





## Unit 3: Actors

### Unit Themes

- Unit 3 looks at the individuals and groups that are engaged in politics.
- It focuses on the media, civil society organisations and political parties.
- It examines the relationships they have with political institutions and with each other.
- It analyses political behaviour by looking at the goals, values and ideas that guide political actors.



## Unit 3: Learning Goals

### Knowledge

[Exercises]

In this chapter you will increase your understanding of:

- public opinion
- freedom of the press and censorship
- state-controlled and private media
- media management and “spin”
- civil society
- CBOs, NGOs and social movements
- CSO strategies
- political parties
- party systems

### Skills

[Activities]

In this chapter you will develop your ability to:

- create an opinion poll questionnaire
- analyse the content of newspapers
- design a CSO project
- assign roles, create agenda and conduct meetings
- draft and present a manifesto
- use an ideology diagram
- identify strategies to increase support for a mock political party

### Values

[Reflections]

In this chapter you will reflect on:

- your views on state-controlled and private media
- the sources of CSO power/influence
- your views on using strikes to achieve political goals
- the relationship between resources and strategies for CSOs
- the challenges of forming and running a mock political party

## CHAPTER 7: THE MEDIA

## Preview...

1. What do you think "public opinion" is?
2. Why do you think it is important for politicians?

## Exercise

After you read 7.1.1:

1. What is an "opinion poll"?
2. Why might politicians find them useful?

## Activity

1. Look at the *timeline*. In which events did public opinion affect government decisions?
2. In which events did government decisions affect public opinion?

## 7.1 THE MEDIA AND POLITICS

## 7.1.1 PUBLIC OPINION

When people talk about public opinion in politics, it has a more specific meaning than just the "opinion of the people". It refers to the way that the opinion of the people affects the way government acts. Public opinion can refer to the way most people feel about a single issue or event, a policy, or the government in general.

There are many ways of measuring public opinion, including:

- **polls** (i.e. when questionnaires are used to see how people feel about an issue)
- focus groups (where political organisations speak to a small group of people to see how they feel about an issue)
- elections (the number of people who vote for a party or politician shows how popular they are)
- demonstrations (if many people demonstrate for or against an issue, it shows that those people have very strong feeling about that issue).



▲ People in New York taking part in a peace demonstration.

## Opinion Polling

### Activity

1. In groups, write a questionnaire like the one on page 53.
  - These questionnaires should try and measure how your classmates feel about one of the issues discussed in this book.
  - It is important that every “yes” answer is linked to one side of an argument and every “no” answer is linked to the opposite side of the argument. See below for examples.

**a. More socialist or more liberal. (Yes = socialist, no = liberal.) For example:**

- Do you think the state should provide free healthcare to everyone?
- Do you think that high taxes are necessary for social justice?
- Is equality more important than liberty?

**b. More in support of a nation-state or a state-nation. (Yes = nation-state, no = state-nation. For example:**

- Do you think that unity is more important than diversity?
- Do you think that foreigners should have to adapt to the national culture?
- Do you think it would be dangerous if anyone could become a citizen of your country?

**c. More in favour of a federal (decentralised) or a unitary (centralised) state. (Yes = federal, no = unitary.) For example:**

- Do you think that local schools should be allowed to teach in the local languages?
- Do you think that local government is the best actor to solve local problems?
- Do you think that federalism reduces conflict?

2. Ask your questions to all class members. Count and analyse the answers.
3. Present the results of your poll to the class.

1. What did you learn about the political culture of your class?
2. Where do you think these beliefs come from?
3. What affects your political beliefs or opinions?

**Discussion**

Preview...

### 7.1.2 ADVANTAGES AND DANGERS OF PUBLIC OPINION

1. What are some advantages of basing political decisions on public opinion?
2. What are some dangers of basing political decisions on public opinion?

There is nothing controversial about the idea that people have opinions about certain political issues. However, because public opinion influences government actions, it can be controversial.

Democratic governments rely on public opinion to make sure that the policies they make will be popular (so that they can stay in power). In extreme cases, this can lead to laws and policies that abuse people's rights, destroy the environment or create other social problems.

Activity

Below are some of the advantages and dangers of the influence of public opinion on politics. Put them in the table.

Advantages	Dangers

1.  Measuring public opinion helps the government to know the concerns of the people. This helps them to make policies that address these concerns.
2.  There are many ways of measuring public opinion that can be inaccurate or biased (e.g. if questionnaires are only written in the majority language).
3.  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.
4.  People might not understand all the difficulties that governments face when dealing with a social issue.
5.  Measuring public opinion is a way that governments can make difficult decisions about different policy options.
6.  Most people may be uninformed about issues but still have very strong opinions about them.
7.  Public opinion can change very easily. It may not be the best thing to base long-term policy decisions on.
8.  Public opinion can be manipulated through propaganda and censorship.
9.  Not all the public have the ability to understand complicated issues.

Discussion

How much do you think governments should think about public opinion when they make decisions? Why?

### 7.1.3 THE MASS MEDIA

The mass media (newspapers, television, radio, and the internet) plays a very important role in politics. Citizens get most of their information about the government from the mass media. The information that media organisations provide can support or oppose a policy or party. This gives the media a lot of power to influence public opinion.

The media can expose corruption and bad performance in the government. This way, the media promotes transparency and accountability. In a democracy, a government can lose an election (and its power) if information in the media makes the government unpopular.

For these reasons, the media is sometimes called the "fourth branch" of government after the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. Of course, the difference between the media and the other three branches is that there are much fewer checks and balances on a free media.

### Preview...

What kinds of media do you use?



- ▲ Traditional print media is probably still the easiest way for most Myanmar people to read the news. However, the internet and social media are now very important for both individuals and media companies.

Preview...

7.1.4 THE MAIN ROLES OF THE MASS MEDIA

What does the mass media do?



**a. Entertaining People**

- sports,
- celebrities,
- gossip, etc



**b. REPORTING THE NEWS**

Informing the public about recent events.



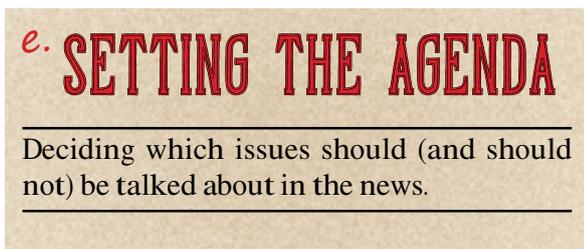
**c. Identifying Problems**

Raising awareness about social or political issues that are currently being ignored.



**d. Analysing the News**

Investigating the causes and effects of recent events.



**e. SETTING THE AGENDA**

Deciding which issues should (and should not) be talked about in the news.



**f. MAKING PROFIT**

**MAKING MONEY THROUGH SALES AND ADVERTISING**

Activity

1. Rank these according to what you think are most important.
2. Rank these according to what you think the average newspaper reader would think is most important.
3. Rank these according to what a newspaper would think is most important.

Discussion

Did you notice any differences in the different rankings? How can you explain these differences?

## 7.1.5 THE IMPORTANCE OF A FREE MEDIA

A free media is very important in democratic politics. Some of the most important functions of a free press include:

1. **PROMOTING TRANSPARENCY:** An important role of the media is to closely watch political institutions to make sure they are keeping their promises and not breaking the law.
2. **INFORMING THE PEOPLE DURING ELECTIONS:** The media gives people the chance to learn more about the candidates and parties participating in an election.
3. **INFORMING THE GOVERNMENT:** The media can inform the government about the opinions, needs and concerns of the people. This can help them to make policies that effectively address those needs and concerns.

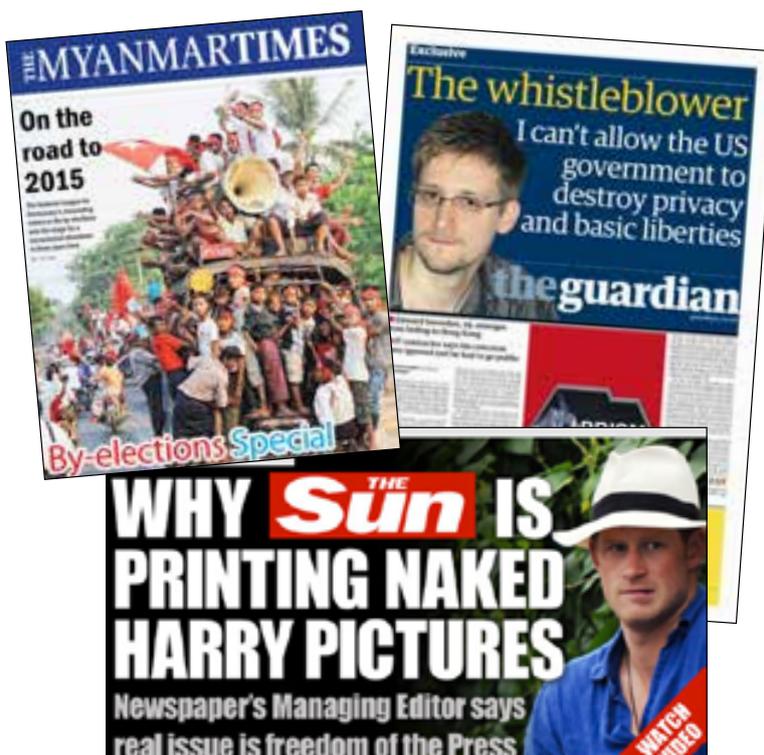
These roles give the media a lot of power. This power allows media organisations to act as checks and balances on government power. However, it also means that citizens need to be very careful with the information they receive.

### Preview...

Why is freedom of the press important?

1. In what way does the media help to promote transparency in your country? Give examples.
2. What are the most important things that the media informs people about during elections?
3. What are the most important things that governments can learn about public opinion by looking at the media?

### Discussion



- ◀ **Free press?** Clockwise from top left: The Myanmar Times reported on the 2012 by-election; British newspaper The Guardian published top secret information about the British and American governments in 2013. They argued that it is important to print the material when the British government tried to stop them; British newspaper The Sun argued that freedom of the press gives them the right to print naked pictures of Prince Harry.

## Preview...

What is required for freedom of the press?

## Exercise

After you read 7.1.6:

What are some of the threats to freedom of the press?

## Discussion

In what ways does freedom of the press support democracy?

## Preview...

Should governments ever be allowed to control information in the media? Why or why not?

## 7.1.6 FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

To successfully carry out these roles in society, it is important that the media is free from government control. If journalists are not free to write what they want, the information presented will not help the government and the people understand each other. If the government **censors** the news, then the media loses its ability to promote transparency. Some important requirements for a free media are:

- **PLURALISM IN THE MEDIA:** If the majority of the media is owned by the government (or businesses who are controlled by the government), this limits the availability of different or critical opinions. Minority or opposition groups will have less opportunity to express their views in the media. This can lead to conflict and miscommunication between the government and the people.
- **THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT CONTROL OR THREATEN THE MEDIA:** There must be strict laws that prevent the government from bribing or threatening journalists. Unless these laws exist (and are followed), journalists who discover corruption or ineffectiveness in government can be influenced to keep quiet.
- **CITIZENS NEED TO BE CRITICAL OF THE MEDIA:** People need to know which interests a newspaper, website, radio or TV station is promoting. Citizens should be exposed to many different kinds of media so they can get a full and balanced picture of political issues before they make a decision.

## 7.1.7 CENSORSHIP

Many governments try to influence public opinion by controlling the media and access to information. They often do this to increase their popularity or to reduce support for opposition groups. Censorship limits people's access to information about the state of the economy, political developments and other important issues. A highly controlled media can rob people of social awareness and balanced analysis.

Authoritarian regimes often place restrictions on freedom of expression. They claim that these are necessary to maintain stability and security. Examples of this include closing down the mobile phone network in Iran in mid-2009, and Egypt in late 2010. In other situations, governments try to stop journalists from reporting on controversial issues. For example, in 2009, journalists were forced to leave China's north-western province of Xinjiang in order to prevent them reporting on the ethnic violence there.



## Focus on Myanmar

### Historical Media Censorship in Myanmar

Between 1962 and 2011, freedom of the press was limited in Myanmar. The 1962 Printers and Publishers Registration Act created the Press **Scrutiny** Board. In 2005, this became the Press Scrutiny and Registration Division. It checked all publications, including newspapers, cartoons, advertisements, and illustrations. New publishers had to register with the Press Scrutiny Board. This long and difficult process meant that private news publications in Myanmar could only publish on a weekly or monthly basis. All daily newspapers in Myanmar were government-owned. During the 1988 protests, many people published information that was critical of the government. As a response, the military raised fines for newspapers that broke the rules from 2,000 Kyat to 30,000 Kyat.



For a long time, Myanmar was on Freedom House's (a non-governmental organization that does research on democracy and political freedom) list of "least free" countries for press freedom. In 2011, increasing press freedom led to Myanmar being taken off this list.

## The Pros and Cons of Censorship

Look at the statements and decide if they are arguments for or against censorship.

...dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to the inhabitants of these States: For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

1. Censorship causes long-term social effects such as ignorance and a lack of critical thinking and creativity.
2. Censorship of immoral material stops children from becoming immoral.
3. Censorship is sometimes necessary to preserve national security.
4. Censorship makes it harder to expose corruption.
5. Censorship can avoid spreading false information that could lead to violence.
6. Censorship can stop political opposition groups from expressing their ideas.
7. Censorship can protect people's right to privacy.
8. Censorship denies access to vital information. For example, if information about the dangers of sexually transmitted diseases, such as HIV/AIDS, is censored, this will cost many lives.
9. Censorship can protect indigenous cultures from the negative influence of foreign cultures.
10. Censorship can stop the media being used to spread prejudice and hatred (e.g. racism).
11. Censorship can control panic and rumours during a national emergency.
12. Censorship may be used to block legitimate criticism. This can lead to lack of accountability.
13. Censorship prevents individuals from making informed decisions and leads to bad government.
14. Censorship can negatively affect economic development.
15. Censorship can avoid religious conflict by banning material that insults religious communities.
16. Censorship can be used to hide human rights abuses.

## Activity

The publication of this news-paper at this day, obliges the Printer to inform those Gentlemen indebted for this paper longer than Twelve Months, that, without pay, it cannot be continued to them more than Four Weeks from this date. — Subscribers at a distance can send their

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Jersey, on Monday, the 8th day of July instant, at

Preview...

# 7.2 MEDIA AND GOVERNMENT

Who should control the media?

## 7.2.1 PRIVATE VS. STATE-CONTROLLED MEDIA

Media organisations fall into one of two categories: private media and state-controlled media.

State-controlled media organisations are a part of the state. These newspaper offices, television channels and radio stations are all funded, managed and staffed by the state. In authoritarian states, these are often the only media organisations. In some states, they exist in competition with private media.

Private media organisations are businesses that are owned by citizens. They are accountable in the same way that all other businesses are (they need to pay taxes, obey the law etc.). In a free media, they are free from government control or influence.



### Focus on Myanmar

#### Liberalisation of the Media

Since 2011, positive developments for press freedom include:

- The release of imprisoned **bloggers** and journalists.
- An end to pre-publication censorship.
- Removing bans on certain topics.
- The establishment of several independent journalists' and publishers' associations.
- Fewer reports of harassment and attacks against journalists.
- The removal of several foreign journalists from the government's **blacklist**.
- The return of private daily newspapers.

In addition, **exile** media groups continued to return to the country. Some of them opened offices and a few obtained publishing licenses. In 2012, for the first time, Yangon-based journalists could report on events such as the fighting between government forces and the KIA in Kachin State.

Formerly blocked websites are now accessible. These include information about on human rights and political reform. Also, many more independent and foreign newspapers are now permitted. For people with internet access, e-mail, **blog**, and social media platforms — including Gmail, Facebook, and YouTube — have become more popular.

However, some of these services have been used to spread misinformation and hate speech. The use of social media to encourage communal violence in Rakhine State is an example of this.



## 7.2.2 STATE-CONTROLLED MEDIA

### A. ADVANTAGES

Supporters of state-controlled media say that if the state cannot regulate the media, then false or biased information will be more common.

They argue that making the media accountable to the government can prevent dangerous or misleading information from spreading. This makes sure that news that is likely to cause violent conflict can be limited.

Another argument for state-controlled media is that it can deal with important social issues or important public debates. The state can use the media to increase awareness so citizens can make more informed decisions.



▲ Venezuelan state TV showed the programme *Aló Presidente* (Hello, Mr President) until the death of President Hugo Chavez. Chavez used the show to promote his policies and speak to the country's poor, who were his main supporters.

### B. DISADVANTAGES

The main disadvantages of a state-controlled media are that it often leads to censorship and reduces transparency.

In state-controlled media systems, journalists and editors work for the government. This gives the government much more control over what citizens see, hear or think. This makes it easier for the government to censor the news or produce propaganda.

While an independent media can provide more transparency in politics, a state-controlled media might not be able to. It is much more difficult for journalists to expose government waste, corruption or incompetence if the media is controlled by the government.

## Preview...

1. What state-controlled media do you use?
2. Why do you use it?

## Exercise

After you read 7.2.2:

1. What are the advantages of state-controlled media?
2. What are the dangers of state-controlled media?

Preview...

1. What private media do you use?
2. Why do you use it?

### 7.2.3 PRIVATE MEDIA

#### A. ADVANTAGES

One of the most important arguments for a private media is that it protects freedom of expression, transparency and accountability. A strong and independent press is an important feature of a healthy democracy because it limits corruption and inefficiency in government.

Supporters of private media also argue that in a free media market, the media reflects the views of the public, not of the government. This is because the 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.

#### B. DISADVANTAGES

Privatisation of the media often leads to a situation where the popularity of a story is considered more valuable than its social importance. Critics argue that private media focuses on profitable news (sports, celebrity gossip, etc.), and not on important social or political issues. They say that the media is only concerned with entertaining people, not informing them.

In many countries, the majority of private media organisations are owned by only a few **corporations**. For example, in the United States, 50 corporations owned a majority of the news media in 1983. By 2003, the majority of news media was owned by only six corporations. Corporations that control so many news sources are very powerful and influential.

These corporations often make sure that all of their media sources promote the same ideology. Even though many different private news sources are available, media pluralism might still be weak. For example, Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation owns hundreds of newspapers that share a very conservative ideology.

## Exercise

After you read 7.2.3:

1. What are the advantages of private media?
2. What are the dangers of private media?

► Venezuelan private media was very critical of former president Chavez and his government. They also claimed that the government used its powers to reduce press freedom. The government claimed that private media is controlled by a wealthy elite.

**Note:** The picture of Hugo Chavez holding a gun is not real; it was created by the newspaper.



# What Is "News", and What Is Not?

## Activity

1. Collect different newspapers and complete the table.
2. Answer the questions.
  - a. What do you notice about the kinds of topics that are covered in each newspaper?
  - b. Do you notice a difference between newspapers that are closer to the government and ones that are more independent? What do you notice?
  - c. What else do you notice?

Newspaper Title	Headline	Headline Topic	Newspaper close to government or more independent?



Which do you think has greater advantages: state-controlled or private media? Why?

## Reflection

## Preview...

Why is the media important for politicians?

## Exercise

After you read 7.2.4:

Why is media management important for politicians?

## Preview...

What is "spin"?

## Discussion

After you read 7.2.5:

What are the dangers of media management?

## 7.2.4 MEDIA MANAGEMENT

Another result of the increased power of the media is the idea of "media management". This idea is related to how the government uses the media to achieve its goals. In countries where there is limited freedom of the press, governments can manage the media by simple propaganda and censorship. However, in countries where the government cannot control the media directly, a complicated relationship has developed between the media and the government.

Staying in power is very important for a politician, party or government. This requires a good media image, so the support of the media is very important. The aim of media management is to ensure that:

- Good news is presented very loudly and clearly so that more people are exposed to it.
- Average news is presented in a way that makes it sound like good news.
- Bad news is presented very quietly, and in a way that makes it sound like average news.

## 7.2.5 SPIN

The practice of manipulating the news is often called **spin**. Spin has become a very important part of politics in most democratic countries. These governments employ thousands of staff to work on spinning news stories to make their party look good in the media. Some of the most important strategies for "spin doctors" are:

- checking information before it is given to the news media, to make sure that it does not make the government look bad.
- making sure that all the politicians in their party give the same message to the media. This makes it more difficult to know when the party is lying.
- leaking: A "**leak**" is when political actors give secret information to the media. This information usually makes their opponents look bad. So the aim of "leaking" is to become more popular, by making your opponents less popular.
- only giving information to media organisations that are friendly with the government.
- releasing "bad" news to the media at a time when there are a lot of other important events happening. This means that people do not pay a lot of attention to the bad news stories because they are focusing on the other news.
- rewarding journalists who write good things about the government (e.g. by giving them information before other journalists) and punishing those who write bad things (e.g. by not inviting them to **press conferences**).

## Different Perspectives

## Activity

Read the two articles and answer the questions.

1. How are the two articles different?
2. What was your reaction to the first one?
3. What was your reaction to the second one?
4. What techniques were used to create a reaction in the reader?
5. What was the intention of the writer of the first article?
6. What was the intention of the writer of the second article?
7. Can you tell from reading the two articles which version is more accurate? What additional information might you need to help you decide?
8. Are there any other possible perspectives on this same event?

a.

# Riots Rock Waterside

## Violent youths attack police

By Waterside Sun Reporters

Violent rioting took place last night in the Downtown area of the city. Youths threw heavy rocks at police, who attempted to calm the disturbance. They also shouted insults and threatened to set fire to vehicles and buildings.

The police tried to maintain order, but after an hour they arrested five youths who seemed to be

starting the violence. The five are currently being held in police cells while they await questioning. Riot leaders claim that the incident was started by an event earlier in the week. In this incident, police arrested a member of one of the local youth gangs while he was running away from the scene of a suspected robbery. Gang leaders are demanding a public apology from Waterside's chief of police.

b.

# Anti-police Protests in Waterside

## Local youth protest against police brutality

BY WATERSIDE GUARDIAN  
REPORTER MALCOM TENNISHOE

Protesters marched through the centre of Waterside last night. They expressed anger and sadness at the imprisonment and beating of a 13 year-old boy.

The protestors, mostly youth from Waterside's poor communities, chanted slogans calling for the release of the boy, and an end to police violence. Police in riot gear tried to stop the protestors from

walking down the main street. When a rock was thrown by an unidentified protester, police used tear gas on the protesters, and charged into the crowd with batons, injuring several.

Five of the demonstrators are being held at the police station. Lawyers and family members have not been able to see them. Community leaders say there is a history of tension between

the police and young people in Waterside. Because of this they fear for the safety of the five students who are being held.

According to demonstrators, this trouble started with the unfair arrest and mistreatment of a 13 year-old boy the previous week. He had been running to escape two men who were trying to rob him when the police arrested him.

# CHAPTER 8: CIVIL SOCIETY



## 8.1 CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

### Preview...

What is "civil society"?

### Activity

After you read 8.1.1.A:

Place the activities in the right place on the diagram.

- A CSO putting pressure on the government to change a policy.
- A business building a new factory.
- A government passing a law.
- A community school gets funding from businesses.
- A government giving a construction project to a private company.
- A community organisation protesting against the working conditions in a factory.
- A government school hosting a community meeting.

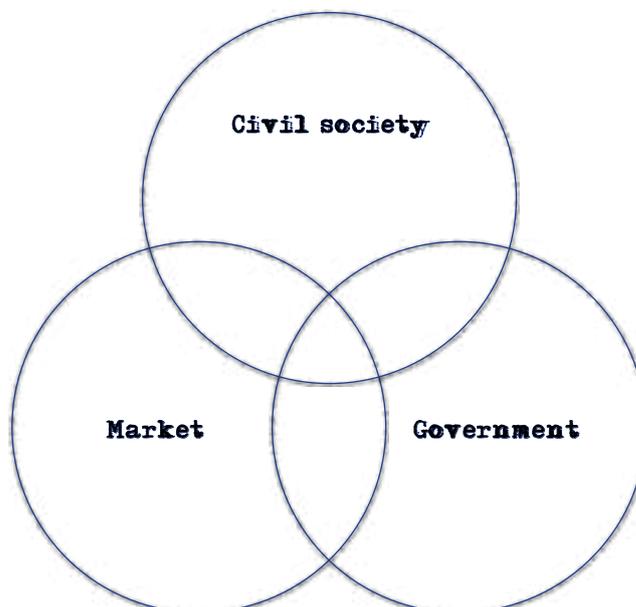
### 8.1.1 CIVIL SOCIETY

#### A. WHAT IS CIVIL SOCIETY?

Politics doesn't only happen in governments. There are many non-governmental actors involved in social and political activities. The name for this area of activity is civil society.

Civil society organisations (CSOs) are groups formed by people who share similar interests, values and goals. CSOs usually take part in social and political action to address social problems, defend their interests and achieve their goals. Because of their strong values and their commitment to social change, many CSO members work voluntarily and often take risks that other political actors do not.

Civil society is often said to be the third sector between the state and **market** (the area of commercial activity). No CSOs exist only to make profit (like businesses), and because CSOs are freely formed by citizens, they are independent from the activities of the state. However, it is very common that the actors in these three sectors interact with each other.



## B. WHO IS CIVIL SOCIETY?

Civil society organisations are formed by citizens to address the concerns of citizens. Civil society is usually a very diverse sector. It includes many groups, many interests, and often a lot of cooperation and conflict between these groups.

Examples of CSOs include:

- non-governmental organisations (NGOs)
- community-based organisations (CBOs)
- organisations that represent businesses or industries
- **trade unions** and professional associations
- gender, cultural and religious groups
- charities
- social and sports clubs
- environmental groups

## Discussion

After you read 8.1.1.B:

1. What kinds of CSOs are working in your community?
2. What issues and concerns do they focus on?

▼ The Yangon Bakehouse helps young people get jobs by teaching them useful skills.



## Our Organisation, Part 1

1. Individually, choose the most important social issue from: health, education, human rights, community development, the environment, gender equality.
2. Get into groups based on these. In your groups, decide on a specific issue related to your area. Your issue can be:
  - something that makes you very angry or sad
  - something that you think is unfair
  - something you want to change.
3. Identify one “core goal” for your group.
4. Work out the size and budget of your group. For each person in your group give yourself a hundred members and a one million kyats monthly budget.

## Activity

Preview...

Why is civil society important?

Discussion

After you read 8.1.2:

1. How important are CSOs in your community?
2. What would it be like without them?
3. What are the dangers of a weak civil society?

## 8.1.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

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.

Civil society is an important part of democratic politics. 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.

The bottom-up power of a strong civil society can be a threat to authoritarian governments. As a result, these governments often try to limit civil society organisations. This means that civil society is often weak and lacks independence in authoritarian states. However, civil society has frequently played a very important role in the transition from authoritarianism to democracy.

This section will look at some of the most important kinds of civil society actors: community based organisations (CBOs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and social movements.



▲ The Local Resource Centre is a Yangon-based organisation which helps other civil society organisations through information sharing and skills development. Their website (<http://www.lrcmyanmar.org>) has information about the work of lots of CBOs and NGOs in Myanmar. See the Focus on Myanmar box on page 135 for more information.

### 8.1.3 COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANISATIONS

Community-based organisations (CBOs) are **grassroots** civil society organisations. The majority of these groups are based in rural areas.

CBOs bring community members together to provide services in areas such as health, education and social welfare. These include **micro-credit** groups, village development committees and community clinics. Many CBOs are faith-based, and most of their activities are financed by the community.

One of the biggest advantages of CBOs is that the community is directly involved in the planning and implementation of their projects. CBO members are more likely to understand the situation in their own communities. This local knowledge means that CBO activities often address the concerns and needs of the community better than other actors.

1. What kinds of CBOs are working in your community?
2. What kinds of services do they provide?
3. What challenges do they face?
4. How successful are they at achieving their goals?

#### Preview...

What is a "community-based organisation"?

#### Exercise

After you read 8.1.3:

What are the strengths and weaknesses of CBOs?

#### Discussion

### 8.1.4 NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

#### A. WHAT IS AN NGO?

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are nonprofit organisations that operate independently from governments. They may operate at a local, national or international level. They work on **public interest** issues such as public health, the environment, human rights and development.

Many NGOs provide services that are not adequately provided by governments. For example, if a government does not have the capacity or resources to deliver health care to rural areas, this service could be provided by an NGO. Because they are concerned with areas in which government **performance** is lacking, they often criticise government policies. This means that their activities can be quite political.

Many local NGOs can reach populations and/or areas that the other political actors cannot. These 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. These include isolated and war affected areas that government workers find difficult to access.

#### Preview...

What is a "non-governmental organisation"?



▲ The Myanmar Clown doctors visit children in hospital. They use laughter to help them feel better.

Discussion

1. What kinds of NGOs are working in your community?
2. What kinds of services do they provide?
3. What challenges do they face?
4. How successful are they at achieving their goals?

**B. THE ACTIVITIES OF NGOS**

*Service (or operational) NGOs* work directly with beneficiaries by providing services such as **emergency relief**, development assistance, medical aid or food to people who need them. Examples of these NGOs would include *Metta Development Foundation* and the *Myanmar Red Cross Society*.

*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 or environmental protection. Examples include *Rakhine Coastal Region Conservation Association*, *Karen Environmental and Social Action Network* and *Earth Rights International*.

Some NGOs combine both operational and advocacy roles. For example, the international NGO *Oxfam* provides services such as clean water and sanitary health for refugee populations but also campaigns on issues affecting communities such as poverty and women's rights.

Most NGO funding comes from private donors, from their own fund raising campaigns (individual donations), and sometimes (for larger NGOs) from government agencies, **development banks** (e.g. *World Bank* or *Asian Development Bank*) or the United Nations (UN).

However, government or international funding raises questions about the independence and "non-governmental" nature of some NGOs. This is because NGOs that rely on funding from other political actors are often less independent. These governments or international organisations that provide funding can influence NGOs and determine the people and issues they focus on.

Exercise

After you read 8.1.4.B:

1. In what ways do NGOs challenge the government?
2. In what ways do NGOs support the government?
3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of NGOs compared to CBOs?

Most NGO funding comes from private donors, from their own fund raising campaigns (individual donations), and sometimes (for larger NGOs) from government agencies, **development banks** (e.g. *World Bank* or *Asian Development Bank*) or the United Nations (UN).

However, government or international funding raises questions about the independence and "non-governmental" nature of some NGOs. This is because NGOs that rely on funding from other political actors are often less independent. These governments or international organisations that provide funding can influence NGOs and determine the people and issues they focus on.



▲ Web banner for the Karen Environmental and Social Action Network (KESAN) (<http://www.kesan.asia>).



## Focus on Myanmar

### NGOs in Myanmar

#### The Free Funeral Service Society (FFSS)

The FFSS has offered free funeral services since 2001. It provides services regardless of social status, nationality or religion. Its activities include:

- helping poor families to pay funeral costs
- opening a low-cost restaurant
- providing affordable health care through community clinics



#### Local Resource Centre (LRC)

The LRC was set up in May 2008 in response to Cyclone Nargis. It was created by international donors and NGOs to support local organisations in their emergency relief efforts. Its activities include:

- networking with local and international organisations
- providing access to information
- facilitating practical training and support on project management

#### The '88 Generation Students' Group

This is a network of activists from the 1988 pro-democracy uprising. Now it is a civil society actor that promotes democracy and national reconciliation. Its activities include:

- advocating for political reform
- participating in the peace process in Myanmar's ethnic minority areas
- strengthening Myanmar's civil society



#### KESAN

KESAN is a nonprofit organisation working with local communities in Karen State. It promotes sustainable development by preserving indigenous knowledge, building capacity and promoting policy change. Its activities include:

- supporting community-based **livelihood** initiatives
- raising awareness about the environment and climate change
- advocating for policies that ensure participation, ownership, gender equity and environmental sustainability

1. Which of the NGOs above are advocacy NGOs?
2. Which of the NGOs above are service NGOs?
3. Which have features of both service and advocacy NGOs?

### Exercise

1. Which do you think are more important, advocacy NGOs or service NGOs? Why?
2. Do you think the government in your country sees NGOs more as a challenge/threat or a support? Why?

### Discussion

## Preview...

1. What is a social movement?
2. What social movements do you know?

## Exercise

After you read 8.1.5:

What are the strengths and weaknesses of social movements?

## 8.1.5 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Like CSOs, social movements are groups of people who join together to take part in social action to address social problems. However, there are some important differences between social movements and CSOs. Firstly, social movements are bigger than individual CBOs or NGOs. They usually focus on large social issues such as environmental destruction, women's rights or land rights. Social movements attract many different organisations because they focus on issues that affect large sections of society.

Secondly, social movements are less organised than most CSOs. Because of their size and diversity, they are more like alliances than organisations. They do not usually have clear leadership, main offices or other features of NGOs.

Social movements generally focus on advocacy rather than providing services. They often try to influence government to make laws or policies that address the issues and concerns of that movement. Like many advocacy NGOs, social movements are closely related to the idea of social **activism**.

Many social movements want to do more than just influence the government. They rely on grassroots support and bottom-up power to create social change. Social movements have often been associated with the idea of civil disobedience and social justice. They often use **direct action** strategies such as demonstrations and occupations.



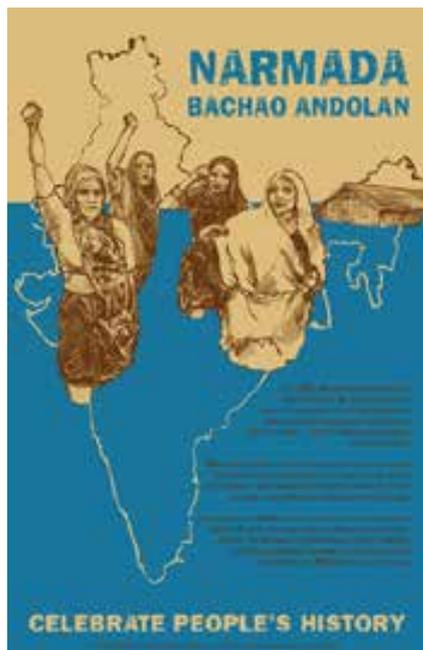
- ▲ Occupy is a world-wide social movement with many aims, including better democracies, fairer distribution of wealth, and an end to corrupt banking practices.

## 8.1.6 DIFFERENT KINDS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

There are two main kinds of social movements: *issue-specific movements* and *generic movements*.

### A. ISSUE-SPECIFIC MOVEMENTS

Certain events or issues create so much popular support or anger that social movements grow up around them. Narmada Bachao Andolan, in India, is a good example of this kind of movement. The movement started with the specific issue of the creation of the Sardar Sarovar dam on the Narmada River. The movement's objective was to stop the dam from being constructed to protect the people who live there. It grew into a bigger movement that opposed other big dam projects and policies of the government that supported them. These kind of movements usually have a clear leadership and a higher level of organisation, but do not often last very long.



## Preview...

What issues do social movements in your country focus on?

## Exercise

After you read 8.1.6.A:

What kinds of issue-specific movements have taken place in Myanmar? Give some examples.



## Focus on Myanmar

### Citizen Responses to Cyclone Nargis

In May 2008 a powerful cyclone hit the Ayeyawady Delta. An estimated 2.4 million people were affected and approximately 130,000 people were killed. At first, the government did not allow NGOs and UN agencies to access the area and so it was very difficult for help to reach people in need. However, a wide range of activities by private citizens, local NGOs, faith-based organisations, businesses and other local groups began to help. They provided emergency aid, food, medicine and other relief items.

Many individuals from all over the country collected money and supplies, and took them to the disaster areas. They used their own transport and donated time, money and goods. It was a citizens' response. People did not wait for permission from the government, but took their own steps to help their fellow citizens.



▲ Myanmar people giving and receiving aid after Cyclone Nargis.

**B. GENERIC MOVEMENTS**

Compared to single-issue movements, generic movements generally last longer and focus on broader issues. The environmental movement and the women's movement are examples of generic movements. Environmental movements protest against many kinds of unsustainable policies and actions. Likewise, women's movements put pressure on the government to create or change policies that address different issues faced by women.

**Exercise**

After you read 8.1.6.B:

What kind of generic movements have taken place in Myanmar?

Generic movements represent many different actors who share the same goals and values. For example, the environmental movement is a label for a large number of individuals, CSOs and issue-specific movements. All of these have separate organisations, independent leadership and often have different views on the kind of social change they want to achieve.

**Exercise**

Below is a page from a directory of Myanmar CSOs but the information is in the wrong order. Match the names with the correct description.

Organisation Name	Description of Activities
1. Myanmar Trade Union	a. We look after our members' right to good working conditions. We meet employers and discuss wages and health and safety in the workplace. We are very concerned about issues like employment.
2. Myanmar Business and Employers Association	b. We represent unemployed people in Myanmar. We want more people to know about the lives of unemployed people. We want to do something to reduce the number of people who are out of work. We try to protect the rights of unemployed people. We meet with the government to discuss the issue of unemployment.
3. Community Education Council	c. We are an organisation for business people and employers. We want to see Myanmar's economy grow so we offer our views on the best way to do this. We try to influence the government to make policies that will help businesses grow. We also provide training and support to help people to start new businesses.
4. Myanmar Women's Association	d. We are a voluntary organisation for people with physical disabilities. We are divided into branches which act as <b>pressure groups</b> locally to ensure that services for our members exist in their areas. We also provide services like sports, therapy and educational courses for our members.
5. National Youth Council of Myanmar	e. We are a large organisation made up of a number of smaller organisations all working with young people. These organisations come together for training and to discuss issues common to them all. We also meet with government departments to discuss policies that might affect young people.
6. Myanmar Farmers' Association	f. Our organisation supports community based education centres in our region. We provide textbooks and teacher training to communities who have difficulty accessing government schools.
7. Myanmar National Association for the Unemployed	g. Our members are from all over the country. We look after their interests on matters like farm income and agricultural policy. We often meet with the government to discuss these matters.
8. Myanmar Wheelchair Association	h. Our members are women from all parts of Myanmar. We are involved in helping women set up businesses and in providing women with services and courses they find useful.

## 8.2 THE WORK OF CSOs

### 8.2.1 INSIDER AND OUTSIDER GROUPS

Some CSOs are closer to the government than others. This affects the kinds of strategies they use. An important difference is between "insider" and "outsider" groups.

#### A. INSIDER GROUPS

Insider groups have a close relationship with the government. They can regularly speak with politicians because they are very powerful. Insider groups usually represent important sectors of the economy, such as industries, businesses or labour groups. However, other CSOs can also have a close relationship with the government if they deal with social issues that are politically important.

The relationship between insider groups and politicians can be good for them both. Insider groups benefit because they can 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.

Having the support of insider groups can also be very important for a government. For example, if the government wants to improve the economy, they will often take the advice of groups that represent important industries. This is also true for individual politicians. If a politician supports policies that benefit these powerful groups, he or she can rely on the support of those groups. Having the support of insider groups can increase a politician's political power.



### Preview...

1. What is an "insider" group?
2. What is an "outsider" group?

### Exercise

After you read 8.2.1.A:

1. Where do insider groups get their power from?
2. How do insider groups try to influence government?

### Discussion

Are insider groups undemocratic? Why or why not?

◀ The Myanmar Peace Centre (can be found on Facebook) is an NGO which reports to the President's office.

**B. OUTSIDER GROUPS**

Outsider groups generally represent groups who have less political power (even though they might have many more supporters). Some examples of outsider groups include peace campaigners, environmental activists or animal rights groups. These groups do not usually have the ability to talk to the government directly. As a result, they need to use indirect strategies to put pressure on the government.

**Exercise**

After you read 8.2.1.B:

1. Where do outsider groups get their power from?
2. How do outsider groups try to influence government?

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.

Outsider groups might be outsiders because they do not have enough power to have access to the government. However, they could be outsiders because they choose to be – for ideological reasons, for example.

**Activity**

Put the words and phrases into the correct place in the table.

access to policy-makers (often) little radical goals  
 a lot moderate goals elite grassroots  
 no/limited access to policy-makers

	Insider Groups	Outsider Groups
Closeness to government		
Use of the media		
Goals		
Support from...		

**Discussion**

1. What are some of the factors that make CSOs powerful?
2. Think of an CBO, NGO or social movement in your country. Explain three factors that affect the power of that group.

**Reflection**

Rank these in order of importance for CBOs. What do you notice about your list?

wealth size organisation and leadership ideology  
 grassroots support closeness to the government

## 8.2.2 CSO STRATEGIES

### A. LOBBYING

A common way civil society actors influence public policy is through **lobbying**. CSOs try to influence members of the government through meetings, phone calls or writing letters. Politicians often listen to lobbyists to understand the needs and concerns of the group the lobbyists represent. Lobbyists try to persuade the government to make decisions that benefit their group or interest. For example, they might try to convince members of the legislature to vote for or against a proposed law or to get the executive to make or change policies.

Many people see lobbying as a legitimate political activity, but it also has dangers. Professional lobbyists are very expensive because they give groups the ability to increase their influence on the government. For this reason, lobbying has been criticised because it means that groups with more money and power can “buy” the support of the government.

### Preview...

How might CSOs try to influence government, and why?

### Discussion

After you read 8.2.2.A:

Do you think lobbying is undemocratic? Why or why not?



## Focus on Myanmar

### The Myitsone Dam Project

The Myitsone dam project was announced in 2001. Following this, the Myanmar government communicated with representatives from the construction industry to decide who would implement the building project.

In 2006, the China Power Investment Corporation (CPI) made an agreement with the government to start work on the dam. In 2007, 12 leaders from Kachin State asked General Than Shwe and the Ministry of Electric Power to cancel the project.



▲ The Myitsone Dam site.

The Burma Rivers Network (BRN) sent a letter to the Chinese government requesting that Chinese companies in Myanmar should have to do environmental and social **impact assessments**. The BRN also asked companies to release information publicly, and to consider opinions of affected communities in decision-making processes.

Government minister Zaw Min responded to this by saying that the Myitsone dam project had started after an environmental impact assessment was completed. However, the results of this assessment were not released publicly.

On 30 September 2011, President Thein Sein announced that the project would be suspended. The President of CPI responded by warning that stopping construction could lead to legal action and has been putting pressure on the Myanmar government to restart the project ever since.

1. What examples of lobbying can you see in the Myitsone Dam example?
2. How effective was it?

### Discussion

### B. ADVOCACY

Advocacy is when an individual or a group tries to influence government actions and policies by raising awareness about a particular issue or cause. It influences the government indirectly by affecting public opinion on an issue. There are many strategies used by advocacy groups including media campaigns, speeches and publishing research reports. The main aim of these activities is to increase public support for the kinds of policies that the group wants. It is a strategy that is often used by outsider groups to defend the rights of marginalised groups in society.

### Discussion

1. Which marginalised groups do CSOs advocate for in your country?
2. How successful are these CSOs at achieving their goals?
3. What examples of advocacy can you see in the Myitsone Dam example? How effective were they?

### C. DEMONSTRATIONS

Like advocacy, the aim of a demonstration is to influence the government by making people aware of an issue. However, while advocacy tries to do this by presenting information, demonstrations try to get public support by creating an event that people – and the media – cannot ignore. Demonstrations can be dramatic events, so even a very short video on the television news can have a very big impact on public opinion.

Demonstrations and other kinds of direct action are strategies that require few resources (e.g. money or skilled staff). This makes them popular with CSOs that do not have the power to influence government directly.

### D. STRIKES

A **strike** is when workers stop work in order to force an employer to agree to their demands. These demands are usually related to working conditions or pay (for example when factory workers stop working until the management listens to their concerns about safety).

However, the goal of a strike can also be very political. For example, doctors might go on strike because the government is reducing the health care budget. Like demonstrations, strikes can attract media and public attention to an issue. However, they also make use of these groups' economic power by stopping the goods and/or services that they provide. This can cause people to get angry with the government and put more pressure on them to change their policies.



▲ A teachers' strike in Chicago, USA.

### Exercise

1. Which of these strategies are more likely to be used by insider groups?
2. Which of these strategies are more likely to be used by outsider groups?



## Focus on Myanmar

### The 8888 Uprising

The 8888 Uprising was a series of marches, demonstrations and protests against Ne Win's BSPP government. On 5 September 1987, Ne Win announced the withdrawal of new currency notes. Students were angry at the government's decision because their savings for tuition fees were instantly lost. The students' anger increased after a fight in a Yangon tea shop. Some students were injured in the fight, but the others involved were not punished. The violent reaction of the police to these events caused the students to protest against the police and the government.

These student-led protests were quickly joined by other citizens including government workers, monks, air force and navy personnel, teachers and hospital staff. Pamphlets and posters appeared on the streets, dissident newspapers were freely published, and marches and speeches calling for change took place frequently.

A general strike began on 8 August 1988. Mass demonstrations were held across Burma as ethnic minorities, Buddhists, Muslims, Christians, students, workers and the young and old all demonstrated against the government. In Mandalay Division, a more organised strike committee was led by lawyers. This committee focused on multi-party democracy and human rights. Farmers who were also angry with the government's economic policies joined the protests in Rangoon. In one village, 2,000 of the 5,000 inhabitants also went on strike.

The uprising is still remembered and honoured today. On 8 August every year, demonstrations and events are held around the world to remember the event.

1. What examples of demonstrations can you see in the 8888 Uprising example? What were the demonstrators trying to achieve?
2. What examples of strikes can you see in the 8888 uprising example? What were the strikers trying to achieve?

### Discussion

Do you think that it is acceptable for doctors, police officers and teachers to go on strike to demand better working conditions? Why?

### Reflection

1. Look at the *timeline*. Which events have involved civil society actors? How did these actors affect politics in these events?
2. Which of the CSO strategies (lobbying, advocacy, demonstrations and strikes) were used during these *timeline* events?

### Activity

1. How do CSOs try to influence government in your country today? How successful are they?
2. Which strategies put the most pressure on government? Why?

### Discussion

Preview...

Are powerful CSOs good or bad for society? Why?

8.2.3 CSOs AND SOCIETY

A. ADVANTAGES

When people participate in civil society, they make use of the rights to *freedom of association* and *freedom of assembly*. This promotes civic participation and strengthens democracy.

Civil society organisations put pressure on the government to pay attention to the needs and concerns of ordinary citizens. This creates more accountability and transparency in government and increases political participation.

Another advantage of CSOs is their ability to provide **humanitarian** and development aid directly to marginalised communities, especially in isolated and war-affected areas. A strong civil society often empowers groups to address issues affecting their communities.

B. PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES

Some people claim that civil society actors have now obtained a large amount of political power without anyone directly electing or appointing them.

Another criticism of CSOs is that their structure is often undemocratic. Some are dependent on leaders who manage the organisation in a top-down way. For young people in these organisations, there is often little space to challenge opinions or discuss decisions made by senior leaders.

Another problem is that many people think that "civil society" is the solution to all of society's problems. In countries where government services are weak, there can be a danger of unrealistic hopes and beliefs about what civil society can do.

Discussion

After you read 8.2.3:

1. How do CSOs weaken democracy?
2. How do CSOs promote democracy?

► The first Myanmar Women's Forum was organised by the Women's Organisations Network (WON) and the Women's League of Burma (WLB) in 2013. Both organisations work for women's empowerment.

<http://womenofburma.org/>

<https://www.facebook.com/WONMM>



Put the statements about CSOs in the correct place in the table.

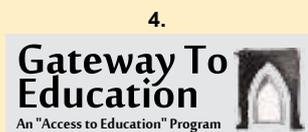
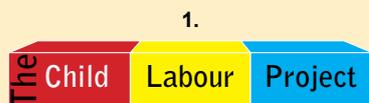
**Activity**

	<b>Benefits</b>	<b>Dangers</b>
<b>Equality</b>		
<b>Discussion and debate</b>		
<b>Accountability</b>		
<b>Participation</b>		
<b>Decision making</b>		

- a. Insider groups can make inequality worse by giving powerful groups even more influence in politics.
- 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.
- d. CSOs (especially social movements) are "free schools of democracy" where members can learn the skills of how to participate in politics.
- 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.
- g. The information that CSOs provide (reports, etc.) can help the government to make accurate decisions and effective policies.
- h. Unelected lobbyists and insider groups undermine electoral politics by having more power to take part in politics than average citizens.
- i. They make politics very difficult because politicians need to balance the needs of many different powerful groups when they are making policy.
- j. They allow social groups that are ignored by political parties to represent their interest to government and society.

## Activity

1. Match the CSOs with the correct descriptions (a-d).
2. Match the CSOs and their descriptions with the correct aims (i-xv).



- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>a. Helping students to express their opinions, and giving them access to information about social justice issues, is the best way to promote democratic participation as adults. This project will work with schools to ensure that students' opinions are heard on issues of importance to them. It will:</p> <p>b. Many children in our country are forced to work in dangerous jobs from an early age. This project is essential to protect children from abuses, and ensure that they grow up in a situation which will allow them to develop fully. It will:</p> | <p>c. A decent standard of living is essential to the healthy development of children, and their future ability to contribute positively to society. This project will raise the standard of living in our country so that children can develop fully. It will:</p> <p>d. Abuse and neglect affects the most defenceless members of society. Victims may grow up physically, mentally and emotionally handicapped as a result. This project aims to eliminate physical and mental abuse, exploitation and neglect of children and young people. It will:</p> |
|--|--|

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>i. Produce curriculum on human rights and social justice issues, understanding of students' own culture and the cultures of others, peaceful conflict resolution, and environmental education</p> <p>ii. Set up education and counselling for parents on issues of abuse and neglect, and train social workers, police and health care workers</p> <p>iii. Promote construction of affordable housing with sanitary facilities</p> <p>iv. Set up agricultural programmes to enable families to meet their basic nutritional needs</p> <p>v. Educate teachers about equality in the classroom</p> <p>vi. Organise food cooperatives to make basic food items more affordable</p> <p>vii. Set up programmes in schools and youth groups about getting away from abuse and neglect, saying "no" to drugs-, and dealing with sexual abuse and exploitation</p> | <p>viii. Advise the Ministry of Education and provide information to parents on how young people can develop the skills and attitudes needed for life in a diverse society</p> <p>ix. Establish a reporting system for children and young people who are being forced to work at an early age</p> <p>x. Pay special attention to the situation of minority children, who are more likely to be involved in child labour</p> <p>xi. Provide support services to families who need their children's income</p> <p>xii. Establish drop-in centres where young people may receive advice and counselling about abuse and neglect</p> <p>xiii. Work with the government to establish a minimum working age and regulate conditions of employment</p> <p>xiv. Distribute food to the hungry</p> |
|---|---|


**Discussion**

1. Do you think that CSOs and social movements are good or bad for society?
2. Why are some Myanmar CSOs more successful than others?

## *Our Organisation, Part 2*


**Activity**

Look at the list of statements and the budget that your group made at the start of this chapter. Use that and the information from this chapter to complete the checklist:

### CSO Checklist

1. **Name of CSO:** \_\_\_\_\_

2. **Issue(s) the CSO focuses on:**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3. **Main aim(s) of the organisation (may be more than one aim):**

- To provide a service \_\_\_\_\_
- To change government policy \_\_\_\_\_
- To change people's behaviour/attitude \_\_\_\_\_
- Other (explain) \_\_\_\_\_

4. **Type of activity(ies) which the group engages in:**

- Lobbying (trying to influence politicians) \_\_\_\_\_
- Campaigning (organising activities to attract public interest) \_\_\_\_\_
- Awareness raising (education programmes, using media, etc) \_\_\_\_\_
- Nonviolent direct action (protests, boycotts, strikes) \_\_\_\_\_
- Providing goods or services to communities who need them \_\_\_\_\_
- Other \_\_\_\_\_

1. Why did you choose these strategies?
2. How did your size and budget affect your decision?
3. Do you think this organisation would be effective in achieving its core goal? Why or why not?


**Reflection**

# CHAPTER 9: POLITICAL PARTIES

## 9.1 POLITICAL PARTIES

### Preview...

What is a political party?

### 9.1.1 POLITICAL PARTIES

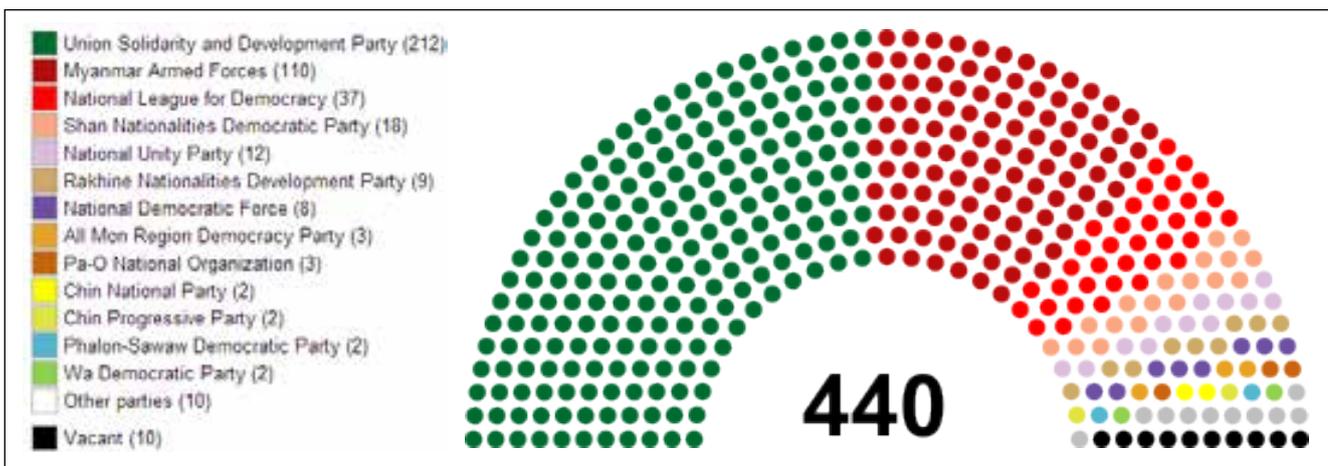
#### A. FEATURES OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties are groups of people who have similar opinions about politics. They often share interests, identity or ideology and work together to achieve their political goals.

People form political parties:

- to have a louder voice in society
- to make suggestions about what kind of policies the government should make
- to promote their ideas and values to the public
- to support party candidates running in elections.

Political parties try to gain political power by having as many party members as possible elected to the legislature and/or executive. They aim to win a majority of seats in the legislature (in parliamentary systems) or win a popular vote for the executive (in presidential systems). If they succeed, they become the "ruling party" and control the government. All other parties are known as opposition parties.



▲ Seats in the Pyithu Hluttaw structure after the 2012 Myanmar by-election.

## *Our Political Party: Identity*

1. Individually, write down the three most important values that you think society should have.
2. Form a group with people with similar ideas to yours. Decide whether your group will focus on community, regional or country-wide issues.
3. Draft an agenda for a meeting to define your political identity. In the meeting, you should answer the following questions:
  - a. What are the biggest social, economic and political problems facing our community/region/country?
  - b. What is our ideology? Is it more socialist, liberal, conservative or somewhere in between?
  - c. What name do we give our party? Why does this name express our political identity? Can you think of a symbol that represents our political identity?

### Activity



## B. ORGANISATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

There are three levels to each political party.

1. The members of the party who are trying to become elected to the government (politicians).
2. Full-time or part-time party workers. These people receive a salary from the party and carry out the daily activities of running the party.
3. The party membership. Some might be involved in party organisation; others might volunteer time or donate money to the party.

## *Our Political Party: Roles*

Each member of the group should have a role in the party. There are three roles to choose from (limited roles should be chosen either by consensus or majority vote):

- a. The Chairperson. Your task is to make sure that your group follows a decision-making process (from chapter 6) during your meetings. You are also responsible for making sure that everyone has a fair chance of expressing their opinion.
- b. The Spokesperson. The spokesperson is responsible for explaining your party to the other members of the class. Try to appeal to the students who have not yet joined a party, and try to win over members from other parties, particularly those closest to your ideology.
- c. Writers. Writers are responsible for writing all the documents and speeches that will be produced by the party.

### Activity



## Preview...

What do political parties do?

## 9.1.2 PARTY FUNCTIONS

The main function of a political party is to help people organise themselves so that they can achieve more as a group than they can alone. In this way, parties form one voice that represents its members to the government and the rest of society. Some other functions of political parties include:

## A. PROVIDING ALTERNATIVES TO GOVERNMENT POLICY

Parties offer suggestions on public policy. Parties research and discuss ways that the government could manage the country better, and then present these ideas to the public.

A **manifesto** is a document that outlines a party's suggestions for better public policies. Manifestos include political goals and details of steps that the party will take to achieve their goals if they become the government.

When political parties present their manifestos to the people, they need to explain them. This requires political education and awareness raising about the issues addressed in their manifesto. This helps to give people a better understanding of the current situation by providing information about social and political problems and explaining their causes and effects.

Manifestos also describe how the party's policies would solve these problems. Opposition party manifestos might also explain how the current government's policies are failing to solve these problems. This is an important part of democratic politics because it supports pluralism and public debate.

## B. CHOOSING AND SUPPORTING CANDIDATES IN ELECTIONS

When there is an election for a position in government, parties select members and support them in their election campaign. Parties choose candidates in different ways. In some countries, such as the USA, the supporters of a party choose its candidates. In other countries, like India, party leaders often choose which party members will contest an election. After a candidate is chosen, parties help them to organise their election campaign.

During the campaign, the party assists its candidates in different ways. Party workers might give information to the media, write speeches or do research. This helps candidates to understand the needs and concerns of the voters and communicate them effectively. Other party members might hand out pamphlets, put up posters or organise events. These activities are very important to mobilise public support at the grassroots level.

## Discussion

After you read 9.1.2.A:  
Who should be mainly responsible for political education? Parties, the government or civil society? Why?

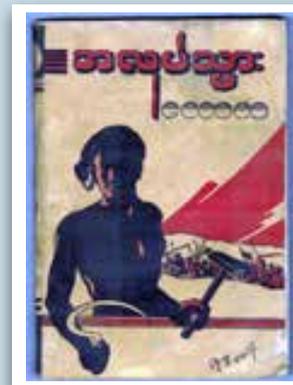
## Discussion

After you read 9.1.2.B:  
In what ways do better-funded parties have an advantage during an election campaign?

## Our Political Party: Goals

1. In your groups, discuss:
  - a. What is your top priority?
  - b. What are your other goals?
  - c. What is the best situation for the people of this community/region/country? Specifically:
    - the political situation
    - the social situation
    - the economic situation
2. Present your ideas to the class.

## Activity



### C. ACTING AS A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE

Like civil society organisations, parties can provide people with opportunities to participate in politics. Social groups can express their wants, needs and concerns to the government by forming or supporting political parties.

This increases people's ability to criticise the government if it is not performing well. Political parties can listen to the concerns of their supporters and bring them to the government with a louder, clearer voice. This is an important part of making sure that the government is accountable. However, this closeness to the people also means that politicians need to be honest and work hard for their supporters. If they don't, they will lose support and decrease their political power.

### D. PROMOTING STABILITY IN POLITICS

Some people argue that parties make politics more organised. This is because parties are able to present well-researched suggestions that represent the opinions of large groups of people. If party members all share the same opinion about a policy decision, it makes it easier for legislatures to make decisions quickly and effectively.

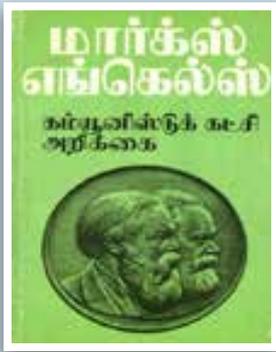
Parties can also promote stability by developing political leaders. Political parties provide their members with training and the experience of political leadership. By taking part in party politics, professional politicians get the skills, knowledge and experience that are needed to lead government ministries.

## Discussion

After you read 9.1.2.C/D:

1. Do parties act as a bridge between the people and the government in your country? Why or why not?
2. Do parties promote stability in your country? Why or why not?
3. Do you agree that parties produce better political leaders? Why or why not?

Activity



*Our Political Party: Manifesto*

1. In groups, think of your ideal situations from the Goals Activity on page 151. Decide on some policies for your party that will help you achieve these goals.

What we would do to achieve the best situation:

- a. We would stop...
- b. We would continue...
- c. We would create...

2. Present your ideas to the class.

Preview...

What is a "party system"?

9.1.3 PARTY SYSTEMS

A party system is the environment and structure that parties exist in. There are different relationships between political parties in different countries. This is based on several factors including the political culture of that country and the way that the government is designed in the constitution. There are three main party systems:

**A. DOMINANT-PARTY SYSTEMS**

In a dominant-party system, one party is so popular (or powerful) that it is the only party with a good chance of winning elections. This system is common in countries that got their independence from a colonial power after a **liberation struggle**. In this case, the political or military organisation that won the conflict often becomes the ruling party of the country for many years. This is often because of the legitimacy it got from leading the country to independence and/or the power it gained during the struggle.

Examples include ZANU-PF in Zimbabwe (in power since independence in 1980), or the African National Congress of South Africa (in power since the end of Apartheid in 1994). A more extreme version of this is the "single-party state", where there is only one party and forming other parties is against the law. Examples of this system include the authoritarian regimes in China and North Korea.



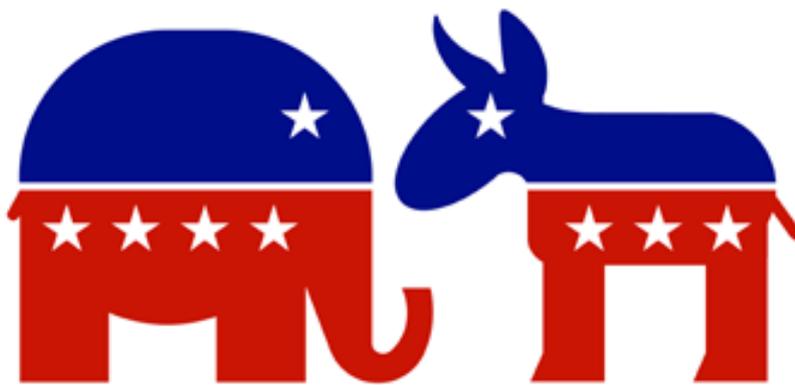
▲▶ North Korea is one of the few communist states in the world today. It is also an example of a single-party state.



## B. TWO-PARTY SYSTEMS

Two-party systems are dominated by two major political parties. Other smaller parties exist, but only two parties are able to get enough votes to win an election.

These parties are usually popular enough that they can win enough votes to have a majority in the legislature. In this system, power usually changes between the parties every two or three elections. Two-party systems are usually very competitive because what is bad for one party is good for the other. This leads to a situation where cooperation in government can be difficult. Two-party systems are more common in single member district electoral systems. Examples of this kind of system include the UK, France and the USA.



▲ **Left:** In the USA, there are two main parties: the Republicans and Democrats, whose logos are an elephant and a donkey respectively. Elections in the US are fought between these two parties; **Right:** President Barack Obama (on the left) is a Democrat and President George W. Bush is a Republican.

## C. MULTIPARTY SYSTEMS

A multiparty system is when more than two parties have a good chance of coming to power, either on their own or by joining with other parties in a "coalition". A coalition is when two or more competing political parties join together to increase their chances of winning an election. They usually do this to get enough votes to form a majority in the legislature.

Coalitions can either happen before or after an election (once the votes have been counted and there is no clear winner). In this system, the government is often made when several parties come together to make a coalition government. In a coalition government, the different parties share the responsibilities of running the state. For example, the Minister of Education will come from one party and the Minister for Health will come from another. Multiparty systems are more common in proportional representation electoral systems, such as those used in Brazil, Germany and Israel.

### Discussion

After you read 9.1.3:

1. What is the role of conflict and cooperation in party systems?
2. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the different party systems?
3. How does the electoral system affect the party system?
4. How would you describe the party system in your country? Is it changing? How?

## Activity

## Reading Election Results

1. Read the most recent election results (in blue) for each of the countries and decide if each has a dominant party system, a two-party system or a multi-party system.
2. Read the previous election results and decide if each country's system has changed over time.

South Africa Seats (out of 400)

Political Party	1994 Election	1999 Election	2004 Election	2009 Election
African National Congress	252	266	279	264
Democratic Party	7	38	50	67
Inkatha Freedom Party	43	34	28	18
New National Party (formerly National Party)	82	28	7	-
United Democratic Movement	-	14	9	4

Source: South Africa Independent Electoral Commission

Sri Lanka Seats (out of 225)

Political Party	2000 election	2001 election	2004 election	2010 election
People's Alliance	107	77	-	-
United People's Freedom Alliance	-	-	105	144
United National Party	89	109	82	-
United National Front	-	-	82	60
Tamil United Liberation Front	5	15	-	-

Source: Department of Elections, Sri Lanka

Malaysia % of Seats

	Political Party	1999 election	2004 election	2008 election	2013 election
<b>Ruling Coalition</b>	United Malays National Organisation	36.98	49.8	35.6	39.64
	Malaysian Chinese Association	15.10	14.2	6.8	3.15
	Malaysian Indian Congress	3.65	4.1	1.4	1.80
<b>Total Ruling</b>		<b>76.56</b>	<b>90.4</b>	<b>63.1</b>	<b>59.91</b>
<b>Opposition coalition</b>	Democratic Action Party	5.21	5.5	12.6	17.12
	Islamic Party of Malaysia	14.06	3.2	10.4	9.46
	People's Justice Party	2.60	0.5	14.0	13.51
<b>Total Opposition</b>		<b>21.88</b>	<b>9.2</b>	<b>36.9</b>	<b>40.09</b>

 Source: Election Commission of Malaysia (<http://www.spr.gov.my>)

# 9.2 KINDS OF PARTIES

## 9.2.1 MASS PARTIES AND MEMBERSHIP PARTIES

There are two important kinds of political party: "membership" parties and "mass" parties.

### A. MEMBERSHIP PARTIES

Membership parties usually have a smaller number of supporters. This is because they often have strict ideologies that party members share. As a result, these parties expect a lot from their members and generally have a very close relationship with them.

Their policies are based on their ideology and values. This makes it more likely that members will agree with each other, and promotes strong unity among party members. On the other hand, they often get less support from non-members because not everyone in society agrees with their specific ideology.

Examples of membership parties include some nationalist parties, communist parties and parties based on ethnicity or religion.

### B. MASS PARTIES

Mass parties try to get as much support as possible. For this reason they do not expect a lot of participation from their nonprofessional members. A mass party's main goal is to get as many votes as possible. A common word for mass parties is "catch all" parties because they suggest policies that try to "catch" as many supporters as possible.

As a result, mass parties do not usually have very strict ideologies. Their ideology is usually in the middle: not too liberal, not too socialist and not too conservative. However, because they try to represent so many different voices and opinions, party members do not always agree with each other. This means that this kind of party is generally less unified than membership parties.

Look at the *actors list*. Choose six political parties and put them on the spectrum in the correct place.



### Preview...

Where do parties get their support from?

### Exercise

After you read 9.2.1:

Look at the three different party systems in 9.1.3. In which of these systems would membership parties be more successful? What about mass parties?

### Discussion

Which of these two kinds of party are more successful in your country? Why?

### Activity

## Activity



▲ A 1960s election poster by the British Conservative ("Tory") Party. It uses racist feelings to encourage people to vote for them.

## Our Political Party: Strategy

1. Decide on the best strategy for your party. Answer the following questions:
  - a. How can we increase support for our party?
  - b. Which social groups share our goals?
  - c. Would we be willing to change our values to get more support? Why or why not?
  - d. Would we be willing to change our manifesto to get more support? Why or why not?
2. Present your ideas to the class.

## Preview...

What are "left-wing" and "right-wing" parties?

## 9.2.2 LEFT-WING AND RIGHT-WING PARTIES

Often the terms **left-wing** and **right-wing** (or just left and right) are used to describe the ideology of political parties. This description came from the French National Assembly (the legislature) during the 18th century. In this assembly, the supporters of the liberal revolution sat on the left, and the supporters of the old system (a monarchy) sat on the right. Since then, "left" and "right" have been used to describe the differences between the social and economic policies of different parties. Parties that do not have strong views (or have a mixture of views) are called "centrist". Some of the main features of left- and right-wing ideologies are:

### A. LEFT-WING

- **IMPORTANT VALUES:** Solidarity, social justice, and equality.
- **POLITICAL ATTITUDE:** Moderate or radical (in favour of change).
- **VIEWS ON EQUALITY:** Support equality of outcome.
- **LIBERTY:** Economic equality over economic freedom.
- **COMMON POLICIES:** Social welfare, high taxation on the rich, national health service, laws against discrimination, regulation.

### B. RIGHT-WING

- **IMPORTANT VALUES:** **Individualism**, economic freedom.
- **POLITICAL ATTITUDE:** Usually conservative.
- **VIEWS ON EQUALITY:** Support equality of opportunity only.
- **LIBERTY:** Economic freedom over economic equality.
- **COMMON POLICIES:** **Privatisation**, deregulation.

## Political Quotes

Read the statements and decide if they are left-wing or right-wing.

### Activity

1. *THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD SUPPORT THOSE WHO CANNOT SUPPORT THEMSELVES!*

2. *I BELIEVE THAT IF WE HAVE TOTAL ECONOMIC FREEDOM, THEN ONLY THE BEST INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS (INCLUDING BUSINESSES) WILL BE SUCCESSFUL AND WE WILL LIVE IN A BETTER SOCIETY!*

3. *TAXES DON'T INTERFERE WITH MY LIBERTY, POVERTY DOES!*

4. *THE GOVERNMENT HAS A RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT WOMEN, ETHNIC MINORITIES AND HOMOSEXUALS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION!*

5. *WE SHOULD REGULATE BIG BUSINESSES SO THAT THEY SERVE THE PEOPLE'S INTERESTS!*

6. *IF I HAVE MORE MONEY, I SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO KEEP IT, AND BUY BETTER EDUCATION AND HEALTH SERVICES FOR ME AND MY FAMILY!*

7. *UNREGULATED BUSINESSES MAKE MORE MONEY AND THIS IMPROVES THE ECONOMY!*

8. *IT IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO LOOK AFTER OURSELVES, NOT THE GOVERNMENT!*

9. *I BELIEVE THAT THE FREEDOM TO BE ECONOMICALLY SUCCESSFUL IS MUCH MORE IMPORTANT THAN EQUALITY!*

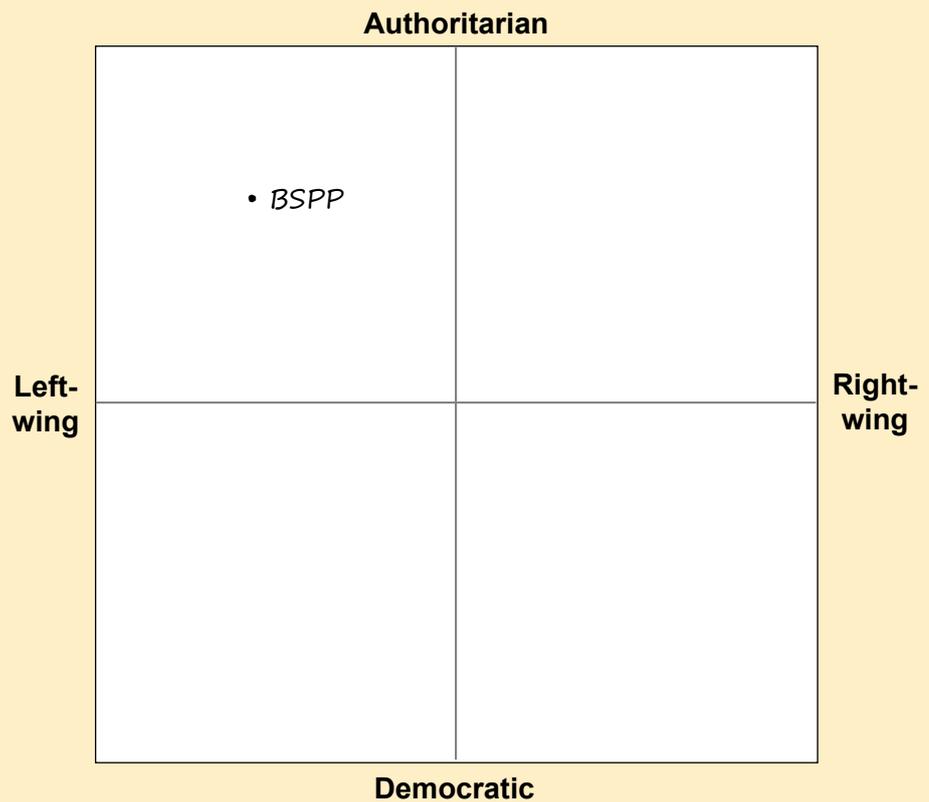
10. *A BIG WELFARE STATE WILL MAKE PEOPLE HEALTHIER, MORE ABLE TO WORK AND SO IT WILL IMPROVE THE ECONOMY!*

11. *I SHOULDN'T HAVE TO PAY FOR SOMEONE ELSE'S EDUCATION OR HEALTH SERVICE!*

12. *WE NEED HIGH TAXATION TO REDISTRIBUTE WEALTH TO THOSE WHO NEED IT MOST!*

- Put these ideologies in the correct place on the diagram on the next page.
  - liberalism
  - conservatism
  - socialism
  - communism
  - anarchism
  - libertarianism
- In pairs, discuss your answers.

### Activity



## Activity

1. Put the political parties below onto the diagram.
2. Look at the *actors list* and add six more political parties to the diagram.
3. Add other political parties that you know to the diagram.
4. In groups, compare your diagrams and discuss the differences.

### a. The Liberal Party of the Philippines

The Liberal Party's ideology includes a commitment to "an open, diverse, democratic society, based on a market economy, political openness, and an honest, effective government that will serve the interests of the majority of Filipinos."

### b. Democratic Action Party (DAP) of Malaysia

DAP's ideology is that all Malaysians should have equal access to educational and economic opportunities. DAP says that equality does not exist under the current system. The party believes that Malaysia should uphold the values of democracy and human rights.

### c. The Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV)

The CPV is the only legal political party in that country, and is in control of the state's institutions, including the civil **bureaucracy**, military, police, the courts and the state-controlled media.

### d. Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party) (PAN)

PAN's ideology includes respect for the rule of the people, a commitment to democracy, progress and social justice with roots in religious values. The party's ideology is based on five principles (*Pancasila*): religion, community, unity, representative democracy and social justice.

### e. The Nepali Congress Party (NC)

The NC supports a democratic society based on the value of pluralism. The party claims to avoid the dangers of extreme left and extreme right ideologies. The NC has a centrist ideology. It wants to promote economic growth at the same time as protecting social justice and equality.

## Our Political Party: Ideology

1. Discuss where you would put your political party on the ideology diagram.
2. Make a presentation to the class to explain your decision.

## Activity

### 9.2.3 PROBLEMS WITH POLITICAL PARTIES

#### A. PARTIES CAN BE UNDEMOCRATIC

In some parties the leaders control the other party members. These leaders don't allow the other members to express their opinions or make decisions. When making decisions, party leaders do not have meetings or votes to see what all the members want. Party leaders help their friends get positions of power in the party.

#### B. PARTIES CAN BE INFLUENCED BY WEALTHY DONORS

Election campaigns are very expensive. To pay for these campaigns, parties often try to get the support of rich individuals or companies. This gives these rich people and large businesses a lot of political power because they have a lot of influence over the parties they support. This can cause party leaders to value money more than ideology or the needs of the people.

#### C. PARTIES ARE BECOMING VERY SIMILAR

In some countries (especially in two-party systems) the only political parties that can win an election are mass parties. These parties need as many votes as possible, so they try to have popular policies and a weak ideology. As a result, they are becoming more and more similar. Voters do not have a choice between parties with very different ideologies and manifestos. As a result, politics is often reduced to personal attacks about the private lives of politicians or other unimportant issues. This is a big cause of the "**democratic deficit**" that is happening in many countries. People do not feel like they have the opportunity to vote for a party that will make any political changes. This makes them not want to vote at all.

## Preview...

What are some problems of political parties?

## Reflection

After you read 9.2.3:

1. When you formed your party, was the process democratic? Was it easy? Why?
2. Was your party similar to other groups' parties? How? What things were different? Why?

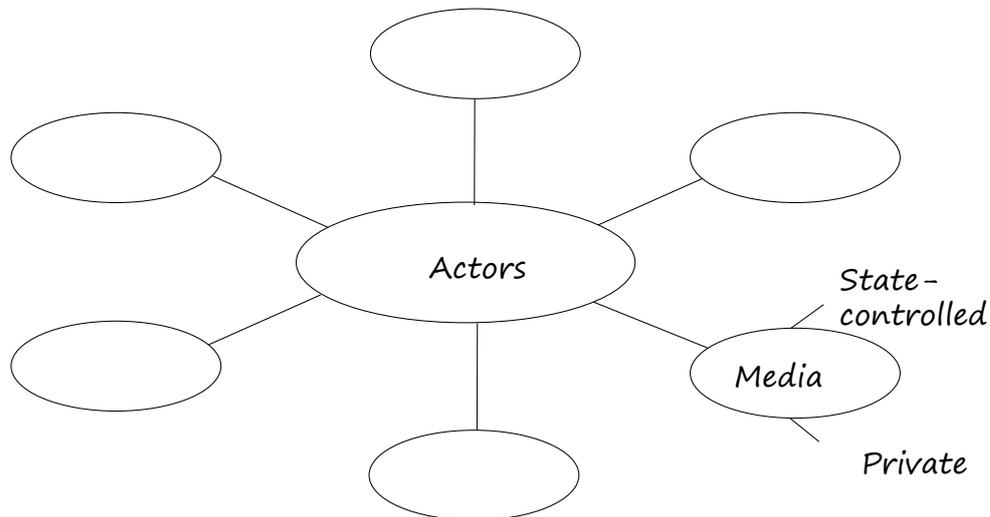
1. What are the problems with political parties?
2. Could governments work without political parties?
3. In what ways do parties support democracy?
4. What can be done to solve some of the problems faced by political parties?

## Discussion

# Unit 3 Review

## Unit 3 Mind Map

Complete the mind map with important ideas you have learned in Unit 3.



## Comprehension

1. What are the advantages and dangers of basing policy decisions on public opinion?
2. What is required for freedom of the press?
3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of state-controlled media?
4. What are the advantages and disadvantages of private media?
5. What is media management?
6. What is civil society?
7. What is the difference between a service and an advocacy NGO?
8. What is the difference between lobbying and advocacy?
9. What is the difference between insider and outsider CSO strategies?
10. What are the advantages and disadvantages of CSOs?
11. What do political parties do?
12. What is a coalition government?
13. What is the difference between a mass and a membership party?
14. What is the difference between a right- and a left-wing party?
15. What are some problems of political parties?

### Unit 3 Glossary

**activism (n)** – လှုပ်ရှားပြောင်းလဲရေးလုပ်ဆောင်မှု

**blacklist (n)** – အမည်ပျက်စာရင်း

**blog (n)** – ဘလော့ဂ်

**bloggers (n)** – ဘလော့ဂ်ဂါများ

**bureaucracy (n)** – ဗျူရိုကရေစီ၊ ကြီးနီစနစ်

**campaign (v)** – လှုပ်ရှားမှု

**censor (v)** – ဆင်ဆာ

**corporation (n)** – ကော်ပိုရေးရှင်း၊

**democratic deficit (n)** – ဒီမိုကရေစီ ကျင့်သုံးမှု အားနည်းလာမှု

**development bank (n)** – ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးဘဏ်

**direct action (n)** – တိုက်ရိုက်လုပ်ဆောင်ချက်

**emergency relief (n)** – အရေးပေါ်ကူညီကယ်ဆယ်ပေးရေး

**exile (adj)** – တိုင်းပြည်မှ နှင်ထုတ်သည်/ခြင်း

**grassroots (n)** – အခြေခံလူတန်းစား

**humanitarian (aid) (n)** – လူသားချင်းစာနာထောက်ထားမှုဆိုင်ရာ (အကူအညီ)

**impact assessment (n)** – သက်ရောက်မှုကို လေ့လာဆန်းစိမ်းခြင်း

**individualism (n)** – တစ်ဦးတစ်ယောက်ဖြစ်ခြင်း၊ ပုဂ္ဂလိကဖြစ်ခြင်း

**leak (n)** – ပေါက်ကြားမှု

**left-wing (adj)** – လက်ဝဲယိမ်း

**liberation struggle (n)** – လွတ်မြောက်ရေးကြိုးပမ်းမှု

**livelihood (n)** – အသက်အိုးအိမ်

**lobby (v)** – စည်းရုံးဆွဲဆောင်သည်။

**manifesto (n)** – ကြော်ငြာစာတမ်း၊ ပြန်တမ်း

**market (n)** – ဈေးကွက်

**micro-credit (n)** – ငွေကြေးချို့တဲ့သူများအတွက် ချေးငွေ ချေးပေးခြင်း၊ အသေးစား ချေးငွေ

**(government) performance (n)** – (အစိုးရ) လုပ်ဆောင်နိုင်မှု

**petition (n)** – လျှောက်လွှာ၊ အသနားခံစာ

**platform (n)** – မျက်နှာစာ၊ မူဝါဒလမ်းစဉ်

**poll (n)** – စစ်တမ်းကောက်ယူမှု

**press conference (n)** – သတင်းစာရှင်းလင်းပွဲ

**pressure group (n)** – ဖိအားပေးအဖွဲ့။ (အစိုးရ၊ အဖွဲ့အစည်းတစ်ရပ်ရပ်ကို) ၎င်းတို့ဦးတည်သည့် ကိစ္စတစ်ရပ်အတွက် နည်းအမျိုးမျိုးဖြင့် အရေးဆိုသောအဖွဲ့။

**privatisation (n)** – ပုဂ္ဂလိကပိုင်ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း။

**public interest (n)** – အများပြည်သူအကျိုး

**right-wing (adj)** – လက်ယာယိမ်း

**scrutiny (n)** – မျက်စိဒေါက်ထောက် စိတ်စစ်ဆေးခြင်း

**spin (n)** – လူထု၏ ထင်မြင်ချက်အား လွှမ်းမိုးနိုင်ရန် သတင်းလှည့်ပတ်ခြင်းဖြင့် ကြိုးစားဖော်ထုတ်ခြင်း

**strike (n)** – သပိတ်မှောက်ခြင်း

**trade union (n)** – အလုပ်သမား သမဂ္ဂ

# TIMELINE

- **1885 Third Anglo-Burmese War:** Trade dispute and concerns over French interest in Burma causes the British to demand King Thibaw to give up some of his power. King Thibaw refuses and the British invade, remove him from power and take direct control of central Burma and indirect control of the Frontier Areas.
- **1920 University boycott:** Students protest against the University Act. The Act established British control over the universities, set high tuition fees and required a high level of English. Students succeed in lobbying for the opening of National Schools not controlled by the British. National Day (November 22) commemorates the beginning of this strike.
- **1930 Founding of the Dobama Asiayone (We Burmese Association):** Members call themselves Thakin ("master"). Most of its membership are students and other young intellectuals unhappy with British rule.
- **1930 – 1931 Saya San Rebellion:** Peasants fall into debt and lose their land to moneylenders. Saya San leads a peasant revolt. He is captured and hanged by the British.
- **1936 The second university student strike:** Aung San and Ko Nu, leaders of the Rangoon University Students' Union (RUSU) are expelled from university, causing widespread strikes in Rangoon and Mandalay. This leads to the formation of the All Burma Students' Union (ABSU).
- **1938 1300 Revolution:** Oilfield workers go on strike against the British Oil Corporation. Students organise a march from Chauk to Rangoon, where they are joined by other workers. The strike spreads countrywide after the British kill a student.
- **1942 – 1945 Japanese occupation:** The Thirty Comrades receive military training in Japan, and form the Burma Independence Army (BIA). The BIA and the Japanese drive out the British, and the Japanese occupy Burma. Half a million Indians flee to British territory. Fighting throughout Burma causes hardship, inter-ethnic tension, and violence, for instance, between the BIA and Karen at Myaungmya. Although Burma gains some formal independence, the Japanese maintain control.
- **1944 – 1945 Anti-fascist revolution:** The Anti-Fascist Organisation (AFO) leads a revolt against the Japanese with aid of the British. Resistance Day (March 27; re-named Armed Forces Day by the later government) commemorates this revolt.
- **1946 Civil War** It begins in several parts of Burma with the revolt of Red Flag CPB, Mujahid, and APLF, followed in 1948 by KNDO, MNDO and PNO. In the 1950s and 60s they are succeeded by other groups such as KNU, NMSP, KNPP, SSA, KIO and KNPP.
- **1946 – 1947 Negotiations with British:** The Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) led by Aung San negotiates with the British for independence for Burma proper and for the Frontier Areas if they agree to join an independent Burma. Some ethnic minority groups, such as the Karens, lobby for their own states.
- **1946 – 1947 Panglong Conferences:** In February 1946 the AFPFL meet with Kachin, Shan, Chin, and Karen people to discuss the formation of a federal Burma. In February 1947, representatives of Kachins, Shans and Chins agree to join a federal union in exchange for autonomy and the right to secede (become an independent state) at a later date. Union Day (February 12) commemorates the signing of the Panglong Agreement.

- **1947 Assassination of General Aung San:** On July 19, armed men enter the Secretariat building and kill Aung San and six members of the Executive Council. Former Prime Minister U Saw is tried and executed for this.
- **1948 Burma's Independence:** On January 4, The AFPFL becomes the ruling government in Burma, replacing the British. U Nu becomes Prime Minister and Sao Shwe Thaik becomes President.
- **1948 Ethnic minority alliances:** KNDO allies with Mon National Defence Organisation (MNDO) and temporarily takes over Mawlamyine and, in 1949, Insein. This begins a series of alliances between ethnic minority nationalist groups including the National Democratic Front (NDF) in 1975 and the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB) in 1988.
- **1958, 1963 Peace talks:** Kodaw Hmaing organises peace talks with armed resistance groups.
- **1958 – 1960 Caretaker Government:** U Nu's AFPFL government allows Ne Win and other army officers to take control. This was a result of ongoing civil war and a split in the AFPFL.
- **1961 State Religion Act:** U Nu introduces Buddhism as the state religion. People of other faiths, such as Christians and Muslims, are unhappy about this.
- **1962 Military Coup:** On March 2, General Ne Win seizes power. His administration is called the Revolutionary Council. This occurs after U Nu announces he will consider demands for federalism. The Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) forms later that year.
- **1974 Constitution rewritten:** Constitution is rewritten to recognise a socialist one-party state under the BSPP.
- **1974 U Thant affair:** After former UN Secretary General U Thant dies in the United States. His body is brought to Rangoon, where thousands attend his funeral. BSPP leaders plan to bury him in an ordinary cemetery. Students take his body and bury it at the site of the former Student Union, protesting against BSPP policy. The army stops the protest, killing students and burying U Thant at the foot of Shwedagon Pagoda.
- **1988 Demonstrations (aka '8888', '88 Uprising'):** Widespread student demonstrations occur following government demonetisation, which ruins many people's personal savings. Students protest demanding democracy. This builds up to a mass uprising across Burma. Soldiers and police violently stop the protests. General Ne Win resigns and the BSPP dissolves. Student parties such as ABSDF and DPNS, as well as Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, emerge as political forces.
- **1988 SLORC:** General Saw Maung establishes the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) following the coup of September 18th 1988. The economy opens to international trade.
- **1990 Elections:** The NLD wins a majority of the vote. SLORC annuls the election result, does not allow MPs to take office and stays in control of the government. Many NLD leaders are imprisoned or flee the country.
- **1994 – 1995 Rise and fall of Manerplaw:** Ethnic minority and democratic groups join forces. The KNU-held town of Manerplaw is their base. A group of KNLA soldiers break away to form the Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA), which negotiates a ceasefire with SLORC and helps them to capture Manerplaw.

- **1989 – 1995 Ceasefires:** Several ethnic minority armies negotiate ceasefires with SLORC in exchange for limited regional autonomy. These include the UWSA in 1989, KIO in 1994 and NMSP in 1995.
- **1997 ASEAN membership:** ASEAN accepts Myanmar as a member. Myanmar gains greater regional economic connections as a result of the membership.
- **2007 Saffron Revolution:** Buddhist monks protest against growing economic hardship caused by cuts in government fuel subsidies. Ordinary people join the monks demanding political change. The SPDC violently stops the protests.
- **2008 Cyclone Nargis:** The worst natural disaster in Myanmar's history, with casualties estimated between 100,000 and 200,000. Thousands of Myanmar people form civil society networks and NGOs to distribute aid privately.
- **2008 New constitution completed:** The constitution, begun in 1993, is completed by the Constitutional Convention (boycotted by the NLD and other pro-democracy groups).
- **2010 Election:** The Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) wins a majority in elections and Thein Sein becomes President. The NLD boycotts the election. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi remains under house arrest until after the election. The NDF and other groups claim that there were problems with the election.
- **2011 Thein Sein inaugurated as President:** Inauguration on 30 March. The USDP takes the majority of seats in parliament, with 25% reserved for the military.
- **2011 – 2012 Ceasefires:** The government agrees ceasefires with most remaining non-ceasefire ethnic armed groups including the SSA-S, KNU and KNPP.
- **2011 Myitsone Dam:** Myanmar's government stops construction of a controversial hydroelectric project financed and led by a state-owned Chinese company. This is seen as a government response to public pressure.
- **2012 Letpadaung Mine protests:** Villagers protest that a Chinese mining company, in partnership with the Burmese government, has polluted their farmland. Government inquiry commission headed by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi offers farmers financial compensation, but does not punish police who injured protesters.
- **2012 Buddhist-Muslim conflicts:** Starting in Arakan State and spreading to many locations around the country, violence breaks out between Buddhists and Muslims.
- **2012 By-elections:** Elections are held to fill 46 vacant parliamentary seats. NLD party won in 43 of the 44 seats they contested. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi becomes a Member of Parliament.
- **2013 Nationwide ceasefire negotiations:** Government peace negotiators and the United Nationalities Federal Council (UNFC) a coalition of 11 ethnic armed groups, have a series of meetings in attempts to reach a nationwide ceasefire. There are difficulties because the UNFC wants political discussions about the future of ethnic areas to start immediately, while the government wants to focus on economic development and talk about political settlements later.

## ACTORS LIST

**88 Generation Students' Group:** Formed in 2005 by former students active in the 88 Uprising. They were active during the Saffron Revolution in 2007, and many of its members were imprisoned following this. They advocate for national reconciliation, social justice and democracy.

**All Burma Monks Alliance (ABMA):** Formed in 2007 by a group of senior monks as a response to the economic and social problems existing in Myanmar. ABMA leaders played a prominent role in the September 2007 Saffron Revolution. They work to defend the religious and cultural foundations of the nation.

**All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF):** Formed in 1988 by students who participated in the 1988 uprising. They oppose military dictatorship and support democracy and human rights both through armed struggle and political means. The ABSDF signed a ceasefire with the government in 2013. The ABSDF advocates for internal peace and a federal union in Myanmar.

**Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPLF):** First called the Anti-Fascist Organisation (AFO), the AFPLF was formed in 1944 by Aung San and others. They were made up of many different political parties held together first by Aung San, and then by U Nu. The AFPLF dominated parliament until the 1962 military coup, when leaders were arrested and imprisoned by the new military government. During this time, the AFPLF followed a nationalist policy based on unity and consensus, parliamentary democracy and a mixed economy of free market and socialist systems.

**Arakan National Congress (ANC):** A network of various Arakanese organisations. They were formed in 1942 to protect Arakanese rights. In 1945 the Arakan People's Liberation Party (APLP) was formed when they broke away from the ANC. Their armed wing is the Arakan Defense Army (ADA).

**Aung San, General (1915 – 1947):** Burmese independence leader, and founder of the modern Burmese army (Tatmadaw). He is considered to be the founder of the Union of Burma. He organised the Panglong Conferences and was responsible for bringing Burma's independence from British colonial rule, but was assassinated in 1947, six months before independence.

**Aung San Suu Kyi (1945 –):** The daughter of Aung San, she entered politics during the 1988 uprising. She was a founder and chairperson of the National League for Democracy (NLD). She was detained under house arrest ahead of the 1990 elections and spent almost 15 of the next 21 years there. She won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1991. Released in 2010, she was elected to be a Member of Parliament in the 2012 by-elections.

**Ba U Gyi, Saw (1905 – 1950):** Karen political and military leader and founder of the KNU. He attempted to negotiate with the British for an independent Karen State in 1946/7 before Burma's independence in 1948. He was killed in fighting in 1950.

**Bhante Ashin Nyanissara (1937 –):** Buddhist monk, also known as the Sitagu Sayadaw. He calls for a socially-engaged Buddhism, and has built hospitals, schools, water pumps and other social projects. In 1978 he established the Sitagu International Buddhist Missionary Centre. He was heavily involved in relief efforts following 2008's Cyclone Nargis.

**Border Guard Force:** Tatmadaw administered military forces based on the borders of Myanmar. They consist of former ethnic armies who signed a ceasefire.

**Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP):** Formed in 1962 by Ne Win and other generals following his coup. The BSPP was the only legal political party until 1988. The BSPP advocated for a programme called the "Burmese Way to Socialism" which had both communist and Buddhist influences. It said that parliamentary democracy was not suitable for Burma. It started to create a socialist economy by nationalising all businesses. The BSPP followed a policy of economic and political isolation, and suppressed any opposition.

**Burman Muslim Organisation (BMO):** Formed in 1945 by U Razak to cooperate with the AFPFL to get independence.

**Chin Independence Army (CIA):** Formed in 1961 by leaders including Son Ka Pao to protect Chin rights through military and political means.

**Chin National Front (CNF)/Chin National Army (CNA):** Formed in 1988 to protect the rights of Chin people and fight for ethnic autonomy through political and military strategies. Its aims include securing self-determination of the Chin people, promoting democracy, and establishing federal union. The CNF signed a ceasefire with the government in 2012. The CNF opposes the 2008 Constitution.

**Communist Party of Burma (CPB):** Formed in 1939 by Aung San, Thakin Soe and others. The CPB fought for independence and then against Japanese occupation. They claimed to fight for a 'national democratic revolution' against oppression, imperialism, and capitalism to achieve the goal of a 'people's democracy'. Many members were active supporters and organisers of the 1988 Uprising.

**Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB):** Formed in 1988 in Thailand as an alliance of pro-democracy exile organisations and ethnic minority armed groups.

**Democratic Karen Buddhist Army, Democratic Karen**

**Benevolent Army (DKBA):** In 1994 the DKBA split from the Christian-dominated KNU, led by Buddhist Karen leaders including U Thuzana. The DKBA signed a ceasefire with the government in 1995 and aligned with the Tatmadaw.

**Democratic Party for a New Society (DPNS):** Burmese political party formed in 1988 by Moe Thee Zun and others to oppose the military dictatorship and support democracy. Membership was mostly of students active in the 88 Uprising. The party went underground and many were imprisoned or fled to Burma's borders. The DPNS now operates openly in Myanmar. They advocate for representative democratic government, decentralisation, federalism, social justice, and economic opportunities for all of society.

**Democratic Party (Myanmar):** The Democratic Party (Myanmar) advocates for human freedoms and rights in politics, economy, justice. It also promotes freedom of thought, speech and assembly. It argues that the government should only be responsible for services that the private sector cannot provide. It believes that private businesses should never be nationalised.

**Dobama Asiayone:** Anti-colonial Burmese nationalist organisation formed in 1930. Members called themselves Thakin (master) instead of using this term for the British. The slogan of the organisation was "Burma is our country; Burmese literature is our literature; Burmese language is our language. Love our country, raise the standards of our literature, respect our language."

**Generation Wave:** Pro-democracy youth movement formed in 2007, after the Saffron Revolution. Members use social media, hip-hop music and graffiti to spread their message.

**Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO):** Formed in 1961 to fight for autonomy for Kachin State, the KIO controlled much of Kachin State until the 1990s. Their military wing, the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) is the second largest ethnic army in Myanmar. The KIO signed a ceasefire with SLORC in 1994, with many issues unresolved. They resumed armed struggle in 2011 and ceasefire negotiations are in process.

**Karen National Union (KNU):** Formed in 1947 by Saw Ba U Gyi. The KNU were initially fighting for an independent Karen state and greater rights for Karen people. Their military wing, the Karen National Defense Organisation (KNDO), was formed in 1949. They later changed their name to Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA). The KNU signed a ceasefire with the government in 2012.

**Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP):** Formed in 1957. The KNPP's goal is to achieve autonomy and human rights for Karenni State, by both political and military strategies. They signed a ceasefire with the government in 2012.

**Karenni National Organisation (KNO):** Formed in 1947 to protect the rights of Karenni people through political and military means.

**Khun Sa (1934-2007):** Leader of the Mong Tai Army. The MTA were the region's biggest opium producers, and the US government ordered his arrest. To avoid this, he surrendered to the Burmese government in 1996. He lived comfortably in Yangon running business interests until his death.

**Kodaw Hmaing, Thakin (1876 – 1964):** Nationalist, poet and peace activist. He was involved in the independence movement and organised the 1958 and 1963 peace talks between the government and ethnic armed opposition groups.

**Myanmar Peace Centre (MPC):** The MPC was formed by the Myanmar government, academics and strategic advisors, with support from Peace Support Donor Group. They provide policy advice and assistance to the peace process. They are involved in implementing ceasefire agreements, political negotiations, and coordination of assistance in conflict areas.

## National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma

**(NCGUB):** The NCGUB was formed by NLD leaders in 1990 as a government in exile after SLORC refused to recognise the results of the 1990 elections. Following Aung San Suu Kyi's release from house arrest in 2010 and later entry into Parliament in 2012 as an MP, the NCGUB was dissolved in September 2012.

**National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB):** A network of representatives of armed groups and exiled political organisations, including the NDF, DAB, NCGUB, and NLD-LA. The NCUB was formed in 1992 and aims to achieve a democratic federal system in Myanmar.

**National Democratic Force (NDF):** Formed in 2010 after splitting from the NLD. The NDF formed to contest the 2010 elections, boycotted by the NLD. The NDF's goal is to attain individual freedom and to promote the role of the private sector in the economy, but ensure that the government regulates the market. The party advocates for democracy and human rights. It says that the best way to achieve these is through the formation of civil society organisations.

**National Democratic Front (NDF):** A group founded in 1976 to represent all of the main ethnic nationalities in Myanmar. The NDF works for a democratic federal state and includes the CNF, KNU, NMSP and KNPP.

**National League for Democracy (NLD):** Formed in 1988 by pro-democracy leaders including Aung San Suu Kyi. The NLD won the majority of votes (58 percent) in the 1990 national elections, but the result was not recognised by military government. Many NLD MPs and members were imprisoned, or fled to Myanmar's borders. The party advocates for human rights, freedom of speech, the rule of law, and national reconciliation. Other issues that the NLD advocates for are freedom for the media, increasing social benefits and constitutional reform.

**National Unity Party (NUP):** Formed by the military and Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) members to take part in the 1990 general election. The party's political ideology is "the Burmese way to the benefit of the people," which is designed to conform with national characteristics and national pride. The party aims to maintain the history, culture and tradition of the country while bringing benefits to the well-being of the people.

**Ne Win, General (1910 – 2002):** Political and military leader. One of the Thirty Comrades. In 1949 General Ne Win became Chief of Staff of the Burma armed forces (Tatmadaw) and was later put in charge of a caretaker government by the then Prime Minister U Nu from 1958-1960. Ne Win seized power in a military coup in 1962 and created the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP). He remained chairman of it and effectively head of state until he resigned during pro-democracy demonstrations in July 1988. He was put under house arrest by the SPDC in 2002 and died shortly after.

**New Mon State Party (NMSP):** Formed in 1958 by Nai Shwe Kyin. The NMSP fights for Mon rights and autonomy for Mon state. The NMSP fought alongside the KNU and was an active member of a number of ethnic alliances. The NMSP signed a ceasefire agreement with the government in 1995. They advocate for a federation of free nationalities that have the right of self-determination and the right of secession.

**Nu, U (1907 – 1995):** First Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, U Nu led the AFPFL government during 1948-1956, 1957-1958, and 1960-1962. U Nu was Buddhist and he made Buddhism the official religion of Burma in 1961, which angered some non-Buddhist ethnic groups. He was removed from power in the 1962 coup by General Ne Win and imprisoned for four years. He later attempted unsuccessfully to lead armed resistance against Ne Win from Thailand in the early 1970s. He was pardoned and allowed to return to Burma in 1980 where he was active in the 1988 demonstrations.

**Pa-O National Organisation (PNO):** are a political party with three representatives in the Amyotha Hluttaw (as of April 2014). Their armed wing, the Pa-O national Army, signed a ceasefire with the government in 1991.

**Rakhine National Party (aka Arakan National Party) (RNP):** The RNP was formed in 2014 when the Rakhine Nationalities Development Party and the Arakan League for Democracy merged. Their aim is democracy, federalism and the development of Rakhine State.

**Razak, U Abdul (1898 – 1947):** Burman Muslim leader and founder of the Burma Muslim Organisation. U Razak was Minister of Education in Aung San's cabinet. He was assassinated in 1947.

**San, Saya (1876 – 1931):** Burmese leader and doctor. In 1930-31 Saya San led a rebellion against British control. He was hanged by British authorities.

**Saw Maung, General (1928 – 1997):** Senior general and army commander in the BSPP era. He was the founder and chairman of SLORC from 1988-1992.

**Shan Nationalities Democratic Party (aka the White Tiger Party) (SNDP):** The SNDP was formed in 2010. It followed on from the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy, closely allied to the NLD. The SNLD won the second largest number of seats in the unrecognised 1990 election. The SNLD leader, Khun Htun Oo, was arrested in 2005 and served seven years of a 93 year prison sentence, before being released in 2012.

**Shwe Thaik, Sao (1918 – 1986):** Shan politician and last Sawbwa (hereditary leader) of Yawnghwe, and first President of Burma from 1948-1952. He was arrested during the 1962 coup and died in prison.

**Shan State Army (SSA):** Formed in 1964, it received backing from the CPB until 1989 when it reached a ceasefire with the government. It has developed a political wing, the Shan State Progress Party (SSPP). The SSA is now referred to as the Shan State Army-North (SSN-N).

**Shan State Army-South (SSA-S):** Originally part of the SSA, but continued armed resistance as the Shan State United Revolutionary Army (SURA) and later as the SSA-S, after the 1989 SSA ceasefire with the government. The SSA-S reached a ceasefire with the government in December 2011. It has a political wing, the Restoration Council of Shan State (RCSS).

**Soe, Thakin (1906 – 1989):** Burmese political leader and founder of Burma Communist Party and its Red Flag Faction.

**State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC):** Group of generals who seized control in a military coup on September 18, 1988, during the pro-democracy demonstrations. SLORC claimed this was to prevent disintegration of the Union of Burma. SLORC changed its name to the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) in 1997.

**State Peace and Development Council (SPDC):** New name for SLORC. It was officially dissolved in 2011 following the election of a civilian government led by Thein Sein.

**Tatmadaw:** The armed forces of Myanmar, including the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. It has been engaged in many conflicts with ethnic and political armed opposition groups since independence in 1948. The Tatmadaw has dominated much of Myanmar's politics through the leadership of generals who have also acted as heads of state, including Ne Win (1962-1988), Saw Maung (1988-1992) and Than Shwe (1992-2011). The Tatmadaw has 25 percent of the seats in parliament reserved for it according to the 2008 Constitution.

**Tay Za (1964 –):** Wealthy Burmese businessman. His business interests include Air Bagan, logging, construction, tourism and mobile phone services. He was a close associate of former SPDC chairman, Than Shwe.

**Than Shwe, General (1933 –):** Senior general and the chairman of SLORC/SPDC. He was effectively head of state of Myanmar from 1992 to 2011.

**Thant, U (1909 – 1974):** Secretary General of the United Nations 1961-1971. After his death, student led-protests at the lack of respect shown to him by Ne Win were violently stopped in Rangoon.

**Thein Sein (1945 –):** Former SPDC general and President of Myanmar since March 2011. He was also Prime Minister from 2007 until 2011. During Thein Sein's time as President the government has made some political reforms including release of political prisoners and establishment of ceasefires with most ethnic armed groups.

**Thirty Comrades:** Group of thirty founding members of the Burma Independence Army trained by the Japanese in 1941. They were led by Aung San and also included Ne Win.

**Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP):** Political party formed in 2010. It grew out of the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA) originally established by SLORC in 1993. The USDP won the 2010 elections, and is the current (in 2014) ruling political party in Myanmar. The party supports the Constitution's legal binding that no part of the country must ever secede from the Union.

**United Nationalities Federal Council (UNFC):** Formed in 2011 by a coalition of ethnic armed groups. It currently has 11 member organisations: KIO, KNU, KNPP, NMSP, SSA-N, CNF, Pa-O National Liberation Organisation (PNLO), Palaung State Liberation Front (PSLF), National United Party of Arakan (NUPA), Lahu Democratic Union (LDU), and Wa National Organisation (WNO). The UNFC is involved in a series of negotiations with the government to reach a nationwide ceasefire agreement.

**United Wa State Army (UWSA)/United Wa State Party (UWSP):** Formed in 1989 following the collapse of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB) forces in the Wa region of northeast Shan State. It signed a ceasefire with the government in 1989. The UWSP controls the Wa Self-Administered Division. The UWSA is the largest ethnic army in Myanmar.

**Women's League of Burma (WLB):** A network of women's organisations from different ethnic groups. Set up in Thailand in 1999. The WLB facilitates women's participation in the struggle for human rights, democracy and equality.

**Young Man's Buddhist Association (YMBA):** The YMBA was founded in 1906. At first, it built and ran schools using private donations and government grants. It was an important part of the nationalist movement in Myanmar, and was opposed to British rule. Today, the YMBA in Myanmar promotes national and religious commitment and provides educational and recreational opportunities for youth.

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27	Unknown	Unknown	<a href="http://www.scccj.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/SHRC_banner.jpg">http://www.scccj.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/SHRC_banner.jpg</a>	Unknown
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38	SKopp	The flag of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.	<a href="http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flag_of_the_Soviet_Union.png">http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flag_of_the_Soviet_Union.png</a>	CC Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported
38	Unknown	Unknown	<a href="http://www.whatliesbeneath.org.uk/">http://www.whatliesbeneath.org.uk/</a>	Unknown
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42	Unknown	Unknown	<a href="http://izettl.hubpages.com/hub/Political-Stereotyping">http://izettl.hubpages.com/hub/Political-Stereotyping</a>	Unknown
56-57	Htoo Tay Zar	Members of Myanmar Parliament attend the Lower House session	<a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Myanmar-Lower-House-Parliament.jpg">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Myanmar-Lower-House-Parliament.jpg</a>	CC Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported
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64			<a href="http://mediamodepresents.blogspot.com/2013_03_01_archive.html">http://mediamodepresents.blogspot.com/2013_03_01_archive.html</a>	Unknown
66	Bobby Hanvey	Republican Wall Murals, Belfast	<a href="http://www.flickr.com/photos/bc-burnslibrary/6220253039/in/photostream/">http://www.flickr.com/photos/bc-burnslibrary/6220253039/in/photostream/</a>	CC Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 2.0 Generic

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153	Unknown	Unknown	<a href="http://theflyingcameldotorg.wordpress.com/2012/05/29/bush-and-obama-together-at-last/">http://theflyingcameldotorg.wordpress.com/2012/05/29/bush-and-obama-together-at-last/</a>	Unknown
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**Text, Student Book:** Rory McLaughlin

**Text, Teacher's Book:** Katie Julian, Rory McLaughlin

**Translation:** Htet Phyo Wai

**Original photographs:** Allyse Pulliam, Daniel Spink

**Design, Layout and Illustration:** Kyaw Hsan Hlaing, Matthew Simpson, May Htut Pan Moe, Nila Win, Zaw Ye` Naing Tun

**Editing and proofreading:** Aung Kyaw Htet, Aung Zaw Myo, Chaw Su Naing, Daniel Spink, Edward Kanan, Ei Mon Kyaw, Jessica Thompson, Ju Jun Min, Kaung Hla Zan, Matthew Simpson, Naw Eh Tha Khu, Ngun Siang Kim, Nila Win, Stanley Jagger , Zaw Ye` Naing Tun,

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