in areas that the state cannot or will not work.
2. NGOs work on public issues such as public health, the environment, human rights and development. This work can support the work of the government in these areas.
  - » Operational or service NGOs work directly with beneficiaries by providing services such as emergency relief, development assistance, medical aid or food to people who need them.
  - » Many NGOs provide services that are not adequately provided by governments.
  - » NGOs can provide services and goods to isolated and war affected areas that government workers cannot access.

### 3. Disadvantages:

- » NGOs can be less independent if their funding comes from the government or international organisations.
- » The local community is not always directly involved in the planning and implementation of their projects. This means that some NGOs might not deliver services that meet the needs of the community.
- » Many NGOs lack the local knowledge that CBOs have. This means that their activities might not address the concerns and needs of the community.

### Advantages:

- » NGOs have more resources and funding than CBOs. This means they can provide goods and services on a larger scale.
- » NGOs can provide the professional services (medical, educational, technical) that CBOs are not qualified to provide.
- » NGOs can advocate for marginalised communities on a national or international level. CBOs can rarely do this.
- » They are less likely to take sides in local conflicts or favour one section of the community.

## Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the *Focus on Myanmar*. Clarify anything they don't understand.

## Exercise

1. In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

### Answers:

1. The '88 Generation Students' Group.
2. The Free Funeral Service Society  
Local Resource Centre.
3. KESAN.

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

#### 1. Answers will vary. Points to elicit:

- » Advocacy NGOs are more important because they are trying to promote large scale change in the social, legal or political situation.
- » Service NGOs are more important because they are directly providing services and goods that are needed by the community.

#### 2. Answers will vary. Points to elicit:

- » Advocacy NGOs are more likely to challenge the government on issues such as human rights, gender equality or environmental sustainability.
- » Service NGOs are more likely to challenge the government if they criticise the government for not providing a service well.
- » Service NGOs are less likely to challenge a government if they provide a service that the government does not have the resources or capacity to deliver well.



## 8.1.5 – SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

### Preview

1. Brainstorm the meaning of “social movement”.
  - Write students’ ideas on the board.
2. List social movements students know. These can be regional, national or international movements.
  - Students read Text 8.1.5. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answer:

1. Social movements are groups of people who work together on large social issues. These might include rights issues, environmental issues or anything that affects large sections of society.
2. Answers will vary.

### Exercise

- Individually or in pairs or groups, students list the strengths and weaknesses of social movements.

#### Possible answers:

##### **Strengths:**

- » Social movements are often bigger and more powerful than individual CBOs or NGOs.
- » Social movements focus on issues that affect large sections of society, so they promote solidarity among many different organisations.
- » Many social movements rely on grassroots support and bottom-up power. They want to create social change, rather than just influence the government.

##### **Weaknesses:**

- » Social movements can be less organised than other CSOs.
- » They often do not have clear leadership, main offices or other features of NGOs.

## 8.1.6 – DIFFERENT KINDS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 8.1.6. A. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

Land rights, human rights, democracy, peace and reconciliation, sustainable development.

### Exercise

- Individually or in pairs or groups, students make a list of issue-specific movements in Myanmar, both currently and historically.

#### Possible answers:

- » Myitsone Dam opposition movement.
- » Dawei Port Project opposition movement.
- » Letpadaung copper mine opposition movement.
- » Shwe Gas Project opposition movement.

### Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the *Focus on Myanmar*. Clarify anything they don't understand.

## Exercise

- Students read Text 8.1.6. B.
- Individually or in pairs or groups, students make a list of generic movements in Myanmar, both currently and historically.

### Possible answers:

- » Pro-democracy movement
- » Women's rights movement
- » Environmental movement
- » Labour rights movement
- » LGBT rights movement

## Exercise

- Students read the table of Myanmar CSOs and descriptions of their activities. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs, students match the names of the groups with the activities they do.
- Note: the organisations in this activity are not real.

### Answers:

1. a
2. c
3. f
4. h
5. e
6. g
7. b
8. d

## 8.2 THE WORK OF CSOs

### 8.2.1 – INSIDER AND OUTSIDER GROUPS

#### Preview

- Brainstorm the meanings of “insider group” and “outsider group”.
- Write students’ ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 8.2.1.A. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

1. Insider groups have a close relationship with the government. They can regularly communicate with politicians because they are very powerful.
2. Outsider groups usually represent groups who have less political power. These groups do not usually have the ability to directly communicate to the government. They often use indirect strategies to put pressure on the government.

#### Exercise

- Individually or in pairs, students answer the questions.

#### Possible answers:

1. Wealth (e.g. big businesses).
  - » Status (e.g. closeness to the government.
  - » Knowledge (e.g. information about important industries or sectors).
2. Insider groups put direct pressure on policy makers. This allows them to represent their interests and concerns more effectively than groups who cannot communicate with the government as easily. The most popular ways that insider groups try to influence the government include:
  - » Talking directly to government officials.
  - » Helping with the law making process.
  - » Warning legislators of a bill's possible effects on the groups they are representing.
  - » Persuading influential constituents to contact a legislator's office.
  - » Donating money.
  - » Supporting candidates.

#### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the question.

#### Possible answers:

Yes, because they give some groups much more political influence than ordinary citizens. Governments are often more influenced by powerful groups than by the needs of the people.

No, because they promote pluralism and they are the result of freedom of association. They can make the government more responsive to people’s needs and concerns.

## Exercise

- Students read Text 8.2.1.B.
- Individually or in pairs, students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. Strength: members
  - » Status: grassroots support, public opinion and media influence
  - » Knowledge: skills/qualifications of its members
2. Outsider groups try to gain public support and sympathy for their goals and their activities by carrying out information campaigns, organising demonstrations or creating petitions. Most of these groups try to influence the mass media into giving more attention to the issues they focus on.

## Activity

- Individually or in pairs, students put the phrases and statements into the table.

### Answers:

	<b>Insider Groups</b>	<b>Outsider Groups</b>
<b>Closeness to government</b>	access to policy-makers	no or limited access to policy-makers
<b>Use of the media</b>	(often) little	high
<b>Goals</b>	(often) moderate goals	(often) radical goals
<b>Support from...</b>	mostly elite	mostly grassroots

## Discussion

1. In groups, students list the factors that can make a CSO powerful, successful or effective.
  - Make a class list on the board.

### Possible answers:

- » Wealth/funding
  - » Size (members, resources, networks)
  - » Style of organisation and leadership
  - » Ideology
  - » Grassroots support
  - » Closeness to the government
  - » Skills/qualifications of its members.
2. Groups identify a CBO, NGO or social movement in Myanmar they are familiar with.
    - They identify three factors that affect how powerful the group is.
    - Groups present their ideas to the class.

## Reflection

- Individually or in pairs, students rank the factors in order of importance for a CSO's success.
- Discuss what things they notice about their lists.

### Possible answers:

- » Answers will vary.

## 8.2.2 – CSO STRATEGIES

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 8.2.2.A. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

**CSOs try to influence the government to make or change policies that meet the needs and concerns of the groups they are representing. Some strategies to influence the government include:**

- » advocacy campaigns
- » boycotts
- » awareness-raising and education
- » network-building
- » lobbying government
- » organising letter-writing campaigns
- » demonstrations and strikes
- » influencing public opinion through the media

### Discussion

1. In groups or as a class, students discuss the question.

#### Possible answers:

Yes, because lobbyists have more power to influence government than other groups in society. Lobbyists are often not transparent. They often represent groups who are undemocratic. Lobbying can be seen as influence based on wealth.

No, because lobbying is a legitimate part of democratic pluralism and is protected by freedom of association. Lobbying is another way for government to hear relevant opinions.

### Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the Focus on Myanmar. Clarify anything they don't understand.

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

#### Possible answers:

1. The Burma Rivers Network sent a letter to the Chinese government requesting that Chinese companies in Myanmar do environmental and social impact assessments.
  - » The president of CPI responded by warning that stopping the construction could lead to legal action and has been putting pressure on the Myanmar government to restart the project ever since.
2.
  - » Burma Rivers Network – successful (project was suspended)/unsuccessful (the results of the impact assessment were not released)
  - » The president of CPI – unsuccessful (the project is still suspended despite his threats).

## Discussion

- Students read Text 8.2.2.B.
- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. Disabled persons, youth and children, sex workers, some ethnic and religious minorities, victims of conflict, internally displaced people, LGBT communities, victims of land grabbing
2. Answers will vary.
3. In 2007, 12 leaders from Kachin State asked General Than Shwe and the Ministry of Electric Power to cancel the project. (not effective)  
The BRN also asked companies to release information publicly, and to consider opinions of affected communities in decision making processes. (not effective)

## Exercise

- Students read Texts 8.2.2 C and D
- Individually or in pairs, students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. Lobbying and advocacy.
2. Advocacy, demonstrations and strikes.

## Focus on Myanmar

- Students read the Focus on Myanmar. Clarify anything they don't understand.

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

#### 1. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » Protests against the government's decision to withdraw new currency notes (trying to get a change of economic policies)
- » Student protests against the police (trying to strengthen the rule of law and accountability)
- » Larger protests involving government workers, monks, air force and navy personnel, teachers and hospital staff (trying to get a change of government)
- » Farmers joining the demonstrations (trying to get a change of economic policies)
- » Mass demonstrations across Myanmar involving different ethnic and religious groups, students and workers (trying to get a change of government)
- » Demonstrations and events around the world are held every 8th August (encouraging people to remember 8888)

#### 2. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » A general strike began on 8 August 1988 (trying to get a change of government)
- » Lawyers in Mandalay Division organised a strike committee (trying to get multi-party democracy and human rights)
- » A village strike involving 2,000 people (trying to get change of economic policies)

## Reflection

- Individually or in pairs, students answer the question.

### Possible answers:

Yes, because these groups also have the right to protest against policies and laws that negatively affect them.

No, because these groups provide important services to the people, and if they are not available this could deny children their education (teachers); lead to violence or crime (police) or cause unnecessary death or illness (doctors).

## Activity

1. In groups, students identify events in the timeline on pages 162-164 that have involved civil society actors.
2. Groups decide which CSO strategies were used during these events.

### Possible answers:

- » 1930 Founding of the Dobama Asiayone Strategies – lobbying, advocacy, demonstrations.
  - » 1936 The second university student strike Strategies – advocacy, demonstrations, strikes
  - » 1938 1300 Revolution Strategies – advocacy, demonstrations, strikes.
  - » 1948 Ethnic minority alliances Strategies – lobbying, advocacy.
  - » 1958, 1963 Peace talks Strategies – lobbying, advocacy.
  - » 1988 Demonstrations Strategies – advocacy, demonstrations, strikes
  - » 2008 Cyclone Nargis Strategies – lobbying, advocacy
  - » 2011 Myitsone Dam Strategies – lobbying, advocacy, demonstrations
  - » 2012 Letpadaung mine protests Strategies – advocacy, demonstrations
  - » 2013 Nationwide ceasefire negotiations Strategies – lobbying, advocacy
- Groups present their lists to the class.

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. Answers will vary.
2. Answers will vary.



## 8.2.3 – CSOs AND SOCIETY

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 8.2.3. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

Good for society: because they support democratic pluralism and give marginalised groups an opportunity to promote/defend their interests.

Bad for society: because powerful CSOs have a lot of power to influence government, even though they are not elected or accountable to anyone.

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

#### Possible answers:

#### 3. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » CSOs improve participation, but in an unequal way. Powerful insider groups have much more power than outsider groups. This is undemocratic.
- » CSOs are not elected and they are not accountable to anyone. This means they have political power without any accountability.

#### 4. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » CSOs increase political participation and access to government. This builds democratic legitimacy.
- » CSOs provide checks and balances on government power. This builds democratic legitimacy by promoting transparency and accountability.

## Activity

- Students read the statements. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs or groups, students put the statements in the table.

Possible Answers:

	<b>Benefits</b>	<b>Dangers</b>
<b>Equality</b>	j. They allow social groups that are ignored by political parties to represent their interest to government and society.	a. Insider groups can make social inequality worse by giving powerful groups even more influence in politics.
<b>Discussion and debate</b>	b. They introduce more ideas and views into political discussions so that the government (and society) becomes more informed and produces better policies.	c. CSOs are often very passionate about the issues they are dealing with. This can cause conflict if these issues are controversial or sensitive.
<b>Accountability</b>	e. They are one of the checks and balances that limit and control government power. They make the government more accountable by putting pressure on them to do what they promise and to protect the rights of minorities.	f. They have power, but no accountability to anyone. This means that they are not as legitimate as governments or parties, but they still have strong influence on politics.
<b>Participation</b>	d. CSOs (especially social movements) are “free schools of democracy” where members can learn the skills of how to participate in politics.	h. Unelected lobbyists and insider groups undermine electoral politics by having more power to take part in politics than average citizens.
<b>Decision making</b>	g. The information that CSOs provide (reports, etc.) can help the government to make accurate decisions and effective policies.	i. They make politics very difficult because politicians need to balance the needs of many different powerful groups when they are making policy.

## Activity

- Students read the descriptions of CSOs and the outlines of their activities. Clarify anything they don't understand.
1. Individually or in pairs, students match the CSO's logos with the descriptions.
  2. They match these with the outlines of the activities.

### Answers:

1. b, ix, x, xi, xiii,
2. c, iii, iv, vi, xiv
3. d, ii, vii, xii
4. a, i, v, viii

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions,

### Possible answers:

1. Good, because they promote pluralism, checks and balances and political participation.  
Bad, because they have political power, but are unelected and not accountable to anyone.
2. **Answers may vary. Suggested answers:**
  - » wealth/funding
  - » size (members, resources, networks)
  - » level of organisation and leadership
  - » ideology
  - » grassroots support
  - » closeness to the government
  - » skills/qualifications of its members

## Activity: *Our Organisation, Part 2*

- Students work in the same groups from *Our Organisation, Part 1* on Page 131.
- They refer back to the list of goal statements and budget they made in Part 1.
- Groups use that information to complete the form.

## Reflection

1. In their groups, students discuss their reasons for choosing these strategies.
2. They discuss how their size and budget affected the strategies they chose.

### Possible answers:

- Smaller size and budget lead us to choose outsider group strategies.
  - Larger size and budget lead us to choose insider group strategies.
3. Groups evaluate how effective the organisation is likely to be, and how easily they will be able to achieve their core goals.
- Points to elicit:
    - » How the size and budget of their organisation would affect its effectiveness
    - » Which strategies are most likely to be effective in dealing with the issues that the CSO is working on
    - » The challenges of dealing with those issues
    - » The legal, political and social obstacles facing CSOs that deal with those issues in Myanmar
  - Groups present their organisation, and the evaluation of their organisation to the class.

# Chapter 9: Political Parties

## 9.1 POLITICAL PARTIES

### 9.1.1 – POLITICAL PARTIES

#### Preview

- Brainstorm the meaning of “political party”.
- Write students’ ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 9.1.1. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

Political parties are groups of people who share opinions and beliefs about politics. They often have similar interests, identity or ideology and work together to achieve their political goals.

## Activity: *Our Political Party: Identity*

1. Individually or in pairs, students write the three most important values for a society.
2. Students form groups of 4-8 with people with similar values.
  - Groups decide whether to focus on national, regional or community issues.
3. Groups write a meeting agenda. The aim of the meeting is to form a political party.
  - On the agenda they cover the main social problems in the country/region/community, their ideology and a party name.
  - After groups have drafted the agenda, they hold the meeting.
  - Groups write all decisions made on their agenda. The agenda can be used as meeting minutes, e.g.

### Agenda – Our Political Party

1. List main social problems
  - sexism
  - racism
  - alcohol abuse
2. List economic problems
  - poverty
  - exploitation
  - corruption
3. List political problems
  - weak rule of law
  - no accountability
  - no participation
4. Decide ideology  
liberal/socialist
5. Choose a party name  
The Rights and Equality Party  
(REP)

- Students read Text 9.1.1.A.

## Activity: *Our Political Party: Roles*

- In their political party groups, students allocate the three roles to group members.
- As there are only three roles, choose these people by consensus or majority vote.
- Groups can change the people in these roles between activities. For each of these activities a different person can be chairperson, writer or spokesperson.

## 9.1.2 – PARTY FUNCTIONS

### Preview

- Brainstorm the activities of political parties.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 9.1.2.A. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

- » They try to gain political power by having as many party members as possible elected to the legislature and/or executive.
- » They provide alternatives to government policy.
- » They choose and support candidates in elections.
- » They act as a bridge between the government and the people.

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the question.

#### Possible answers:

Parties, because they are the organisations that are most clearly involved with creating policies outside of the government. Political education should be independent from the government because otherwise it would be a kind of propaganda.

The government, because they have the resources to provide standardised, high quality political education across the country.

Civil society organisations, because they are not trying to become the government (unlike political parties). This makes them more neutral and better suited to deliver unbiased political education. Political education should be independent from the government because otherwise it would be a kind of propaganda.

### Discussion

- Students read Text 9.1.2.B.
- In groups or as a class, they discuss the question.

#### Possible answers:

- » Better-funded parties can present their policies to more people through various media and events.
- » Better funded parties will be able to make better use of the mass media.
- » Better funded parties are more likely to have wealthy and powerful supporters.
- » Better funded parties will be able to employ more researchers to make policies that meet the needs of the people.

## Activity: *Our Political Party*: Goals

- In their political party groups, students refer back the decisions made in their first meeting (*Our Political Party: Identity* on page 149).
  - Students draft an agenda for this discussion.
  - Groups perform the roles decided in the second meeting (*Our Political Party: Roles* on page 149). The chairperson facilitates the meeting, the writer takes notes and the spokesperson makes the presentation to the class.
  - If groups want to change these roles, they decide on new roles now.
1. Groups decide on their main priority and their other goals, e.g.
    - » change the constitution
    - » create a welfare state
    - » end child labour
  - Groups outline the best political, economic and social situations for their community, region or country, e.g.
    - » no discrimination or abuse
    - » economic equality
    - » real democracy
  2. Groups present their party and its goals to the class.
- They present:
    - » Their party name.
    - » Their ideology.
    - » Their focus (national, regional or community).
    - » Their main goal.
    - » Their other goals.
    - » Their ideal political, social and economic situations.
  -

## Discussion

- Students read Texts 9.1.2.C and D.
- In groups or as a class, they discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. Yes, because they give citizens the ability to communicate their needs and concerns to the government through party representatives.  
No, because parties only care about citizens' concerns if they fit with their policies. Also, just because parties can express citizens' concerns, that does not mean that the government has to listen to them.
2. Yes, because, they make legislatures much more organised and efficient because they are filled with experienced and ideologically similar groups of people who are all working together for common goals.  
No, because they separate legislatures into opposing groups. This can lead to deadlock and a lack of compromise.
3. Yes, because political parties give politicians the opportunity to develop leadership skills before they enter government.  
No, because good leaders exist in civil society and business as well. It is not only political parties that produce good leaders. Also, political parties prioritise some characteristics, such as charisma, over others, such as honesty.



## Activity: *Our Political Party:* Manifesto

- In their political party groups, students refer back the ideal situations from the third meeting (*Our Political Party: Goals* on page 151).
  - Students draft an agenda for this discussion.
  - Groups perform the roles decided in the second meeting (*Our Political Party: Roles* on page 149). The chairperson facilitates the meeting, the writer takes notes and the spokesperson makes the presentation to the class.
  - If groups want to change these roles, they decide on new roles now.
1. Groups decide on some specific policies to achieve their goals.
  - For each situation (political, economic and social), they complete the sentences, e.g.
    - To achieve the ideal political situation in our community:**
    - » We would stop the SMD electoral system (to improve participation).
    - » We would continue political reforms that make government more accountable to the people (to improve accountability).
    - » We would create a new constitution (to improve the rule of law).
  - These statements become the Party Manifesto. Groups write these up on a large piece of paper.
2. Groups present their manifestos to the class.

## 9.1.3 – PARTY SYSTEMS

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Texts 9.1.3 (A-C). Were their ideas similar to the text?

### Possible answers:

A party system is the environment and structure that parties exist in. It is often affected by the political culture and electoral system of the country. Party systems differ in terms of the number of parties, the distribution of power and the kinds of relationships between the different parties in a country.

## Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

### Possible answers:

1. The kind of party system determines how important conflict and cooperation will be in the relationships between the different political parties. In a two-party system, conflict is more likely because whatever is good for one party is bad for the other and vice versa. In a multi-party system, cooperation is necessary because often parties need to work together either to form governments or to make laws.

### 2. Dominant-party systems:

- » Advantages – because the same party is in government for many years, they have time to implement long-term policies that would otherwise not be possible if governments changed. Also, dominant party systems are more decisive because they do not need to worry about reaching agreement with the opposition.
- » Disadvantages – dominant parties do not offer policy options to the people. This can make dominant party systems less democratic and pluralistic than others. Dominant party systems can sometimes lead to authoritarianism.

### Two-party systems

- » Advantages – two party systems are a good balance between the decisiveness of dominant party systems and the diversity of multi-party systems. Voters have choices of different policies, yet the government is not slowed down by too much compromise and consensus.
- » Disadvantages – because there are only two parties, there is much more conflict in politics. This can cause legislatures to become hostile and uncooperative. Also, it is likely that both parties will adopt very similar policies because they are both trying to attract the most voters by having the most popular policies.

### Multiparty systems

- » Advantages – multiparty systems promote much more diversity in politics. Because they provide smaller parties with a better chance to participate in government, they make sure that minorities are better represented in national politics. Also, multi-party systems promote unity in a country by requiring political parties to compromise and work together.
  - » Disadvantages – because there is much more ideological diversity in party politics, there can be more conflict. This can slow down the government because making ideologically diverse groups to work together can be very difficult. This can even lead to government “shut-downs” when parties in government fail to reach an agreement over an important issue.
3. SMD systems often result in dominant or two party systems because it is a winner-takes-all electoral system. This leads to less representation of smaller parties and one or two large parties.  
PR systems often result in multi-party systems because they allow smaller parties to be better represented in government. This is because it is based on percentage, rather than winning seats based on getting the highest number of votes in a constituency.
  4. Currently (as of March 2014) it is a dominant-party system. However, it could change into a two-party system in the future.

## Activity: Reading Election Results

- Students read the tables of election results from South Africa, Sri Lanka and Malaysia.
1. Individually or in pairs, students look at the most recent election results for each country (in blue, far right column). They decide which party system each country has.

### Answers:

**South Africa** – dominant party system.

**Sri Lanka** – dominant party system.

**Malaysia** – multiparty system.

2. Students decide whether each system has changed over time.

### Answers:

**South Africa** – was always a dominant party system.

**Sri Lanka** – used to be a two party system, now a dominant party system.

**Malaysia** – used to be a dominant party system, now a multiparty system.

## 9.2 KINDS OF PARTIES

### 9.2.1 – MASS PARTIES AND MEMBERSHIP PARTIES

#### Preview

- Discuss the questions.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 9.2.1. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answer:

Strength: Their members and non-members who support their policies.

Status: reputation from former political success or charismatic leaders.

Wealth: donations from members and other supporters, other fund raising.

#### Exercise

- Students refer back to the three party systems in 9.1.3 (dominant-party, two-party and multiparty).
- Individually or in pairs, students decide whether membership or mass parties would be more successful in each system.

#### Answers:

Membership parties would be more successful in multi-party systems.

Mass parties would be more successful in dominant and two-party systems.

#### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the question.

#### Possible answers:

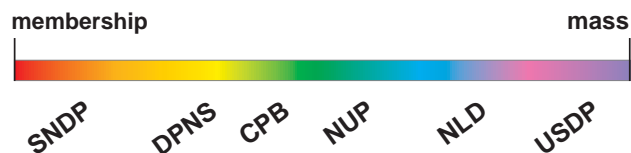
Mass parties (USDP and NLD) are more successful in Myanmar. This could be because other parties are membership parties based on ethnic identity (which is not applicable to the majority of the population) and also that NLD and USDP are the only parties that have enough resources to reach large numbers of voters.

#### Activity

- Individually or in pairs or groups, students look at the actors list on pages 165-170.
- Individually or in pairs or groups, students choose six political parties, and put them on the Spectrum.

#### Possible answers:

There are no exact correct answers. This is just an example, and people may disagree with it. Encourage debate. The important thing is for students to think about their answers, and support them with evidence.



## Activity: *Our Political Party*: Strategy

- Students work in their Political Party groups.
  - Students draft an agenda for this discussion.
  - Groups perform the roles decided in the second meeting (*Our Political Party: Roles* on page 149). The chairperson facilitates the meeting, the writer takes notes and the spokesperson makes the presentation to the class.
  - If groups want to change these roles, they decide on new roles now.
1. Groups discuss the strategy issues, and answer the questions.
  2. Groups present their strategies to the class.

## 9.2.2 – LEFT-WING AND RIGHT-WING PARTIES

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 9.2.2. Were their ideas similar to the text?

### Possible answers:

“Left-wing” and “right-wing” are used to describe the differences between the social and economic policies of different parties. Left is usually more socialist, and right is usually more liberal or conservative.

### Extra info: Left and Right-wing Parties

- The definition of “left” and “right” is slightly different in every country. The definitions given in this book are based mainly on the economic meaning of left (socialist economic system) and right (free market capitalism) wing.
- However, there is also a social meaning of left and right wing.
- Left wing ideologies usually refer to liberal values of tolerance and liberty as well as the socialist values of solidarity, equality of outcome and social need.
- Socially, right-wing usually refers to conservative values such as tradition, law and order, hierarchy and authority.

## Activity: Political Quotes

- Students read the statements. Clarify anything they don't understand.
- Individually or in pairs, students decide whether the speaker of each statement is left- or right-wing.

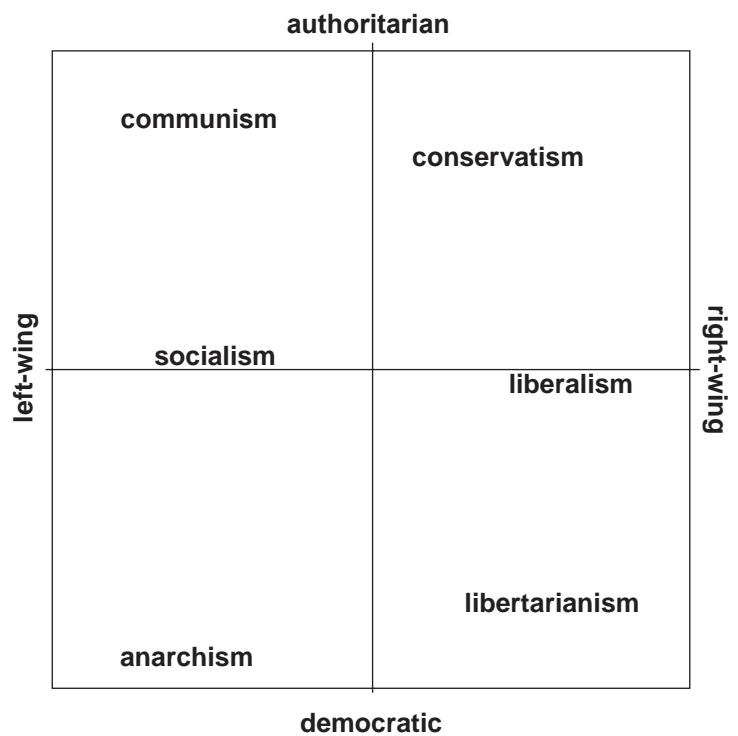
### Answers:

1. left-wing
2. right-wing
3. left-wing
4. left-wing
5. left-wing
6. right-wing
7. right-wing
8. right-wing
9. right-wing
10. left-wing
11. right-wing
12. left-wing

## Activity

- Students look at the diagram on the next page. It shows one spectrum (up-down) between authoritarian and democratic, and another (left-right) between left- and right-wing.
1. Individually, students put the ideologies on the diagram.
- Remind them they can put themselves anywhere in the diagram, not only on the lines.
2. In pairs, students discuss their answers.

### Possible answers:



## Activity

- Students read the descriptions of the political parties. Clarify anything they don't understand..
1. Individually, students put the parties on the diagram.
  - Remind them they can put the parties anywhere in the diagram, not only on the lines.
  - In pairs, they discuss their answers.

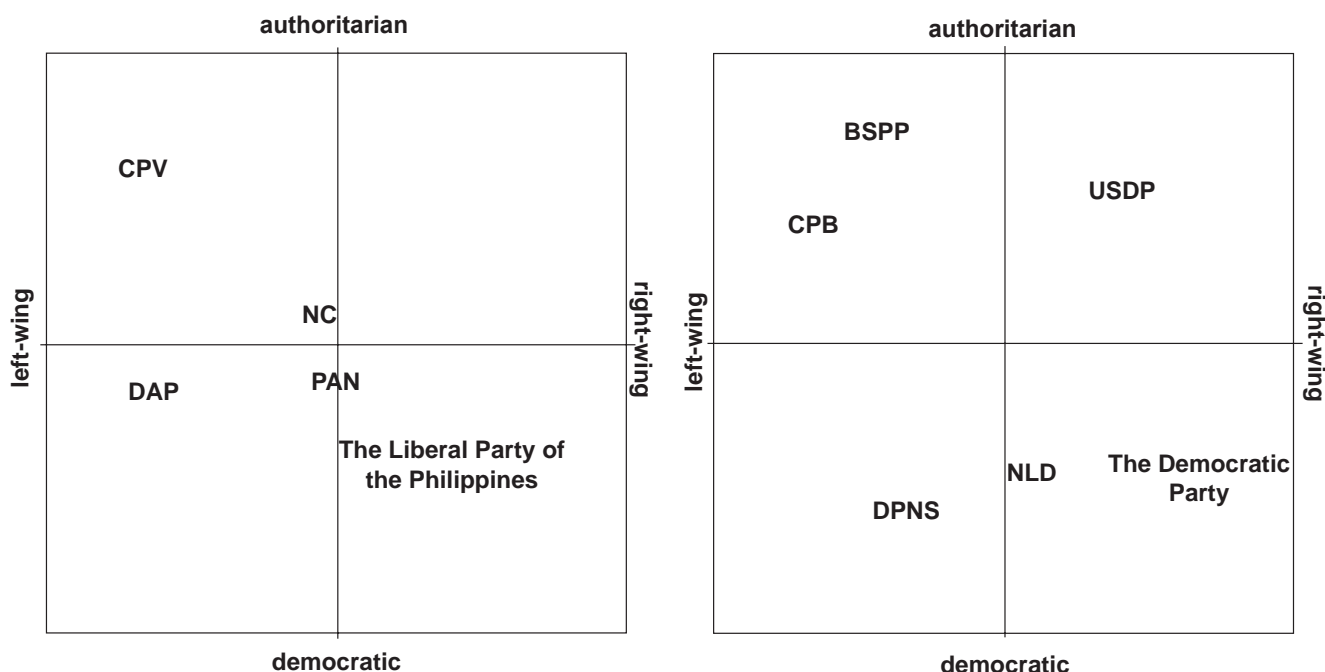
### Possible answers:

There are no exact correct answers. This is just an example, and people may disagree with it. Encourage debate. The important thing is for students to think about their answers, and support them with evidence.

2. In pairs, they choose six parties from the actors list on pages 165-170 and put them on the diagram.
3. Pairs join with another pair to make groups of four. They compare their diagrams.
- Groups add any other political parties to the diagram.
4. Groups draw their diagrams on large piece of paper and put them on the wall.
- They explain their diagrams to the class.

### Possible answers:

There are no exact correct answers. This is just an example, and people may disagree with it. Encourage debate. The important thing is for students to think about their answers, and support them with evidence.



## Activity: *Our Political Party*:

### Ideology

- Students work in their Political Party pairs or groups.
  - Groups perform the roles decided in the second meeting (*Our Political Party: Roles* on page 149). The chairperson facilitates the meeting, the writer takes notes and the spokesperson makes the presentation to the class.
  - If groups want to change these roles, they decide on new roles now.
1. Groups decide where their party belongs on the diagram, and why.
  2. Groups present their diagrams to the class.

## 9.2.3 – PROBLEMS WITH POLITICAL PARTIES

### Preview

- Discuss the question.
- Write students' ideas on the board.
- Students read Text 9.2.3. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible answers:

- » Parties can be undemocratic.
- » Parties can be influenced by wealthy donors.
- » Parties in two party systems are becoming very similar.
- » Parties can be corrupt.
- » Parties can discriminate against some groups.

### Reflection

- Students think about the *Our Political Party* activities, and the process of forming a political party.
- Either:
  - a. Students discuss the questions in groups.  
or
  - b. Students write their answers and ideas in a reflective journal.  
or
  - c. Students write an essay.
- When you mark their essays, check to see if they addressed the following points:
  - » How much power did the chairperson have?

- » How much power did the spokesperson have?
- » How much power did the writer have?
- » How were minority views treated?
- » How easy was it to change chairperson or spokesperson?

### Discussion

- In groups or as a class, students discuss the questions.

#### Possible answers:

##### 1. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » Political parties can be easily controlled by wealthy people.
- » Political parties can easily give up their ideology and values just to get into power.
- » Parties might not be inclusive of marginalised groups such as ethnic or religious minorities, women, LGBT or disabled people.

- ##### 2. Yes, because a legislature of independent members would represent the people more directly than parties because they would not have to accept the leadership of the party and so would be free to represent the needs of their constituency better.

- » No, because a legislature of independent candidates would be very confusing and chaotic. It would be almost impossible for them to decide on any laws or policies without the organisation that comes from political party structures.

##### 3. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » They connect the people and the government.
- » They give social groups a louder voice to represent their concerns and interests.
- » They recruit political leaders.
- » They provide political education.
- » They provide order and stability in government.

- ##### 4. Provide more opportunities for politicians and members to discuss issues and make sure that politicians are accountable for the promises that they make.

- » Parties should gain public trust by increasing accountability and transparency within the party.
- » Make sure that political education is unbiased and promotes unity, not conflict.
- » Have strict laws about where party funding comes from and release this information publicly.
- » Make sure that parties represent minorities and marginalised groups in their membership and leadership.
- » Increase training for younger, less experienced party members so that they can take active roles in party leadership.



# Unit 3 Review

## Comprehension

- Students answer the questions.

### Possible answers:

#### 1. Advantages

##### **Making decisions based mainly on public opinion is good because:**

- » Basing policy on public opinion means policies address peoples' concerns.
- » Measuring public opinion can inform the government about how popular their actions are, so that they have the chance to change if they want to stay in power.
- » Measuring public opinion is a way that governments can make difficult decisions about different policy options.

##### **Dangers**

##### **Making decisions based mainly on public opinion is dangerous because:**

- » There are many ways of measuring public opinion that can be inaccurate or biased. This can mean that decisions are based on wrong information.
- » People might not understand all the difficulties that governments face when dealing with a social issue. This can lead to decisions that are very difficult to carry out.
- » Not all the public has the ability to understand complicated issues. Most people may be uninformed about issues but still have very strong opinions about them. This can lead to decisions that have negative effects that people didn't think about.

#### 2. The government must not attempt to control the content of the media.

- » The government must not be able to control, intimidate or punish journalists.
- » Laws that protect the freedom of the press must be enforced.

#### 3. Advantages

- » False or biased information can be controlled by the government.
- » Making the media accountable to the government can prevent dangerous or misleading information from spreading.
- » State-controlled media is more likely to look at important social issues or public debates, not just what is popular (e.g. entertainment).

##### **Disadvantages**

- » State control makes it easier for the government to censor the news or produce propaganda.
- » A state-controlled media cannot provide transparency in politics as well as private media.
- » It is much more difficult for journalists to expose government waste, corruption or incompetence if the media is controlled by the government.

#### 4. Advantages

- » Private media protects freedom of expression, transparency and accountability.
- » A strong and independent media limits corruption and inefficiency in government.
- » Private newspapers that sell the most copies will reflect the opinion of the largest section of society. This means that the people set the agenda for the news rather than the government.

##### **Disadvantages**

- » Privatisation of the media often leads to a situation where the popularity of a story is considered more valuable than its social importance.
- » In many countries, the majority of private media organisations are owned by only a few corporations who often make sure that all of their media sources share the same ideology.

#### 5. Media management is related to how the government uses the media to achieve its goals. This usually means the government tries to develop a good media image by reducing the amount of bad news in the media, and increasing the amount of good news.

#### 6. Civil society is the area of social and political activity carried out by non-governmental actors.

7. Service NGOs work directly with beneficiaries by providing services such as emergency relief, development assistance, medical aid or food to people who need them. Advocacy NGOs campaign via the media, education and through directly engaging with political actors to call for social change. They focus on issues such as human rights, social justice and environmental protection.
8. Lobbying is when CSOs try to persuade the government to make decisions that benefit their group or interest. They do this by directly communicating with politicians through meetings, phone calls and letters/emails. Advocacy is when people try to influence government actions by raising public awareness about an issue or cause.
9. Insider groups have a close relationship with the government. They can regularly communicate with politicians because they are very powerful. Outsider groups usually represent groups who have less political power. These groups do not usually have the ability to directly communicate to the government. They often use indirect strategies to put pressure on the government.

#### 10. Advantages

- » CSOs increase political participation and access to government. This builds democratic legitimacy.
- » They support democratic pluralism and give marginalised groups an opportunity to promote/defend their interests.
- » They provide checks and balances on government power. This builds democratic legitimacy by promoting transparency and accountability.

#### Disadvantages

- » Powerful CSOs have a lot of power to influence government, even though they are not elected or accountable to anyone.
- » They improve participation, but in an unequal way. Powerful insider groups have much more power than outsider groups. This is undemocratic.
- » They are not elected and they are not accountable to anyone. This means they have political power without any accountability take active roles in party leadership.

#### 11. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » They try to gain political power by having as many party members as possible elected to the legislature and/or executive.
- » They provide alternatives to government policy.
- » They choose and support candidates in elections.
- » They act as a bridge between the government and the people.

12. A coalition government is when several parties come together to share the different responsibilities of running the state, e.g. the Minister of Education is from one party, the Minister for Health is from another.

13. Membership parties usually have a smaller number of supporters. They often have strict ideologies. They often expect a lot from their members and have a very close relationship with them.

Mass parties try to get as much support as possible. They do not expect a lot of participation from their nonprofessional members. Their main goal is to get as many votes as possible.

14. "Left-wing" and "right-wing" are used to describe the differences between the social and economic policies of different parties. Left is usually more socialist, and right is usually more liberal or conservative.

#### 15. Answers may vary. Suggested answers:

- » Political parties that have an undemocratic structure do not represent the people.
- » Political parties can be easily controlled by wealthy people
- » Political parties can easily give up their ideology and values just to get into power.
- » Parties might not be inclusive of marginalised groups such as ethnic or religious minorities, women, LGBT or disabled people.