This issue, part one of two in the special volume on feminism, features seven articles and six poems from contributors identifying as either female or LGBTQ. As part of the "Daw Ei Collective" they write on topics such as how feminism from union politics, how feminism in Myanmar and the Global South differs from feminism in the West, and how feminists are engaging in the ongoing revolutionary struggle against patriarchal military rule in Myanmar. Their voices are grounded in a history of human rights and gender equality, and this issue throws into relief how feminists of diverse backgrounds have been affected by, and are affecting, the dynamic and complex societies within Myanmar today.

Independent Journal of Burmese Scholarship

Special Issue on Feminism

Volume 4, Issue 1, November 2023
From 1911 the Journal of the Burma Research Society (JBRS) was open to virtually all subjects pertaining to Burma and functioned as a serious publication for all enthusiasts—archaeologists, linguists, historians, epigraphers, ethnographers, and more, until it was shut down by the Burma military in 1980. In 2011, on the eve of what was to become a momentous decade of social and political change in Myanmar, an organizing committee of seven Burmese and three Western scholars met at Yale University with a mission to reestablish the JBRS for Burmese scholars in the humanities and social sciences. The new Independent Journal of Burmese Scholarship (IJBS) was convened with “independent” in its title to emphasize its total independence from any government agency or body in Burma or abroad.

The organizing committee soon added six members based in Burma and began hosting thematic workshops and publishing journal issues with funds raised by Yale University, the Open Society Foundations, and the Luce Foundation. Our journal issues, in print and on our website, make every effort to be bilingual in both English and Burmese. Our mission is to provide a forum for incisive publications that contribute to the knowledge of Myanmar, with a preference for open access, accessibility and readability over paywalls, esoteric prose and dense theorization. In order to remain independent and publish without fear or favor, after the 1 February 2021 military coup the IJBS moved its base of operations outside of Myanmar, to the Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development at Chiang Mai University, Thailand. In addition to print, issues are also published online (https://ijbs.online) in .PDF and .HTML format with digital hyperlinks and footnotes.
၂၀၁၂ သန်းခေါင်း သောက်မှားဖော်ပေးခြင်း တင်းမှုတွင် ပြည်သူများ၊ ပြည်သူများ၏ နေထိုင်မှုသိပ္ပံ့ပါးများ (Independent Journal of Burmese Scholarship) နှင့် အတွက်များစွာ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ ဒီဇိုင်းရှိသည် ပြည်သူများ၊ ပြည်သူများ၏ နေထိုင်မှုသိပ္ပံ့ပါးများ၊ နေထိုင်မှုများ၏ နေထိုင်မှုအတွက် အကျိုးသက်မှုတွင် “သောက်မှားဖော်ပေးခြင်း” သည် ပြည်သူများ နေထိုင်မှုသိပ္ပံ့ပါးများ အားလုံးကြီးမှုအတွက် ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

Open Society Foundations နှင့် Luce Foundation ရှိ ပြည်သူများ၏ နေထိုင်မှုသိပ္ပံ့ပါးများအတွက် အကျိုးသက်မှုတွင် အကျိုးသက်မှုကြီးမှုကြီး နေထိုင်မှုသိပ္ပံ့ပါးများ အားလုံးကြီးမှုအတွက် ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

ပြည်သူများ၏ နေထိုင်မှုအတွက် အကျိုးသက်မှုကြီးမှု နေထိုင်မှုကြီးမှုကြီး ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အားလုံးကြီးမှုကြီးမှုကြီး ဖော်ပြထားသည်။
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Tharaphi Than

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About the Authors

Tharaphi Than is Associate Professor of Burmese and Southeast Asian Studies at Northern Illinois University. Her research interests include censorship, dissent, print media, and feminism. She works closely with local education groups in Burma/Myanmar to promote democratic education and develop alternative curricula.

Shin Naung is a gender non-binary poet who actively participated in the student union movement until the 2021 coup, serving as an executive member of the All Burma Federation of Student Unions. Shin Naung has published poems, articles, and essays under pen names for the Social Democrat Post. Their serious exploration of poetry began in 2019, underpinned by a profound conviction that poetry is a form of poiesis, and they employ automatic writing techniques in their creative process. Shin Naung is currently translating Marxist works into Burmese to make Marxism more accessible to a broader audience.

Thu Pone is the collective title of an online discussion group. The word means “rebel” in English. Thu Pone exists to highlight institutionalized sexism, militarism, racism, classism and white supremacy, which many people internalize daily. Thu Pone is especially attentive to current issues related to sexism and aims to produce rebellious and bold content.

Way went to Malaysia as a migrant worker after finishing high school. In 2013, he embarked on his journey into the world of poetry. Following the 2021 coup, Way directed his creative energies towards anti-coup poetry, finding a platform in revolutionary publications like Tu Mee, Myit Kwae, and A Yay Taw Pone (Rebel Gazette).

Sophia Day Myar has been an active member of the Karenni National Women’s Organization since 2016. She also currently serves as general secretary of the Karenni State Consultative
Council. Prior to that, she was an elected member of the secretariat of the Women’s League of Burma, serving three years as joint general secretary. She has experience working with different international organizations in diverse roles. She holds a Bachelor of Arts majoring in English from Taunggyi University and is currently pursuing a master’s degree in social sciences at Chiang Mai University.

Nayone Moe Thway is a gender non-binary activist and poet. She took part in anti-dictatorship protests immediately after the 2021 coup and co-founded the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) support group Yone Htwet Sot (Let’s Step Out). The military regime froze her bank accounts, revoked her passport, and hunted her for facilitating funding and emergency accommodation to help CDM participants. From 2022 to 2023, she served as a member of the CDM committee of the National Unity Consultative Council. Nayone Moe Thway remains an executive committee member of the General Strike Committee of Nationalities, representing the Bamar group.

Alotethama (meaning “worker”) worked in factories in Yangon for over a decade. She participated in every labor strike she was able to, and eventually assumed a leadership position in the union movement. In 2015, she was sued by factory bosses and had to attend court for over a year, eventually being sentenced to one month of prison. She was released after only one week and turned to writing about the oppression of workers and their revolts, connecting the personal with the political. She believes workers will only be liberated if the wider population supports their struggles, so she writes articles to try and inform the middle class and elites about the oppressive conditions workers face.

Ma Kyay came of age under the oppressive rule of the military junta. Profoundly affected by her inability to react to the military’s actions as an ordinary civilian, she began writing poems and articles on revolutionary platforms. She writes to show that
“we are eager to collectively inscribe the rhythms of the revolution in our hearts”.

**A Shinn** is a queer feminist from Myanmar.

**Katniss** is a feminist from Myanmar.

**Ashey** is from Mawlamyinegyun in Ayeyarwady Region and began his career as a poet in 2015. In 2018 he also ventured into the world of photography.

**Maria Begum** is a Rohingya feminist, medical doctor and humanitarian, born and raised in Myanmar. She worked in Rakhine State for more than ten years with various civil and international organizations and aims to be a strong voice for social justice and minority rights.

**Hnin Yape Nwai**, also known as Ko Maung, is a Burmese political activist and vocal critic of conservative ideologies. While a student at the Technological University of Myingyan, he participated in the 2015 Letpadan students’ strike against the military’s slave education system. As a student he also contributed short stories, articles, and poems to journals and magazines and volunteered as a teacher at a charity school. He started protesting on the fifth day after the 1 February 2021 coup. In 2022, he founded the Mega Brothers Force—Pale People’s Defense Force (PDF). He then served as an adjutant in the No. 12 Battalion of the Yinmabin PDF for 18 months. Currently, he is a public security officer in the same battalion and is also the public affairs officer of the Pale PDF Tactical Operations Command. He continues to write articles, poems, and essays for revolutionary media platforms.

**Aung Zaw Myo** studied at the University of Medicine, Mandalay and the Central European University, Vienna. His interests are literature, social movements and queerness.
Non-binary ကြိုးပမ္းတွေ့ရှိရန်အတွက် အားလုံးသည် ရာရိယာတွင် သိမ်းပြိုင်တွေ့ရန်အတွက် အားလုံးသည် တိရစ္ဆာန်ငွေ့အဖွဲ့အဝင်များအား ပြုလုပ်နေကြောင်း တိရစ္ဆာန်ငွေ့အဖွဲ့အဝင်များအား အားလုံးသည် သွေးအလှူရစ်ရာ သတိရှိနိုင်ပါသည်။

“rebels” စာလုံးကို အခြေခံပြုချက်တွင် “rebels” ဟူသော အကြောင်းအရာ၊ အခြေခံရပြုမှုကို အခြေခံရပြုချက်ပြုချက်များနှင့် ပတ်သက်သော အစိုးရအဖွဲ့အဝင်များအား အားလုံးသည် သတိပြုရန်ကြောင်း စိုးရိမ်နိုင်ပါသည်။

automatic writing သို့မဟုတ် အစိုးရအဖွဲ့အဝင်များ အားလုံးသည် သတိပြုရန်ကြောင်း စိုးရိမ်နိုင်ပါသည်။

IMT
non-binary (Let’s Step Out) is a safe house that provides support to CDM (NUCC), JCC (CDM) and GSCN. JCC – Federal Committee is a part of JCC. GSCN is an organization that provides support to CDM. JCC – Federal Committee is a part of JCC.

 cấp
အချက်အလက်

အချက်အလက်အရ ကြားမှု့စံ သတ်မှတ်ရာတွင် အခြေခံအမှုများကို ရှာဖွေနိုင်သည်။ အခြေခံအမှုများကို ရှာဖွေစောင်စောင်တွင် အခြေခံအမှုများကို သတ်မှတ်နိုင်သည်။ အခြေခံအမှုများကို ရှာဖွေစောင်စောင်တွင် အခြေခံအမှုများကို သတ်မှတ်နိုင်သည်။

မြှင့်တင်ပြချက်

မြှင့်တင်ပြချက်မှာ ကြားမှု့စံကို သတ်မှတ်ရာတွင် အခြေခံအမှုများကို ရှာဖွေနိုင်သည်။ အခြေခံအမှုများကို လည်း ရှာဖွေစောင်စောင်တွင် အခြေခံအမှုများကို သတ်မှတ်နိုင်သည်။ အခြေခံအမှုများကို ရှာဖွေစောင်စောင်တွင် အခြေခံအမှုများကို သတ်မှတ်နိုင်သည်။

Mega Brothers Force – Pale PDF စာအုပ်များကို ရှာဖွေနိုင်သည်။

(1) အခြေခံအမှုများကို အခြေခံအမှုများကို ရှာဖွေနိုင်သည်။ အခြေခံအမှုများကို ရှာဖွေနိုင်သည်။

(2) အခြေခံအမှုများကို အခြေခံအမှုများကို ရှာဖွေနိုင်သည်။ အခြေခံအမှုများကို ရှာဖွေနိုင်သည်။

(3) အခြေခံအမှုများကို အခြေခံအမှုများကို ရှာဖွေနိုင်သည်။ အခြေခံအမှုများကို ရှာဖွေနိုင်သည်။
Central European University (Vienna)
Opening Words from the Compiler

Tharaphi Than

In September 2019 a group of mostly women, and two young children, boarded a plane from Yangon to Dawei, a city in southern Myanmar. There was a woman farmer from the dry zone, a few feminist writers and creative art directors from Yangon, educators and non-governmental organization (NGO) workers, members of the LGBTQ community in Yangon, a woman union leader, activists, a babysitter, and two Burmese that were living in the United States. This eclectic group met with local women’s rights activists, artists, and a few journalists living and working in Dawei. Together, they discussed feminism, women’s issues in different regions of Myanmar, challenges to being LGBTQ in Myanmar, and local activism.

This issue is part one of a two-part special volume that is an outcome of this gathering. It took us, “the Dawei Collective” as we now call ourselves, four years to bring this volume into the daylight. It survived the COVID-19 pandemic, the 2021 military coup, and the ongoing civil war. Its authors braved violence and tragedy, dealt with intense emotions, and most of all, shouldered the duties of the revolution. By publishing this volume, the collective aims to amplify the voices of women and LGBTQ people during this critical juncture in Myanmar’s history. We are claiming a space for ourselves, our sisters and LGBTQ community members. Although originally conceived of before the coup, this volume aims to help readers understand why women and LGBTQs from diverse backgrounds are a formidable revolutionary force that can push other revolutionaries to incorporate important issues related to gender and sexuality into their politics.

I am a compiler, not an editor, of this special volume. I selected, and sometimes begged, people from diverse backgrounds to write about their experiences. I worked with many practitioners and those from the field—be it a literal farmland field, a battlefield, or an urban workplace—closely from 2019 to 2023.
Compiling the publication you are now holding meant sometimes going through six or seven drafts of each individual article. The authors of this volume’s articles (except me) are all practitioners, i.e., not formally trained academics. Some are fighting on the frontline during the revolution, some are engaging in ideological war against the beliefs and practices that embolden and sustain the patriarchal military, and some are providing lifelines for women through mutual aid networks. They are not motivated by impact factors, tenure, promotion, and other institutional incentives to write and publish. Many of them actually think that few people want to know about their lives and hear their voices.

We encouraged each other that our voices are worth hearing and that by writing we could, at the very least, inspire our fellow feminists and LGBTQ communities. Most authors wrote their articles in Burmese and then other young people boycotting the military regime translated them into English. They narrated and reflected on their life experiences and the events surrounding them, conveying their meanings and messages, in a shared vernacular langue, as opposed to academic jargon. Academic journals pose many challenges to people who embrace life, acquire firsthand knowledge, come up with their own solutions to the world’s problems, and never desire to talk to supposedly ‘educated’ audiences. The expectations of academia and real life are very different, and this volume is a mediation between the two so that the academy and practitioners’ worlds and fields can benefit each other. The contributors oppose any hierarchization of academy and community.¹

There were struggles and tensions while bringing this volume to fruition. The Managing Editor of the Independent Journal of Burmese Scholarship (IJBS) wanted to follow the publication’s style guidelines and conform the articles to what one would normally see in more academic journals. Some authors felt his comments on their contributions were combative. There

¹ I thank Pyo Let Han for inspiring me with this idea of a binary of two classes, the academy on the one hand, and the community or the lay world on the other.
was also a question about who should cite whom. Most academic journal readers probably know Burma through scholarly eyes, and when writers make knowledge claims, a common question posed is, “How do you know this?”. Many authors experience this when writing for an English-language audience. Is a writer’s firsthand account reliable, if she cannot cite anything? Is she plagiarizing an established scholar’s works if her interpretation about her own community parallels existing scholarship? Does her work have less value or lack rigor if she does not reference any literary canon?

This volume is full of such tensions and highlights important questions such as: Whose voice matters? What references matter? There is a big gap between the academy and the field, the former expecting the latter to emulate or produce the kind of work they do. A subtle—though related—point is that many recent Myanmar non-governmental organization (NGO) employees have at some point left their jobs, or departed from the field, to pursue the kinds of educational degrees taken seriously by ‘expats’. Authentic voices that do not quote (Western) scholars but are directly from their fields are yet to claim their rightful place in the academy or elsewhere.

While working on this volume, I thought that we academics might be ‘academic washing’ real women’s lives and experiences by talking about them, over them, and on behalf of them. Though with good intentions, academics codify words and concepts and many, particularly English readers, expect such codified language when reading about a particular topic. Local practitioners often write in Burmese, when their works are translated into English, there can be unexpected interpretations and the ‘academicization’ of their voice if translators and editors are not careful.

Other challenges included our choice of audience. The authors wrote what they saw and experienced, having little idea what their audience might be, as for most of them, IJBS is the first journal or printed media they have ever written for. The mission of IJBS is to publish research and writing from Burmese scholars and thinkers in both Burmese and English, and when
possible, in other languages of Myanmar. However, this means that the English-language articles are edited with a native English-speaking audience in mind, which always requires discussion and negotiation.

While editing the article “Those Who Suffer from the Sickness of Society” for this issue, the journal’s Managing Editor commented that “some readers might be offended” by the authors’ claim that sex work should not exist. As the issue compiler, I supported the contributors’ viewpoint and prioritized their voice: “Let readers be offended”. I learned that these authors wrote not to comfort or confirm their readers’ potential worldviews, but to inform, and more often, to try and get readers to feel what their sex worker research participants feel; they wrote to highlight the injustices they have seen, and more importantly, feel along with the oppressed. In that article, the authors concluded that if given any choice at all, women and trans women would not choose sex work. A more accepted view in wealthy Western liberal democracies is that if sex work is legalized and sex workers have their rights protected, then society should accept sex workers’ choice of occupation. The authors of this article think such a view is oppressive, since they believe no one would sell sex in an ideal, i.e., oppression-free world. The authors are unapologetically loyal to what they saw, felt, and what they think should be, in a future new Burmese society. Undaunted by the weight of foreign scholarship and preexisting views, their honest opinions are refreshing and provide insights into the Burma they know and interact with daily.

The same authors were very sympathetic to and sensitive about the people they interviewed. I found it difficult to refrain from suggesting some words to them. For example, one interviewee trans woman sex worker spoke about experiencing an event that the authors, and I, understood clearly as an act of rape. However, the authors chose to use the term ‘injustice’ rather than ‘rape’. I believe this is because they were heartbroken and worried that using the word ‘rape’ would further hurt the victim. Labeling things to highlight injustices and going through collective traumas cannot be reconciled sometimes.
Another challenge for this special volume was translating LGBTQ terms from Burmese into English, reflecting intersectional linguistic complexities. Based on class, gender, and region, many groups use different Burmese words for the acronym LGBTQ, and discussions were provoked when translators used the word ‘gay’ for the Burmese word a-chauk. Some authors avoided the term a-chauk and chose the term ‘trans woman’. For men who dress as women, three potential words coexist (a-chauk; ‘trans woman’; ‘gay’) and the authors, translators, and editors had to achieve a consensus on terminology. In the end, the authors used ‘trans women’ for men dressed as women, and a-chauk for trans women and feminine men in both Burmese and English. We hope readers will be able to accept some words such as a-chauk without considering it as being prejudicial, as it can be a label chosen by feminine men, and men dressed as women often from a lower socio-economic status; its reclamation can be an act of empowerment. These quandaries are reflective of young Burmese people’s struggles to be ‘politically correct’ when they write, while still being true to themselves.

The first article of issue one of this special volume, “Is There Such a Thing as Myanmar Feminism?”, offers a short history of feminism in Burma and orientates the reader on how to read ‘Burmese’ feminism. This article reminds readers not to come looking for Western feminism, or for waves of feminism, if they really want to hear authentic Burmese feminist voices and understand how there are many forms of feminism across the world.

The second article, “On Feminism and Revolution”, is a conversation between young people who have different roles in the ongoing revolution against the Burmese military; it is a snapshot of ideological revolution initiated by young people amidst the wider revolution. Ever since the 2021 coup, radicalized and radicalizing young people are attempting to change Burmese society with ideas, and this conversation captures one such attempt. The article highlights the dangers of militarization and why it is important to discuss difficult topics amidst the ongoing revolution. There should not be a hierarchy of values and goals, such
as the notion that dismantling the military must come first with other issues only to be worked through later.

In the third article, “The Marginalization of Women in the Karenni National Liberation Movement”, Sophia Day Myar explains how the word ‘national’ in the Burmese language is gendered, emboldening men and excluding women. She describes how Karenni men and wider society sideline women from politics and public forums, and how the very structure of government, with many men in official positions, deters women from engaging in politics or in local governance. Reflecting on her personal experiences growing up as a Karenni woman, she analyzes how Karenni society discourages and disempowers women.

The fourth article, by the contributor Alotethama (alotethama means worker in Burmese), “Life as a Worker, Life as a Union Leader, and Becoming a Feminist”, is the life story of a woman union leader who lost her factory job because of her labor activism. As part of her narrative, she boldly claims that unions should not exist if they are destined only to become another layer of oppression for workers. Such a claim seems self-defeating, but NGOs and labor unions should take note and understand the rift they could create by institutionalizing unions and bringing workers and unions under the rule of law, if the rules are written by lawmakers who sympathize with capitalists over workers.

The next article by A Shinn and Katniss, “Those Who Suffer from the Sickness of Society”, is an ethnographic account of gay men who dress as women and engage in sex work and their perils. This article is one of the rare accounts of gay sex workers who probably fare the worst in Myanmar society, and whose lives are often seen only through the lens of medical intervention and via HIV/AIDS campaigns.

The sixth article by Maria Begum, “How Education Can Help Rohingya Women Avoid Human Trafficking”, highlights some of the barriers Rohingya women face within and outside their communities. The author points to the shortfalls of NGO programs and emphasizes that long term investment in women’s
education is the only sustainable way to help Rohingya women liberate themselves.

The last article by Aung Zaw Myo, “Spring Revolution: New Opening(s) and Old Heteronormative Narratives”, highlights how LGBTQ people reclaimed certain words such as a-chauk after the 2021 coup and how other revolutionary groups pushed back. By analyzing slogans and interviews, the author discusses how LGBTQ people are building solidarity with women to challenge heteronormativity in post-coup Myanmar.

From September 2019, when the workshop inspiring this issue was held, to November 2023, when IJBS published this volume, members of the Dawei Collective have influenced each other through their collaborative work on this volume as well as their other on-the-ground activities. While writing and finishing these articles, we have also helped build schools, a nursery, provided mutual aid to our sisters and beyond, and most of all, kept each other company and helped survive through perhaps the most difficult times of our lives.

I would like to thank all the contributing authors and poets. I also want to thank the editors of IJBS, as well as Dr. Aarti Kawlra and colleagues from Humanities across Borders, who first introduced the idea of feminism from the field. I also express gratitude to Northern Illinois University for granting me research leave, and to the Rainfall team that guided, facilitated, and supported the publication of this special volume from beginning to end.

The Dawei Collective dedicates this volume to the sisters and LGBTQ members who have fallen while resisting during this difficult time.

About the Poems

Between the articles in this issue, we included poems that speak to their themes. The Assistant Editor of IJBS helped select the poems, and writes:
I believe there are no borders for the arts. Only poems that found their way into my heart were selected for conversation with the articles in this issue. I read the poems anew after being inspired by the articles and their themes. Poems can talk directly to one’s heart. Although readers cannot know exactly the motivation, rationale, and passion of a poet, readers have the freedom to interpret each poem in their own way. I would say the satisfaction of reading this issue’s poems alongside the articles is like drinking water after eating Indian gooseberries. Bitterness and sweetness complement each other. I hope the readers can share the emotions and feelings of the authors and poets.
ဗေဒသရော်အချက်

ယူနိုင်ငံတကာအရင်းအစီအစဥ်တွင် LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender) ဆိုသော နည်းပါဝင်သော အမေထောင်စုများမှာ လူမှု့တွင် များကြိုးစားသော လေးစင် ဖြစ်ပြီး နိုင်ငံတကာအဖျားအထောက်အထား လုပ်ဆောင်ထားသည်။ အားလုံးအတွက် အမေရိကန် စာရေးနှင့် အစိုးရအဖျား အပေါ်တွင် ပြည်သူ့အချက်အလက်များအား လေးစင် ဖြစ်သည်။

LGBTQ တစ်ခိုးဆိုသော စာရင်းတွင် ပါဝင်သော နည်းပါဝင်သော လေးစင်များမှာ လူမှု့တွင် များကြိုးစားသော လေးစင် ဖြစ်ပြီး နိုင်ငံတကာအဖျားအထောက်အထား လုပ်ဆောင်ထားသည်။ အားလုံးအတွက် အမေရိကန် စာရေးနှင့် အစိုးရအဖျား အပေါ်တွင် ပြည်သူ့အချက်အလက်များအား လေးစင် ဖြစ်သည်။

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LGBT အနေအထားများကို အလုပ်သိမ်းပြုရန် သတ်မှတ်အချက်အလက်များလော်တိုင်မှ ပထမဦးစွာ ဆောက်လုပ်ခြင်း ကို လုပ်ဆောင်ခြင်း အမျိုးမျိုးဆောင်ရွက်ပါသည်။

အချက်အလက်များ သင်ယူခြင်း များကို ပထမဦးစွာ ဆောက်လုပ်နေလျှင် အတိုးအကျော်အမျိုးမျိုး ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်း ကို လုပ်ဆောင်ပါသည်။

(practitioner) သည် အစိုးရအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို ရှိရန် အကျိုးပြုသော ကြိုးပမ်းကြောင်း သတ်မှတ်ခြင်း ဖြစ်သည်။

impact factor ကို အဆိုးတား မြှင့်တင်ရန် အထောက်အကူရသော အရာအားဖြင့် အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များ လုပ်ဆောင်နေသော အရာအားဖြင့် အလုပ်သိမ်းပြုခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။

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1 သင်များသည် အတိုးအကျော်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို ဆောင်ရွက်ပေးထားသည်။
LGBTQ ისტორიაში, თუ როგორ გამოიყენება, არსებობს ორი წყარო: არდვერობაში კონტექსტიანი თემატიკით, აღნიშნულია მრავალრიცხოვანი განყოფილება. პირველი წყარო ჰქონის უფრო ზოგად ჯგუფებს. მათ შორის, LGBTQ ჯგუფები, რომლებიც მოკლეების ქმნის ერთმანეთთან, დამარცხებულობა უკავშირდება განწილად. აღნიშნული წყარო იხსნება იმით, რომ ამ ჯგუფებს მკვლეობა უკავშირებს რამდენიმე გზის თანახმარება და სახელწოდება. თუ არ გამოიყენება ისეთი წყარო, ამ ჯგუფების სამუშაო იქნება პირველი წყარო.
LGBTQ
 Humanities Across Borders
Is There Such a Thing as Myanmar Feminism?

Tharaphi Than

Abstract

Attempts by foreign feminists and scholars to understand Myanmar feminism are limited by the languages, histories and concepts with which they are familiar. Subsequently, many struggle to identify ‘feminism’ in the Myanmar context. This article, written from the perspective of a Burmese feminist scholar, charts some of the unique characteristics of feminism in Myanmar from the early twentieth century to the 2021 coup period. It argues that the current revolutionary moment has facilitated a change in Myanmar feminism: the personal has become political, and women and LGBTQ communities are using the political rupture to make demands and highlight gender-based oppression.

Introduction

The title of this paper is intended to be provocative. The emphasis is on feminism and how we can understand and study it in a Myanmar context. When we hear the word feminism, we often associate it with the first, second, and third waves of feminism as understood in the West.¹ When feminists and feminist scholars from outside Myanmar look for feminism and women’s movements in Myanmar, they are only equipped with the language and examples with which they are familiar. Many get lost trying to identify what fits under the umbrella term of ‘feminism’ in the Myanmar context. There are no clear answers to, “Were women organized? Did they mobilize themselves and the

¹ This article is based on a paper delivered at the University College London Institute of Global Prosperity on 6 December 2021. It is dedicated to those who have fallen and/or sacrificed in the many revolutions of Burma or Myanmar. In writing this article I benefitted from correspondence with two Burmese feminists, Pyo Let Han and Shunn Lei.
country for the right to vote?”, i.e., questions based on understandings of first wave feminism; or “Are women allowed to work? Are women in Myanmar paid equally as men?”, questions from the second wave; or “Are women subject to domestic violence? How is sexual liberation viewed by women?”, questions associated with the third wave in Western discourses.

Asking these questions in the Myanmar context could easily disorientate a feminist scholar. This is not because there is no such a thing as Myanmar feminism but that feminist movements have not occurred linearly, or as waves as understood in the West. The preconditions for the emergence of feminist movements are different to those in the Western context. The question then is: what is Myanmar feminism? Or rather, how can we understand feminism in the Myanmar context? What structural oppression or patriarchal norms do Burmese women fight against?

This article is guided by these three questions. The first two are interrelated. To be able to answer them, I provide some brief historical background. Burma’s first election was held in 1922. Women who owned properties could vote to elect 80 out of the 103 members in the legislative council. As part of British India, Burmese women’s voting rights were considered the same as women in Britain, where ratepayers were able to vote. But even in 1922, the historical trajectory of women’s rights in Burma was very different from women’s rights in Britain or those in countries where a woman’s agency was tied to the question of whether they could elect representatives using their own ballot and voice.

Protesting Government Taxes

In the nineteenth century, Burmese women held 10 per cent of village administrative positions across the lowlands and owned property in their names. Village head positions were passed down along both male and female hereditary lines. Several

2 For more, see Tharaphi Than, 2014.
matriarchal communities also existed in the highlands. In this context of nineteenth century Burma, electing democratic representatives could have been seen as a step down or step backward in women’s equality. Women did not mobilize, nor were they mobilized, for the right to vote and participate in elections.

Rather, in the colonial Global South, feminist movements were often intertwined with independence movements. One of the earliest women’s movements in Burma was around household taxes—not voting rights. As the British colonial administrative organs expanded and tax regimes increasingly restricted the economic activities of rural households, nationalist political organizations mobilized their members around tax issues.

Women joined the women’s wings of such organizations and called themselves *Kumari*. They avoided paying tax and participated in and led boycott movements. They boycotted imported products including sheer fabrics and tortoise shell combs (the Burmese term for ‘turtle’ is the same as the shortened form for ‘English’, these were ‘English combs’). This early *Kumari* movement, associated with the independence movements against colonial rule in British India, shows how women’s movements in Burma were often subsumed by larger movements, unlike those in most of the countries of the Global North, where women’s movements were not subsumed in independence or nationalist movements to the same extent.

Burmese women’s struggles have always floundered in the shadows of other national movements. The term “national” is often rendered in the Burmese language as “concerning men” and “men’s causes”, rather than “concerning the nation” or “concerning the state”, and such linguistic slippage highlights how Burmese women have found it almost impossible to launch their own genuine women’s movement. The cause of the nation is what everyone—men and women together—must strive for, and during the twentieth century there was a general belief in Burmese society that it would be selfish for women to fight for

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3 *Kumari* is a Sanskrit word meaning ‘princess’. *Kumari* groups were closely affiliated with political organizations in early twentieth century Burma and women organized themselves in local *Kumari* groups.
their own causes.⁴ The idea is that “once everyone is freed, women will be freed also”. The predicament of women is bound up with everyone’s predicament. This coupling of women’s issues with the nation, and describing causes for the nation as men’s causes, or the ones that men should naturally lead, poses the greatest challenge for women’s movements and women activists in Myanmar. Women political leaders learned to adopt the strategy of adopting men’s causes “for the nation” as their own in order to survive in a hostile political environment.

*Kumari* women were active in the *wunthanu* (“love for one’s race”) movement, but women’s niche in the independence struggle was largely carved out by male monks and male laypeople. Taking inspiration from the Ghandi movement, *wunthani Kumari* women urged all women to support local products and encouraged them to produce their own clothes. At the same time, wives of civil servants launched forms of elite activism such as supporting orphanages and organizing “Pansy days”, i.e., fundraising activities, in government schools and offices. The roles women took on in the independence struggle and in welfare activism were delimited by religious, cultural, and political leaders who were mostly male.

Women students actively participated in student strikes from 1910 to 1938, the last of which was to show solidarity with oil workers who were striking and marching from oil fields in the dry zone to government offices in Rangoon. When the oil workers went on strike, pictures of young girls throwing their bodies across the factory gates of oil refineries captured the nation’s imagination. They were, like their sisters before them in the *Kumari* movement, portrayed as supporters of the national movement. Many of the demands the oil workers made were related to improving living conditions in households. The families of many oil workers did not have enough oil to burn lanterns at night, preventing their children from studying: situations like this were directly connected to British colonial exploitation of Burmese workers.

⁴ This endures today. See “The Marginalization of Women in the Karenni National Liberation Movement” in this issue.
The fact that most women supported the nationalist independence movement meant women did not launch their own women’s movements during this time. Women leaders, often daughters of senior government ministers, were seen as champions of nationalist causes rather than as champions of women’s issues. During the first third of the twentieth century, the successes of highly educated women such as Daw Mya Sein, the first Burmese woman to graduate from Oxford University, who represented the country at the Burma Round Table Conference in London in 1931 and fought for national causes such as education and peace, overshadowed the struggles of other less-privileged women.

Supporters, Not Leaders

As mentioned, women were framed as supporters by the nationalists and agitators by the colonialists in the independence struggle. They played second fiddle to male nationalist leaders and monks. Certain prominent individual women, such as Daw Mya Sein and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, have generally been regarded as somehow representative of Burmese women in general. But highly educated women like them are rare in Burma. They attract disproportionate attention, overshadowing the context from which they came, and the real political, social, and cultural positions of most women in Burma. Over time, perceptions of elite women like these, including the village headwomen and royalty like Queen Shin Saw Pu of centuries past, and more recently these women educated at prestigious global institutions like Oxford University, perpetuated the message that Burmese women enjoyed high status in Burmese society.

In reality, young girls and women face more hardship than boys and men and do not enjoy equal status with them at all. For example, the drop-out rate from school for girls is higher than for boys, and men consistently receive higher incomes than women. Only the lowest-paid jobs, mostly in the public sector, and in petty trade, are the domain of women.
Returning to the main question posed by this article, feminism cannot be understood separately from other movements in Burma. Women themselves feel deeply uncomfortable portraying themselves as feminists or fighting for issues related to gender and sexuality. When I interviewed women doctors and soldiers in Yangon between 2005 and 2006, they refused to talk about working for women’s causes. In fact, they often viewed their own activism as politically neutral.

Feminism is inherently political, but Burmese activism has been depoliticized since the 1960s when the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) ruled the country. Two examples stand out: the work of a leading Burmese woman doctor, and women soldiers. The doctor was quite angry when I described her work for the poor and her study of politics before joining medical school as radical. Women getting attention was at that time a radical act. Between the icons of Daw Mya Sein and Aung San Suu Kyi, there were hardly any women who could lead both women and men and who carved out political or activist careers for other women.

Women soldiers were originally recruited to establish the first women’s army in Burma. But they mostly spent World War II in supporting roles, nursing soldiers, and mobilizing the rural public against the Japanese. After the war, they traded their military uniforms in for civilian clothes, and in their own words, “buried their political lives”. It is worth emphasizing that depoliticizing women’s activism silences women. Many Burmese women adopted non-political lives after a short spell of political activism, as exemplified by these original Burmese woman soldiers. A continued pursuit of political activism was and still is almost impossible when there is a clear demarcation between what men can and should do and what women can and should do.

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5 For more on Burmese woman soldiers, see chapters four and five of Tharaphi Than, 2014.
Structural Barriers and the Invisibility of Women

Understanding feminism in the Burmese context requires one to pay attention to the larger political and social landscape in which women are situated and comprehend the structural oppression and patriarchal norms that they must contend with. In Burma’s democracy since independence, the biggest impediment for women’s political activism has been mainstream party politics. Women political leaders often choose to retire or leave their parties to operate in opposition movements (underground or otherwise). The BSPP never had any senior women executives, but the wives of the party’s leaders championed social welfare causes. The three nationwide workers’ and farmers’ conferences the BSPP organized in its early years (known as Duya, Khabaung and Ohndaw) did not feature a single woman speaker and women were also largely absent in the rank and file of the BSPP. Since independence, women’s participation in politics reached its lowest point during the periods of BSPP and military rule.

Deterring women from joining politics went hand in hand with carving out particular careers and roles for women in society. In an education program created during the post-World War II democratic period called “Creating New Lives and Education” if directly translated from the Burmese language, but formally titled “The Education Plan for Welfare State” in English, women teachers were described as “frontier soldiers”.6 There was a push for women to be soldiers, but with chalk and books, not as combat soldiers in a traditional or guerrilla army. Still, this showed an ambivalent attitude from the government about the role of women in society, and women pilots were occasionally featured on magazine covers. Many governments have sought to inspire young girls with pictures of women soldiers, especially pilots, but these token soldiers were never actually given combat roles in Burma. Equal opportunities for men and women in the army started and ended on magazine covers.

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6 For more on the Pyidawtha Plan, see Government of the Union of Burma, 1954.
In addition to a government incapable of articulating and creating roles for women in their administration and most other job sectors in the country, the gendered roles of society also impeded the individual and collective progress of women and continue to do so. Healthcare and education are considered suitable areas of work for women, but if women want to attend medical university, they must score higher than men on their qualifying exams. Engineering is considered a man’s profession and to be admitted to an engineering school, women must score higher than men as well. Either way, women are doomed.

Parents think teaching is a dignified and suitable occupation for women and that a teacher’s uniform provides protection. They therefore encourage their daughters to strive to become teachers if they work at all. Such government jobs are poorly paid, and it is often hard to juggle the work with family life. Many women professors at universities remain unmarried, possibly for two reasons: 1) they cannot support their own families with their salaries, and 2) to rise higher in the academy, one must devote one’s life to pursuing one degree after another, leaving no time for a partner.

Based on the 2014 household census, about 10 per cent of jobs in Myanmar are in the government sector, but a majority of women actually engage in the private sector. Women might successfully run and manage a business, but when that business is brought into a guild or conglomerate, it is men, not women, who go on to represent it. Women, no matter how competent and successful, are discouraged from leading large profitable businesses due to bureaucratic hurdles and the mistrust of men in trade associations. Just like in politics, women are less represented than men in the better-paid corporate and large enterprise parts of the private sector.

The gendering of politics, bureaucracy and business, i.e., the labeling of them as the domain of men, remains the biggest obstacle for women. The visibility of certain women in power in Myanmar, often those that come from political dynasties, and/or are the daughter or husband of a powerful man,

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7 Myanmar Information Management Unit, 2023.
obfuscates the real powerlessness of most women in Myanmar. Positions of power and influence in government offices and services are off limits to ordinary women.

Hilary Faxon and Pyo Let Han note that a majority of women farmers do not have land titles in their names. In other words, many women work on land that they do not legally own. The land bureaucracy is complicated and offices are hostile places for women to visit. The lack of land titles held by women results in them being unable to envision themselves as farmers, let alone land owners. The word *lehthama*, ‘farmer’ in English, is used exclusively for men, and like in politics, women are limited to supporting roles in agriculture, such as being transplanters, weeders, and harvesters, etc. As more and more young men leave Myanmar, most to engage in agricultural work abroad, the women they leave behind must take on farm work in addition to managing the house.

Though there are millions of women farmers in Myanmar, state authorities and NGOs persist in their image of a typical farmer as being a man tilling the land with water buffaloes or a tractor. They are wedded to a stylized image of men and masculinized strength—never of women. No official poster or communication with women tilling the land has been issued by the Myanmar state or NGOs to display or encourage the empowerment of women.

**Invisible Barriers and the Plight of Women**

So far I have discussed the structural barriers for women to achieve positions of power in government and the bureaucracy. But there also exist invisible cultural barriers. One of them is the concept of *hpon*, the prestige and power afforded to men in Burmese society. The belief that women are inherently inferior to men because they did not accumulate enough karmic credits in their past lives contributes to discriminatory acts such as families separating women’s undergarments from men’s clothes,

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8 Faxon & Pyo Let Han, 2018.
often forcing women to dry their longyis and undergarments inside the house, and religious authorities preventing women from climbing to the highest platforms at Buddhist pagodas and religious buildings.

Politics and the concept of *hpon*, i.e., structural and invisible barriers, trap women in certain jobs and keep them landless and without title. Powerful actors such as the military misuse and abuse cultural norms and beliefs to their advantage. They reinforce the superiority of men by referring to and propagating ancient stories from the Buddhist *jataka* canon, perpetuating justifications for the structural barriers against women’s fuller participation in Burmese society. The insidious interplay of politics, militarism and *hpon* in Myanmar is difficult to unravel.

Here it is worth pointing out the dangerous side of the influence of Western feminism and its methods. Myanmar feminism is not easily visible, and between 2010 and 2020, when more gender-based funding streams became available in the country, many women activists felt pressured to make themselves seen and visible, so that their work could be easily identifiable by wealthy Western NGOs as (what they considered to be) feminist work or gender activism. They deviated from the path of the activists during the first 50 years of independent Burma, the path that often aligned with the missions of ethnic armed organizations (EAOs) or the Communist Party of Burma. Many activists in the twenty-first century have carved out space in mainstream urban circles, rather than sticking to or being stuck in remote or border areas. Many women’s organizations chose to prioritize change from within the hybrid civilian rule parliamentary system, though some EAO women’s organizations remained skeptical.

Culture, not politics, was portrayed as an obstacle for change during the era of hybrid civilian rule from 2010-2021. Ending domestic violence became a common cause that could rally many women’s organizations; the “16 Days of Activism” campaign allowed opportunities for bite-size activism to those who could not be full-time activists. Reports of gender-based
violence and how to tackle the problem were widely discussed at all levels, from national to local.

Plays like the “Vagina Monologues” and the very term “feminism” became more accepted in Myanmar toward the end of the 2010s. Popular global trends such as the “White Ribbon” campaign and the #metoo movement were discussed and used as benchmarks. But the urban-based, NGO-driven gender activism was detached from the movements coming out of EAOs’ women’s wings, which continuously pointed out the entrenchment of military rule and the precarity of women’s lives under it.9 Women’s movements in the 2010s were subsumed into global campaigns, and efforts for gender equality by and large centered around ending domestic violence and promoting women’s representation in parliamentary politics. The emphasis was on individual freedom and achievement. Collective liberation was considered unpragmatic at best and unachievable within short project cycles funded by NGOs. Women’s movements could not champion the movements by Myanmar farmers and garment workers where women fought for land rights and a decent wage.

To recap, politics, bureaucracy and project-based activism have disempowered the women activists fighting for collective liberation through cross-cutting issues such as land rights and fair pay. The tunnel vision of global and Western feminism, institutionalized as it is to prioritize voting rights, sexual liberation, pay parity, and women’s representation in the government, meant that newly influential NGOs were reluctant to support movements without these hashtags. Tensions arose when attempting to separate feminist movements from wider nationalist movements by Bamar or other ethnicities. There was conflict between the new NGO-supported feminists and the old guard of activists that see women’s issues as only part of larger campaigns for justice in Myanmar.

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9 As seen in Shunn Lei Swe Yee’s article in issue two of this special volume, “How Mainstream Gender Activism Failed Marginalized Women, 2011-2021”, to be published in 2024.
Feminism in the Spring Revolution

The final section of this article concerns the rise of feminism in the aftermath of the 2021 coup and the factors that enabled it. Since the coup, many have criticized any politics that straddles radicalism, i.e., a politics that deviates from mainstream, popular, or elite politics. The coup proved beyond doubt that the diarchic relationship between the military and the leading political party failed. Radical voices and radical politics including feminism were brought to the fore in the abrupt brief opening of political space following the coup. Feminism in the context of Myanmar is radical politics because it highlights the fact that if women are not freed, society is not freed. Groups such as Thu Pone have highlighted the importance of liberating women while the revolution unfolds.\textsuperscript{10} The 2021 Spring Revolution has seen efforts to center women’s issues and calls for equality.

In the current era of social media and instant news delivery, women’s participation in politics and activism, from the cities to the countryside, from the plains to highlands, changed from visible activism to online activism—though many women are continuing to engage in the resistance as fighters and supporters. Following the coup, varied forms of women’s activism—from the hoisting of women’s sarongs in downtown Yangon, to marching with the slogan, “I will wear what I want, just don’t rape me”, to city women demonstrating as war refugees and holding young children, have erased any question of whether women “belong” in politics. Ruptured politics has made feminism visible.

There are four groups of women that are currently most visible. These are participants in the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM), protesters, backline supporters, and women fighters. The CDM has weakened public services provided by organs of the military’s State Administration Council, completely halting them in some areas. Protesters, especially those protesting in the countryside, are mostly women. Rural and minority women might not be as visible as city protesters, and some of them,

\textsuperscript{10} Thu Pone, 2013.
especially those fleeing from active conflicts, might not choose to protest in the streets, but they are active supporters of the revolution, contributing financially, sheltering fighters, and more importantly giving moral courage to resistance fighters. Nuns, teachers, professors, and legal professionals are now on the frontline fighting and teaching children in conflict areas.

The quick evolution of the anti-coup resistance movement to a wider revolution shows that radical and fringe politics matter. Feminism was strong in Myanmar before the coup, but only one version of it was legible by the outside world, especially the Western world. Fringe politics in the physical and metaphorical sense, i.e., the politics championed by minorities that continuously highlights the inherent violence of the patriarchal military and civilian state, has moved to the center, and feminism has found new alliances—after all, feminism itself has always been fringe politics.

Institutional violence is born out of militarized society and violence begets violence. Stopping violence against women has been a central call of minority women activists such as Shan, Karen, Kachin, and Rohingya people. There have long been campaigns against the use of rape as a weapon of war in Burma and Myanmar. In 2021, the plight of minority women in the hands of the Myanmar army was incorporated into the “16 Days of Activism” campaign to raise awareness of violence against women. Women’s activism, gender equality movements and feminism have progressed and feminists are less likely to be accused of being merely “angry women” by men and those with power.

**Conclusion**

The ongoing goals of the revolution reflect the needs of the most oppressed, including women and LGBTQ people, and other minorities including Rohingyas. A successful revolution cannot be measured by bringing about change only for the privileged majorities, but what it achieves for the least privileged and most oppressed in society. In the midst of revolution, visibility of the invisible, and voices of the voiceless, give hope to people that
society collectively is making progress toward equality. Amid suffering and bloodshed, there is hope.

In Myanmar feminism, it used to be that the personal was not political, or rather the personal could not be made political, but the 2021 coup has changed that. Women and LGBTQ communities who were active before the coup are now using this political rupture to center their demands and highlight ongoing gender-based, systemic oppression. Burmese revolutionary society has come to understand that a revolution with no parallel platforms to tackle these systemic oppressions will be an incomplete one.

References


ဗိုလ်ချင်းစိုစီးဌာနတွင် သော့ချင်းစီးဌာနမော်တမ်း

ဗိုလ်ချင်းစိုစီးဌာန သော့ချင်းစီးဌာနအတွင်း သော့ချင်းစီးဌာနအဖြစ် အရေးတာဖြစ်သည်။ အားလုံးတွင် သော့ချင်းစီးဌာနအတွင်း သော့ချင်းစီးဌာနအဖြစ် အားလုံးတွင် သော့ချင်းစီးဌာနအဖြစ် အရေးတာဖြစ်သည်။

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မြောက်အားဖြင့် သော့ချင်းစီးဌာနတွင် သော့ချင်းစီးဌာနအဖြစ် အရေးတာဖြစ်သည်။ သော့ချင်းစီးဌာနတွင် သော့ချင်းစီးဌာနအဖြစ် အရေးတာဖြစ်သည်။ သော့ချင်းစီးဌာနတွင် သော့ချင်းစီးဌာနအဖြစ် အရေးတာဖြစ်သည်။

1 မြောက်အားဖြင့် UCL Institute of Global Prosperity in London, UK ၃၀ ရက်တွင် (၃) ကျော် ၁၀ ကျော် တစ်စီးဌာနအတွင်း ဖေဖော်ဝါရီ နံ့သွားသည်မှာ သော့ချင်းစီးဌာနအတွင်း သော့ချင်းစီးဌာနအဖြစ် အရေးတာဖြစ်သည်။ သော့ချင်းစီးဌာနတွင် သော့ချင်းစီးဌာနအဖြစ် အရေးတာဖြစ်သည်။
နောက်တစ်ဖက်မှ အသိပေးသည်စိုက်ပျိုးရာ အခြေခံသောစီးပွားရေးများ ဖော်ပြသည်ဟု ယုံကြည်သည်။ သတိပေးပြီး အချိန်မှာ အကြောင်းရှင်းအလိုအပ်ချက်များကို ပြသည်။ ထိုအချိန်မှာ လူများ၏ အခြေခံသောစီးပွားရေးများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။ ထိုအချိန်မှာ လူများ၏ အခြေခံသောစီးပွားရေးများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။ ထိုအချိန်မှာ လူများ၏ အခြေခံသောစီးပွားရေးများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။ ထိုအချိန်မှာ လူများ၏ အခြေခံသောစီးပွားရေးများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။ ထိုအချိန်မှာ လူများ၏ အခြေခံသောစီးပွားရေးများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။ ထိုအချိန်မှာ လူများ၏ အခြေခံသောစီးပွားရေးများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။ ထိုအချိန်မှာ လူများ၏ အခြေခံသောစီးပွားရေးများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။ ထိုအချိန်မှာ လူများ၏ အခြေခံသောစီးပွားရေးများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။ ထိုအချိန်မှာ လူများ၏ အခြေခံသောစီးပွားရေးများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။ ထိုအချိန်မှာ လူများ၏ အခြေခံသောစီးပွားရေးများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။ ထိုအချိန်မှာ လူများ၏ အခြေခံသောစီးပွားရေးများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။ ထိုအချိန်မှာ လူများ၏ အခြေခံသောစီးပွားရေးများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။
အခြေချင်းအချက်အလိုက် အဆင်ပြေထားခြင်းသည် အစိုးရ၏ဖြစ်ရာ ချန်ချမ်းသော်မှ ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးကို ပြည်သူတို့၏ အိုးစွဲခြင်း အကြောင်းပြင်။

အကြောင်းပြင်ညွှန်း ၁၀ ကြိမ် မျှ ဆိုင်ရာသော (၁၅) ကြိမ် အခြေချင်း အကြောင်းပြင်။

သို့သော်လည်း အခြေချင်းသည် အချက်အလိုက် ပြည်သူတို့၏ အဓိကဖြစ်သည်။

(၁) မိမိ၏ အနေဖြစ်သော အခြားသော အချက်အလိုက်တွင် ပြည်သူတို့၏ အခြေချင်း အကြောင်းပြင်။

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(逍遥) colonial (global south)
နိုင်ငံခြားရေးနှင့် အိမ်မြင်ရေးလိုက်တာရေးသူများ၏ အာမားစွာစိတ်ကူးမှုသစ်များကို အကြောင်းရှင်းလင်းစွာ ပြောပြပါသည်။ ဒီရေးအပေါ် အနိုင်းရေးအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို အနေနောက်စိတ်ကူးသူများအားလုံး ပြောပြပါသည်။ အနိုင်းရေးအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို အနေနောက်စိတ်ကူးသူများအားလုံး ပြောပြပါသည်။

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နိုင်ငံခြားရေးအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို အနေနောက်စိတ်ကူးသူများအားလုံး ပြောပြပါသည်။ နိုင်ငံခြားရေးအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို အနေနောက်စိတ်ကူးသူများအားလုံး ပြောပြပါသည်။
အခြားသောနေ့စဉ်ကြည့်တိုးတွေ့ရှိစေရန် ဖော်ပြသည့် အခြေအနေအားဖော်ပြပွဲများ ဖော်ပြသည်။ အခြေအနေတစ်ခုကို ဖော်ပြရန် ဖော်ပြသည်။ အခြေအနေတစ်ခုကို ဖော်ပြရန် ဖော်ပြသည်။ အခြေအနေတစ်ခုကို ဖော်ပြရန် ဖော်ပြသည်။ အခြေအနေတစ်ခုကို ဖော်ပြရန် ဖော်ပြသည်။

မိမိတို့ကို ဖော်ပြပွဲများကို ဖော်ပြရန် ဖော်ပြသည်။ မိမိတို့ကို ဖော်ပြပွဲများကို ဖော်ပြရန် ဖော်ပြသည်။ မိမိတို့ကို ဖော်ပြပွဲများကို ဖော်ပြရန် ဖော်ပြသည်။ မိမိတို့ကို ဖော်ပြပွဲများကို ဖော်ပြရန် ဖော်ပြသည်။ မိမိတို့ကို ဖော်ပြပွဲများကို ဖော်ပြရန် ဖော်ပြသည်။
बर्मा चर्चा मंडल (Burma Round Table Conference in London) की तीन चर्चा मंडलों के साथ सीधे अनुबन्ध है। यह मंडल बर्मा में विभिन्न रूपों के साथ विभिन्न लोगों द्वारा गठित गठित है। यह मंडल बर्मा राष्ट्रीय संगठन (NLD) के समकक्ष में मिलता है और यह मंडल बर्मी संघ (BRC) के साथ अनुबन्ध है। यह मंडल बर्मा में विभिन्न रूपों के साथ विभिन्न लोगों द्वारा गठित गठित है। यह मंडल बर्मा राष्ट्रीय संगठन (NLD) के समकक्ष में मिलता है और यह मंडल बर्मी संघ (BRC) के साथ अनुबन्ध है।
მოქმედება მიიღეს განსხვავებულ წერილობით. ახალგაზრდა ცხოვრების მიმართ ადამიანები უბრალოდ უთამაშებენ ადამიანის პირველ გამოხატავდა ადამიანის ქორწინეთში რეალური სტატისტიკის დაწერილი მოქმედება მათთვის გამოთქვამი. ამჟამად ხმაურების სხვადასხვა სხვა ოთხგზის გამჭვირვალობა შეიძლება გამოიქნაოს ჭირვჭავთან ფორმირების სივრცე;

მოქმედების ადამიანები ახალგაზრდა ფიქსირების სხვა ადამიანებით. მათი გამოძახვები უკანასკნელი იყო, რაც მათთვის მარტივი ჯგუფები შეიძლება გამოიქნაოს ქუჩის მარტივ ჯგუფები.

### პარაგრაფი

მოქმედება მიიღეს სხვადასხვა სახის წერილობით. ახალგაზრდა ცხოვრების მიმართ ადამიანები უბრალოდ უთამაშებენ ადამიანის პირველ გამოხატავდა ადამიანის ქორწინეთში რეალური სტატისტიკის დაწერილი მოქმედება მათთვის გამოთქვამი. ამჟამად ხმაურების სხვადასხვა სხვა ოთხგზის გამჭვირვალობა შეიძლება გამოიქნაოს ჭირვჭავთან ფორმირების სივრცე;

მოქმედების ადამიანები ახალგაზრდა ფიქსირების სხვა ადამიანებით. მათი გამოძახვები უკანასკნელი იყო, რაც მათთვის მარტივი ჯგუფები შეიძლება გამოიქნაოს ქუჩის მარტივ ჯგუფები.
‘The Education Plan for Welfare State’ ကို အနိမ့်တိုင်းကွင်းတစ်ချက် ပေးထားသည်တစ်ချက် 'frontier soldiers' အဖြစ် ရှေးကျော်ကွယ်ပြီး လူမှုအဖွဲ့အစည်းတွင် ပါဝင်သူများ ဖြစ်ကြောင်း စာရင်းတစ်ချက် မှတ်ချက်တင်တွေ့ရှိသည်။ အနုစိတ်သည် အဖွဲ့အစည်းများ အစိုးရအဖွဲ့အစည်းထဲတွင် ပါဝင်သူများ ဖြစ်ရာ လူမှုအဖွဲ့အစည်းတွင် ပါဝင်သူများ ဖြစ်ကြောင်း အဖွဲ့အစည်းများ အစိုးရအဖွဲ့အစည်းထဲတွင် ပါဝင်သူများ ဖြစ်ကြောင်း စာရင်းတစ်ချက် မှတ်ချက်တင်တွေ့ရှိသည်။
နိုင်ငံတော် သတ်ပို့မှုအတွက် ကျန်စစ်ဆေးခြင်းနှင့် သုတေသနမှုအတွက် အချိန်ပြောင်းလဲမှုအတွက် တိုက်ပွဲမှုများတွင် အဖော်သတ်မှတ်ချက်များကို အသစ်မှ အများအပြား ပြောင်းလဲသော အချိန်ပြောင်းလဲမှု့သူ ဖွင့်ပြားသည်။ အချိန်ပြောင်းလဲမှု များ တိုက်ပွဲမှုများတွင် အဖော်သတ်မှတ်ချက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အချိန်ပြောင်းလဲမှု့သူ ဖွင့်ပြားသည်။

နိုင်ငံတော် သတ်ပို့မှုအတွက် ကျန်စစ်ဆေးခြင်းနှင့် သုတေသနမှုအတွက် အချိန်ပြောင်းလဲမှုအတွက် တိုက်ပွဲမှုများတွင် အဖော်သတ်မှတ်ချက်များကို အသစ်မှ အများအပြား ပြောင်းလဲသော အချိန်ပြောင်းလဲမှု့သူ ဖွင့်ပြားသည်။ အချိန်ပြောင်းလဲမှု များ တိုက်ပွဲမှုများတွင် အဖော်သတ်မှတ်ချက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အချိန်ပြောင်းလဲမှု့သူ ဖွင့်ပြားသည်။

နိုင်ငံတော် သတ်ပို့မှုအတွက် ကျန်စစ်ဆေးခြင်းနှင့် သုတေသနမှုအတွက် အချိန်ပြောင်းလဲမှုအတွက် တိုက်ပွဲမှုများတွင် အဖော်သတ်မှတ်ချက်များကို အသစ်မှ အများအပြား ပြောင်းလဲသော အချိန်ပြောင်းလဲမှု့သူ ဖွင့်ပြားသည်။ အချိန်ပြောင်းလဲမှု များ တိုက်ပွဲမှုများတွင် အဖော်သတ်မှတ်ချက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အချိန်ပြောင်းလဲမှု့သူ ဖွင့်ပြားသည်။

နိုင်ငံတော် သတ်ပို့မှုအတွက် ကျန်စစ်ဆေးခြင်းနှင့် သုတေသနမှုအတွက် အချိန်ပြောင်းလဲမှုအတွက် တိုက်ပွဲမှုများတွင် အဖော်သတ်မှတ်ချက်များကို အသစ်မှ အများအပြား ပြောင်းလဲသော အချိန်ပြောင်းလဲမှု့သူ ဖွင့်ပြားသည်။ အချိန်ပြောင်းလဲမှု များ တိုက်ပွဲမှုများတွင် အဖော်သတ်မှတ်ချက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အချိန်ပြောင်းလဲမှု့သူ ဖွင့်ပြားသည်။
အောက်ဖော်ပြပါ အမူအားအချက်အလက်များကို ဖော်ပြစေပါမည်။ အမူအားအလိုက် သဘောတူညီမှုများကို အဖြစ်ချပ်ရန် အမူအားဆို၏။

အမူအားအချက်အလက်များကို ဖော်ပြစေပါမည်။ အမူအားအလိုက် သဘောတူညီမှုများကို အဖြစ်ချပ်ရန် အမူအားဆို၏။
#metoo အယူအဖွံ့ အစိုးရ လူ့အဖွဲ့အစည်းအတွက် ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ဆိုင်ရာ အရာရှိများ ဖြစ်စေ လိုအပ်ချက်များ မှာ အခြေခံတစ်ချက်အဖြစ် ဘာမှာလိုက်ချင်သော အခွင့်အရေး အကြောင်း ပြချက် အနေဖြင့် ပြောပြပါတယ်။ အချိန်များ အရေးကြီးအရေးကြီး ဖြစ် မှာ အောက်တိုဘာ မှာ အခြေခံဦးစါး လွှတ်တင်ပါတယ်။

#metoo မူလက ဖျင်နေရာ သိရှိရေးအဖွဲ့ ဟောင်းမီးနှင့် ပါဝင်ခဲ့သော နေရာများ ဖန်တီးခဲ့သော အရာရှိများ အရေးကြီးများ ဖြစ် ပေးချက်များ မှာ ချင်းချင်းမှုအဖွဲ့ လိုအပ်ချက်များ ဖြစ် ပေးချက်များ ပြချက်များ မှာ ဖြစ် ပေးချက်များ ချင်းချင်းမှုအဖွဲ့ ကို လုပ်ဆောင်ပါတယ်။

#metoo အရာရှိများ ဟောင်းမီးနှင့် ပါဝင်ခဲ့သော နေရာများ ဖန်တီးခဲ့သော အရာရှိများ အရေးကြီးများ ဖြစ် ပေးချက်များ မှာ ချင်းချင်းမှုအဖွဲ့ လိုအပ်ချက်များ ဖြစ် ပေးချက်များ ပြချက်များ မှာ ဖြစ် ပေးချက်များ ချင်းချင်းမှုအဖွဲ့ ကို လုပ်ဆောင်ပါတယ်။

#metoo မူလက ဖျင်နေရာ သိရှိရေးအဖွဲ့ ဟောင်းမီးနှင့် ပါဝင်ခဲ့သော နေရာများ ဖန်တီးခဲ့သော အရာရှိများ အရေးကြီးများ ဖြစ် ပေးချက်များ မှာ ချင်းချင်းမှုအဖွဲ့ လိုအပ်ချက်များ ဖြစ် ပေးချက်များ ပြချက်များ မှာ ဖြစ် ပေးချက်များ ချင်းချင်းမှုအဖွဲ့ ကို လုပ်ဆောင်ပါတယ်။

#metoo မူလက ဖျင်နေရာ သိရှိရေးအဖွဲ့ ဟောင်းမီးနှင့် ပါဝင်ခဲ့သော နေရာများ ဖန်တီးခဲ့သော အရာရှိများ အရေးကြီးများ ဖြစ် ပေးချက်များ မှာ ချင်းချင်းမှုအဖွဲ့ လိုအပ်ချက်များ ဖြစ် ပေးချက်များ ပြချက်များ မှာ ဖြစ် ပေးချက်များ ချင်းချင်းမှုအဖွဲ့ ကို လုပ်ဆောင်ပါတယ်။

#metoo မူလက ဖျင်နေရာ သိရှိရေးအဖွဲ့ ဟောင်းမီးနှင့် ပါဝင်ခဲ့သော နေရာများ ဖန်တီးခဲ့သော အရာရှိများ အရေးကြီးများ ဖြစ် ပေးချက်များ မှာ ချင်းချင်းမှုအဖွဲ့ လိုအပ်ချက်များ ဖြစ် ပေးချက်များ ပြချက်များ မှာ ဖြစ် ပေးချက်များ ချင်းချင်းမှုအဖွဲ့ ကို လုပ်ဆောင်ပါတယ်။
ရဲ့အကြံဉာဏ်ကို မြန်မာလိုက်ပါတယ်။ ၎င်းကို ဆက်စပ်ပါ။ 

ဗိသုံးပြီးခဲ့သော hashtagများကို သုံးပြီးအားလုံးဖြင့် သာယာအမည်ကို အချက်အလက်ဦးစွာ သုံးပြီး အဖွဲ့ချို့သည် အချက်အလက်ကို ချို့ရန် အမှန်လိုက်ပါတယ်။ အကြမ်းဖက်လိုက်ပါတယ်။

သို့သော် အချက်အလက်များကို သုံးပြီး အဖွဲ့ချို့သည် hashtagကို သုံးပြီး သာယာအမည်ကို သုံးပြီးအားလုံးဖြင့် သုံးပြီး အဖွဲ့ချို့သည် အချက်အလက်ကို ချို့ရန် အမှန်လိုက်ပါတယ်။ အကြမ်းဖက်လိုက်ပါတယ်။ ကြည့်ရှုရန် နောက်ပြိုင်ပွဲမှာ hashtagကို သုံးပြီးအားလုံးဖြင့် သုံးပြီး အဖွဲ့ချို့သည် အချက်အလက်ကို ချို့ရန် အမှန်လိုက်ပါတယ်။

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"..."
မည်သူညီသောအဖွဲ့အစည်းများသည် ကုမ္ပဏီများ၏ အခွင်အမှန် အချက်အလက်များကို မိုးမိုးကြည့်ရှိအောင် အဆင့်များကို အချိန်များကို သင်ယူပြုလုပ်သည်။ အမှန် အချက်များကို လေးမှာ အဆင့်များကို အဆင့်များကို အစိအဖျင်များကို အချိန်များကို သင်ယူပြုလုပ်သည်။ ထို့နောက် ကုမ္ပဏီများသည် အခွင်အမှန် အချက်များကို သင်ယူပြုလုပ်သည်။

In the Evenings When
Color-Changing Magazines Fell Into the Trench,
I Knew Not Where to Look for Maung

Shin Naung

Pronouns, how they’ve become lifeless, Maung
Life no longer lingers upon them now
A clod, which desultorily descended
At my scream
Fell off and died
Off into the memories of a blue runner.

Languages lost amidst the great ever-smiling\textsuperscript{2} forest
O Leaves, behold
The iris of he who holds
All the Earth
Screamed. At his name
How tears came
I\textsuperscript{3} know not any longer, dear.

To rescue the inflated love
From one mist particle to the next

\textsuperscript{1} The author’s name is a construction of two feminine names: in their own words, “Because I’m gay and a part of me is feminine”. The English translation and footnotes for this poem are by Myat.

\textsuperscript{2} The Burmese term for “ever-smiling” is \textit{amyehpyone}, which in alternative spelling could also be a pun for “ever-deforested”. Myanmar has suffered serious deforestation in recent decades under military rule.

\textsuperscript{3} In this line the poet uses the gentle first-person Burmese pronoun \textit{ko}, usually used by males to refer to themselves when they are talking to loved ones. But in the rest of the poem, the pronoun \textit{nga} is used. This creates a brisk military tone, sharply contrasting with the gentle second-person form of address used in the poem: the affectionate \textit{maung}. Usually, in a heteronormative setting, the form of address \textit{maung} is spoken by a person using the feminine pronoun \textit{kyamma} for themselves. In this poem however, the poet self-identifies as \textit{nga} but unusually addresses the object of his speech with \textit{maung}. This may imply the poet is a homosexual man, but this is lost in translation without a footnote. English indeed renders pronouns lifeless.
From one molecule to the next
From one’s hand to another’s entire life
If only
Inflated love could be
Obtained at Scott’s Market
Wantonly
Mists, Molecules, Hands Held
Would be sundered.

Photographs
Cannot tell History
Crossroads
Cannot be treaded
Magazines
Cannot take a human life
Trenches
Cannot protect the Revolution
For one’s hand to be united with another’s,
The sovereign power of the State
Is not needed.

The clods I have been searching for
Are meditating furiously
What have I been thinking?
Such a pity
That I
Traded your arms on which I could doze off
With a war.

Not that I cared
That Dean Young passed away
Pronouns have become lifeless now
I who was reciting poems at my own funeral
Was strangled by the vessels of my heart
In my sight
Military boots were marching toward the soundproof halls.

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4 Dean Young is an American poet who passed away on 23 August 2022.
Who is responsible for families
Torn and tattered?
One day though, the due price shall be
Paid.

Only History can tell History
Only the crossroad can take a walk
Only a human life can take a human life
Only the Revolution can protect the Revolution
And the sovereign power of the State
Is capable of uniting two hands
“Church towers— what a good hiding place for a slaughter-house.”

As I rushed through Dean Young’s night,
An Orange
Was vomiting kamma and kamma-phala dhamma
While being opulent
(Further discovery of facts at hand proves that oranges are indeed symbols of the counter-revolution)
Now the con artists have all left the Parliament.

In Truth
I eventually learned
That
Just at a distance of a mist particle
Maung lived
Our Knowing

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5 This is a reference to a Dean Young poem, *Gray Matter* (2005, p. 79).
6 A reference to *Rushing through the Night* (Young, 2005, pp. 88-90).
7 Here the term “orange” refers to a Buddhist monk.
8 This line refers to Buddhist doctrine that wholesome or unwholesome action (*kamma*) produces consequences, i.e., fruits of action (*kamma-phala*) which determine one’s predicament within or with regard to the cycle of rebirth.
9 Members of parliament belonging to the National League for Democracy and others are notably not spared from this accusation.
Was never beyond Being itself
Just how difficult to attain\textsuperscript{10}
Our homeward steps were.

\textbf{References}


\textsuperscript{10} This is a Pali word in the original Burmese poem: \textit{dullabha}. 
င်းဖြစ်သော အစိုးရဝန်သူများ၏ လုပ်ငန်းများ အားလုံးကို များစွာ မြောက်လျက် ယုံကြည်အပြီး အထူးသဖြင့် အုပ်စုရှင်ဒီကို အဦးဖြင့်

ရှည်လျားသော အစိုးရလူများ၏ အားလုံးကို မြောက်လျက် ယုံကြည်အပြီး အထူးသဖြင့် အုပ်စုရှင်ဒီကို အဦးဖြင့်

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ကျန်ရှိသူ့ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်မှူးကြီး အားလုံးကို မြောက်လျက် ယုံကြည်အပြီး အထူးသဖြင့် အုပ်စုရှင်ဒီကို အဦးဖြင့်

ဆရာဝန်သူများ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်မှူးကြီး အားလုံးကို မြောက်လျက် ယုံကြည်အပြီး အထူးသဖြင့် အုပ်စုရှင်ဒီကို အဦးဖြင့်
Discussing Feminism Within the Revolution

Thu Pone

Abstract

This article takes the form of a selection of excerpts of group discussions hosted by the Thu Pone (rebel) online discussion group on the topics of feminism and revolution. In it, participants discuss their thoughts on the kinds of feminism they each subscribe to, on gender politics and the struggle against oppression, revolutionary strategy, disarmament, and on a post-revolution world as envisioned by feminists. The discussions these responses were excerpted from took place in October 2021 and their publication here provides a snapshot of this important ongoing ideological revolution, which is nested within the larger revolution against military rule in Myanmar.

During the revolution that has swept Myanmar since February 2021, many online discussions about what were once considered radical ideas have emerged. One such discussion was initiated by the Thu Pone (Rebel) group. Young people from Rebel gather online regularly and discuss topics ranging from what it is like to be LGBTQ at the forefront of the revolution, to the killing of children by the Burmese military in Let Yet Kone village, Sagaing Region. This article is presented in a discussion format, with individuals responding to group questions and to each other in sequence. The excerpts provide a snapshot of an ideological revolution that is occurring within the larger revolution against military rule in Myanmar.

1 While authorship of this article is attributed to the overall Thu Pone group, and nominal pseudonyms are used for some discussants, others are referred to by a numbered group pseudonym (“Thu Pone #1”). Discussants sometimes refer to theories and books, but this article does not contain in-text citations or a reference list.
military rule. Young Burmese people are grappling with feminist ideas and theories and many are now deciding to become feminists at this important juncture of Burmese history.

What type of feminist do you consider yourself to be?

Me Me Lwin:
I feel like I’ve had a chance to engage with every feminist theory and am influenced by all of them, particularly radical and socialist feminism, but also by liberal feminism as well. Is it possible to decide that we are a particular kind of feminist after absorbing the concepts of just one book?

Thawdar:
I guess I am either a liberal or a radical feminist. I’m enthusiastic about learning and writing about LGBT issues and sexual harassment. I’m also interested in learning about the right to abortion, as it strikes close to home. My cousin, as well as another friend of mine, both got pregnant in their teens due to lack of knowledge about sex. My friend underwent an abortion and my cousin gave birth.

Htet Htet:
I think I’m closest to Marxist theories of feminism, since the Marxist theory and framework best explains what is really oppressing people. But Marxism ignores gender-based oppression at times, which is a challenge. I also like transnational feminism since it transcends national boundaries.

Ko Kaung:
I want to abolish all forms of oppression. I am an anarchist. Having gender standards only leads to oppression. Gender identity should be abolished if people are being oppressed by it. If gender, on the other hand, is just a concept to express a person’s existence, and is not the basis of oppression, then it doesn’t need to be abolished.
Thu Pone #1:
I have come to understand that gender-based oppression is borne out of the existence of gender identities. I want to make a proposition. Marching towards a gender free society is only possible without patriarchy.

Zeyar:
I like radical feminism. I like its point of view on getting rid of the patriarchy and how gender power works. Some radical feminists make claims like, “the pornography industry is sexually exploitative” and “having sex is about males expressing male power over females”. For me, the word “male” should not be put before the word “feminist”. To get rid of the norms of society, a man needs to ask himself if he is ready to let go of the benefits that he has been given by the patriarchy.

May:
I learned feminism not from theories but through my work. I left my previous feminist environment and moved to a new workplace where I met new people. They considered me to be a hot-headed feminist. Although I’m a quick and ready-for-action type, they characterized my feminism based on their views about me rather than my activities. I am who I am, and I do not like gender-based oppression. I do not label (the kind of feminist) I am.

Lin Htut:
I still do not dare to consider myself a feminist since I’m still trying to figure out (what feminism is). I’m very much influenced by the writer bell hooks though.

Thu Pone #2:
I also can’t decide what kind of feminist I am and accept that I am just a feminist, but not liberal. Being a radical feminist is not something one can ascribe to oneself. I believe others have to define us that way.
Ma Ei:
We have faced oppression and discrimination since we were young. I came to understand oppression through (everyday) interactions in society. I started to think that my work should be buoyed by a certain “-ism”. I used to think that I lean towards the left. I just happened to learn about feminism in 2015. I like radical feminism and I am studying it. I still have no idea what kind of feminist I am. I do not put myself in any particular box. I believe in building a new society where there is only justice and no oppressive mechanisms.

Thu Pone #1:
A society where there is justice and no oppressive mechanisms is the ultimate goal of feminism. I find myself leaning towards leftism and would like to be a radical feminist although I have no idea whether I am or not because it is something to be determined by other people rather than by myself. I do not dare to say that I am radical.

Ko Hein:
I didn’t learn about gender-based oppression from feminist theories. Being gay, I’ve faced so much oppression throughout my life. I do not like the fact that I was attacked because of my identity. I grew up in the military where there is a lot of gender-based violence. I came to understand this oppression well when I started studying feminism. For LGBT people, norms around male identity, which are rooted in patriarchy, are toxic. It’s difficult for me to consider what type of feminist I am, because I’m partial to leftist theories, I like radical and Marxist feminism.

Ni Ni Win:
I never thoroughly read about every type of feminism. I like the ideology of radical feminism, however, I still think that I lack sufficient knowledge to consider myself a radical feminist. Most people think that I am a liberal feminist, but a superficial one. I think it is because I say things based on what I see and hear in my [immediate] surroundings.
Su Su San:  
I think feminism is helpful to explain oppression based on gender, race, and class. I’m a feminist who would like to march towards a new and just world.

Htet Myat:  
I haven’t read seriously enough to put myself under a certain type of feminism. Over time though, I see myself as a feminist who is leaning towards Marxism. As long as capitalism is yet to be abolished, people from any identity or any sexual orientation cannot enjoy absolute freedom. Limitations will still exist.

Thant Kyaw Swar:  
I am gay and a LGBT activist. I became a male feminist because I experienced (the negative consequences) of patriarchy. I enjoy theories of liberal feminism.

Thu Pone #1:  
Why did you say that you are a male feminist? Do you mean you were born with male genitals?

Thant Kyaw Swar:  
There are some people who do not express themselves as a male although they are LGBTQ. I, however, regard myself as a male feminist as I use the ‘he, him’ pronouns.

Thu Pone #1:  
Everyone has the right to be a feminist. Do we need to explain our feminism with qualifications like what sex or gender we are? Adding the word “male” (to the label feminist), can imply that only women are natural feminists. If one considers oneself a feminist, one should think about the significance of language.

Htet Htet:  
I would like to discuss this idea that the label “male feminist” alludes to the fact that only women engage in feminism. To
answer the question of whether the gender system should be abolished or not is, I think, just like using socialism as a buffer before a truly Marxist society can be established; gender identities will still be around until oppression ends. Can these identities then collapse when oppression no longer exists?

I would like to bring up a theory proposed by D’Emilio here. He claims that gender identity was born together with capitalism. Here is a question to think about: would gender identity reach its end with the end of capitalism? We should speak out for women in the pornography and sex industries. These industries shape women as sexual showcases and encourage females to take up sex work. If the job of sex work did not involve discrimination, it would be chosen equally by men and women.

Mi Thae:
To explain the term “male feminist”, we have to go back to how we understand feminism. Feminism may be a discipline, a perspective, or a tool to analyze oppression. Based on how one utilizes feminism, there will be many views. For me, a feminist is someone who is taking any type of feminist action. It would be difficult to consider oneself a 24-hour feminist. Becoming a feminist is not like being converted into a religion. Just because one is a feminist, there is no guarantee that one’s actions will always be just or will always be feminist actions. Being a feminist is acting. I consider myself a worker, a worker working with culture. What I mean by culture is the culture of identity in a society or culture of oppression; an intellectual worker rather than a manual laborer.

The term “male feminist” is similar to putting the word “female” before jobs considered exclusive to men. For instance, female soldiers, female trishaw drivers, female bus drivers and so on. Women doing these jobs are considered out of ordinary. During the National League for Democracy’s time in government, when a female took the position of police chief, I remember one man commented saying the woman was worthy of the job as “she is trustworthy like a man”.

I also want to discuss the reason why we are talking about abolishing gender. I think we are saying such things because gender contributes to injustice rather than justice in society. Gender subscribes to a value system, the system that downgrades women and upgrades men. So rather than abolishing gender or trying to establish a genderless society, we have to tackle patriarchy, which is the source of gendered standards and norms and sexism. Why don’t we like the gender system? It’s because it has established a value system through which we have been discriminated against, oppressed, and undermined.

**Thu Pone #2:**
I reflect on how I came to know feminism... How have we been framed by the gender system since childhood? As Mi Thae stated elsewhere, gender norms are more obvious to us when we enter early adolescence. Pressure from people around us increases during puberty. For example, my family forbade me to go near the home altar when I had my first menstruation event. My family, school and neighbors all told me not to go near boys when I became an adolescent. I was so depressed and didn’t want to be a woman anymore. I wanted to be a man.

To link with what I have said, it is not that I dislike being a woman. I just do not enjoy the norms that determine the frame “woman”.

**Thu Pone #1:**
Judith Butler, feminist and gender theorist, says in the book *Gender Trouble* that more genders are emerging these days and people are adding more specifics before the terms gender and “LGBT”. Butler uses the term “gender performativity” to explain that gender is a performance. If we want people to accept the gender we affix ourselves, there must be a performative act to prove the said gender. For instance, a trans woman needs to perform like a woman so that people accept her as a woman. She needs to use female accessories and things she thinks are used by women. This is proof that gender prescribes norms. We have to perform according to those norms.
Mi Thae:
To answer what kind of feminist I am, I am one that is now on a revolutionary path. You can say I am a so-called anarchist. I see patriarchy and capitalism as one, as they function together. If we want to get rid of them, we have to wipe out their products first, but we are also interested in rebuilding. Here, rather than trying to fit into deterministic frameworks where the ‘Y’ era follows ‘X’, we are instead walking towards any future free of oppression. We should accept that feminism will reach its end only when it is no longer needed—I object to deterministic ideologies.

Me Me Lwin:
To be a feminist is to be against sexism and all kinds of oppression. If one opposes sexual discrimination but is indifferent to other forms of oppression, one cannot be considered a feminist. One can take confidence in one’s philosophy, yet one needs to reflect on oneself if one’s ideologies and actions are challenged. A feminist must have thick skin when criticized.

Htet Htet:
I became a feminist when I started questioning injustice and inequality and found a feminist way to do so. I think the class gap is the root cause of injustice, since many forms of oppression are based on it. A feminism that accommodates the norms pushed by the nation and is satisfied with what the state grants is not satisfactory. I see feminism as a movement, but a movement with a leadership problem. Feminism should be a way for everyone to voice their opinion. You cannot say you are a feminist if you cannot let go (of your privileges) and fight against what is really contributing to oppression.

Thu Pone #1:
I think we must adopt the slogans of activists: “I will be liberated only when you are freed”.
As a feminist, do you support armed revolution?

Ko Htoo:
I believe that the armed revolution (in Myanmar) is an important part (of the whole revolution). However, I do not support it entirely. There will still be some issues that have to be resolved through negotiations later. Before such negotiations, we need to show that we have the masses’ power against the oppressing group (i.e., the military). To prove that we have such power, armed resistance is required. However, it should not be the ultimate ending. The end of an armed revolution is seldom beautiful. Once the ground is leveled, there will be issues we have to discuss and negotiate with the oppressors. If this (two-part process) does not work, we will have to find an alternative.

Ko Kaung:
If we try to negotiate with the armed oppressors with only our bare hands, they will refuse, because they have arms. Therefore, we have no option but to pursue armed revolution. This is the path we must walk. We must reveal our power. We demonstrated peacefully nationwide at first. The revolution transformed into an armed one because the military is too stubborn. If we want freedom, we must revolt against the armed oppressors with arms of our own. There must be armed revolution when the conditions require it.

Thawdar:
I understand the logic that we can only achieve negotiations if we are armed. However, people tend to become corrupt when they gain power. So, we should think about the consequences at the same time. I saw a satirical post on social media about why the National Unity Government (NUG) has not armed its supporters yet: because the NUG doesn’t know how to disarm them later. The other day, I saw the statement of a certain People’s Defense Force (PDF) group saying they would amputate the hands of any thieves they caught. How can they think they have the right to do such things? We have to think about how to
defend ourselves if groups believe they can do whatever they want just because they are armed.

**Ko Hein:**
Currently, the answer to whether we support the armed revolution is obvious. Everyone knows that we do not need to be fascists to revolt against a fascist army. I think there’s no need to go into this too much. However, I do not support an armed revolution open to influence by patriarchy and gender-based oppression. We have learned from experience that being a soldier is a man’s profession. There are norms like, one needs to be manly and strong to be a soldier. This is a result of patriarchy. There is discrimination against LGBT people who are fighting in the jungle. If a person who is sexist and homophobic chose to join the armed revolution, they would most certainly discriminate against LGBT soldiers. I believe that joining the armed revolution without having enough awareness is dangerous. Moreover, I see that patriarchy is one of the biggest pillars sustaining the fascist army. Unless we can rip up (these root causes), we cannot confidently say that armed revolutionaries are fighting for an oppression-free new society.

**Ko Htoo:**
I am worried about women. There are NUG-led organizations, local PDFs and urban forces in the armed revolution. There are three or four different types of armed organizations. The NUG may have thought about how to educate their soldiers. They provide arms and rations only to the groups they can trust, since they cannot provide for everyone. The NUG is afraid that groups will change their behavior when they gain weapons. I’m worried about urban guerillas and local PDFs. As I have said before, there are cases of *dalans* (civilians who act as informers for the military) being attacked; their ears cut off and bodies thrown into rivers. If this behavior spreads throughout the armed revolutionary groups, they themselves might become new oppressors.

During the interim era before a federal nation is established, organizations with arms may revolt against the federal
Thu Pone #3:
Rather than wondering if patriarchs exist in the PDF groups, we should recognize that an army by its very nature is patriarchal. Being strong, brave and tough is considered ideal in the army. Women have to adopt these norms. The army is also a hierarchical institution, and power flows from top to bottom. Patriarchy is structured like that too. Different genders are organized around power and the army institution itself is patriarchal.

Thant Kyaw Swar:
I would like to discuss how LGBT people may be discriminated against in the revolutionary training camps. People are thinking more about—shall we say—identity politics, in this revolution. They are thinking about oppression based on their ethnicity, class and gender. The most oppressed groups are speaking out about gender equality, eliminating ageism and racial discrimination. The 1988 revolution was guided by human rights and democratic norms. This time, we can see that the code of conduct for soldiers by the NUG Ministry of Defense mentions ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation. Also included in the code of conduct is requirements not to physically, mentally or
sexually harass women and LGBT people. I believe these are improvements from the 1988 revolution. Whether or how the code of conduct is followed on the ground is another matter now that some revolutionaries are armed.

Zayar:
I will argue as a proponent of the armed revolution. When military soldiers came to our school campus, even before the military coup d'état, they verbally abused and sexually harassed our female students. If the whole mechanism of the government is to be controlled by the military, these cases will likely escalate. So rather than choosing to stay under the military regime, we must overthrow it. But even if we overthrow the army, the ultimate goal of feminism, to throw out the patriarchy, would remain unachieved.

Myanmar is a conservative country and Buddhism is basically the national religion. This situation always encourages the debate: man or woman—who is superior? What we need to do first is to liberate ourselves from the military junta, and when there is no harassment, no sexual objectification, and when we can establish an open society, we must undergo feminist waves just like Western countries did. To reach that, we need to first get rid of the military regime. Moreover, war tends to empower those already in a dominant position. Male dominance and rape are by-products of war. Thus, we need to lay down codes of conduct and regulations. It is not just the NUG, but also the armed revolutionaries that must have the right attitude and adopt robust codes of conduct.

Thu Pone #2:
I second the argument that we have no other option but to fight back with arms. So I support the armed revolution. One of our discussants mentioned the NUG’s statement that they decided not to arm their supporters because they do not yet know how to disarm them. The NUG propagated that ridiculous and hypocritical idea only to hide their inability to arm the people. What I believe is that (the very existence of a) military itself is a form
of oppression. As long as there is a military and militarism, oppression will remain. Thus, there must be no military if we want to head towards an equal society and fight against things that contribute to (sustaining) injustice. This is what I believe. Militarism itself is built by “one blood, one voice, one command”, and everyone has to follow specific norms. If one deviates, one is considered an enemy. The military indoctrinates people by saying that, “We have the responsibility to defend people. Thus, everything we do is justified”. This is militarism. As long as there is still a military, there will be militarism. If we want to establish a society with no oppression, there must be no military. Some people say that the Myanmar army is only awful because it is not a professional army. This is pretty ridiculous. If the army is professional, they will still oppress—”professionally”.

**Htet Htet:**
I, as a feminist, personally support the armed revolution as it’s the most suitable strategy for the current situation and the best mass, collective movement, before a cultural revolution can be called forth. As long as there are two classes—protector and protected—the situation is dissatisfactory. The mechanisms of the state must be destroyed in order to align with the goals of feminism. A state system only uses the military to defend the rich and privileged and those in power. Armed revolution is only a short-term solution, however. When the time comes, handing all the arms back to another national army or otherwise, and creating new classes of ‘protectors and protected’ once again, is not right. If it is necessary for everyone to take up arms, then there should be no single armed organization (controlling everything). I second the arguments made by others to abolish the military entirely.
Ko Kaung:  
I think the reason why the ‘protectors and protected’ dynamic exists is because some people oppress others with arms and power, and others always feel a duty to protect the oppressed. If we could remove the desire to control other people, we could also remove power as well. If there is no dominance in a society, there will also be no such classes as protectors and protected. None of the people need to be protected. If power and oppression are brought down, protectors are no longer needed.

Mi Thae:  
I think it is no longer the time to debate whether we support armed revolution or not. The time to judge, as a feminist and from a moral perspective, the goodness of that decision has already passed. Rather, it is now the time to think about exactly how we support the existing armed revolution.

Let’s talk about weapons. They are just materials. They can do no harm if no one uses them. The question, “Why do we need to take up arms?” should be thought about first. What I am thinking about is the relation between men and arms and how we can cut off such relations. If we thoroughly understand that the only reason we have to use weapons is because it is essential for our revolution, disarmament is not that difficult. The problem is, which leaders are going to explain to the public the reason to take up arms? It is a problem of leadership. Leftist groups are still unable to control the masses. They are still struggling to spread leftist ideologies among the people. Who does most of the population support? It is the NUG, whether we like it or not. Yet the NUG cannot lay down the ideological foundation of why people should take up arms. Realizing that all power relations, top-down systems, and power contributes to oppression, I would like to abolish everything that brings about oppressions. I also do not like the military. In reality, however, now is the time to be practical, and we have no option. At this time, the only work to be done is to persuade people of the importance of taking up arms.
Thant Kyaw Swar:
I do not support war under normal circumstances. However, this time, we have to be rational. The root cause of all our problems is the military and we must get past them to achieve gender equality and remove racism. As long as the military exists, problems will remain. Some people advocated for negotiations, and yes, eventually, we must sit at the table. But the military must be held accountable for their war crimes and atrocities. I support the armed revolution but I am not a militarist.

Khin:
I would like to talk a bit about the armed resistance. Women participate in it also—in fact, their participation is vital. Let’s take a look at other conflicts. In Gaza, women wearing hijabs throw stones and defend themselves against Israeli airstrikes. This is genuine women’s empowerment. I believe this kind of resistance is essential. For me, feminism itself is a revolution. Thus, I support it.

Have you ever thought about what a new society created by feminists would be like? Which standards or criteria should be used to establish it?

Ko Htoo:
I learned about feminism through domestic violence, which I saw in my home. Later, I stood with my mom (who was abused), but I realized she had internalized patriarchal thoughts and beliefs. It was through so much talking with her that I learned how to spread feminist knowledge. What I expect from a society with a feminist vision is equity. To that end, the rule of law is necessary. We have so many things to do after this revolution.

Ma Ei:
The society I want to live in is one without a state. Oppression exists because there is a ruling class. I want a society with no ruling government.
Mi Thae:
I want a society in which I can live leisurely, where I can simply be with my kitty and drink whiskey in the evening. However, the current system does not allow this. The systems are unjust and I cannot live within them. I want to live a peaceful and quiet individual life, but since we are all members of a community, we must also contribute towards society. I want to see a society where both individuals and the community can collectively and simultaneously prosper.

Thu Pone #2:
People around me have said that, if I decide to go on being single forever, who will look after me when I am old, and who will look after me when I am ill? But I ask: Do we need to get married and produce children to be cared for? Can society not provide care to us? For me, a system that can provide this for everyone is enough.

Mi Thae:
People argue about theories and practice and try to define liberation and freedom. But right now, if we dare to face death and resist, we will find ourselves liberated. Theories are just misleading us from this basic concept.

Htet Htet:
Another thing is, who came up with these theories? Or who dominates theoretical arguments? They are mostly dominated by and proposed by Whites. We need to produce new theories useful to us, and ones we can really apply. Starting from these kinds of on-the-ground discussions, we can theorize. I really like what we are discussing here.

Thu Pone #1:
For us, we would like to work together with LGBT people. Beyond theories and talk about feminist issues, we also engage with feminist politics. LGBT concerns are feminist concerns. Labor issues are feminist concerns. The oppressed should work
together with the mindset, “I will be liberated only when you are freed”. To be able to do so, we must come together under the banner of intersectionality to help analyze the multiple layers of oppression.

Thu Pone #2: This discussion was held in search of a type of feminism agreeable to Myanmar. What we want to reiterate is that we should not stop at equality, i.e., equality for individuals, but we must go all the way to intersectionality. We should measure equality based on the most oppressed people at the bottom. If they are liberated, equality is then achieved. If we use intersectionality tools, we can easily see who is at the bottom.

For example, women, of course, are oppressed, but among us, female workers and farmers are oppressed much more than others. They, however, at least have identification cards, and can come to the cities and work at factories. Women from internally displaced people camps, and especially Rohingya women, do not even have the right to move to the city, or permission to make a living, etc. They are subject to arrest and they have no fundamental rights as humans. For them and for their stories, we must continue talking about intersectionality.

Thank you all.
“သိမ်ကြည်များ “အရေးဆိုင်သော””

အမေးများ:

“သုံးစွဲပုံစံ” ‘သိမ်’ အချိန် များကြီး ‘သိမ်ကြည်များ’ သည် တစ်ဦးကြီးကြား အခြားစွဲပုံစံတစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။ အရေးတာဝင် ကြည်ကြည်စိတ်ကြန်ကြည်ကြည်သည် အခြားစွဲပုံစံခြင်း ပြုလုပ်ေးနေကြသည်။ သို့မဟုတ် ခြေရာကြည်ကြည်၍ အဖျင်နှင့်အဖျင်နှင့်တိုင်း အခြေအနေကြည်ကြည် ကြည်ကြည်ချိန်တစ်ခု ဖြစ်ကြပြီး (feminism) သည် တစ်ဦးကြီးကြား အခြားစွဲပုံစံတစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။ အရေးတာဝင် ကြည်ကြည်စိတ်ကြန်ကြည်ကြည်သည် အခြားစွဲပုံစံခြင်း ပြုလုပ်ေးနေကြသည်။

ဗျူဟာ:

ယူးယောင် စိတ်ကြည်များကို မျှဝေရမည် အခြေခံလိုသည်။ ဒီအချိန်တွင် အခြားစွဲပုံစံတစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။ တစ်ဦးကြီး ကြည်ကြည်စိတ်ကြန်ကြည်ကြည်သည် အခြားစွဲပုံစံကို သမိုင်းများ ဖော်ပြနေကြသည်။ “အရေး” အချိန် ကြည်ကြည်စိတ်ကြန်ကြည်စိတ်ကြည်ကြည်သည် အဖျင်နှင့်အဖျင်နှင့်တိုင်း အခြေအနေကြည်ကြည် ကြည်ကြည်ချိန်တစ်ခု ဖြစ်ကြပြီး LGBTQ အချိန်သို့ ယူးယောင်များကို အခြေခံလိုသည်။ ယူးယောင်များသည် ပြုစုပြောင်းလဲခြင်းဖြင့် အဖျင်နှင့်အဖျင်နှင့်တိုင်း အခြေအနေကြည်ကြည်စိတ်ကြန်ကြည်ကြည်သည် အဖျင်နှင့်အဖျင်နှင့်တိုင်း အခြေအနေကြည်ကြည်၍ အရေးတာဝင် ကြည်ကြည်စိတ်ကြန်ကြည်စိတ်ကြည်ကြည်သည် အဖျင်နှင့်အဖျင်နှင့်တိုင်း အခြေအနေကြည်ကြည်စိတ်ကြန်ကြည်စိတ်ကြည်ကြည်သည် အဖျင်နှင့်အဖျင်နှင့်တိုင်း မျှဝေပေးပေမည်။
ဟောင်းများ တွေ့ရှိရသော စက်တင်ဘာသာစာအုပ်တစ်ရိုက် အရေးကြီးသည် ကျင်းပသော စီးပွားရေးအားဖြင့် သင်သည် မိဘ၏အကြောင်း ဆိုက်ရောက်သည်ကို သတ်မှတ်သောအခါ စီးပွားရေးအသင်းများအားဖြင့် ရိုးရာအခြေခံသော တစ်ရက်တွင် စီစဉ်သောအခါ အရေးကြီးသောစီးပွားတွေ့ရှိခြင်းဖြင့် စီးပွားရေးအားဖြင့် ထိခိုက်ရရှိသည်ကို ပေးစေသည်။ အရေးကြီးသော စီးပွားရေးအားဖြင့် ရိုးရာအခြေခံ ဆိုရှိသည်ကို အရေးကြီးသောစီးပွားတွေ့ရှိခြင်းဖြင့် ပေးစေသည်။

ဒီမိုကရေစီပေါင်းစီးရာ အညီအကောင်အထည် အလွန် စီးပွားရေးရှင် စစ်ဆေးမှုများအားဖြင့် ရိုးရာအခြေခံ အားဖြင့် မိဘ၏အကြောင်း ဆိုက်ရောက်သည်ကို သတ်မှတ်သောအခါ စီးပွားရေးအားဖြင့် ရိုးရာအခြေခံသော တစ်ရက်တွင် စီစဉ်သောအခါ အရေးကြီးသောစီးပွားတွေ့ရှိခြင်းဖြင့် စီးပွားရေးအားဖြင့် ထိခိုက်ရရှိသည်ကို ပေးစေသည်။

ဖြရေးပေါင်းစီးရာ - ရိုးရာအခြေခံ စစ်ဆေးမှုများအားဖြင့် ရိုးရာအခြေခံ အားဖြင့် မိဘ၏အကြောင်း ဆိုက်ရောက်သည်ကို သတ်မှတ်သောအခါ စီးပွားရေးအားဖြင့် ရိုးရာအခြေခံသော တစ်ရက်တွင် စီစဉ်သောအခါ အရေးကြီးသောစီးပွားတွေ့ရှိခြင်းဖြင့် စီးပွားရေးအားဖြင့် ထိခိုက်ရရှိသည်ကို ပေးစေသည်။
boundaries categorizing transnational anarchism: gender oppression

anarchist gender oppression gender identity expression radical pornography (male eurocentric)

expression radical motion porn industry (male eurocentric)
bell hooks

Liberal and Radical

- Liberal
- Radical

radical education

Radical and education

radical education

radical education

radical education

radical education

radical education

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radical education

radical education

radical education

radical education

radical education

LGBT
Marxist

Radical

Liberal

capital

gender
Gender identity in Marxist society and socialism is a complex concept that intersects with gender roles, gender expression, and the broader socio-political structures of the time. The term 'gender identity' evolved from the 19th century, influenced by sociologists and theorists who explored the interplay between individual experience and societal expectations. Marxists, such as theorist D’Emilio, contributed to this understanding by emphasizing the role of capitalism in shaping gender identities and the gendered experiences of individuals within capitalist structures.

The concept of masculinity in Marxist society is often understood through the lens of capitalism, where gender roles are constructed and enforced. The feminist theorist D’Emilio suggests that masculinities are not innate but are socially constructed, reflecting the power dynamics and economic structures of society. This perspective challenges traditional notions of masculinity, which are often associated with dominance and oppression, and offers a more nuanced understanding of gender identity.

In conclusion, the study of gender identity in Marxist society and socialism requires a multidisciplinary approach, considering the historical, cultural, and political contexts that shape individual experiences. Understanding these intersections can provide insights into the complexities of gender roles and identities within capitalist societies.
мenkь, male

identity

value system
Judith Butler is a gender theorist and author of Gender Trouble. Her work examines gender identity, performativity, and the role of language in constructing gender. Butler is known for her concept of gender performativity, which suggests that gender is not a fixed or intrinsic aspect of a person, but rather is performed through social interactions and cultural practices.

Butler's work often focuses on issues related to gender minority communities, such as the LGBT+ community. She has been particularly influential in debates surrounding gender identity and the recognition of non-binary and transgender identities. Butler's ideas have also been applied to other social and political contexts, including discussions of revolutionary possibilities in the early 21st century.
sexist
LGBT, ၊ိတ်ဆိုင်သောတိုင်းရေးရှင်နေရာများနှင့် လူများသည့် ဆိုင်ရာသားများကို အဝေးကြည်ရှိနိုင်သော စိုးလက်စာများ စာရင်းထွက်သွားသည်။ ပြည့်နေအပြင် စိုးလက်စာများကို ဖောက်ပြခြင်း အပြင် အကိုးအလှုများကို ဖောက်ပြနေသော ပထမဆောင်ရွက်သူအဖွဲ့များကို ဖွင့်လှစ်သွားသော စိုးလက်စာများသည် သိပ္ပံပညာရေး စီမံခန့်ခွဲမှုနှင့် ပြည်ထောင်စုကို အတိုက်အကူဖြင့် ထွက်ရှိနေသည်။

ဗုဒ္ဓဗေဒဖျင်သော လူမှုသဘောတူညီချက်များကိုလည်း လွှမ်းမှု့းသည်။ သို့သော် စိုးလက်စာများကို ဖော်ပြနေသော ပထမဆောင်ရွက်သူအဖွဲ့များကိုလည်း ဖွင့်လှစ်သွားသော စိုးလက်စာများသည် သိပ္ပံပညာရေး စီမံခန့်ခွဲမှုနှင့် ပြည်ထောင်စုကို အတိုက်အကူဖြင့် ထွက်ရှိနေသည်။

ဗုဒ္ဓဗေဒဖျင်သော လူမှုသဘောတူညီချက်များကိုလည်း လွှမ်းမှု့းသည်။ သို့သော် စိုးလက်စာများကို ဖော်ပြနေသော ပထမဆောင်ရွက်သူအဖွဲ့များကိုလည်း ဖွင့်လှစ်သွားသော စိုးလက်စာများသည် သိပ္ပံပညာရေး စီမံခန့်ခွဲမှုနှင့် ပြည်ထောင်စုကို အတိုက်အကူဖြင့် ထွက်ရှိနေသည်။
ပြည်ထောင်စ်တပ်မှာ အရေးအပါးများကို အလွယ်တကူ ကြည့်ရှုထားသော စာရင်းတွင် ပြောပြော ကြည့်ရှုသည်။ စာရင်းတွင် local PDF ဖြစ်ရပ်အနေဖြင့် အရေးအပါးများကို ရှာဖွေစေရန် အခြေခံအားဖြင့် စာရင်းကို ကြည့်ရှုထားသည်။ ပြည်ထောင်စ်တပ်မှာ အလွယ်တကူ ကြည့်ရှုသည်။ အရေးအပါးများကို အလွယ်တကူ ကြည့်ရှုသည်။ စာရင်းတွင် local PDF ဖြစ်ရပ်အနေဖြင့် အရေးအပါးများကို ရှာဖွေစေရန် အခြေခံအားဖြင့် စာရင်းကို ကြည့်ရှုထားသည်။

အချက် (၁) - အရေးအပါးများကို စာရင်းတွင် ပြည်ထောင်စ် NUG ။။ ဆောင်ရွက်သော စာရင်းတွင် ပြည်ထောင်စ် NUG ။ ရေးသား, စစ်တက္ကသိုလ်, အမေရိကန် ရေးသား ပြည်ထောင်စ် NUG ။ ပြည်ထောင်စ် အရေးအပါးများကို အလွယ်တကူ ကြည့်ရှုထားသည်။ အရေးအပါးများကို အလွယ်တကူ ကြည့်ရှုသည်။ စာရင်းတွင် local PDF ဖြစ်ရပ်အနေဖြင့် အရေးအပါးများကို ရှာဖွေစေရန် အခြေခံအားဖြင့် စာရင်းကို ကြည့်ရှုထားသည်။

အချက် (၂) - PDF ဖြစ်သော စာရင်းတွင် ပြည်ထောင်စ် NUG ။ ဆောင်ရွက်သော စာရင်းတွင် ပြည်ထောင်စ် NUG ။ ရေးသား, စစ်တက္ကသိုလ်, အမေရိကန် ရေးသား ပြည်ထောင်စ် NUG ။ ပြည်ထောင်စ် အရေးအပါးများကို အလွယ်တကူ ကြည့်ရှုထားသည်။ အရေးအပါးများကို အလွယ်တကူ ကြည့်ရှုသည်။ စာရင်းတွင် local PDF ဖြစ်ရပ်အနေဖြင့် အရေးအပါးများကို ရှာဖွေစေရန် အခြေခံအားဖြင့် စာရင်းကို ကြည့်ရှုထားသည်။

အချက် (၃) - ရာဇာသားကြီး camp ကို LGBT ကို နိုင်ငံ အရေးအပါးများကို စာရင်းတွင် ပြည်ထောင်စ် identity politics ပြည်ထောင်စ် ကြည့်ရှုထားသည်။
ကြိုးကြားသူများကို ကြီးမားသော သူများအဖွဲ့ပေါင်း အားစီးခြင်း၊ အလိုအသက်များ၏ သိပ္ပံပညာ သင်ကြားခြင်း၊ လူ့အခွဲများ၏ မြောက်ကြားရေးအခြေအနေကို သက်သေးသော ပြောင်းလဲပြီး ရွေးချယ်ပါသည်။

အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်ချက်များကို သိရှိရန် အလွယ်တကူ ပြောပြခြင်း၊ လူသိများကို လူသိများနှင့် အားလုံးကို ပြန်လည်သိမ်းပြုပါသည်။

NUG အားလုံးကြားဖျင် အနည်းဆုံး အရောင်းအဝယ်အနေရာတွင် LGBT လူများ ကြည့်ရှိနိုင်ပါသည်။

လူသိများအားလုံးကို ပြရာတွင် သိရှိနိုင်ပါသည်။

ရွေးချယ်သူများကို အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်ချက်များကို သိရှိရန် အလွယ်တကူ ပြုပြန်ပါသည်။

support အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်ချက်များကို သိရှိရန် အလွယ်တကူ ပြောပြခြင်း၊ လူသိများကို လူသိများနှင့် အားလုံးကို ပြန်လည်သိမ်းပြုပါသည်။

ဗုဒ္ဓသာသနာတက္ကသိုလ်မှ သိပ္ပံပညာရေး သိပ်သားများနှင့် အလုပ်လုပ်နေသူများအား လွှဲပြောင်မှုနှင့် လူ့အခွဲများ၏ မြောက်ကြားရေးအခြေအနေကို သက်သေးသော ပြောင်းလဲပြီး ရွေးချယ်ပါသည်။

wave အကောင်းဆုံးနှင့် wave အချိန်များကို ခွဲခြားနိုင်ပါသည်။

ငွေ့ဖြစ်ကြန် မိန့်ခွန်းရေး သိပ်သားများ အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို လွှဲပြောင်မှုနှင့် လူ့အခွဲများ၏ မြောက်ကြားရေးအခြေအနေကို သက်သေးသော ပြောင်းလဲပြီး ရွေးချယ်ပါသည်။

wave အကောင်းဆုံးနှင့် wave အချိန်များကို ခွဲခြားနိုင်ပါသည်။

ငွေ့ဖြစ်ကြန် မိန့်ခွန်းရေး သိပ်သားများ အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို လွှဲပြောင်မှုနှင့် လူ့အခွဲများ၏ မြောက်ကြားရေးအခြေအနေကို သက်သေးသော ပြောင်းလဲပြီး ရွေးချယ်ပါသည်။

wave အကောင်းဆုံးနှင့် wave အချိန်များကို ခွဲခြားနိုင်ပါသည်။

ငွေ့ဖြစ်ကြန် မိန့်ခွန်းရေး သိပ်သားများ အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို လွှဲပြောင်မှုနှင့် လူ့အခွဲများ၏ မြောက်ကြားရေးအခြေအနေကို သက်သေးသော ပြောင်းလဲပြီး ရွေးချယ်ပါသည်။...
ဗဲ့မှာ အားလုံးသော စကားလုံး၊ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ ကျော်လာခဲ့သော အိုင်းဝင်သော ပညာရေးပညာပြုသူများကို ပြောပြပါမည်။ ပြောပြပါသည်။ အားလုံးသော စကားလုံး၊ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ ကျော်လာခဲ့သော အိုင်းဝင်သော ပညာရေးပညာပြုသူများကို ပြောပြပါမည်။

NUG ကို ပြောပြပါမည်။ အားလုံးသော စကားလုံး၊ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ ကျော်လာခဲ့သော အိုင်းဝင်သော ပညာရေးပညာပြုသူများကို ပြောပြပါမည်။

ပြောပြပါသည်။ အားလုံးသော စကားလုံး၊ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ ကျော်လာခဲ့သော အိုင်းဝင်သော ပညာရေးပညာပြုသူများကို ပြောပြပါမည်။

ဗဲ့မှာ အားလုံးသော စကားလုံး၊ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ ကျော်လာခဲ့သော အိုင်းဝင်သော ပညာရေးပညာပြုသူများကို ပြောပြပါမည်။

NUG ကို ပြောပြပါမည်။ အားလုံးသော စကားလုံး၊ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ ကျော်လာခဲ့သော အိုင်းဝင်သော ပညာရေးပညာပြုသူများကို ပြောပြပါမည်။

ပြောပြပါသည်။ အားလုံးသော စကားလုံး၊ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ ကျော်လာခဲ့သော အိုင်းဝင်သော ပညာရေးပညာပြုသူများကို ပြောပြပါမည်။
"..."
နိုင်ငံတကာ အစိုးရသများသည် နိုင်ငံတကာ အစိုးရအနေဖြင့် အမှုဆောင်မှုများ ပြုပြင်ခြင်းများကို စီမံခန့်ခွဲခြေ ရေးသား၍မှု့ ပြည်သူများအတွက် ကူညီပေးမည်။ “မိမိတို့ရဲ့ သူ့အရေးပါသောမျက်နှာ ကြည့်ရှုလိုက်မည်။” သို့ဖြစ်၍ အထက် အများအားဖြင့် ဗုဒ္ဓဟူကာယ်ကို အခြေခံသော မိမိတို့၏ အခြေခံသော အချက်များကို အခန်းအထိ ပြည်သူများ၏ အားလုံးသော လိုအပ်ချက်များကို မိမိတို့၏ အစိုးရတော်ဝင်များကို ဖော်ပြသည်။

နိုင်ငံတကာ အစိုးရသများသည် နိုင်ငံတကာ အစိုးရအနေဖြင့် အမှုဆောင်မှုများ ပြုပြင်ခြင်းများကို စီမံခန့်ခွဲခြေ ရေးသား၍မှု့ ပြည်သူများအတွက် ကူညီပေးမည်။ ပြည်သူများ၏ မှန်ကန်သော အချက်များကို အထိမ်းအမှတ် ပြည်သူများ၏ အားလုံးသော လိုအပ်ချက်များကို မိမိတို့၏ အစိုးရတော်ဝင်များကို ဖော်ပြသည်။

NUG- မိမိတို့၏ အလျားသော ပြည်သူများ၏ အားလုံးသော အကြံပေးမှုများကို တင်ပေးမည်။ ပြည်သူများ၏ အားလုံးသော လိုအပ်ချက်များကို မိမိတို့၏ အစိုးရပြဲများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။

gender equality နှင့် anti-racism အားလုံးသော ရှိမှုများ မိမိတို့၏ အားလုံးသော လိုအပ်ချက်များကို မိမိတို့၏ အစိုးရတော်ဝင်များကို ဖော်ပြသည်။

နိုင်ငံတကာ အစိုးရသများသည် နိုင်ငံတကာ အစိုးရအနေဖြင့် အမှုဆောင်မှုများကို စီမံခန့်ခွဲခြေ ရေးသား၍မှု့ ပြည်သူများအတွက် ကူညီပေးမည်။

အထက်ပါအယ်ဒေစီများ - ပြည်သူများ၏ အားလုံးသော အကြံပေးမှုများကို အစည်းအဝေးများအဖြင့် မိမိတို့၏ အားလုံးသော လိုအပ်ချက်များကို ပြည်သူများ၏ အားလုံးသော လိုအပ်ချက်များကို ဖော်ပြသည်။

gender equality နှင့် anti-racism အားလုံးသော ရှိမှုများ မိမိတို့၏ အားလုံးသော လိုအပ်ချက်များကို ဖော်ပြသည်။
woman empowerment
ragen သင်ကြားချက်များကို ပြပြီးနော်ရန်ရှိပါတယ်။ရှေ့ဆောင်၊ရှိရှိများကို သိရှိလို့ သင်ကြားမှန်ကန်စွာ ပေါ်ထွေးနားပါတယ်။
contribute ကြားနားခြင်းလည်းပါ။ရှေ့ဆောင်၊ရှိရှိများကို သိရှိလို့ သင်ကြားမှန်ကန်စွာ ပေါ်ထွေးနားပါတယ်။

ဝါကျ (၁) - သူငယ်းတွင် ရှေ့ဆောင်၊ရှိရှိများကို သိရှိလို့ သင်ကြားမှန်ကန်စွာ ပေါ်ထွေးနားပါတယ်။

ဝါကျ (၂) - သူငယ်းတွင် ရှေ့ဆောင်၊ရှိရှိများကို သိရှိလို့ သင်ကြားမှန်ကန်စွာ ပေါ်ထွေးနားပါတယ်။
დღეს რჩეული ტექნიკა ტელეკომუნიკაციაში არ წარმოადგენს ადამიანის რეალური ცხოვრებას არ იქნება დახვრეში. ტელეკომუნიკაცია ძირითადად იქნება ადამიანის ხელშეკრულებების შესაძლებელი და ერთ-ერთი ძირითადი სწრაფი დახვრეში. იმ მიზნით, რომ ადამიანი შეიძლო სწრაფი დახვრეში და გადაადგინო დახვრეშის წყლის გამოყოფა, ტელეკომუნიკაცია სწორედ იქნება ძირითადი ღირსშესანიშნაობი. ტელეკომუნიკაცია შეიძლო ადამიანის მქონე შეჩერების შესაძლებელი და უფრო ძლიერი სწრაფი დახვრეში გადაჰყოფა.
Way

Empty River

We all laughed when they said, “Are there any fish in these waters? No. What’s in there? There is only God.”

But in fact, these words that we laugh at are upsetting. Really, there is nothing at all in those waters for us.

A long time ago, those who placed their trust in the river said that you could gain everything from its waters. Now there is nothing left in that empty river but water. The empty river is ailing, and the colors of its waters are muted and murky.

Some who still believe in the powers of the river say, “This is a curse from the river. We must all apologize to it.”

I cannot be sure of the hearts and minds that these people draw their existence from. How can they not realize that the empty river still exists, flowing with the ashes of all those who have died?

They disagreed when I said that we must all clean the river. What could they possibly expect from the empty river’s murky waters? In no way can I comprehend it. If we were to leave the empty river as it is, it would become bone-dry within years. When someone passes away, it does no good for them to become merely ashes scattered in a river.

Even if the waters of the empty river are devoid of both gods and fish, we still need to clean it. We all hope that the ashes of the deceased will finally be satisfied after the empty river has been cleansed.
“ကြွေးရွေးချယ်သော အချက် အရာများ အသားသာ အကြဵးလှမ်း” ဟု သို့ပြော သိရှိရန် အခုမှစ၍ အခြေခံပြီးနောက်တစ်ခါ စီးပွားရေး အဖွဲ့အစည်း သတင်းအချက်များ ကျည်နှဲကြည့် သိရှိခြင်းကို

သိရှိသော အခြေခံမှုတို့ အကြွေးချက်များ ကျပ်ခြင်းမှာ လိုအပ်သော မှတ်ချက်များ ဖော်ပြသည်။ မှတ်ချက် သတင်းအချက်များသည် မိမိတို့ သိရှိခြင်း သီးသန့်လေ့လာသည့် အချက်များဖြစ်သည်။ သို့မဟုတ် အခြေခံမှုများ သတင်းအချက်များ ဖော်ပြခြင်းမှာ လိုအပ်သော မှတ်ချက်များ ဖော်ပြသည်။ အကြွေးချက်များသည် သတင်းအချက်များ ဖော်ပြသည်။

စီးပွားရေး သတင်းအချက် များသည် ရရှိရန် ရှိရန် အကြွေးချက်များ ပေါ်လာသော အချက်များ ဖော်ပြသည်။ တစ်မျိုးတစ်ခု သတင်းအချက်များ ဖော်ပြသည်။ အကြွေးချက်များသည် သတင်းအချက်များ ဖော်ပြသည်။

စီးပွားရေး သတင်းအချက်များသည် မိမိတို့၏ အကြွေးချက်များ ဖော်ပြသည်။ သတင်းအချက်များ ဖော်ပြသည်။ အကြွေးချက်များသည် သတင်းအချက်များ ဖော်ပြသည်။
The Marginalization of Women in the Karenni National Liberation Movement

Sophia Day Myar

Abstract

In Karenni State, political leaders seek to determine what constitutes women’s and men’s affairs. Power cuts, increases in commodity prices, and whether or not soldiers should bathe naked in common areas, are examples of what are considered to be women’s affairs: events unworthy of serious attention. On the other hand, peace, conflict resolution, and protests against the central government are considered to be national affairs, and in the male domain. This article charts how such a dichotomy creates a two-tier system in Karenni State, where men dominate almost all of society, from the family to politics. It also highlights how Karenni women’s organizations strive to participate in national liberation movements and fight for more space for women.

Background

“Amyothameeyay movement activists are now joining our amyothayay movement.”

A male activist said this to me at a peace forum organized by women’s organizations in Karenni State in May 2019. His remark prompted me to question the commonly held views toward women activists working for the right to self-determination and other movements in Karenni State. One such view is

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1 In the Burmese language, amyothayay (အမျိုးသမီးများ၏ အချက်အလက်များ) literally means men’s affairs, considered to be national affairs, whereas amyothameeyay (အမျိုးသမီးများ၏ အထောက်အကူရေး) is women’s affairs, associated with the protection and delivery of social services to women. There are no direct translations for these words in many of the other languages of Myanmar, including Kayah (only one of the nine dialects of the Karenni language family).
that women are associated with only the amyotheameeyay movement and no other. We must question why men think that women should be active in their own women’s affairs but not in other matters, especially in amyotheyay or national affairs. Do women only pursue causes exclusive to women’s affairs?

The dichotomy between amyotha and amyothamee creates a gendered hierarchy in political affairs. In other words, women-led movements or movements that women support are usually not considered to be ‘national’ (amyotheyay) and therefore are not paid attention to by wider society. Gender-based violence and domestic violence are considered issues of amyotheameeyay, artificially separating these issues from amyotheyay, yet movements such as the protests against the 2021 military coup and against the General Aung San statue in Loikaw are considered to be men’s movements emblematic of amyotheyay. Prioritizing “men’s” issues over women’s jeopardizes women’s movements and trivializes their concerns.

Based on my experience working with local activists in Karenni communities in Karenni State, in this article I discuss this tendency to view or label movements as either male (conflated with “national”) or female.

The Karenni National Liberation Movement

The term Karenni refers to the place and people of what is called Kayah State by the Bamar military government. The Karenni have a unique political history and background. Karenni State was never formally incorporated within British Burma and, when Burma gained independence in 1948, the new state was promised the right of secession in recognition of its historically

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2 Karenni State is one of the least populous states in Burma and shares borders with Shan State, Karen State and Thailand. Karenni State was incorporated into modern-day Myanmar only after the country’s emergence from colonial rule in 1948. Before then, the area was nominally independent. For more, see Dee Dee, 2019.

3 There are over a dozen ethnic Karenni subgroups including the Kayan (the women famous for their long necks), Kayah, Geko, Geba, Bres, Manumanaw, Yintale, Yinbaw, Bwe and Paku (Smith, 1994).
independent status. Burma came to the Karenni; the Karenni did not seek to be part of Burma. In fact, the Burma army invaded the area in 1948 because Karenni leaders refused to join the newly formed Union of Burma. In mid-1947, nationalist leaders under U Bee Tu Re declared the independence of Karenni State. Following the murder of U Bee Tu Re by the Union of Burma’s military police in August 1948, Karenni people took up arms against the Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League government. The Karenni armed struggle was not born out of aggression but of defense and was initiated only to defend our territory, culture, and people.

Since then, the Karenni liberation movement has grown. Karenni people seek to unify around demands for rights related to Karenni ethnicities, identities, and self-determination, in opposition to the Myanmar military government and its Burmanization policies. Bamar people dominate decision-making positions and force non-Bamar populations to assimilate to hegemonic Bamar culture and religion. An example of Burmanization is the unilateral renaming of our state: in 1952, the Burmese government officially changed Karenni State’s name to Kayah State. Therefore, the name one calls the state is inherently political. The Myanmar military prohibits the term “Karenni” as they see it as a term of resistance.

The Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP) was established in 1957 along with its armed wing, the Karenni Army (KA). The KNPP also runs a de-facto government and organizes aid, healthcare, education, social welfare and protection for local populations and Internally Displaced Peoples (IDPs). In 1964, the Kayan New Land Party (KNLP) was established and the newly named Karenni National People’s Liberation Force split from the KNPP, allying with the KNLP and the Shan Nationalities Peoples Liberation Organization. Internal divisions between Karenni groups at that time weakened the overall armed struggle against the Burma army.

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4 The date of 9 August was then marked as Karenni National Resistance Day.
5 Tadayuki, 2014.
During decades of armed conflict, many Karenni people have fled to and across the Thailand border, becoming IDPs or refugees, with heavy fighting in the years 1994-2000 forcing thousands to move to border refugee camps. Under the Burmese government’s Four Cuts campaign, many Karenni communities have been forced to relocate from their homes and their adopted homes, in a pattern of repeated forced displacement. According to the Border Consortium’s 2019 annual report, 9.6 per cent of all refugees living in refugee camps in Thailand (a total of 93,333) are Karenni. Simply put, Karenni people have been politically and socially marginalized under each successive government and military regime of Burma, from independence until the present.

Women in Karenni Society

In Karenni society women are expected to take responsibility for conserving their culture, reproducing, taking care of the home, and providing care work for family members and relatives. However, similar to other patriarchal societies, Karenni men in positions of power set the standards, social and cultural norms for the rest of society to follow. There are only a few written documents and records discussing Karenni culture, history and tradition, and even fewer written by Karenni people themselves, as Karenni society has long relied on oral traditions to pass down knowledge. Many Karenni people know traditional proverbs such as “parah maw hae”, which roughly translates to “women talk”. It belittles women as it creates a binary that men work and women talk. Karenni traditional folktales and experiences circulate in family and community conversations and perpetuate a negative depiction of women, which only reinforces women’s low status in society.

Traditionally, Karenni women’s roles are tied to supporting and looking after their families. Karenni women have an important role in farming, cooking and making food for the family,

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6 Cutting the enemy’s access to information, food, recruits and finances.
7 The Border Consortium, 2019.
and taking care of the household. As in other patriarchal societies, Karenni men are the head of the household and the decisionmaker of the family.\(^8\) The head of the household sets the standards inside and outside the house, and if the women in the family (wife, daughter or otherwise) do not meet these standards, they will be excluded or marginalized. Afraid of this, women conform to gender expectations and meet the standards laid down by men. There is a very clear division of work based on gender; women are expected to do household chores and men are expected to do ‘outside’ work like hunting. Both men and women usually participate in farming activities. Men rarely help to raise children, work in the kitchen or do other chores. In my family, my grandmother (very much an ordinary Karenni woman) always woke up early in the morning to prepare meals for the whole household. Then she joined other male household members doing farm work. On top of that, she also took responsibility for domestic chores.

Society has strict expectations on young Karenni women: to handle the household work, get married with someone from the same community and support their family. Often, young Karenni women are forced to choose partners of their own ethnicity. One prominent Karenni male activist remarked to me, “We are a small population in Myanmar, so we should encourage Karenni women to marry within the same ethnic community to preserve our culture and increase our population”.\(^9\) He linked protecting the Karenni race with national duty. This is a prime example of men controlling women’s bodies and expecting them to reproduce to maintain ‘culture’ and sustain ‘race’.

Karenni women’s womanhood is defined by a constant, heavy workload of household and care work. Rather than caring for themselves, they must prioritize taking care of other people. My grandmother’s routine for her whole life of 70 years was

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\(^8\) A few women-headed households do exist, but socially, men are still the most important member in the family. Sons assume their father’s role if there is none. Older sons enjoy favoritism and usually have the final say within their families.

\(^9\) Male activist, personal communication, June 2018.
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dedicated to serving her husband and family members. She did all the domestic work such as cooking, washing, and cleaning as well as helping with farming. She woke up at around 4 a.m. and worked straight through until she lay down to sleep at night. My grandfather, as head of the household, however made all the important decisions.

There are many things that Karenni women cannot do that men can freely do. Many traditional ceremonies practiced by different Karenni groups are prohibited to women. For example, women are forbidden from participating in the Kay Htoe Boe festival, the traditional celebration of the Karenni new year held on a date proposed by a fortune teller. Society identifies leaders and individuals from only certain backgrounds to lead the Kay Htoe Boe ceremony. Women are not allowed to go anywhere near the ceremonial compound because they are considered to be second class, and some communities even consider them to bring bad luck. Karenni women, while accorded duties to preserve their culture and ethnic identity, do not enjoy equal rights to participate in their own cultural heritage and the ceremonies that make up Karenni tradition.

Hunting festivals are another tradition that women cannot join. In some areas, community leaders restrict women who are on their period to bathe, even when all male family members have left the house. They believe that menstruating may bring bad luck to the family and to male’s hunting prowess and that any area touched by women’s blood is not clean. Men supposedly embody good luck whereas women embody bad luck; women must protect men from their bodies and bodily fluids.

I am a Karenni woman who strove to meet the expectations placed upon me. My community and family expected me to learn to cook and do all the housework, build a new family and support it, and behave as a woman ‘should’. I grew up living in fear of being marginalized and excluded. I followed the social protocols and tried to meet the standards set by society. I dared not raise critical questions to ‘superiors’ and learned to do housework and performed my duties. But I was aware of all this, and
frustrated: when I came back home late, my mother told me off, yet my brother could explore the nightlife as he pleased.

Women are at higher risk than men outside the home and are more likely to be attacked, and if attacked, we are the ones who are blamed because we have supposedly ‘been warned’. If a woman acts or lives against the social norms set by powerful men, society judges all women as a whole. For example, if a single assertive Karenni woman expresses her opinions in a meeting, argues with or is critical of elders and leaders, is generally outspoken about her ideas and advice, wears Western style clothing, sits at tea shops or bars, or goes out late at night, the whole of society thinks that all women are behaving like that individual. If men do the same things, society considers that these are the choices of just one particular man. Individual women are representatives of the whole whereas men are freed from that representation, liberated from norms and standards. Women are made to take responsibility for others’ actions. There is minimum tolerance for deviation and yet the standards and expectations are set high.

But there are some women who are trying to change this.

**Women in the Revolution (and National Liberation Movement)**

*Women are trained as both soldiers and medics for relief operations. There are many female medics who go to conflict zones to rescue villagers and provide treatment to sick and injured villagers. They are the breadwinners of their families and protect their children and elders in times of danger. In Karenni liberated areas, most teachers are women. They provide education to the children of revolutionary leaders and soldiers. Also, they are the ones who help to preserve and promote the culture and literature of the Karenni people. They teach and pass down these practices and knowledge to younger generations. More and more women are emerging as*
community leaders in areas that support the liberation movement.\textsuperscript{10}

At the beginning of the Karenni liberation movement after Burma’s independence, it was difficult to find histories, textbooks and other written sources about the Karenni in any of our languages as there was no unified Karenni written script. In the late 1980s, one written script was invented by former Chairperson of the KNPP, Khu Hte Bu Peh, and it started being used in refugee camp curricula. In 2017, the Myanmar government formally recognized Karenni literature. Karenni groups use three different scripts: Burmese and Roman consonants, Roman consonants, and the Karenni script invented by Khu Hte Bu Peh, which was restricted by the Burmese military until after 2017. Some groups continue to use Roman scripts while others use the new script.

Existing written sources and oral histories place men at the center of Karenni history and there are very few female role models. Karenni national leaders are imagined to be male and society is not prepared to accept women as leaders. Women working for women’s rights and women’s affairs are regarded as social workers and not considered qualified to talk about politics or participate in setting political agendas. Women cannot incorporate or share their personal experiences in discussions about regional affairs. When women talk about their experiences, men criticize them for being emotional and personalizing the political agenda.

A common belief by prominent political leaders is that when all Karenni are liberated, women will be liberated by proxy; that Karenni women do not suffer from gender-based oppression and therefore do not need to be liberated from the patriarchy. When women raise issues like gender-based violence and discrimination with male leaders, they usually respond: “We can solve these issues later when we have self-determination. The priority is ethnic rights, and women’s rights will be granted if we can win

\textsuperscript{10} Maw Thel Mar, technical support team to KNPP, personal communication, May, 2019.
our ethnic rights”. This lack of understanding of gender inequality and the intersectional aspects of discrimination makes men ignorant of the problems women face and the violence they are subjected to. Male leaders do not recognize gender-related problems as critical problems in society and think that the concept of gender as opposed to sex has been imposed by foreign countries. They think they are national leaders working for all the people, all the men and women in society, so there is no need to talk about women-only issues in the national agenda.

Decades of militarization, armed conflict and intercommunal violence in Karenni State fuels the gender-based violence that traps generations of women in dangerous situations. In most cases of violence against women, survivors cannot access justice. There is also a culture of victim-blaming and silencing the truth. Female victims and their sympathizers are afraid to speak out because of threats and lack of security. Those benefiting from privileged positions in society rarely stand with victims for fear of losing those benefits.

Some women, however, have organized to resist the deep-rooted patriarchal values in Karenni State. Woman leaders such as Naw Phaw Shar, Nan Emee, Naw Tular Paw, Maw Day Day Phaw, Arr Mu Doh, Naw Bwee Phaw and Naw Mu Wah Phoe came from Karenni refugee camps and formed the Karenni National Women’s Organization (KNWO) in 1993 at Nan Soi refugee camp in north-west Thailand. Since 1993, the KNWO has been increasingly recognized as a leading organization in the promotion and protection of women’s rights in Karenni State and the refugee camps. The KNWO is a pioneer in the Karenni women’s movement that challenges patriarchal values and practices within Karenni society. Other Karenni women’s organizations emerged later, taking advantage of the political change in Myanmar after the 2010 general elections.

Even with these strong leaders, my own experience leads me to understand that male activists in the Karenni liberation movement are not comfortable having women activists around.

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When asked in March 2019 about women’s participation in the Karenni team’s negotiations with the ruling government about the General Aung San statue in Loikaw (which was held the previous month), a male leader aggressively responded that:

_We are all very busy negotiating with the government about the statue. The questions you asked about women’s participation in our negotiation team were perplexing. We did invite women, but none came._

Male leaders often say they welcome women’s participation but that women simply do not want to participate. Instead of empowering and facilitating women, male leaders just claim they choose not to participate, ignoring historical and ongoing oppression, marginalization, and low expectations by society for women’s civic participation.

**Karenni Women Role Models**

Many women have taken part in the Karenni liberation movement over time but very few have enjoyed leadership positions. Although there are relatively few women serving in the KNPP leadership, most women have played important, though less recognized roles, in keeping the movement alive. Since the beginning of resistance against the unlawful annexation of Karenni State by the Burmese government in 1948, the area has been engulfed in political turmoil and war. After the sudden death of Saw Shwe, the Chairperson of the Karenni Supreme Council (former name of the KNPP), Katherine Shwe, wife of the late chairperson, was chosen to replace him. She served as a chairperson for three months but resigned to look after her young children, alone and in harsh conditions. She is recognized as the first and the only woman to serve as chair in KNPP history.

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12 A typical remark made by male leader in March 2019, Loikaw.
The KA recruits both men and women. Female soldiers are known as Karenni *yemay* or Karenni female soldiers. Most *yemay* are discharged as active soldiers when they marry or start a family. The mothers and wives of Karenni revolution leaders and soldiers should not be forgotten in Karenni history, for they in fact are the ones who sacrifice most for the movement. When men go to the frontline, women must immediately become the breadwinner of their families and communities. They feed not only their own children, but also the soldiers they support. When the enemy advances in their areas, women are the ones who have to carry their children on their backs and run for safety.

Currently, the KNPP leadership for the term of the thirteenth KNPP Congress has two women leaders in the central committee and two in the reserved committee. Maw Day Day Phaw and Naw Bwee Phaw are in the former and Naw Khu Phaw and Maw Deh Mer Phaw are in the latter. These women have been through many obstacles in their lives to be recognized as leaders. Beside taking care of their families, they carry out all the responsibilities put upon them by society. All these women I mentioned are living role models to many Karenni girls and women. Their sacrifice and commitment to the revolution are no less than those of men. They are bold and resilient throughout prolonged armed conflict.

**Marginalization of Women in the Aung San Statue Protests**

The case of resisting the construction of a statue of Burmese leader General Aung San by the government in Loikaw, capital of Karenni State, is an example of how Karenni youth resisted Burmanization. It is a contemporary liberation movement of the Karenni People. The statue movement highlights the marginalization of women in important political and civic processes such as negotiation and dialogue with the authorities. Karenni activists strongly believed that the erection of a General Aung San statue in their capital city was an example of Burmanization,
and the regional and central governments’ decision to continue with its construction despite protests symbolized the doubly coercive power of democracy and cultural hegemony.

Opposition to the statue began in February 2018 when the state government began the project. After erecting the statue against Karenni peoples’ wishes, many came out on the streets and demanded its removal. The state government responded by shooting by rubber bullets and using water cannons on the protesters. But the movement did not stop; instead, it spread to other parts of the country. The leaders of the protest were arrested. After some negotiations, the government did not charge the protest leaders.\textsuperscript{13}

Individual women and women’s organizations played important leadership roles in organizing protests opposing the statue. They organized a successful demonstration on 12 February 2019, getting 6,000 people onto the streets and generating widespread media coverage. Even the organizations that did not join the movement in the beginning later joined the mass demonstrations. The state government responded by calling for negotiation with the leaders of the protest. There was a total of three negotiation meetings between the movement leadership and the government. Negotiations focused on the question of whether or not the statue would be removed. The negotiations failed and it stands upright in Loikaw even today. During the demonstration, however, women protesters were able to defuse tensions when they noticed male protesters picking on women police officers and making sexist comments. The relatively few casualties in the protest movement could also be contributed to women’s participation, as they influenced their male colleagues to stay calm.

One of the reasons the negotiations failed was that they were led by male activists and female activists were limited to observer roles. Male leaders could not well represent the demands of the protesters in the negotiation meetings. Women’s expertise and shrewd mobilization skills were not well utilized.

\textsuperscript{13} Myanmar Cultural Research Society, 2019.
In the second negotiation meeting, the Karenni side was composed of seven persons: five male leaders, who spoke during the meeting, and two women, who kept quiet as mere observers. One of the female observers said the process was dominated by men. \(^\text{14}\) There was not enough discussion within the team about how to negotiate, their strategy and roles. In the final negotiation meeting, the five men stormed out during the opening remarks by the state’s Chief Minister, so as to refuse using them as the basis of negotiation. The two female negotiation team members were sitting in the back row and were not informed of the move in advance, let alone consulted. They were attending apparently merely as tokens.

From my observations, in formal meetings related to Karenni society attended by both men and women, the front role is usually taken by men of age with formal positions of power or social authority. Before 2021, in public meetings I myself organized, men often confidently voiced their ideas about the future of the region and the nation, freely shared information about politics, peace processes and their analyses of Karenni history, while women sat in silence at the back of the room. Men enjoyed both physical and symbolic importance whereas women lowered their physical and symbolic positions. Based on women’s gestures, body language, and the tones of men asking women critical questions, women who spoke in these meetings were insecure and likely felt unwelcome in what they saw as a male space. Women anticipated hostility from men in general, believing they were thought lowly of. In one meeting conducted in July 2019 during which both men and women gave political updates, a woman volunteered with the most pressing present issue for her: a price hike in electricity bills. All the male meeting attendees rejected her update, arguing that the issue was not political, and they admonished her for bringing up what they saw as a trivial affair.

In another meeting where different state actors in Karenni State met and set an agenda for peace and reconciliation, a

\(^{14}\) Female member of the negotiation team, personal communication, March 2019.
female participant talked about women feeling insecure and unsafe in their villages, especially when showering, due to the many unknown armed men wandering around. Frequent military deployments by various groups burden Karenni women, especially in rural areas, where they suffer conflict-related sexual violence, especially by the Burmese military and armed groups. Karen Human Rights Group’s documentation reveals that sexual violence remains an ongoing issue in southeast Myanmar including in Karenni State.¹⁵ According to an information update from the KNWO, there are about 50 known cases of rape, child rape, domestic violence and sexual harassment every year in Karenni State.¹⁶ But in this meeting, these women’s security concerns were denounced by male representatives from armed organizations, who said harassment, gender-based violence, and domestic violence (i.e., women’s issues in general) were not considered part of the national agenda and therefore could not be part of the discussion for peace and reconciliation.

From these examples, women’s experiences and women’s suffering—be it physical, emotional, or psychological—are not recognized. Instead women’s lived experiences of ongoing war and their fears are trivialized or labeled as amyothameeyay and not worthy of national-level attention, or even worthy of discussion during meetings. The plight of women is not considered to be related to civil war or armed conflict.

Women who resist the oppression brought about by cultural norms, social structures, or political power are often labeled as troublemakers, while men who resist the oppression are labeled as assertive and strong. Women’s issues are always pushed back against. For example, changing the constitution, and building a federal democratic union are considered the most critical issues, with women’s issues raised by women activists always less important in meetings and rarely discussed.

In the ongoing 2021 anti-coup resistance movement, young women are still dealing with the same problems that older generations have dealt with. Women have always been involved in

the revolution in different roles but there is still no recognition of their contributions.

A few of my friends and I were labeled extreme and aggressive for bringing up the marginalization of women with local activists working for the Karenni nationalist movement. There is a lack of understanding of gender as a national issue. One prominent male civil society leader commented in June 2019, “We cannot see everything from a woman’s perspective”, a tacit concession that national agendas are always set through male perspectives that fail to accommodate women’s needs and concerns. Furthermore, many women’s critical concern about the impact of militarization in the community was and still is ignored, even when women are becoming ever more vulnerable in a post-coup conflict-ridden Burma.

Conclusion

The dichotomy of men versus women can weaken social movements and their construction as women do not enjoy an equal position to men and cannot contribute their skills and knowledge freely. In order to achieve what Karenni people long for, i.e., self-determination, both men and women should be able to participate equally in the struggle. The Karenni people’s resistance against militarization was made more visible by women’s criticism of the presence and behaviors of men in their vicinity. All political systems oppressing Karenni people—both men and women—should be considered, and one of these systems is the patriarchy that prioritizes men over women in almost every realm of society.

There is a feminist saying: “The personal is political”. If we cannot bring women’s personal experiences into politics, there will be no inclusive process for social movements, such as against the building of the Aung San statue, or efforts to change the political system. How can one nation be liberated without the liberation of women, which is half of the population?

17 Feminist Carol Hanisch made this phrase popular with her essay The Personal is Political (1969).
There is always time to highlight the critical issues faced by women and discuss them in political dialogue, especially during the ongoing revolution against the military.

References


မျိုးမြင်အောင်အယ်အား
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အခြေချော်ကြီး

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အခြေချော်ကြီး၏

“အခြေချော်ကြီးကြားမြင်ကြေညာခြင်းနှင့်ပတ်သက်သော အခြေချော်ကြီး
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1 မဟုတ်၍ အခြေချော်ကြီးကြားမြင်ကြေညာခြင်း အခြေချော်ကြီးကြားမြင်ကြေညာခြင်း
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1. နောက်ပိုင်း မှာ အချက်အလက်များကို ဖော်ပြသည်။
2. ဗိုလ်ချုပ် ဆောင်ရွက်ပြီး ဆောင်ရွက်နေသည်။

Transitional Institute အား ဖော်ပြပါ။

(ဗိုလ်ချုပ်စာရင်းများ ဖော်ပြပေးသည်။)
မိတ်ဆွေးနှစ်များ၊ ပြည်သူ့မှာ အခြေခံချက်များနှင့် အခြေခံများတွင် ပြင်ပြည်သူများနှင့် အပျက်သဘောများထဲမှ မြင်ချက်များများကို ပြချက်ထားပါသည်။ အပြင်အလွန် သဘောများနှင့် အပျက်သဘောများထဲမှ မြင်ချက်များများကို ပြချက်ထားပါသည်။ အပြင်အလွန် သဘောများနှင့် အပျက်သဘောများထဲမှ မြင်ချက်များများကို ပြချက်ထားပါသည်။ အပြင်အလွန် သဘောများနှင့် အပျက်သဘောများထဲမှ မြင်ချက်များများကို ပြချက်ထားပါသည်။

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¤‡¾·†²ŠÀ¾Œ±ŠÀ‡¸½Ʀ›´¾( KNPP) ဘိ၀င် ထိုးထားသော စာရင်းအတွက် အခြေခံထားသော (KA) ဖော်ပြထားသော နာန်းအရေအတွက် မြန်မာ များဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် ၎င်းနှင့် အဆိုပါတို့ အခြေခံထားသော (KNLP) ဖော်ပြထားသော နာန်းအရေအတွက် မြန်မာ များဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် ၎င်းနှင့် အဆိုပါတို့ အခြေခံထားသော (KNPLF) ဖော်ပြထားသော နာန်းအရေအတွက် မြန်မာ များဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် ၎င်းနှင့် အဆိုပါတို့ အခြေခံထားသော (SNPLO) ဖော်ပြထားသော နာန်းအရေအတွက် မြန်မာ များဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် ၎င်းနှင့် အဆိုပါတို့ အခြေခံထားသော (IDP) ဖော်ပြထားသော မြန်မာ များဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် ၎င်းနှင့် အဆိုပါတို့ အခြေခံထားသော (SNPOL) ဖော်ပြထားသော မြန်မာ များဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် ၎င်းနှင့် အဆိုပါတို့ အခြေခံထားသော (KNL) ဖော်ပြထားသော မြန်မာ များဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် ၎င်းနှင့် အဆိုပါတို့ အခြေခံထားသော (KNL) ဖော်ပြထားသော မြန်မာ များဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် ၎င်းနှင့် အဆိုပါတို့ အခြေခံထားသော (KNL) ဖော်ပြထားသော မြန်မာ များဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် ၎င်းနှင့် အဆိုပါတို့ အခြေခံထားသော (KNL) ဖော်ပြထားသော မြန်မာ များဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် ၎င်းနှင့် အဆိုပါတို့ အခြေခံထားသော (KNL) ဖော်ပြထားသော မြန်မာ များဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် ၎င်းနှင့် အဆိုပါတို့ အခြေခံထားသော (KNL) ဖော်ပြထားသော မြန်မာ များဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် ၎င်းနှင့် အဆိုပါတို့ အခြေခံထားသော (KNL) ဖော်ပြထားသော မြန်မာ များဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် ၎င်းနှင့် အဆိုပါတို့ အခြေခံထားသော (KNL) ဖော်ပြထားသော မြန်မာ များဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် ၎င်းနှင့် အဆိုပါတို့ အခြေခံထားသော (KNL) ဖော်ပြထားသော မြန်မာ များဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် ၎င်းနှင့် အဆိုပါတို့ အခြေခံထားသော (KNL) ဖော်ပြထားသော မြန်မာ များဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် ၎င်းနှင့် အဆိုပါတို့ အခြေခံထားသော (KNL) ဖော်ပြchetu
The Border Consortium, 2019.
ရဲစီးမားသော ဗုဒ္ဓဗေဒမှစက်းစားပေါ်များကို တွေ့ရှိခြင်း။ သို့သော် စီးဆင်းရာတွင် အောက်ပါအတိုင်း လျှပ်စစ်ရန် နှစ်သက်ရာများဖြင့် သင့်တွင်လည်း လှုပ်ရာများကို ပြုလုပ်သော စီးဆင်းရာတွင် ရွေးချယ်ပါသည်။

အောက်ပါအတိုင်း အောက်ပါအတိုင်း လျှပ်စစ်ရန် နှစ်သက်ရာများဖြင့် သင့်တွင်လည်း လှုပ်ရာများကို ပြုလုပ်သော စီးဆင်းရာတွင် ရွေးချယ်ပါသည်။

အောက်ပါအတိုင်း အောက်ပါအတိုင်း လျှပ်စစ်ရန် နှစ်သက်ရာများဖြင့် သင့်တွင်လည်း လှုပ်ရာများကို ပြုလုပ်သော စီးဆင်းရာတွင် ရွေးချယ်ပါသည်။
နောက်ဆုံးကို အခြားအချင်းချင်းနေရာများများဖော်ပြထားရန် လိုအပ်ပါသည်။ မှန်ကန်စေချင်းစားရန် အရေးပါသည်။ သင်ကြားချက်များကို မီးချင်းစားရန် လိုအပ်ပါသည်။ အခြေခံအချင်းချင်းသို့ အခြေခံအချင်းချင်းနေရာများများဖော်ပြထားရန် လိုအပ်ပါသည်။ မှန်ကန်စေချင်းစားရန် အရေးပါသည်။ အခြေခံအချင်းချင်းသို့ အခြေခံအချင်းချင်းနေရာများများဖော်ပြထားရန် လိုအပ်ပါသည်။ မှန်ကန်စေချင်းစားရန် အရေးပါသည်။ အခြေခံအချင်းချင်းသို့ အခြေခံအချင်းချင်းနေရာများများဖော်ပြထားရန် လိုအပ်ပါသည်။ မှန်ကန်စေချင်းစားရန် အရေးပါသည်။ အခြေခံအချင်းချင်းသို့ အခြေခံအချင်းချင်းနေရာများများဖော်ပြထားရန် လိုအပ်ပါသည်။ မှန်ကန်စေချင်းစားရန် အရေးပါသည်။ အခြေခံအချင်းချင်းသို့ အခြေခံအချင်းချင်းနေရာများများဖော်ပြထားရန် လိုအပ်ပါသည်။ မှန်ကန်စေချင်းစားရန် အရေးပါသည်။ အခြေခံအချင်းချင်းသို့ အခြေခံအချင်းချင်းနေရာများများဖော်ပြထားရန် လိုအပ်ပါသည်။ မှန်ကန်စေချင်းစားရန် အရေးပါသည်။ အခြေခံအချင်းချင်းသို့ အခြေခံအချင်းချင်းနေရာများများဖော်ပြထားရန် လိုအပ်ပါသည်။ မှန်ကန်စေချင်းစားရန် အရေးပါသည်။
အာဏာပိုင်မှုများကို ပျံတမ္းတင်ပေးရာတွင် သိရှိကြည့်ပေးရန် ပြုလုပ်သည်။ ကမ်း၍ အီရှမ်းမှုကို များတင်ပေး ပြည်ထောင်စုအတွက် ဂျပန်နိုင်ငံတွင် ဖြစ်ပေးသည်မှာ ယူနိုင်ငံများအတွက် ပြုလုပ်ရာတွင် သိရှိကြည့်ပေးရန် ပြုလုပ်သည်။ နိုင်ငံတော်တွင် ပြုလုပ်သည်မှာ ကမ်း၍ အီရှမ်းမှုအတွက် ဖြစ်ပေးသည်။ အီရှမ်းမှုများကို ပျံတမ္းတင်ပေးရာတွင် သိရှိကြည့်ပေးရန် ပြုလုပ်သည်။
ဗိုလ်နေပြည်တော်

နိုင်ငံတော်ကျောက်စရာ စိုက်ပျိုးကျမ်းကို ဖန်တီးခြင်းဖြင့် အပြုလောင်း အမှုင်းအနှိုင်စ်သော အခြေခံအမှုင်းအနှိုင်စ်နှင့် ပြုလုံးမှုကို ရွေးချယ် ရေးသားနိုင်ပြီး ဖျင်ဆိုချက်များကို သိချင်ပုံစံများစွာ ကြည့်ရှုရန် လိုအပ်သော အကယ်တမ်းအခြေခံအမှုင်းအနှိုင်စ်ကို စာရွက်ရန် ပြုလုံးမှုကို ရွေးချယ်စောင်မှာ ပြုလုံးမှုကို အောင်မြင်ပေးသည်။

မိမိတို့ ဖျင်ဆိုချက်များကို ဖန်တီးခြင်းဖြင့် ဖျင်ဆိုချက်များကို သိချင်ပုံစံများစွာ ကြည့်ရှုရန် လိုအပ်သော အကယ်တမ်းအခြေခံအမှုင်းအနှိုင်စ်ကို စာရွက်ရန် ပြုလုံးမှုကို ရွေးချယ်စောင်မှာ ပြုလုံးမှုကို အောင်မြင်ပေးသည်။

မိမိတို့ ဖျင်ဆိုချက်များကို ဖန်တီးခြင်းဖြင့် ဖျင်ဆိုချက်များကို သိချင်ပုံစံများစွာ ကြည့်ရှုရန် လိုအပ်သော အကယ်တမ်းအခြေခံအမှုင်းအနှိုင်စ်ကို စာရွက်ရန် ပြုလုံးမှုကို ရွေးချယ်စောင်မှာ ပြုလုံးမှုကို အောင်မြင်ပေးသည်။

မိမိတို့ ဖျင်ဆိုချက်များကို ဖန်တီးခြင်းဖြင့် ဖျင်ဆိုချက်များကို သိချင်ပုံစံများစွာ ကြည့်ရှုရန် လိုအပ်သော အကယ်တမ်းအခြေခံအမှုင်းအနှိုင်စ်ကို စာရွက်ရန် ပြုလုံးမှုကို ရွေးချယ်စောင်မှာ ပြုလုံးမှုကို အောင်မြင်ပေးသည်။

မိမိတို့ ဖျင်ဆိုချက်များကို ဖန်တီးခြင်းဖြင့် ဖျင်ဆိုချက်များကို သိချင်ပုံစံများစွာ ကြည့်ရှုရန် လိုအပ်သော အကယ်တမ်းအခြေခံအမှုင်းအနှိုင်စ်ကို စာရွက်ရန် ပြုလုံးမှုကို ရွေးချယ်စောင်မှာ ပြုလုံးမှုကို အောင်မြင်ပေးသည်။

မိမိတို့ ဖျင်ဆိုချက်များကို ဖန်တီးခြင်းဖြင့် ဖျင်ဆိုချက်များကို သိချင်ပုံစံများစွာ ကြည့်ရှုရန် လိုအပ်သော အကယ်တမ်းအခြေခံအမှုင်းအနှိုင်စ်ကို စာရွက်ရန် ပြုလုံးမှုကို ရွေးချယ်စောင်မှာ ပြုလုံးမှုကို အောင်မြင်ပေးသည်။

မိမိတို့ ဖျင်ဆိုချက်များကို ဖန်တီးခြင်းဖြင့် ဖျင်ဆိုချက်များကို သိချင်ပုံစံများစွာ ကြည့်ရှုရန် လိုအပ်သော အကယ်တမ်းအခြေခံအမှုင်းအနှိုင်စ်ကို စာရွက်ရန် ပြုလုံးမှုကို ရွေးချယ်စောင်မှာ ပြုလုံးမှုကို အောင်မြင်ပေးသည်။

မိမိတို့ ဖျင်ဆိုချက်များကို ဖန်တီးခြင်းဖြင့် ဖျင်ဆိုချက်များကို သိချင်ပုံစံများစွာ ကြည့်ရှုရန် လိုအပ်သော အကယ်တမ်းအခြေခံအမှုင်းအနှိုင်စ်ကို စာရွက်ရန် ပြုလုံးမှုကို ရွေးချယ်စောင်မှာ ပြုလုံးမှုကို အောင်မြင်ပေးသည်။
မိုက်တလားနားစည်ကို သီးသန့်အမှတ်အသားအဖြစ် သို့မဟုတ် အရည်အသွေးအဖြစ် အသုံးပြုပါ။ ဥပမာဖြစ်စဉ်အတွက် သက်ရှိသော အရာအတိုင်း သိမ်းဆည်းပါ။ သို့ပေ။ အရာအတိုင်း သိမ်းဆည်းပါ။ အရာအတိုင်း သိမ်းဆည်းပါ။ သိမ်းဆည်းပါ။ သိမ်းဆည်းပါ။
ဗိသုကာအရေအတွက် ပေးပါသော ကျန်ရှိသောစက်မှု့ကျောင်းများ စိတ်ကျန်းစစ်အတွက် ပြည်သူ ပုံသောကျော်ကြားသည်။ အစိတ်အပိုင်း အားလုံးသော ကျန်ရှိသောစက်မှု့ကျောင်းများ မြို့တော် ပြည်သူများ ကြည်စေရန် လိုအသေးစိတ်ကျော်ကြားသည်။

၂၀၁၉ အားလုံးသော စက်မှု့ကျောင်းများ အဖွဲ့ဝင်များ ကျန်ရှိသောစက်မှု့ကျောင်းများ သာမန်ထူးချွန်သော ပေးသောစက်မှု့ကျောင်းများ မြို့တော် ပြည်သူများ ကြည်စေရန် လိုအသေးစိတ်ကျော်ကြားသည်။

ဗိသုကာအရေအတွက် အဖွဲ့ဝင်များ ပေးသောစက်မှု့ကျောင်းများ ကျန်ရှိသောစက်မှု့ကျောင်းများ သာမန်ထူးချွန်သော ပေးသောစက်မှု့ကျောင်းများ မြို့တော် ပြည်သူများ ကြည်စေရန် လိုအသေးစိတ်ကျော်ကြားသည်။

ဗိသုကာအရေအတွက် အဖွဲ့ဝင်များ ပေးသောစက်မှု့ကျောင်းများ ကျန်ရှိသောစက်မှု့ကျောင်းများ သာမန်ထူးချွန်သော ပေးသောစက်မှု့ကျောင်းများ မြို့တော် ပြည်သူများ ကြည်စေရန် လိုအသေးစိတ်ကျော်ကြားသည်။
12 ကြည္စ်ဖုိးမှာ ကိုယ်ပိုင်အိမ်အကောင်အထည်ချု ကြည့်ရှုပြီး ပြောင်းလဲခြင်း ပြုလုလူး ကြည္စ်ဖုိး
13 တိုက်တွေ့ရှိခြင်းအနေဖြင့် အလွန်မှာ အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များ သင်ယူဖို့ အကြံပြု၍ အလွန်လွဲနိုင်သော အခြေအနေများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။
14 သီးသီးတော်တော်လားလား! Suffering in Silence! ၎င်းသည် အခြင်းအချင်းအချင်းတို့ သို့မဟုတ် အခြီးအနားတစ်ခု ရရှိလျှင် ကြိုးစားရမည်။

ယူးယောင်ကိုလေးသောကြည့်ရှင်းမှုတို့အတွက် အဖွဲ့အစည်းများ ဆောင်ရွက်ရန် သင်္ချူးစိုးခြင်းအပြင် အလှူဆိုင်ရာများကို ပြုလုပ်ထားသည်။ မြန်မာ့အခြေခံအဖွဲ့အစည်းအတွက် အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို များစွာဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အဖွဲ့အစည်းများသည် အလှူဆိုင်ရာများအတွက် ပြည်သူသား အခြေခံပေးသည်။

မြို့နယ် စည်းပေါင်းရေးလုပ်ငန်းသည် အဆိုးအတန်းစိုးရိမ်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အခြေခံအဖွဲ့အစည်းများသည် အလှူဆိုင်ရာများအတွက် ပြည်သူသား အခြေခံပေးသည်။

ခြေစိုက်စိုက် အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အဖွဲ့အစည်းများသည် ပြည်သူသား အခြေခံပေးသည်။
ထွေဟာများ အောက်ပါအတွက် ယုံကြည်ဆောင်ရွက်ပါ။ ပြောပြခြင်းသည် အခြေခံအရှင်အရာများကို ပေးဆောင်သည်။ ချစ်ကြည်ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းသည် အခြေခံအရှင်အရာများကို ပေးဆောင်သည်။ ထွေဟာများ အောက်ပါအတွက် ယုံကြည်ဆောင်ရွက်ပါ။ ပြောပြခြင်းသည် အခြေခံအရှင်အရာများကို ပေးဆောင်သည်။


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16 ကြောင်းရရှိသောစာကြောင်းများ ကျယ်စွာဖြစ်နေသည်။ သို့သော် အချို့က ဗိုလ်ချုပ် မှ ဗိုလ်ခရစ်ကြီး နောင်ခေတ်စားနေသူများ အဖွဲ့အစည်းများ လိုအပ်သည်။


The dreams which can be plucked
For one season only
Have long since expired
I am still waiting for the market to disperse and to discount.

Until yesterday,
Among the anything-goes sellers and buyers
And the honest ones,
The dreams were on the go,
Hoping to fetch a good price.

At last
The foolish crow at the ocean
While devouring one’s own dreams
Like the rotten carcass of an elephant disintegrating slowly
Now that there is no land in sight
Realized
“I need to go now.”

Now then...
Take a look at the roads
I for my part
Can no longer see
Where do we part?
(No)
Not really
I was never prepared
For partings
This isn’t what I like to ask.

What I want to ask is only this
Who would cry when I die?
Is there anyone who will answer?
..................
In truth
I can no longer hear.
မြင်တိုးတယ် ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ချိန်မှ အစိုးရက ပြောင်းလဲသော ရူးသိုးဆိုင်ရာ အစိုးရမှာ ကြိုးပမ်း ခံခဲ့ရမှုများကို သိရှိနေသည်။

စိတ်ဝင်စားမှု့အဖြစ် ပြောင်းလဲရာ အစိုးရက ပြောင်းလဲသော ရူးသိုးဆိုင်ရာ အစိုးရမှာ ကြိုးပမ်း ခံခဲ့ရမှုများကို သိရှိနေသည်။

ကြည့်ရှုသော ပြောင်းလဲမှု့အဖြစ် ပြောင်းလဲရာ အစိုးရက ကြိုးပမ်း ခံခဲ့ရမှုများကို သိရှိနေသည်။

"ကြည့်ရှုသော ပြောင်းလဲမှု့အဖြစ် ပြောင်းလဲရာ အစိုးရက ကြိုးပမ်း ခံခဲ့ရမှုများကို သိရှိနေသည်။"

နောက်ပိုင်း...

ကြည့်ရှုသော ပြောင်းလဲမှု့အဖြစ် မိတ်ဆွေးနှုန်းမှု့အဖြစ် ပြောင်းလဲရာ အစိုးရက ကြိုးပမ်း ခံခဲ့ရမှုများကို သိရှိနေသည်။

အကြည်းစီးခွင့် ရှိသော်လည်း ဆိုရာ မိတ်ဆွေးနှုန်းမှု့အဖြစ် ပြောင်းလဲရာ အစိုးရက ကြိုးပမ်း ခံခဲ့ရမှုများကို သိရှိနေသည်။

(မိတ်ဆွေးနှုန်းမှု့အဖြစ် ပြောင်းလဲရာ အစိုးရက ကြိုးပမ်း ခံခဲ့ရမှုများကို သိရှိနေသည်။)
“ဒီလိုက် သို့မဟုတ်” တွေလည်း
အခြားသော
အချက်များ...

စာအလိုက်:
သူ ဒီတိုင်းတွင်ဘာလဲ
Life as a Worker, Life as a Union Leader, and Becoming a Feminist

Alotethama

Abstract

This article is a reflection by an anonymous female worker on her early life, factory career in Yangon, and participation in labor organizing, industrial action and class struggle in, and against, the prevailing capitalist and patriarchal systems. The author points out many transgressions and injustices perpetrated by factory supervisors, managers and bosses and explains the decisions behind several important strikes in the period of 2002-2021, as well as how women came to take on more leadership roles after 2012. As a labor union organizer, she assisted with the establishment of several unions, networks and labor federations, and saw the complexities involved in workers struggling to maintain unity and the challenges of union leaders losing their integrity.

Start of a Protest

My birthplace is the village Yone Seik Kyun, which is on the west bank of the Ayeyarwady River, in Yenangyaung Township of Magway Region. The land at the village is alluvial and my parents were farmers. I am the fourth daughter of seven siblings, so I have siblings both to rely on and to support. Due to climate change and riverbank collapses, we attended school in impoverished conditions. Our village only had a single primary school so we had to cross the Mone river by ferry to attend middle school in another village every single day. After middle school, one would have to go into town for high school, but for most villagers, student life ended with middle school. Quite a number of students do not go on to high school simply because their parents do not know the enrolment procedures, even if they can afford the school fees.
When I was still young, our parents were struggling financially, so they sent my older sister to Yangon to work. I managed to finish middle school at the village while helping out at the family farm doing small jobs like weeding. My parents told me that since I was a girl, I was prohibited from enrolling in a high school in town, but without their knowledge, I found out how to enroll anyway, using a transfer certificate. I remember drawing a doodle of a schoolgirl on a gourd while I worked in the fields, I hoped to go to high school so much. In the end, due to the insistence of two of my sisters—the one working in Yangon and another who had a heart condition—my dad enrolled me in high school. The school asked for just a small donation after they saw my dogeared transfer certificate and late enrollment. I did not do well at school and had no opportunity to take private tuition (to catch up). I knew I could not pass the matriculation examination but I took it anyway so that I could learn what it entailed and be prepared for next time. The 2001-2002 exam results were released: I failed. Consequently, I went on to Yangon like my older sister, both to take a job—and to continue my studies. I was seventeen.

The Start of My Life as a Worker

My first job was production line clerk at the Midas garment factory in 2002. I quit on my first day, without even learning what the wages were. I fainted from suffocation caused by dust while working, but no one came to my aid. The leaders of the labor department instead told me that such work was not for me, and that I should just become a sex worker. I was furious and quit immediately.

Normally, one gets a labor card for free, but I was underage so I had to pay a bribe to get one. With that card I got a job at the Tai Yi shoe factory where my sister also worked. At the beginning, the seniors made me do extra work as I knew nothing yet. They used the bathroom during their shifts but told me not to and threatened to report me to management. They even warned
that I could lose my job. Their displays of power and the way that supervisors there were always yelling made the job feel like hell.

At the time I thought that toiling in the field under the scorching sun back in the village was way better than this. But I did not want to upset my sister so I hid my tears. Later I learned from others that my sister was suffering just the same. I was shocked and indignant when I saw supervisors taping workers’ mouths shut and ordering them to stand on chairs as punishment for talking at work. I was incensed when the factory boss struck a worker’s hand with a hot iron. I lacked the guts to speak up and say that it was unjust, even to my colleagues, because if one of my coworkers reported on me, I could have lost my job.

Three months after I started working at the Tai Yi shoe factory in 2002, the workers organized a strike. It was not about wages. Rather it was about workers being prohibited from bringing their own food into the factory, even when they could not eat the food provided by the dormitory.¹ Another reason was the fact that there were no cups provided for the drinking water. Workers are entitled to these rights. They should not have to demand them.

Even though I myself did not live at the factory dormitory, I joined the strike, my very first. I had never experienced such a thing growing up in the countryside. I had only seen people holding banners in protests on the international news.

In the following years, I took part in several factory strikes and campaigns, well known or otherwise, because I always worried that protesters would suffer if their strike was too small. I understood those who did not strike, for they had to support their families. Strike months were also difficult for me. I always regretted it when I received my wages. Nevertheless, I kept striking because each and every strike was trying to set things right.

Back then, I joined strikes with rage, because of what I knew even before I turned eighteen. Strikes were organized for

¹ Most factory workers are from towns outside Yangon, and as part of the recruitment, factory owners arranged dormitories with room and board and deduct fees from the workers’ salaries.
various proclaimed reasons—for wages, or because the international supervisor was vicious, or because we had to work overtime until midnight. In my first few years of work I joined at least seven strikes. The first time I paid attention to what was just or unjust was when I entered the workforce. I do not remember the exact salary, but after one strike in 2007 we received a raise of 37,000 Myanmar Kyat. We rejoiced if we achieved just a single day’s holiday in an entire month.

After receiving my Tai Yi salary in February 2012, there were more wage-related cuts. Because of various oppression in this workplace, a paper call for a strike was posted in the female restroom, causing turmoil. Foreigner supervisors argued with evidence that the call was not from their department. An investigation followed after the news spread and the same pamphlets were found in the male restroom. No man admitted to writing it, and some said that it must have been a female who wrote it, as the handwriting appeared to be feminine.

It could have been that whoever wrote the call for a strike denied it due to concerns for their own security. Or it could have been that they denied it as if they could not possibly organize such a trivial event. What was certain was that all the men questioned said that no man could have possibly written it.

The supervisor of my department made us work on Sunday, our rest day, as an attempt to prove that the workers from his line weren’t responsible for the statement. Then on Monday we gathered (to strike) outside the factory, where there were many trees, away from supervisors and leaders because if they saw us, they would coerce us back to work. We organized the strike this way amidst many challenges.

**Strikes During the Democratic Era**

Many thought elections were what resulted in a change of governments, but we female workers had never heard of an election before. In 2012, we women came to lead labor strikes, which were becoming more frequent, as exploitation pervaded workplaces. It could be said that we ushered in a new dawn in the
history of the labor movement in Myanmar. Previously, the role of female workers in industrial action was to spread information and to collect data, both important activities. We assumed we had to rely on the striking men who could talk and negotiate in the office. What changed in 2012 was that female workers did more than merely spread information and mobilize, they also stood unwaveringly in the front line and helped lead negotiations.

There is a reason why men were the default leaders in previous years. Every time there was a strike, senior officials from the Labor Office would come and ask us to write down our demands, and we would enthusiastically comply. But when it came to talking to the bosses about our demands, no woman dared to go into the office. There was also not a single woman among the visiting officials from the Labor Office, who would coax male workers into negotiations with their employers by promising that the workers would not be fired and had their support. Female workers chastised the male workers who were too hesitant to enter negotiations. Some only did so when they were told that they should wear a female longyi (because they were not acting like men).

When I think back now, pressuring men to lead when they lacked the desire and ability to do so was not right. The idea that leaders must be male prevailed among us at that time. We could not complain about the results of the male leaders’ negotiations with the bosses. They said that if we did not like what they did for us by taking much significant risk, then we should just do it ourselves. In 2012, one strike with no individual or collective leadership grew sizeable. Besides protests, we also fought at the forefront for drafting laws guaranteeing the right to organize labor unions under the so-called ‘civilian government’ that was controlled by the military.
During the previous strikes, workers gathered outside factories. Within two hours, leaders from each factory department would arrive on scene. After they would ask our demands, male workers would step forward as our representatives to negotiate with the employer. After attaining some small gain in our workers’ rights, the strike would be called off.

But in 2012, having gained experience with negotiations, female workers themselves did the sums with calculators or pen and paper. It was encouraging. After the 2011 strike for a raise, wages for some workers increased from 100 Myanmar Kyat per hour to 110. During the 2012 strike, our wages were 75 Myanmar Kyat per hour and we demanded 150. After two months of striking, we decided to agree to a wage settlement of 120 per hour and return to work.
Figure 2

Outcome of the 2012 strike: An agreement between the factory owner and workers.
In the middle of the strikes, we organized the Tai Yi labor union with 2,111 workers in the hope that this union could negotiate with those in charge and workers would not need to go out onto the streets to strike. We would not need to fear being fired. We would negotiate using the power of the union. We were hoping that the union leaders who would partake in negotiations would not be those who would sway either side easily.

When a worker assumes the responsibility of leadership, her sense of responsibility and ability to make selfless sacrifices are priceless and sacred. Plucking up courage to take more responsibilities and turning one’s back on status gains one strength. This too is power—and this power is derived from the workers. If leaders are out of touch with the workers, this can lead to abuse of power. Since the workers are the raison d’être of the union, when workers no longer want or need the union, or when the union no longer works for the workers’ interests, the day has come for the end of the union.

We were resolute to fight against the oppressors in rank and file, using the power of solidarity. The union was not created just to facilitate talks with employers, nor is it backed by prominent individuals or political parties. The year 2012 was a year with by-elections and politicians from various parties were dabbling among the workers. We did not even know what a by-election was. We had no idea such a thing existed. It was all new to us. But we noticed that a lot of people and the media were coming to talk to us.

We remember 30 March 2012 as the day the police beat us with batons. We were in a situation like none we had ever heard of. On every avenue from the factory to the highway police had taken positions with batons and shields. The more oppressed and threatened we were, the more courage we could draw from these realities. A large number of female workers encircled those wanted by the police and the male workers. Women workers faced the fully geared up police unflinchingly. I had never seen such fully geared cops in my life and I felt as if I was in a scene from a Korean TV show. Then, just when personnel from
the Ministry of Labor were about to intervene to deescalate the situation, the police began to beat the female workers.

In our opinion, the factory bosses wanted the workers to be attacked by the police. Only when everything was getting out of control did the employer come out to negotiate. That day we decided not to return home. Due to the mounting pressure from every side to end the situation before the following day’s national elections, we negotiated with the employer as best as we could, signed a contract and went home with our copy of it.

We decided to go back to work and continue to discuss our demands without causing further disruption. We decided that if the employer were to refuse any proposal to have a discussion in future, we would go out onto the streets again. We workers made these agreements among ourselves and came back to the workplace. We wrote on the walls of the female restrooms signs such as, “to strike is to seek justice”, “seeking collective decisions and solutions is for justice”, “our selfishness is for justice”, and “let’s use selfishness to make change”.

Unsung Heroes

After overcoming these myriad difficulties and getting back to work, many female workers emerged out of the more than 2,000 strikers deserving the highest commendations. During the strike, the factory dorms did not serve meals to its residents anymore. This food was critical for workers unable to save what little money they earned. But none complained. They showed fortitude instead. “Kids, come and eat before you go join the strike. I’m gonna be mad if you don’t eat what I cooked for you. You can achieve your goals only if your belly is full. Don’t feel bad later when I vulgarly chastise you. Come and eat”, yelled a female worker in front of the dorm with pots and pats before her. Her nickname was ‘old spinster’. When the strikes prolonged, not only dorm residents but also those living in private accommodation, who paid restaurants by the month for their meals, came to rely on the old spinster’s food. We later learned
that she sold all her jewelry to take care of the female workers and cook their meals.

Was she the only one who made sacrifices for the strike and bore burdens without taking credit?

No. Each of those who actively partook in the strikes or were full-time participants of the union had family responsibilities. But our siblings took on these responsibilities in our stead. There were a lot of things to worry about before deciding to join the strike. We had to give up toiling over such things as our younger siblings’ education, families’ means of income, health issues, debts and so on. What enabled me to strike and take a leading role was that my sister struggled on my behalf. If she had convinced me to join the strike only after solving our own (family) problems, I would not have been able to fight for the workers. But she encouraged me to take part in the strike and assured me to leave everything else to her. If it was not for my sister, I would have had to prioritize my job security over the cause of the female workers. We women strikers were mostly all single. Our married colleagues could only advise and give support behind the scenes.

All my friends in the union were single. It was the married women, not the married men, who would stop being on the front line. One young and educated girl resigned from her strike leadership position, giving the reason that she was getting married. Those working for the union quit when they got married. We lost a lot of active female leaders that way. If married women take leadership responsibilities, they are met with protests or hindered by their husbands. We had to ask permission from the husbands whenever we wanted to hold discussions with the married women leaders.

**Taking Up a Leadership Role**

We persuaded more men to join us since the number of men was low on our board, which is made up of seven executive members and 45 local representatives. But we also came to question why
leadership positions were so full of men, yet so few men were on the frontline.

It is necessary for workers to self-organize an independent workers union, free from undue influence and with no strings attached. The influence over the union must come from the workers themselves. Workers must give directives to union leaders. So, we democratically elected the leaders who would weigh the demands of workers and execute the decisions that were voted upon. I decided to take a risk and took up a leadership position.

When we held the election for board members, it was not a situation where candidates were encouraged and welcomed by more experienced members who promised to guide and help us. Members could not even propose one another as candidates. Only individuals who dared to self-nominate could be accepted.

A few of us reasoned that while anything could happen—we could be assassinated by hired thugs, lose our jobs and have our families immiserated, or end up in jail—we would stand firm in front of the workers, like a rock. We each nominated ourselves for leadership positions. Standing before the workers, we pledged that we would put their priorities first.

**Those Benefitting From the Workers’ Affairs**

Ever since the birth of the union there have been abuses of power. I call those who abuse their power political opportunists, or opportunists exploiting the workers’ cause. There was a group of people plotting to weaken our Tai Yi shoe factory union and its demands. When they failed to influence us, they conspired to organize a puppet union, even though we were already organizing into a union ourselves. A Member of Parliament (MP) got involved. Together they persuaded a mere hundred or so workers to agree to a wage of 100 Myanmar Kyat per hour with the illusion that their other demands had been met. Two groups of strikers from the same factory drifted apart. For a long time there was no successful mediation effort to unite the two groups, with most people maintaining they wanted a firm split.
After about a year, the two groups realized the rift was weakening them both, and they were able to reunite.

After organizing the union, in line with the hearts of its members and in accordance with its rules, we systematically solved the problems within the factory. The board took leave from their jobs and visited other factories to help resolve their problems. Our union was the very first union under the 2011 Labor Laws so there was no recent model before us to follow. Every union member took it to heart that we had to be the model for future unions. We gave a lot of help to any new emerging unions.

Within our factory, the union and the workers coordinated to receive what was our due. I would like to highlight two examples. Our drinking water came from the tap at the corner of the factory which we sifted with a sieve and carried in a pot. Sometimes we just fastened cloth to the mouth of the tap so that it served as a sieve. During a conversation with workers on break, we union leaders discussed this drinking water. Gradually, more people joined the talk. We just moderated so that everyone could have their say without the need to contend for attention.

“Does anyone know that the water we drink is also used to bathe the dogs and wash cars? I can’t take it anymore. What will the union do about it?”, said one female worker. “As a fellow worker, I mean no ill will to the janitor. But we’re not OK with them filling the drinking water right after cleaning the toilet and picking up the garbage. Please do something about this”, said another.

“We drink water from the bottles but the bottles become dirty after two days. The water is filthy. We want to drink something clean. Please do something”, the voices continued and made manifest what we had to do.

A female worker brought a glass of water from the tap, showed it to the president of the union and asked her to solve the problem. We took the glass to every factory line and showed it to the works, convincing them not to drink the water. The workers went to the top of the factory building and shouted, “Please provide us with (clean) water bottles. We’re thirsty!”.

Those from outside came to our help. Using funds for the union, we ordered a truckload of water and encouraged others to drink
that water instead. And finally, we sent the aforementioned glass of water to the employer. Due to our unplanned movement where we consulted each other spontaneously, the employer issued an announcement that they would install a water purifier. Engineers examined the purifier, its maintenance, and inspected the machine—this was how the factory got its purified drinking water.

The second example is about the cleaning duties, within and without the factory, that befell each worker. Every Saturday, during the break after finishing lunch, we would gather and talk at the top of the building where food was served. We had to come and clean on our days off if the employers were not satisfied with our cleaning work. Those who were late for work were made to remove weeds or wipe windows as punishment. Some workers came to the union and asked if it was okay if they refused the extra duties. We said sure. They could leave it to us and the employer would come and talk to the union. In fact, the union president declared that workers who refused to perform those tasks would be doing a service for the union.

When the factory became filthy, workers called the foreign supervisors and asked them to do something about it, as they could not work under such conditions. When the problem reached the administration, worker representatives from each department and we union leaders discussed the problem with the employer’s team. We said we had helped the employer with cleaning for many years and we could no longer do so. Even though workers were being pressured to clean by their supervisors, they courageously defied them, and the cleaning then became the supervisors’ responsibilities. This outraged the supervisors, who then also joined the union. In the end, only the foreign supervisors, their translators and the most senior supervisors did not take the workers’ side. The employer then recruited more cleaners and workers could go home early without having to dirty themselves on early off-days like Saturdays.

From the beginning, the government allowed labor unions to form purely to act as a showcase for foreign investors. Neither employers nor the government wanted to see unions emerge as
powerful institutions. The government enacted the law but there were no technical parts explaining the procedures to form a union. And just when workers were striving to organize unions and negotiating with employers to solve one problem after another, the government drafted technical outlines in haste. Even though our union was formed, for workers like us, many difficult tasks lay ahead. Some of them included limiting union funds and reporting financial accounts to the government every single month. With these challenges, we could not make much progress with the union, but we had to find a way through. Through democratic decision-making we decided not to fulfill all the government requirements and instead marched on. That way, not only the executives but also the workers would be active in the union. Not out of fear of government scrutiny, but to be transparent to the workers, we decided to settle accounts in a way intelligible to every worker in monthly meetings.

The government jailed the president of a labor union in Mandalay Region for two weeks under the allegation of financial misconduct. They checked the balance sheets after jailing him and found that there was no misconduct. The president had to stay in prison for two weeks for doing nothing wrong. This is a tactic to weaken a labor union. We must regard finances as the union’s lifeblood. Not that it can necessarily breathe life into a union, but that it can bring destruction to solidarity. So we shared this lesson with new unions and told them to be very cautious and spend money only with the mandate of the union.

Anti-Union Laws, Governments, and Institutions of Myanmar

There are many laws that make it difficult to form a labor union in Myanmar. Laws state that a labor union can only be formed by workers from the same factory. Workers from different workplaces are not allowed to organize under a single union. Over thirty workers in one factory or at least ten percent of all workers have to organize a petition. They must gather signatures and organize outside of working hours with many challenges. I
thought it was impossible to organize a union beyond the factory level, say for township, region, or federal levels. But strangely enough, a federation of labor unions came to Myanmar without any members, local bases, or factories. Then they invited our Tai Yi shoe factory union to join their federation. At that time, the number of labor unions in Myanmar could be counted on a single hand.

We knew (from books) that if we could build solidarity with international trade unions and work hard step by step for years, we would be able to organize a federation of trade unions from the bottom up. However, this supposed federation of unions came about without grassroots organizing. Because of their invitations, we investigated them, and their objectives and plans for labor issues did not align with our strategy for workers’ rights. They made their plans without even talking to their workers about their intentions. We decided that we would not be able to cooperate with them.

One way that unions are crushed is through third-party organizations. We could not just let ourselves be trapped in our own problems at the factory. So we decided to encourage and advise workers from other factories and took turns to support their strikes. Our Tai Yi union became an enemy for bosses in general and third-party organizations.

I thought we had no problem with other labor unions, but we faced some situations where the workers would throw stones at us. Politicians feared that they would not be able to approach the workers and started inciting enmity between us and workers. It is easy to say sugar-coated words just to gain applause from workers. However, when we tried to stop some workers from making mistakes, our words were considered bitter. We, female workers are in the same situation. On their side, there were foreign educated scholars, lawyers, MPs and ex-prisoners, and with their different powers, they can evoke the passion of workers. There are also so-called previously imprisoned student leaders who tremble with rage when they are questioned about what their purpose is.
Although there are workers who admire the capacity and performance of the workers from Tai Yi factory, as the saying goes, “Cattle don’t eat the grass near their village”. Workers are only impressed by those who introduce themselves with big titles (for example: “I’m a Hluttaw candidate”, “I won the election in such and such year, went to prison because of the military coup, and was released yesterday”, “I am a student leader”) and by those who have more power than their fellow workers. If those people are really dedicated to work for labor issues, there is absolutely no reason why we cannot accept them. But the people who came to support the workers on strike in front of the factory took the workers out from the strike and asked them to hold jasmine flowers at the airport to welcome their leader who returned from abroad. We could only stand and watch as they took advantage of the workers. The fact that the workers were not on strike and were at the airport became an excuse for the employer to dismiss the workers. Workers lost their jobs and nobody took responsibility for it. We said this was wrong and that they incited enmity between workers and our union. Our plans were delayed.

Feminist Consciousness Through the Workplace

When I first learned about patriarchy, I could immediately see connections between oppressive rules at multiple levels in the workplace and people in power misusing their authority against victims of oppression and exploitation. In my family and my surroundings I also clearly saw the expectations of what someone gendered as male can do and what those gendered non-male can do. In my opinion, exploiting workers for one’s own power is part of patriarchy. People who help and honor those in power by means of prizes, in the name of an organization, are also part of the patriarchy. Those in power, as well, cannot be free from the shadow of patriarchy. I just reflected and came to understand that those in power, kowtowed and honored, are being used and they therefore could not escape from patriarchy. The main thing is that the authorities, people in power, and those in
leadership positions in the workplace are mostly men, so I could easily see the relation between power and patriarchy that contributes to the oppression of the working class.

**Judicial Experience**

In 2015 Myanmar workers were clearly shown that the judicial system was a joke. That year was an unsuccessful year for our union. It is imperative that we show others where we failed so that they can learn from it. The employer of the Tai Yi factory fired my friend (the union president) and I (union treasurer). Seeing this action as an attempt to drive a wedge between the union members, seventy percent of the union members decided to go on strike. The remaining thirty percent suggested seeking arbitration under the 2012 Dispute Resolution Law. I was delighted to learn that 70 per cent did not believe in the law. Although 30 per cent of the workers disagreed with the strike, we had to implement the collective decision by the majority in a democratic way.

Differences of opinion occurred in the union, and conflicts arose between the strikers and those who kept working, and as a consequence the union was weakened. The lesson learned from this incident is that if the workers are prevented from going on strike against their wish, it can be a threat to solidarity. We learned that we must respect the wishes of the workers. We can neither agitate nor control a strike. When solidarity among workers broke down, the employer seized the opportunity to come up with another idea to destroy the union. Based on the advice of their lawyer, the employer appointed a factory supervisor as an assistant manager and made them sue the workers as a plaintiff. That is an act of using one worker to fight other workers.

They selected ten workers from the union and sued them, alleging the workers sat down in front of the factory, holding hands and blocking the entrance. Some of the workers they chose to sue were executive members of the union, including myself, while others had not even been on strike at the factory
that day. They asked for bonds of 1,000,000 Myanmar Kyat each if there was no guarantor at the court, but we attended the district court and argued that our priceless dignity was our bond. They fabricated a case with incorrect photos of people holding umbrellas in the rain, even though it was not raining on the day of the strike. But the judge ruled we were guilty anyway!

We hired a lawyer, but the judge issued a warning to lawyers that they must not talk about labor issues. Otherwise, the lawyers might have their licenses revoked. Therefore, we withdrew the power of attorney from our lawyer and defended the case ourselves. As workers, we did not care about the court procedures. We just defied the court saying if they were not satisfied, they could arrest us. On the 15 September 2018, the judge sentenced us with a fine of 500 Myanmar Kyat. My friend and I refused to follow the unjust decision and consequently we were imprisoned in a female ward inside Insein Prison, for exactly one week. The other eight also knew it was unfair, but because some of them were going to take exams, and some of them defended the case without the knowledge of their parents, they just paid the fine. One of the reasons they paid the fine is because of their familial responsibilities and gendered customs. If a girl goes to jail, she brings shame to herself and her family, and if there is a public servant among her siblings, they would not be promoted, etc.

All the union members showed their solidarity at the trial, and every day before we attended, we assembled on the street in front of the factory to talk about the misuse of power and the unjust judicial system. The workers participated more actively than before as they were worried that the union could be weakened by the dismissal of its leaders. The lesson that we tried to teach the bosses was that “the more oppression there is, the greater the resistance”.

The Tai Yi workers hated two woman managers in particular. However, we could see how they were only acting on behalf of their employers, implementing their orders. The bosses were the ones responsible for our imprisonment yet the plaintiffs who sued we workers were women. It was action under
patriarchy because they sued only at the request of their male capitalist masters. The ordinary female supervisor in whose name the lawsuit was brought accepted a management position. But if we look at it, we can see how the boss male capitalists manipulated her to oppress workers. This is patriarchy. The supervisor who brought the suit oppressed workers to sustain her own power and promote her interests within the patriarchal system.

**Network of Unions**

If workers could organize their forces well, not only would they be able to help others effectively, but workers would join the unions with trust and respect. Whenever I met with labor union leaders from different places up and down the country, I invited them in solidarity to our office to discuss labor issues. At first, our goal was to organize labor unions and discuss what needs to be done, as well as compare different opinions. Accordingly, the trade union network was formed on 13 May 2013, and we held meetings and discussions in the office we rented, resolving many labor disputes.

At one meeting, a labor activist said that the network allows unions to abstain from cooperating with the network if they do not agree with a certain decision, but the other unions will still go ahead with the decision (as opposed to a consensus model). The abstaining union can then participate again and work with the network at the next meeting.

However, the network was not very straightforward, as it included not only labor unions, but also third party organizations who helped the workers. They said they wanted to hold ceremonies and take responsibility for expenses. There were also dissensions among workers because of the different leaders they worshipped. Consequently, we were the first union to leave the network despite the fact that we actively participated in forming it. The remaining labor activists and unions continued operating the network.
As unions were looking for a new force, we decided to form the Myanmar Trade Union Federation, founding it on 15 December 2013 with a conference. The person proposed by union leaders to be the chairman of the federation was unfamiliar to the workers, but I supported him. I took an executive role, but was not able to do much about the federation’s finances. I could not master the subject even as the next conference approached.

If you step forward for the workers, the main thing to do is to act in the interest of the workers. If you are in charge of an organization, you need to be accountable and you should not forget about the workers that you represent. This is something that labor activists must keep in mind. There are no privileges in labor issues, only responsibilities. If you think of it as a kind of power or authority, that poisonous thought must be removed. If you cannot take responsibility, do not involve in leadership.

Speaking of this, I want to question the despotic labor leaders who think that they are sacrificing for the workers. Is the workers’ interest also not your interest? This savior mentality is such a pity. These ‘sacrificing’ leaders also enjoy any results achieved, since they are in all the workers’ interest.

In 2015, the federation conducted another conference and held a democratic election. The federation’s intention was to elect real workers. My close partners and I decided not to run in the election but to work closely with the elected executive team. We chose to vote for new candidates over former executives who wanted to build power and those with political party experience. Because of this, the leader of the stevedores union was elected as the chairman of the federation, and the Myanmar Industry Craft Service—Trade Unions Federation was formed. No matter how the federations were formed, our Tai Yi union was praised for its discipline, but the executives did not like us because of our intense argumentativeness in discussions, but without taking certain sides. We strongly opposed the personal branding over labor issues and the lack of financial transparency. We

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2 For more about the federation, see International Labor Organization, 2019.
wanted the federation, which the genuine trade unions worked hard to build, to be transparent and dignified.

Here I want to bring in the patriarchy again. Although male leaders in the workers movement themselves are oppressed, they hold power as honorable gentlemen and as union and/or federation leaders, so they want respect. Workers had to show deference to them, preparing seats for the chairman of the union when he arrived, and paying respect to him. We need to root out such practices. We all fought against dictatorship and we formed the union to resist oppression by employers. Some labor leaders’ abuses of power was just like the country’s military leaders. They shouted at the workers for not having chairs and water bottles ready when they entered a room. This was completely out of line. One should remain aware of how one became a leader. If one no longer has faith in the union and forgets why one wants to lead, it is better to resign. We emphasized that workers had the right to ask for their resignation and prepared as such. Because of this, our union became an enemy to others. We consider ourselves to be responsible only when we are being decisive and transparent like that.

Becoming Project Hunters

The fact that labor federations are isolated from what is going on at the ground level is frustrating. Although they were organized with many union members, they do not listen to the voices of all, and only serve the needs of foreign groups in the name of ‘projects’. For labor activists like us the essence of the union started to disappear because of external project money. Sometimes, ironically enough, we have to go to the embassies and attend meetings, feeling out of place. When foreign investments entered the country, the ambassadors of the investor countries called on workers and employers to listen to lectures on harmonious industrial relations.

The unions are not obliged to work within the framework imposed by the government. We are a group of workers organizing together for collective bargaining. But these good
objectives disappeared when we fought for salaries, financial support, and trying to meet demands such as providing information for donors. We became project hunting capitalist labor unions.

After some time, the federation attempted to exclude the Tai Yi union for trying to question them about some projects. The federation (I am ashamed to say that it was once ‘our’ federation) secretly formed an audit team to check financial reports. The Tai Yi union and I were not happy and launched our own surprise audit. The federation then expelled the Tai Yi union leaders involved in the audit team from the federation. The audit team was merely checking the sum total of the financial reports and it came as a total surprise to the Tai Yi union, which had been issuing monthly reports to the workers. Like what happened with the then-government, when we were campaigning for these workers’ to be elected to leadership positions the federation, they happily ran with our support, but then when those same workers successfully gained power and we pointed out their mistakes, they oppressed us with despotism. After we sent a letter saying it was unacceptable to illegally expel a union member from the federation, the federation refused to accept any discussion, so the whole Tai Yi union resigned as a member of the federation on 19 June 2019, according to a decision of the plenary meeting. The federation’s dedication to helping workers was weak and they merely wallowed in their positions of power. Accepting educational projects from various international organizations is useless if you do not work with your heart.

The leaders accepted the terms “Gender”, “Human Rights”, “Feminism”, “Youth Affairs”, but never tried to understand or apply them. They attended every event dressed in fancy jackets; but no one asked if they actually listened to the voices of union members. Everything we tried to do since 2012 helped these people win power, but they did not help the workers. Now, the federation, which we formed and then resigned from, is working with the military junta to carry out ‘labor projects’—they have not been declared an illegal association like other unions.
In order to achieve liberation, we must first revolutionize the labor unions.

**Will We Allow Our Union to Become Capitalist?**

If unions have to run on capitalist models, then it is better to have no unions at all. Everything we build within frameworks created by capitalists and delivered by dictators will at some point turn into dictatorship itself, so the workers need to revolutionize themselves before that can happen. If patriarchy dominates, we cannot reach the destination we all long for. I would prefer to abolish the system rather than protesting in a union built and led by dictators. The Tai Yi shoe factory was closed down on 5 March 2021 after the coup d'état, and its eponymous union was dissolved. A labor activist stood up and shouted that even if the union collapses, our union spirit would remain alive.

With the limitations imposed by the capitalist system, we ended up feeling sorry for the lost solidarity of workers and wondered if the defunct Tai Yi union had left many scars. I am continuing my own journey thinking how to overthrow the dictatorship, fight against the capitalist unions and capitalists themselves, and achieve a situation where there is no alienation between the employer and employee classes. The lives of working women like me, who has devoted about 25 years of labor without any rights or guarantees, is that when they are no longer needed by employers, they have to pack their bags and return home. Employers no longer want to hire them because of their age. They migrated to the cities with various ambitions, worked very hard for their survival, but in the end, far from fulfilling their dreams, they lost their opportunity for education, passion and youth instead. Some were even imprisoned.

**Conclusion: The Future of Myanmar Labor Issues**

Many working on labor issues in Myanmar follow the path paved by foreign organizations. Consequently, they do not aim to represent the voice of the workers, but only want to achieve good
Just as bus ticket agents crowd in front of bus terminals to make a percentage on the tickets they resell, labor organizations gather at workers’ strikes and compete to represent them. It was heartbreaking to see labor organizations lose dignity.

Nobody cares about the issues of those who are not allowed to form a union as per the government’s policies. These people include construction workers, sex workers and daily laborers such as seasonal workers on bean and pulse plantations and chili farms. All the labor laws issued by the government are merely to protect the interests of employers. So long as one follows these laws, genuine liberation cannot be achieved. In the end, the so-called union that we built with our own hands, under the civilian government, has become disadvantageous to workers. I learned only one good lesson from everything that I experienced: we are far from liberating workers in Myanmar.

If a worker lost their job or had their pay cut, our union helped. But we were just scratching itches here and there. We could not get past these small things to do bigger things.

A friend once said that employers broke one law after another in the workplace just to keep us busy. The Tai Yi union was always occupied resolving labor issues on the factory floor. Since workers had to spend most of their time in the factory, non-worker activists took control of the trade union federation. When those leaders worked closely with the government, they became separated from the situation on the ground and the voices of workers were excluded. The government intentionally drafted the labor laws in this way (to divide workers from their representatives). Even now, during the prevailing political situation after the coup, labor groups are still trying to form unions.

In the end, leaders who were dismissed from their jobs because of their labor activism ended up becoming salaried organizers of labor organizations to mobilize workers. After abolishing the class divide between employers and workers, labor unions can be abolished. From the standpoint of feminism, we must fight against the labor organizations that work on labor issues in a patriarchal way, just as we fight against capitalist labor unions, especially those who forget about the liberation of the
workers. Those in the labor movement must strive to meet the basic objectives of forming unions. They must solve workers’ issues in the same diligent way that workers meet the daily quotas that their employers impose, down on the factory floor.

References

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အကြောင်းချင်သူ

ယခုက နေ့စဉ် ပြုလုပ်သူများ၏ စိုးရိုက်ချထားသော အခြေခံအရာများကို မှန်ကန်သော အခြေခံဟောင်းများဖြင့် သေချာစေချိန်တွင် အရာရှိုနေသည်။ ပြုလုပ်သူများရဲ့ အရာရှို့အစိတ်အပိုင်းကို အနည်းဆုံး အနေဖြင့် သေချာစေချိန်တွင် အရာရှိုနေသည်။ ယုံကြည်ရောက်သော အခြေခံအရာများတစ်ခုဖြစ်သည် သေချာစေချိန်တွင် အရာရှိုနေသည်။

ယခုက အခြေခံချင်သူများ၏ အခြေခံဟောင်းများတွင် အရာရှိုနေသည်။ ပြုလုပ်သူများရဲ့ အရာရှို့အစိတ်အပိုင်းကို အနည်းဆုံး အနေဖြင့် သေချာစေချိန်တွင် အရာရှိုနေသည်။ ယုံကြည်ရောက်သော အခြေခံအရာများတစ်ခုဖြစ်သည် သေချာစေချိန်တွင် အရာရှိုနေသည်။

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ადგილი 181

აქვე ადგილი 181-ის ტექსტი

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မြန်မာစာအမှတ် 182 | အခြေချိ

ဗုဒ္ဓောရချက်များ အုပ်ယူသောစာအုပ်များ ကျင်းပသည်။ စာအုပ်သားများသည် အထူး စိတ်ကူးကျင်းပခြင်းဖြင့် ထောက်ပြိုင်ရောက်သည်။ အထောက်အပံ့မှုသည် အခြေချိန်ကို ယူဆရောက်တာသောအခါ စာအုပ်တို့ကို ဖန်တီးနိုင်သည်။

မြန်မာစာအမှတ် 182 | အခြေချိ

စိတ်ကူးကျင်းပသည် အုပ်ယူသောစာအုပ်များ ကျင်းပသည်။ စာအုပ်သားများသည် အထူး စိတ်ကူးကျင်းပခြင်းဖြင့် ထောက်ပြိုင်ရောက်သည်။ အထောက်အပံ့မှုသည် အခြေချိန်ကို ယူဆရောက်တာသောအခါ စာအုပ်တို့ကို ဖန်တီးနိုင်သည်။
အများအားဖြင့် ဆွဲဆောင်ရွက်ရန် အခြေခံထားသည်။ အမှန်နှင့် အပြင်မ်ားကို စီမံခန့်ခွဲရာတွင် အခြေခံအရာများကို ထောက်ခံခြင်း ဖြစ်သည်။ မြန်မာလိုက်ထိုးသော အခြေခံအရာအား အထိမ်းအမှတ်တမ်းရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ ကိုယ်စားလှယ်တို့ကို ဖြစ်စောင်းပေးခြင်း ဖြစ်သည်။

“ဆွဲဆောင်ရွက်နေပါသလို ဆွဲဆောင်ရွက်မှု အရာများ” ဟူ သို့မဟုတ် ဆွဲဆောင်ရွက်ရာ များကို မည်သူကို အထိမ်းအမှတ်တမ်းများမှ ဖြစ်သည်။ ဆွဲဆောင်ရွက်ရာ များကို ဖြစ်စောင်းပေးခြင်း ဖြစ်သည်။ အခြေခံအရာအား ဖြစ်စောင်းပေးခြင်း ဖြစ်သည်။

"စွမ်းရည်များ" ဟူသော အခြေခံအရာများ မည်သူများ ဖြစ်စောင်းပေးခြင်း ဖြစ်သည်။ ဆွဲဆောင်ရွက်ရာ များကို ဖြစ်စောင်းပေးခြင်း ဖြစ်သည်။

"လေးချင်းစွမ်းရည်များ" ဟူသော အခြေခံအရာများ မည်သူများ ဖြစ်စောင်းပေးခြင်း ဖြစ်သည်။ ဆွဲဆောင်ရွက်ရာ များကို ဖြစ်စောင်းပေးခြင်း ဖြစ်သည်။

"သောက်ရောက်များ" ဟူသော အခြေခံအရာများ မည်သူများ ဖြစ်စောင်းပေးခြင်း ဖြစ်သည်။ ဆွဲဆောင်ရွက်ရာ များကို ဖြစ်စောင်းပေးခြင်း ဖြစ်သည်။
ရုပ်ရှင်ကြည့်ရှုပ်ထားသည်မှာ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတွင် ကျင်းပသော ဆောင်ပြောဆိုချက်များကို လုပ်ဆောင်လျက် ရှိသည်။

မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတွင် ကျင်းပသော ဆောင်ပြောဆိုချက်များကို လုပ်ဆောင်လျက် ရှိသည်။

မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတွင် ကျင်းပသော ဆောင်ပြောဆိုချက်များကို လုပ်ဆောင်လျက် ရှိသည်။

မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတွင် ကျင်းပသော ဆောင်ပြောဆိုချက်များကို လုပ်ဆောင်လျက် ရှိသည်။
အသုံးပြုနေသောကျမ်းစာမျက်နှာ သတ်မှတ်ရေး အထောက်အကူအချိန် တွစ်ကြားစွာ အလှူအလုပ်စွာဆိုရာ ပထမဦးဆုံး တွေ့ရှိရာ အားလုံး (၁၀၀) တန် သတ်မှတ်ရေးဖော်ပြထား (၁၀၀) ပထမဦးဆုံး လူကြီး အထောက်အကူအချိန် အားလုံးကို လာရောက်ရောက်လာချင် (၁၀၀) ရုံးစိုက်ကြည့်ရှုထား (၁၀၀) အကြောင်း သတ်မှတ်ရေးဖော်ပြထား ပြည်သူများ အထောက်အကူအချိန် (၁၀၀) သဘာဝ အထောက်အကူအချိန်များ ပြည်သူများ အထောက်အကူအချိန် (၁၀၀) သဘာဝ အထောက်အကူအချိန်များ ပြည်သူများ အထောက်အကူအချိန် (၁၀၀)
აღსაკვეთილმა გამოქვაბულ ადგილობრივ (ტოგო) შემაგებით მონაწილეობაში ასადიდან აღსარკვევ ადგილობრივი დამთავრების მიხედვით: აღსაქმის დახმარებით პროგრამა აღმოჩენილ იქნა ბოლო წლის, რომლის გადაწყვეტამდე შორის აღმატებათა თავისებურობით დამთავრების პროგრამული სტრუქტურები გამოყენებულ იყო. აღსაქმის დახმარებით პროგრამა დამთავრების პროგრამული სტრუქტურები გამოყენებულ იყო. აღმატებათ გამოყენებულ იყო. აღსაქმის დახმარებით ერთ-ერთი ადგილობრივ აღმოჩენა თავისებურობით დამთავრების პროგრამა გამოყენებულ იყო.

ბოლო წლის გადაწყვეტამდე შორის აღმატებათ თავისებურობით დამთავრების პროგრამა გამოყენებულ იყო. აღმატებათ გამოყენებულ იყო. აღსაქმის დახმარებით ერთ-ერთი ადგილობრივ აღმოჩენა თავისებურობით დამთავრების პროგრამა გამოყენებულ იყო.
អាចអាហារ អាចបានបង្កើត ប្រការដូចជា ខាងក្រោមក្នុងក្រោយក្នុងរឿង (.)
អាយុអាហារក្នុងរឿង និងដោយសូម ការជួយលុំក្នុង។
ារពីអារម្មណ៍ អន្តរជាតិអនុញ្ញាតឹមអនុញ្ញាតឹម ឬឯកជន ឬអនុញ្ញាតឹម
ရေးသားခြင်းမှုအားလုံးများ ဆိုရာတွင်း အရေးကြီးသော အတုံးအားလုံးကို အသိအမှတ်ပြုခွင့်ဦးစွာ ရရှိနိုင်ခြင်းမှာ အခြားများ စည်ကားပေးနိုင်ပါသည်။ ရေးသားခြင်းမှုအားလုံးကို အသိအမှတ်ပြုခွင့်ဦးစွာ ရရှိနိုင်ခြင်းမှာ အခြားများ စည်ကားပေးနိုင်ပါသည်။

အချိန်ကို မှန်ကန်သော အရေးကြီးရှိသည်။ ရေးသားခြင်းမှုအားလုံးကို အသိအမှတ်ပြုခွင့်ဦးစွာ ရရှိနိုင်ခြင်းမှာ အခြားများ စည်ကားပေးနိုင်ပါသည်။ ရေးသားခြင်းမှုအားလုံးကို အသိအမှတ်ပြုခွင့်ဦးစွာ ရရှိနိုင်ခြင်းမှာ အခြားများ စည်ကားပေးနိုင်ပါသည်။

နောက်ဆုံးအရေးကြီးမှု၏ ဆောင်ရွက်ချက်တစ်ခုအတွက် ရေးသားခြင်းမှုအားလုံးကို အသိအမှတ်ပြုခွင့်ဦးစွာ ရရှိနိုင်ခြင်းမှာ အခြားများ စည်ကားပေးနိုင်ပါသည်။ ရေးသားခြင်းမှုအားလုံးကို အသိအမှတ်ပြုခွင့်ဦးစွာ ရရှိနိုင်ခြင်းမှာ အခြားများ စည်ကားပေးနိုင်ပါသည်။
(3) အမျိုးမျိုးရိုးအားဖြင့် ကျန်ရှိသည် အခြေခံအချက်၌ ကျော်ကြားသော အချိန်သို့ စီရင်ခိုင်းခြင်းကို သိကြရမည်ဟု ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အစိတ်အပိုင်းအတွက် စီစဉ်ပြုထားသော အချိန်ကို အကူအညီရေးသိမ်းမှုအဖြစ် သတိပေးရမည်ဖြစ်သည်။

အမျိုးမျိုးရိုးအားဖြင့် အခြေခံအချက်၌ ကျော်ကြားသော အချိန်ကို အကူအညီရေးသိမ်းမှုအဖြစ် သတိပေးရေးသိမ်းမှုစွမ်းရင်းများကို အကောင်းဆုံးဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အချိန်ကို အကူအညီရေးသိမ်းမှုအဖြစ် သတိပေးရေးသိမ်းမှုစွမ်းရင်းများကို အကောင်းဆုံးဖော်ပြထားသည်။

အမျိုးမျိုးရိုးအားဖြင့် အခြေခံအချက်၌ ကျော်ကြားသော အချိန်ကို အကူအညီရေးသိမ်းမှုအဖြစ် သတိပေးရေးသိမ်းမှုစွမ်းရင်းများကို အကောင်းဆုံးဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အချိန်ကို အကူအညီရေးသိမ်းမှုအဖြစ် သတိပေးရေးသိမ်းမှုစွမ်းရင်းများကို အကောင်းဆုံးဖော်ပြထားသည်။

အခြေခံအချက်၌ ကျော်ကြားသော အချိန်ကို အကူအညီရေးသိမ်းမှုအဖြစ် သတိပေးရေးသိမ်းမှုစွမ်းရင်းများကို အကောင်းဆုံးဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အချိန်ကို အကူအညီရေးသိမ်းမှုအဖြစ် သတိပေးရေးသိမ်းမှုစွမ်းရင်းများကို အကောင်းဆုံးဖော်ပြထားသည်။


debate on changes in health policy.
အခြေခံအများသောကြားမှု့အခြေအနေများ

...
"စိတ် ကြီး လိပ်စာ ကျင်းပ၍ ရှေးစဉ်ကြား အလွန် အိုလ်သော နေ့စဉ် ကျင်းပမှု များ။ အစိမ်းအရှည် မူမျှ အခြေခံချက်များ ရှိသော အကြောင်းကို လျော့ခေါ် လုပ်ဆောင်ပါ။

...

မြင်ကြည်သော စိတ်ကြီး ရန်ကုန်မှ သို့မဟုတ် သည်အောင် အိုပိုင်အားဖြင့် သိရှိလိုသော ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ အခြေခံချက်များကို ရေးသိချင်သည်။
 menggunakan aplikasi yang tidak dapat dibaca.
აგრეთვე ორიგინალური ადგილობრივი ახასიათებელი ადგილობრივი დაფიქსირება გვარი და პროცესში (აღება აღნიშნული პოსტის ჩატარება) ადგილობრივი ადგილობრივი გამოუყოფა აღებით შეეძლო აღებით აგრეთვე აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით. აღბრუნებით აღმოჩენის აღებით აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოჩენის აღმოჩენის მიზნად ქუთის ახასიათებით იხილეთ აღმოchteник
အောက်ပါအတွက် အနေအထားရှိသည်။ အရေးယူနေပါသည်။

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ရှောင်အားဖော်ပြခြင်း

ရှောင်မှုနေရာများကို ဖော်ပြခြင်း အသုံးပြု၍ အားလုံးတစ်ဝေါများစွာ ကြားမှု အနေဖြင့်ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း

စိတ်ကူးပြန်မှုအရေး

စိတ်ကူးပြန်မှုအရေးများကို ဖော်ပြခြင်း အနေဖြင့်ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း အားလုံးတစ်ဝေါများစွာ ကြားမှု အနေဖြင့်ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း
ယောက်မှာ အသုံးအနှစ် အိမ်ဖုန်း အချက်အလက်များကို စိတ်ကူးခြင်းကို (အချက်အလက်များ) သို့ တင်ပို့စေသော အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ သို့ပြောစီရင်စွာ အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များ သို့မဟုတ် အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ (၇၀) ကြောင့် အတိုကောက် အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ (၇၀) ကြောင့် အတိုကောက် အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ သို့ပြောစီရင်စွာ အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ (၇၀) ကြောင့် အတိုကောက် အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ သို့ပြောစီရင်စွာ အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ (၇၀) ကြောင့် အတိုကောက် အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ သို့ပြောစီရင်စွာ အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ (၇၀) ကြောင့် အတိုကောက် အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ သို့ပြောစီရင်စွာ အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ (၇၀) ကြောင့် အတိုကောက် အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ (၇၀) ကြောင့် အတိုကောက် အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ (၇၀) ကြောင့် အတိုကောက် အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ (၇၀) ကြောင့် အတိုကောက် အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ (၇၀) ကြောင့် အတိုကောက် အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ (၇၀) ကြောင့် အတိုကောက် အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။ (၇၀) ကြောင့် အတိုကောက် အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များ သိမ်းပေးသည်။
ဆိုးပစ်မှုတွင် အခြေခံပြခြင်းများကို သက်ရှိစေရန် အခြေခံချက်များ ဖန်တီးသောနေရာများသို့မဟုတ် အခြေခံချက်များ၏ အစိုးရသဘော စီမံခန့်ခွဲခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။

အခြေခံပြခြင်းများကို ဖော်ပြရန်အတွက် အခြေခံချက်များကို ဖန်တီးသောနေရာများသို့မဟုတ် အခြေခံချက်များ၏ အစိုးရသဘော စီမံခန့်ခွဲခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။

အလုပ်ရေးသားပြခြင်း
မြန်မာ သားပိုလ်မှာ အမေရိကန်သားပိုလ်မှာ အမေရိကန်အတွက် တည်ထောင်ခဲ့သည်။

အမေရိကန်မှ အမေရိကန်အတွက် တိုက်ခိုက်ရေးလုပ်ငန်းနှင့် တည်ထောင်သော သားပိုလ်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အမေရိကန်အတွက်မှာ တည်ထောင်သော သားပိုလ်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အမေရိကန်မှ အမေရိကန်အတွက် တိုက်ခိုက်ရေးလုပ်ငန်းနှင့် တည်ထောင်သော သားပိုလ်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

ဗိုလ်ချုပ်စိုက်စစ်မီးရှိသော အမေရိကန်အတွက်အစိုးရရေးလုပ်ငန်းများ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အမေရိကန်မှ အမေရိကန်အတွက် တိုက်ခိုက်ရေးလုပ်ငန်းနှင့် တည်ထောင်သော သားပိုလ်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

မြန်မာ သားပိုလ်မှာ အမေရိကန်အတွက် တိုက်ခိုက်ရေးလုပ်ငန်းများ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အမေရိကန်မှ အမေရိကန်အတွက် တိုက်ခိုက်ရေးလုပ်ငန်းနှင့် တည်ထောင်သော သားပိုလ်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အမေရိကန်မှ အမေရိကန်အတွက် တိုက်ခိုက်ရေးလုပ်ငန်းနှင့် တည်ထောင်သော သားပိုလ်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

Myanmar Trade Union Federation—MTUF (Myanmar Trade Union Federation—MTUF) သည် ပြည်တွင်း ကျန်ရှိအဖွဲ့အစည်းများ ဖျင်သွင်းထားသည်။ အမေရိကန်မှ အမေရိကန်အတွက် တိုက်ခိုက်ရေးလုပ်ငန်းနှင့် တည်ထောင်သော သားပိုလ်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အမေရိကန်မှ အမေရိကန်အတွက် တိုက်ခိုက်ရေးလုပ်ငန်းနှင့် တည်ထောင်သော သားပိုလ်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

အမေရိကန်မှ အမေရိကန်အတွက် တိုက်ခိုက်ရေးလုပ်ငန်းများ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အမေရိကန်မှ အမေရိကန်အတွက် တိုက်ခိုက်ရေးလုပ်ငန်းနှင့် တည်ထောင်သော သားပိုလ်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။
မြန်မာနိုင်ငံကာလစစ်ဆေးရေးအဖွဲ့မှာ အိုချင်းကျစ်သောအချက်ချက်များကို မြောက်သာကျင်းပြန်စိတ်ကျောင်းလေးများ စိတ်ကျောင်းလေးများကို ဖြေဆိုသော အချက်ချက်များကို အောက်ပါအတွက် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံကာလစစ်ဆေးရေးအဖွဲ့မှ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

ဤအဖွဲ့ကို မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ ပေါင်းစည်းနိုင်ရာ ဝန်ရေးတွေ့ရှိသော သမိုင်းဝင်မှ ယူသာလိုက်သော အချက်ချက်များကို ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

မြန်မာနိုင်ငံကာလစစ်ဆေးရေးအဖွဲ့မှာ စိတ်ကျောင်းလေးများကို ပေါင်းစည်းထားသော မြန်မာနိုင်ငံစစ်ဆေးရေးအဖွဲ့မှ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

(Myanmar Industry Craft Service—Trade Unions Federation) မှ ဖွေဆိုခြင်းတွေ အချိန်များ ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်ရာ အချက်ချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။
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ဗုဒ္ဓဟူး အကြံပေးချက်ဖော်ပြချက် သူများ ကျွန်တော်တို့အနေဖြင့် အဓိက ပြည်သူများ ဖော်ပြချက်များကို ပြသရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အောက်ဖော်ပြပါသော ပြည်သူများ ဖော်ပြချက်ပြုပြင်ထားသော အချက်အလက်များကို ဖော်ပြသည်။ အဓိက ပြည်သူများ ဖော်ပြချက်များကို သူများ ဖော်ပြသည်။

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ဗားကော်းတပ် အခြွင်းဆောင်သော သောက်ဝန်းထဲ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏ အာမိုးတပ်၏
အရောက်မှာ အသေးစိုးပြောဆိုချက်များစွာ သတိပေးချက်နှင့်အတူ ပါဝင်သည့် အခြေအနောက်တွင် အသေးစိုးများစွာ ရှိသည်။

ဗျူဟာ ပေးထားသော အချက်အလက်များ ပြသောအခါ အဆင့်များ စိတ်ချုပ်ပြီး စပ်ပေးချက်များကို ဖော်ပြထားသောစာကြောင်းသို့မဟုတ် ခြင်းချက်များကို ရှာရွေးချယ်ရန် အခြေအနောက်တွင် အသေးစိုးချက်များကို ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

အခြေအနောက်တွင် အသေးစိုးများကို ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

ရှိသည်။
ယောက်တိုးသည် မိုးမိုနိုင်သည့် အခြေခံမှု မီးနီးနောင်တွင် အခြေအနေအခြေနေရာသည် နောင်ဆုံးဖြင့် အခြေခံများကို သိမ်းဆည်းထားသည်။

မိုးနိုင်သည် အခြေခံမှုများကို သိရှိစေလျှင် အက္ခရာများကို မှန်ကန်သော သိန်းချက်များကို ငြိုလိုသည်။

မိုးနိုင်သည် အခြေခံမှုများကို သိရှိစေလျှင် အက္ခရာများကို မှန်ကန်သော သိန်းချက်များကို ငြိုလိုသည်။

မိုးနိုင်သည် အခြေခံမှုများကို သိရှိစေလျှင် အက္ခရာများကို မှန်ကန်သော သိန်းချက်များကို ငြိုလိုသည်။
ქვეყანაში არის ზოგადი ეკონომიკური საერთაშორისო თანამედროვეობის სიდიდე, რომელიც მოქმედებს რაცხუენი საქართველოს ეკონომიკის განვითარებაზე. არა არავინ უნდა ინარჩუნოთ მუდმივი თანამედროვეობის სიდიდეს კი მისი განვითარების სწრაფი გახვივლა. მაგალითად, ხოლო დღემი პოლიტიკის გავლენა არჩევანთა პროცესში და მოქმედებებში შეიძლება გამომდინარე იქნეს აზროვნობით. ამიტომ, საერთაშორისო თანამედროვეობის სიდიდე ისეთი პარამეტრები შეიძლება გამოიყენოთ, როგორც სხვა ეკონომიკური მონაცემები, მაგალითად, უთანხმოების დონე. აქედან მომდინარეობს თანამედროვეობის სიდიდის შეფასება. ის ფართო გადასახვით უნდა იყოს, რათა მონაცემები გათვალისწინებულ იყოს აღნიშნული პარამეტრის მნიშვნელობაში.
At Mya Kwa Nyo in Yangon,
While we were talking over each other,
Food got finished
And the drinks got cold.
Those were the days
When we forgot to savor them.

Now
Those memories have gone
Beyond belief.
Now that
She has been eating
Tubers and bulbs
Day in and day out,
She says she craves for instant noodle
sometimes.
Oh little sis,
My dear little sis,
An ethnic girl
With the same heart
On the same path.

Now
Just to hear her sound...
“Gonna call you when I get to somewhere with mobile connectivity in haste,” she says.¹
I couldn’t ask
How she was doing
Under the rain

¹ The title of this poem is a reference to the line, “The number you have dialled is not in the service area”. After the military started brutally assaulting and killing peaceful protesters, many pro-democracy activists and others fled to remote liberated areas of the country where there is less mobile network coverage.
Amidst the mountains and the forests
Of a different kind from Inya\textsuperscript{2} rain.
Little sister with a poor kidney
With a wound on the leg,
With pain on the back,
Without proper medical care,
Without proper nutrition.

I cannot imagine
How hard she has been toiling.
The moment she says
“I wanna see Mom”
All of a sudden,
I was taken aback.
Just as I was shaking,
Lost for words,
“But it ain’t easy to meet her, big sis.”
What I couldn’t say,
She spoke it herself.

My sister is that kind of a sister.
“Big sis, you mustn’t cry,” she says laughingly.
And the connection dropped.
How I was ashamed
Of the tears which flowed
Of their own accord.

\textsuperscript{2} Inya Lake, the largest lake in Yangon and a popular recreational area, is often the object of great artistic romanticization.
""
နေ့စဉ်ပြီးနောက်ပိုင်းမှ စစ်ဆေးခြင်းအတွက် သူ့ကို အသုံးပြုနိုင်မှုများ ကို သက်သောစာပေအားဖြင့် ပြသမည်။

"သူများက သူ့လိုအပ်သောအရာအပေါ်ဦးစွာ သင်ကြားနိုင်မည်။"

ယခင်က ၎င်းတို့အတွက် အထူးလေးများ မဖော်ပြထားသေးသည်။

အပြင်ဖားများ မျိုးမျိုးကြက်သင်လေ့လာရာ သူများအထောက်အထားအတွင်း ခွဲခြားနိုင်မည်။

သူများကို လူမှုလုပ်ငန်းများ ပြုလုပ်နိုင်မည်။
Those Who Suffer From the Sickness of Society

A Shin & Katniss

Abstract

This article shows how the daily struggles of trans women sex workers in Myanmar are consequences of a sick society. From family members who do not accept their relatives’ gender and sexual identities, to employers who forbid their trans employees fromdisplaying as women in the workplace, to clients and authorities who subject them to violence, including sexual violence, trans women are alienated from many mainstream occupations and relationships. Society does not see them as whole human beings. Through several rare interviews with trans women sex workers, this article provides insight into their struggles, survival tactics, camaraderie, and the dark side of a society that exploits sex workers.

Introduction

What do you picture in your head when you hear the word “human”? Do you picture a man? Or a woman? Few would picture a LGBTQ+ person, particularly one that is transgender. Prejudices and preconceived notions of what makes a human being stop most people from seeing LGBTQ+ people as human. Society categorizes us into different gender types and individuals learn to react to and act according to the gender norms they are socialized into. Society often regards LGBTQ+ people as subhuman and deviant; unable to conform. Among and within this oppressed LGBTQ+ group, different forms of oppression exist. This article focuses on one subgroup of LGBTQ+, trans women sex workers,¹

¹ This article uses the term “trans woman” to refer to people who identify as women, and often act as women, but may not have female sex organs, or may be receiving hormone treatments. The Burmese version of this article also uses a transliteration of the term “trans woman”.

who are oppressed in multiple ways yet are constantly overlooked and neglected by wider society.

Not only are sex workers oppressed and neglected by wider society, but many people are happy to condemn them if they encounter them. People regard them as having bad karma, as taking an easy way out to learn a living, and as parasites that corrupt society. It is fair to say that trans women face more sexism than other LGBTQ+ people on a daily basis, and sex workers even more so. It is imperative that society better understands them, how they suffer from oppression and how they handle these challenges.

This article, based on interviews with five trans women sex workers in Yangon, brings their stories and lives to light and highlights a sickness in Myanmar society: we condemn and oppress these people, yet are also happy to exploit them and their labor. The article is led by research participants, who speak for themselves, in extended quotations from the interviews.

Oppression of Trans Women’s Sexuality and Identity

I am on bad terms with my father. When I was in my village, I could not dress like a woman, so I would borrow clothes from others and get changed outside the village to go to festivals. When people saw me and told my dad, he would throw bricks at me and chase me with a sword. He saw my actions as disgraceful, diminishing the family’s pride and prestige. My whole father’s side of the family did not accept me. But mom was on my side. When dad beat me, mom would hold my hand and we would run away together. These are the reasons why I am in Yangon out of touch with my family. They would not like what I do.

So said Ma So Pyay, who moved from Rakhine State to Yangon and is currently making a living as a sex worker. Another trans

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2 All the names in this article are pseudonyms to protect the identities of our research participants.
sex worker, Ma Khin Khin, who is from Hlaingtharya Township of Yangon, also discussed how clothing choices affected relations with her family:

I have been dressing as a woman for years but I have to wear long pants when I go back home. I can dress up there a bit, but not in full female attire, such as a matching top and longyi, in case the family’s reputation suffers. Here, I dress like a real woman. Back home, my family feels ashamed if I dress like a woman, but one day I would love to go back to my home village dressed up and feeling pretty.

She continued:

My sister is the opposite. They3 are a trans man and they can’t stand the sight of me. The feeling is mutual. I wanted to identify as a woman since a young age, so we were at odds with each other when I dressed as a female. Later they accepted me only when they could no longer convince me (to remain a man). My family has said nothing about my sister dressing as a male though. When the neighbors referred to me as a-chauk ma,4 I feel humiliated. In fact, being a-chauk is not a choice; it is karma. My sister and I are hostile toward one another because when we occasionally fought, they would say things like

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3 In the Burmese language, the third person pronoun thu does not distinguish between gender (i.e., he/she). To be faithful to the gender-neutral nature of thu, we use the pronoun “they” when translating direct quotes in this article.
4 In the popular Burmese lexicon, people often call trans women a-chauk (“dry one”) or a-chauk ma (with a feminine suffix). Gay men dressed as women or gay men having feminine qualities also often use a-chauk to refer to themselves and each other. They call gay men that dress as men a-chauk “in hiding” or a pone ponesanlay neq a-chauk, shortened to a-pone. Trans women that dress as women are known as a-pwint, or blossomed/open ones. Another vernacular word for gay men (but rarely used in LGBTQ+ communities) is mein-malya: “to be a woman”. For discussions of these categories by foreign scholars, see Chua (2018) and Gilbert (2013).
“you wear female outfits” and “you get fucked in the ass despite being a man”, pardon my language. Sometimes people verbally assault me for working as a sex worker in addition to being a-chauk. But you work with what you have. Whatever they say, I just take it lying down. Their derogatory words and cursing would not change my remaining a-chauk.

Ma So Pyay and Ma Khin Khin’s experiences put on display the oppression suffered by trans women at the hands of their own families. This oppression is internal as well as external. Trans women internalize gender-based violence and oppression through daily teachings, conversations with others, and religious norms. Ma Khin Khin accepts that her being a trans woman shames her family in the neighborhood, and with that acceptance she in turn oppresses herself. She believes that her identity really does destroy the family’s reputation. She internalizes and justifies gender-based violence and oppression. She believes that being a trans woman is due to her karma, further oppressing herself. Even among transgender people, different forms of oppression exist between trans women and trans men. Since the standards and expectations for women (and the worth of a woman) are lower than men in mainstream society, trans women face more oppression than trans men, since the former are considered to live up to women’s standards.

**Difficulties in the Current Economic and Political Situation**

Since the 2021 military coup Myanmar’s economy has weakened. People at the bottom have suffered the most from the lack of recovery, and further deterioration, of the economy since the already challenging COVID-19 pandemic period. The current political crisis has worsened the lives of trans women sex workers like Ma Khin Khin and Ma So Pyay, who were already facing hardship. Ma So Pyay described her current working conditions:
Normally I charge 3,000 Myanmar Kyat for sex. It is a fixed price but sometimes I get 5,000 or 8,000. My income is not stable and it is getting worse. The expenses for going out to work is 4,000, so if I only make 5,000 a day for four days in a row, I take a break for a few days. It is not worth it if I cannot recoup transportation costs. No one dares to go out at night during these (post-coup) days. I do so only because this is my job, but really there are no customers around. Drivers only come to us (to have sex) when their families are doing well. I want to earn as much as I can. Usually I refuse drunk clients as they are hard to handle and I might have a problem if I cannot tolerate their attitude ... And normally, if I think a client might underpay me, I don’t take them. But these days, I can rarely refuse as I have to pay back a government loan, which costs me 9,000 Myanmar Kyat every single day. So, I have been working regularly. I took a break the other day as I won the lottery and so one day’s expenses were covered.5

Ma Khin Khin said:

Currently I am working as a street-based sex worker in the industrial zones with my friend. Sometimes if they get a client, I come back alone. If we both get clients we come back together. We walk from here to the Bayintaung bridge.6 To be frank, most people do not trust us, as a-chauk, because some a-chauk steal from their customers. They are no longer interested in us when they recognize us as a-chauk. Some days we don’t even get a

5 The most common illegal lotteries are the hnitlone and thonelone lotteries, which means two digits and three digits. People bet on the last two and three digits of certain companies on the Thailand stock market. One can buy tickets locally or online through Facebook. For an example of a two digit business, see 2D-နဟင်း, 2023 in the reference list.
6 One of the main bridges connecting satellite towns such as Bayintaung with Yangon.
single customer. Sometimes we come home with 10,000 Myanmar Kyat, but 2,000-3,000 is more frequent. We earn over 10,000 maybe once or twice a week. I wear makeup and go out pretty. For outfits, sometimes I wear simple Myanmar traditional dress and sometimes shorts and revealing tops ... We stay here in Hlaingtharya.\(^7\) Around Bayintnaung I don’t know when police will show up: here I at least know who is who. Sometimes, I walk up to the edge of Bayintnaung and back again.

Many sex workers like Ma Khin Khin choose to walk the streets instead of working from a fixed premises. From our interviews, a trans woman sex worker earns between 2,000 and 10,000 Myanmar Kyat per day. Sometimes they earn nothing. Because of this, they are compelled to work every day. When faced with starvation, some choose to rob and steal.

Ma So Pyay discussed the dangers trans women sex workers encounter at night:

> I leave home around 6:30 p.m. and return at 10:00 p.m. I walk both ways and don’t whine about it. Others come to work from here and there. Besides financial hardship, I worry about my personal safety working at night. A fellow a-chauk was stabbed while trying to help me during a robbery. A man had told me to put my hands behind my back and give him a blowjob. I am not a fool. I refused and slapped him on the face. When another a-chauk arrived to help me, the man stabbed them twice. Luckily, they survived. Back then, the junta was demolishing roadside shops so there was a lot of scrap wood on the roadside. I picked up a plank and hit the aggressor and batted his knife away. I challenged him to hit me first and he clocked me in the temple. Then I knocked him down with the plank by landing a hit on his nape. I fought like crazy, like a female hero from a Chinese

\(^7\) Like Bayintnaung, Hlaingtharya Township is another satellite town with many garment factories.
action movie. I am brave. I will not wrong others and I will not stand for insults. The man came back to find me for revenge later. After taking a break for two days, I went back to work again—this time carrying a pair of hair scissors.

Ma Khin Khin also said:

We have to look out for danger. I keep my money in my bra. Once, when a mugger commanded me to hand over money, I said I had none, and offered the contents of my bag. They let me go free (after finding nothing). Sometimes I have to fight back with my umbrella when attacked with knives. When one a-chauk I took under my wing was robbed at knifepoint while working, she ran back to me with torn clothes. Ever since, if a client seems shady, I stay away. I only go to places nearby and places near bus stops. I fear being assaulted if taken to distant places. I just assume that if somewhere is deserted, I could be robbed there.

Ma Khin Khin and Mo So Pyay put their lives on the line every night they go to work. They also have to worry about being assaulted and/or detained by police and soldiers. Ma Khin Khin said:

They interrogated me on the streets. They detained me in a police cell, but did not send me to jail. I always have to watch my back for police and soldiers. When I encounter them, they ask what I am doing. I lie and say I am coming back home late from a makeup and hair class. I’ve been interrogated many times; only one out of ten police nicely tell me to go home, the rest scoff and attack me. I was slapped so hard once that I couldn’t even eat. Just merely walking under the streetlights is enough for them to arrest us to fill their arrest quota. Though I plead
with them, they hit hard and once knocked me out completely.

Ma So Pyay and Ma Khin Khin’s narratives about how their lives are threatened and how they must fend for themselves shows that in this post-coup period when militarism is on the rise, and when killings and arrests are arbitrary, some fare worse than others (especially if they choose to remain unarmed). If a trans woman sex worker is killed by a soldier, police or civilian, there may be some sympathizers, but few would go out of their way to seek justice for them. The value of a trans woman’s life is different to others.

**Difficult Choices for People Gendered as Female**

One of the commonly-cited reasons for trans women to engage in sex work is the lack of alternative or ‘conventional’ vocations for them, especially if they do not have much education. Low wages and high living costs for migrant workers in Yangon are another reason. The closeted gays (a pone) in satellite towns go to work at factories during the daytime. Those who have already come out and publicly dress as women (a pwint) may work at beauty parlors, but in general, a pwint are more likely to engage in sex work.

Trans women sex workers are regarded by customers as a cheap substitute for female sex workers. This reality highlights society’s perception that trans women are less than women. Intersectionality of class and gender is most profound in the lives of trans women sex workers. Most of them come from poor families in the countryside and have been rejected by their families and home communities. They cannot find regular jobs and settle for exploitative, dangerous sex work in the satellite towns of Yangon.

In mainstream Burmese society, all LGBTQ+ are gendered as female and therefore are subject to gender-based violence and oppression. Society views them as people who can provide sexual entertainment and pleasure. Sex work is naturalized as being
a female profession. In a set of heterosexual men and women, and homosexual men and trans women, who are all of the same social class, the heterosexual men are the least likely to do sex work but the trans women (and other women) are the most likely to turn to sex work, especially in today’s context of military rule and economic deterioration.

Based on our interviews, most trans women feel they are forced into sex work. Since society normalizes women’s role as pleasing and entertaining men, many see sex work as a viable profession for women (and trans women) in destitution, and few question why trans women engage in sex work. Trans women in turn accept their role as a provider of sex and entertainment to men. Society pushes trans women into sex work by keeping doors closed to them. Trans women themselves find the battle to prove their worth in other professions an impossible feat. Many trans women also do not have the money and skills needed to train for other jobs. Ma So Pyay added:

*It is generally assumed that sex work is more lucrative than other occupations as we can make the same wage from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. as other workers make in a whole day. In factories, one often gets only 4,800 Myanmar Kyat per day. You can say we are taking the easy way out, but I do not want to engage in sex work; there’s just no alternative. I feel hurt, sick and suffocated doing this. I am too tired to move when I get home. Sometimes I can’t even bathe properly and fall asleep right after washing my hands and legs. I can’t even eat. Sometimes at work I am tired and have a migraine but must endure it as I have already taken the client’s money. I want to change things if I can … (but) I haven’t even passed third grade. I can read Burmese and even the Abhidhamma but only know A-B-C-D in English. If I were educated, I would not

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8 Though male sex workers exist, there are far less of them than sex workers identifying as women (trans or otherwise).
9 One of the three main texts known as the ‘baskets’ or *pitaka* of Buddha’s teachings, the other two being the disciplines and the *sutta*. 
work (like this). Sometimes people want to harm us—military authorities, thieves, and clients who won't pay ... I once won the lottery and invested the prize money to sell salads but it did not produce good returns.

Ma So Pyay highlights that people use the term ‘easy’ to describe sex work, but her reality is far from that. Because society portrays sex work as an easy way out, she describes her situation this way with shame. Trans women sex workers’ guilt is another oppression on themselves. They blame themselves rather than recognizing the shortcomings of a society that keeps doors closed and pushes them into sex work. None of the trans woman sex workers interviewed for this article felt like they chose to become sex workers and none professed to liking their job. They said that if they had the opportunity, they would do other work.

The Importance of a Feminine Physique for Trans Women Sex Workers

Ma Phyu Phyu is a trans woman who prefers to work at night: “I look like a more masculine gay type, so I don’t get many clients during the day”. Trans women with “more feminine physical qualities” work via the internet or during the day. Trans women sex workers who have undergone sex reassignment surgery can ask for a minimum of 50,000 Myanmar Kyat per job, showing that the more feminine character and features one has, the higher their earning power. Women must take care of their appearance and body to make good money in sex work. Women and trans women have to constantly strive to be liked by (usually male) customers. The different expectations for women and men, particularly around sex, add more layers of oppression for trans women sex workers. For example, Ma Phyu Phyu said that she desires, but cannot afford, sex reassignment surgery and hormone injections. Her desire for the surgery suggests possessing female sex organs is important to some trans women. Ma Nge Nge, another trans woman, shared her experience regarding hormonal pills and medication:
I took them once. There are 28 pills per cycle. The more I take depo\textsuperscript{10} shots and hormone pills, the more tired I feel. I can’t move quickly. Sleep deprivation affects me and I can’t work hard. When the therapy was effective, my skin and body became beautiful. But the effects wore off after I took antiretroviral therapy (ART)\textsuperscript{11} medications. I became nothing but skin and bones. I still wear shorts now but I know I am no longer as pretty as before. I want to be beautiful so I went to the clinic for hormonal therapies but the doctor wouldn’t prescribe them while I am on ART medications. I can’t even afford injections and pills when my expenses outstrip income. I can no longer maintain my beauty like before.

For trans women, taking hormonal pills or injections is considered necessary, even at the expense of their health. Society does not accept trans women in their (unaltered) bodies and natural state of beauty. Trans women must also conform to the beauty standards and expectations of their clients. Their wellbeing, self-confidence, and sense of security suffer when they can no longer maintain their beauty.

**How the Experience of Sex Work Differs Between Trans and Other Women**

The nature of the work and the wage earned differs between trans women and other women sex workers. Ma Phyu Phyu charges 5,000 Myanmar Kyat per client but often receives only 3,000. Many female sex workers completely refuse to have oral sex, but it is an expected service for trans women sex workers. Other women sex workers go to guesthouses or hotels to work,

\textsuperscript{10} Depo-Provera is a common contraception used by many women in Myanmar either in pill form or via injection.

\textsuperscript{11} Used to treat human immunodeficiency virus infection and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS).
but trans women mostly do their business in a nearby bush or in cars. Ma Khin Khin explained that:

When clients come in taxis, it is often safe for us to do our business on the roadside. Sometimes, when I am lucky, clients take me to guesthouses where I can work with peace of mind. On the streets, I have to look out for police, soldiers and robbers.

When arrested, trans women can be tried under section 30(d) of the Rangoon Police Act 1945, which carries a maximum sentence of three months. Women can also be charged under the Law Amending the Suppression of Prostitution Act 1949, with a possible sentence of one and a half to three years. Though trans women are not regarded as women under the law in normal conditions, they are when the police need to fill their quotas. It is ironic that trans women are only determined to be “women” by the police when they do not want to be. They are doubly doomed—male clients harass them and treat them with contempt, as cheap substitutes for female sex workers, and police treat them as real women only when they need to hit case quotas for their superiors.

Ma Nge Nge explained: “Since we are not ‘real women’, we are mistreated by clients no matter how much we get paid. The clients feel like they can do whatever they want to ‘this a-chauk’ since they are paying us”. This is the world view of a trans woman who is always a woman-to-be, a-chauk, but is never a real woman, constantly struggling to appear as one and live within the expectations of society: “I have seen a-chauk being cursed and attacked with pun\(^\text{12}\) spit from passing cars. They were just standing prettily there on the road at night and had red stains of betel nut spat all over their body”.

Trans women have to make the same efforts as women in providing care for their families. Society benefits from the labor

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\(^{12}\text{Pun is a mixture of betel leaves and nuts, tobacco leaves, and lime (calcium oxide). People chew these puns or betel quids for narcotic or stimulant effects, similar to chewing gum in some respects.}\)
and effort of anyone gendered female and making sacrifices to look after their families. In this context, society regards trans women and women as the same. Ma Khin Khin explained:

*Even if my body aches, I work. I have rent to pay. I only shirk work when I can no longer get out of bed (from exhaustion). My husband brings in money just once a month, so I must earn regularly to cover his ongoing expenses like cigarettes and betel nut. For meals, if I cook this week, (my friend) Ma Pyone Yi will cook the next week, by sharing the things we get.*

### The Oppression Against Sex Workers

“Some people really look down on trans women. People in cars aim for us on the road, or help the police when they chase us saying we engage in a filthy profession”, said Ma Nge Nge. Trans women sex workers’ customers are mostly men and the police that detain them are also men. Patriarchal oppression is evident in the mistreatment of trans women sex workers.

One problem all sex workers must deal with is male clients’ unwillingness to use sex protection like condoms. “I use protection. However, if the clients don’t want to, I usually won’t. Some use nothing”, said Ma Pyone Yi. Ma Khin Khin also shared:

*I carry protection but clients don’t take it. Sometimes it fails. Sex workers try to persuade clients to use protection, in case of disease. But I have to go along with their preferences—as I am the one who needs the money.*

Aversion to protective sex and contraceptives exists not only in sex work but also in intimate relationships such as marriages. Those with the (penetrating) power are seen as powerful and enjoy privileges. Since women and men are seen in a binary of powerful and powerless, women or those gendered as women are seen as the receiver of the male power. Binaries such as subject and object or doer and receiver inevitably put those gendered
female, such as trans women, below men, making them unable to challenge men’s unbridled desires and risky sex practices. Refusing to use protection is in fact exercising power.

Men often argue that condoms get in the way of pleasure and tend to downplay the risk of infection from sexually transmitted diseases, and of the woman getting pregnant, in order to maximize their pleasure. In addition to misusing and abusing their male privilege, male clients in sex work unfairly take advantage of their position of power as purchaser of the service. Since trans women are spared from the risk of accidentally getting pregnant, they are subject to more abuse from their male clients. One can understand three things from male clients not using protection: 1) how men exercise power afforded by their male gender; 2) oppression of the capitalist system on the working class by disaffecting them from their labor; and 3) the purchasing power of the clients and money as an oppressive tool against sex workers.

The suffering of trans women sex workers does not end here, they also must face violence and bullying. Ma So Pyay shared her experiences:

(Some people) picked me up from the 20-mile marker on the main road in Shwepyithar Township. They were just barbaric. They didn’t pay me; they took me to Pun Hlaing Golf Course, where it was dark, and punched me. Yet we have faced worse things. We try to solve any problems that arise but some clients are unreasonable. If we must, we just give up and comply. But we will never deal with them again. There are times when we cannot fight. When they act like criminals and force us (to give them oral sex), we cannot say no. One time, I had to do it for the police until the morning without any pay as I was weak and could not fight back. My colleagues and I were detained by plain clothes police. The others were let go but I was forced to do it for them. I did not get home until 3 a.m. or 4 a.m. and was without a single kyat.
This was not the only time Ma So Pyay was ‘subject to injustice’, leaving her broken physically and mentally. She narrated her ordeal to us:

I was once forced to provide (oral and anal sex) to over 30 people in one night for no pay. Afterwards I was barely alive. I was just a rookie at that time and went with a young male client as he was handsome. When we arrived at a timber yard in Htauk Kyant, I was surrounded by cars and motorbikes, like a carousel. I was scared as they threatened to kill me if I didn’t do what they said. The force of 30 people was no joke. I was scarcely breathing at the end of it. I was exhausted and couldn’t even call a taxi without help.

Ma So Pyay shared this experience with a laugh, to make things lighter for us. Society which would normally belittle sex workers might feel ‘fake sympathy’ for people like Ma So Pyay. We use the term ‘fake’ here because people often fail to see the multiple layers of oppression sex workers face, but can feel sympathetic when they encounter a snapshot of their troubles, such as rape. Sex work is symptomatic of collective oppression. No interventions—whether educational programs, plain old benevolence, or legalization of sex work will be effective at reducing this oppression as long as society remains plagued by sickness.

Is Sex Work Easy?

As remarked by Ma So Pyay earlier, people often claim sex workers are “taking an easy way out”. We should examine if the work is really easy. Amidst the current political situation under military rule, sex workers risk everything—including their lives. Ma Pyone Yi recounted how she became a sex worker:

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13 A neighboring town of Yangon, about 20 miles north of downtown Yangon.
I am from Pyapon Town. My mom is dead. I haven’t seen my father since I was young, but I am in touch with my family. My sisters don’t like me living like this. I have been here in Yangon for a long time. I don’t have to support my family anymore though. I wanted to be a doctor when I was young and studied hard. But when I was in ninth grade and my younger brother began attending school, I had to leave (in order to sacrifice for them) to work in Yangon. My head teacher tried to keep me at school but I was the only child able to work in the household. I lied about my age to get a job at a factory, saying I was 18, but I was only 13 when I started working. Now I’m 26. I worked for ten years at the Good Morning factory (bread and cakes) ... (and) moved to Industrial Zone 1. I accepted a million Myanmar Kyat as compensation and left when I couldn’t meet their targets. After a break I worked at the Premier coffee factory for two years. I also worked at a beauty parlor on weekends and I had a job cleaning fish. I only stopped that as it was no longer profitable. If I could have continued cleaning fish, I would not have chosen sex work. To work again at a factory, I would have to cut my hair short (working at a factory as a trans woman is no longer viable).

Most trans women are alienated from family members. They often left their families as the latter did not accept their identities. The rate of trans women in formal employment seems very low, based on our interviews. Even if a trans woman has the desired educational qualifications for a formal job, she may not be hired. Uneducated trans women fare the worst and have few job options. As mentioned already, factories do not employ open trans women.

14 One of the major rice growing towns in the Ayeyarwady delta.
15 It is commonly thought that there are high opportunity costs to putting multiple children all the way through school.
16 Workers are timed to meet production targets.
Society dehumanizes trans women sex workers and they consciously accept this treatment as just punishment for their profession. Ma Phyu Phyu explained: “I have been working for seven-eight years and I do not feel like I have to work too hard for my money”. But Ma So Pyay said:

It is a general assumption that sex work makes more money than other jobs as we can earn a whole daily wage of other people in about three hours. But I absolutely don’t want to engage in this work. I do so because there is no alternative. It is also our fault for taking the easy way out. If I had not taken an interest in what others said to me—such as being able to earn 30-40,000 Myanmar Kyat per day, I might not have ended up doing this work.

Trans women sex workers accept the societal perception that sex work is an easy way out, but beyond the facade, if one really looks, one can see that sex workers work exceptionally hard, and this takes a physical, mental, and emotional toll. Based on our interviews, sex workers seem to perceive their work not strictly as hard labor, despite being subject to violence and harassment as shown in this article, and they generally refrain from complaining about their stress and exhaustion, instead accepting this suffering as a form of punishment. They feel that they do not have the right to complain, or express their sadness, reflecting an internalization of the stigma around trans identities and sex work in mainstream society.

Beside the difficulties of sex work, longing for home but being unable to return there adds to trans women sex workers’ struggles. Ma So Pyay said:

I am so downhearted now because I have no one to rely on. I would become homeless and starve if I got sick and couldn’t work. I want to go back to my family and live with them. I called them a few days ago and they told me to come back straight away. I won’t go, but I said I would
be back at Tazaungmone\textsuperscript{17} just to make my mom feel better, as she is getting old. The problem is I have no money to travel. It would not be right for me to go back like this. I would have to tell my family frankly about my situation (being HIV positive) and go back and forth from home to get medicine from Sittwe Town.

Most sex workers in Yangon are domestic migrants and the capitalist urban economy benefits from exploiting them. Trans women sex workers face multiplied stigma—as trans women, as sex workers, and often as people living with HIV/AIDS. They have to abandon relationships and time with their families if infected with HIV/AIDS. They have to steel themselves to go out at night in the current dangerous current political situation. They have to survive amidst gender-based violence and systemic oppression in their daily life. The perception that sex work is ‘easy’ is also a form of oppression against sex workers.

\textbf{Labor That Should Not Exist in Society}

No one is born a worker but becomes one as per the needs of capitalism. Sex workers are the products of this system too. They choose this work because of financial and social pressures. They often do not intend to take up sex work as a lifetime career. Sex workers do not do it for fun or as a hobby. The reason sex work exists is because, currently, society needs people to provide sexual services and entertainment for others with their bodies. Sex workers understand this demand. Ma Khin Khin explained:

\begin{quote}
We have to fulfill (our clients’) desires in exchange for money but they are often reluctant to pay us afterwards. We are only doing this for money. I try to accommodate (clients’) wishes so they return again later.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{17} The eighth month in a Burmese calendar.
It is a form of oppression when a person is pushed to satisfy another’s sexual desires. This oppression cannot be justified merely by the sex worker being remunerated. In Myanmar, requesting the provision of sex as a service is one of the cruelest acts one person can do to another.

Working day after day without knowing if your customers are police, robbers, violent bigots or rapists, is dehumanizing. Trans women sex workers also often have to take medicines like ART and for tuberculosis. Based on our interviews, they do not express their sadness and feelings freely, as they believe they deserve to be unhappy because of their ‘choice’ to engage in sex work. Ma Phyu Phyu said:

> When I found out I had HIV/AIDS, I was sad but not inconsolable, because people who are not sex workers contract it too. I got it from working … I was so down once when I found out but I did not show it or cry in front of the nurses. Instead, I jokingly told them I would be getting fat. I try to control myself as crying won’t make a difference … I had medical checkups every three to six months. During one check-up, (the doctors) found I had also contracted tuberculosis. This was at the end of 2019, just as COVID-19 was starting. I went crazy taking two types of medicines and they made me impatient sometimes.

Society has a demand for sex work but ignores sex workers’ emotional and physical struggles, as if they deserve to suffer because they engage in sex work. Furthermore, while sex workers themselves accept social stigma as punishment, they work through the issues in their workplace in their own way. Ma Nge Nge said, “We had to live discreetly because it is not acceptable to be like this (a trans woman with HIV/AIDS) and doing sex work. We a-chauk are oppressed and always viewed negatively”.

Amidst multiple forms of oppression, trans women sex workers live their lives in their own way. They have mastered the skills to face danger and protect themselves on the job. Most
of them encounter the problem of not getting paid after the job is done. They try to overcome this issue by demanding cash before the job. Experienced sex workers choose clients by checking their attitudes and behaviors through conversation. It is not wrong to say that this is a built skill: the ability to read people. Ma Nge Nge learned how to bravely counter bullies and teach them a lesson. Also, trans women engaging in sex work have formed camaraderie and look after each other. When Ma Khin Khin and Ma Pyone Yi worked on the street together, the senior Ma Khin Khin helped Ma Pyone Yi by teaching her the dos and don’ts. There is solidarity between the oppressed and sexually exploited.

**Conclusion**

The everyday life of trans women sex workers is full of danger. They are subject to multiple layers of oppression. Rather than pitying or sympathizing with them, we should praise their strength in overcoming myriad obstacles in their own way. The dehumanizing stigma attached to sex work must be abolished if people are to really care about each other. Pity alone will not end the oppression of sex workers.

Among sex workers, trans women suffer the most, and these and all oppressed people who suffer at the bottom of society can only be liberated when society is no longer capitalist, militarist, and patriarchal. Feeling bad for the oppressed without opposing oppression is merely ignoring it and is no different from being an oppressor yourself.

The experiences of trans women sex workers highlight the true nature of a patriarchal society that stands on and benefits from gender-based oppression, forcing trans women into sex work, masquerading as ‘choice’. Society benefits from trans women ‘freely’ choosing to engage in sex work, rather than compelling them with violence. Trans women in turn feel guilty for the ‘choice’ they made.

Is sex work, which does bring in money, but downgrades one in the eyes of society, really work?
Is any work really ‘work’ when it involves being physically and mentally weakened such that one can only participate in it only as something less than human?
Society owes trans women an answer.

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မွန်ရေးအဆက်နှစ်ခုခုအတွင်း ဒေသနှစ်ပြည်နယ်၊ ရန်ကုန်တိုင်းဒေသကြီး အရှေ့တောင်ဒေ့ရွက် တွင် ပူးဒေသပြည်နှစ်ခုခုအတွင်း နေထိုင်ကြသည် ပြည်နယ်၏ အကြီးအကျယ်များနှင့် ပြည်နယ်နှင့် ပယ်စုံကြိယ်ဝတီများကို ထိန်းချိန်တွင် ဝင်ရောက်ကြသည်

မုဒ္ဓရေးအဆက်နှစ်ခုခုအတွင်း ဒေသနှစ်ပြည်နယ်၊ ရန်ကုန်တိုင်းဒေသကြီး အရှေ့တောင်ဒေ့ရွက် တွင် ပူးဒေသပြည်နှစ်ခုခုအတွင်း နေထိုင်ကြသည် ပြည်နယ်၏ အကြီးအကျယ်များနှင့် ပြည်နယ်နှင့် ပယ်စုံကြိယ်ဝတီများကို ထိန်းချိန်တွင် ဝင်ရောက်ကြသည်

(Trans women) နေထိုင်ကြသည် ပြည်နယ်၏ အကြီးအကျယ်များနှင့် ပြည်နယ်နှင့် ပယ်စုံကြိယ်ဝတီများကို ထိန်းချိန်တွင် ဝင်ရောက်ကြသည်

(Transgender) နေထိုင်ကြသည် ပြည်နယ်၏ အကြီးအကျယ်များနှင့် ပြည်နယ်နှင့် ပယ်စုံကြိယ်ဝတီများကို ထိန်းချိန်တွင် ဝင်ရောက်ကြသည်
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240 | အချိန် ကြေညာချက်

နောက်ထပ်က အောက်တွင် ရှိသော စာအုပ်များကို စီစဉ် ပေးပို့သော စာအုပ်များကို မှန်ကန်သော စာအုပ်များ အနေဖြင့် စီစဉ်နိုင်သည်။

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...အတွက်မှာ အပုံ ကြည့်ပို့သင်္ကေတလေးမှာ အခြား ပြောဆိုပြီးပါသလား။ ဘာသာစကားကြည့်ပြီး အခြားသို့မဟုတ် ဒိုးတုံ့ပြန်တာ မှု ကျောင်းရွေးပါသလား။ အချို့မှာ ကြည့်ပြီး အခြားသို့မဟုတ် သာသနာစာမျက်နှာကို သေချာစေပါသလား။ မှန်ကန်သော ခံစားရာ မှုများကို ဆန့်ကျင်ပါသလား။
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...
…ჰყავთ აქვს, რომ გაყალიბებულ აქტორის ოთხები ყურადღება.

(გ) მაგრამ ძუძუმწოვრობით

ძალაში აქტი (5) მოქალაქე ვინც გამართა.

(3) აქტორი ჯარხნით

…მექანიზმი შედგება აქტორის ოთხები ყურადღება.

(4) გამარჯვებული ვინც იპოვნება.

(2) აქტიორი ჯარხნით

…მექანიზმი შედგება აქტორის ოთხები ყურადღება.
250 | ავტორი: გ. ჯაირების

თანახმად სონის გადაფარვა
(7) ქუთაისიანი დახმარებით (პირველი ქვეყანა) ყოველთვის ახლა ამოღებული ადგილი მათგანი, რომელიც ტექნიკური მოქმედების მხოლოდ ანგარიშების მიხედვით. ამგვარი აღკვეთილები აღნიშნავთ ახლა ამოღებულ ადგილს განახლებებიდან ზემოქმედების მოქმედება ან შეტევით რექტირებით. ამგვარი აღკვეთილები აღარ არის ჩვენი შეკრების სახის აღკვეთილი...
အတွက် သုံးစွဲပေးသော အတိုးအကျိုးအတိုအပြုတွေ့ရှိခြင်း အရာတွေ အသီးသီး ဝင်သွင်းချက်များဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။ ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးတားက “သေဘာဝမှ ပျဉ်းမှုများစရိပ်သိမ်းပေးသောအခါမှ စိတ်ဝင်စားမှုများအတွက်” အတွက် သုံးစွဲပေးသော အတိုးအကျိုးအတိုအပြုတွေ့ရှိခြင်း အရာတွေ ဝင်သွင်းချက်များဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။

ယူနိုင်ငံသား သေချာတွေ့ရှိခြင်း အရာတွေ (အခြေချ) သုံးစွဲသော အတိုးအကျိုးအတိုအပြုတွေ့ရှိခြင်း အရာတွေ အသီးသီး ဝင်သွင်းချက်များဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။

အခြေချက် သေချာတွေ့ရှိခြင်း အရာတွေ (Depo) သုံးစွဲပေးသော အတိုးအကျိုးအတိုအပြုတွေ့ရှိခြင်း အရာတွေ အသီးသီး ဝင်သွင်းချက်များဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။

1 အခြေချ Depo-Provera သုံးစွဲပေးသော အရာတွေ့ရှိခြင်း အရာတွေ အသီးသီး ဝင်သွင်းချက်များဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။
(ART) ლარ არსებობს ოთხ სახელმწიფოში: აფრიკულ სახელმწიფო ადმინისტრაციულ რეგიონები უმოქმედ ქვეყნებმა გამოვიყენებთ მათ გათვალისწინებაში. ადმინისტრაციულ რეგიონებში თანამედროვე რეგიონები აქვთ ოთხ მთავარ პარალელური სახელმწიფო სახით აღმასრულებელ ტერიტორია ქვეყნებმა გათვალისწინებაში.


არაფერის მიხედვით, ქვეყნებში ცხოვრები არაფერთა სახელმწიფო უმოქმედ ქვეყნები ყველა ქვეყნარში, ქვეყნები გათვალისწინებაში. აქვთ სხვადასხვა ქვეყნები სახელმწიფო უმოქმედ ქვეყნები ყველა ქვეყნარში, ქვეყნები გათვალისწინებაში.

გათვალისწინებაში: “არაფერთა სახელმწიფო უმოქმედ ქვეყნები ყველა ქვეყნარ სახელმწიფო უმოქმედ ქვეყნები ყველა ქვეყნარში, ქვეყნები გათვალისწინებაში.”
ညွှန်းနေသော စီစဉ်မှုများကို အခြေခံ၍ အချိန်သည် အရောင်းအသွေးအရာတွင် ကျန်ရှိသော သဘောတူမှုကို စစ်ဆေးသော လူ့အခွင့်အရေးများကို ပြောရန် သို့မဟုတ် ပြင်ဆင်မှုကို မပြောရန် အကြောင်းချက်များကို ရှာဖွေစိတ်ညှိမှုသား ပြှုလ်သည်...” အမေရိကန် သဘာဝအတွက် အခြေခံကို အကျဉ်းချုပ်ချက်နှစ်စာမျက်နှာ ဝင်းစာအုပ်ကို ရှာဖွေကြည့်ပေးသည်။ အမေရိကန် သဘာဝအတွက် အခြေခံကို အဆင်ပြောက် ရှုံးစွာပြုလုပ်ရန် အရောင်းအသွေးများ ရှေ့စွဲပေးချက်များကို ရှာဖွေစိတ်ညှိမှုသား ပြှုလ်သည်။
“...” အားဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။

ရွယ်လျက်ချိန်ကြားတွင် ဖန်တီးထားသည်များကို ကြည့်ရှုခြင်း၌ အခြေခံနေသည်။ ကြည့်ရှုခြင်း၌ အခြေခံနေသည်။

ဆိုလိုသောအချက်အလက်များကို ဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။

ထို့ကြောင့် အခြေခံနေသည်။

သို့သော်လည်း ဖန်တီးထားသည်များကို ကြည့်ရှုခြင်း၌ အခြေခံနေသည်။

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မားနေသည်။

"..." အားဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။

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"အောက်တိုဘက် သူများကို ယာယီပေးနိုင်မည်ဟု ဆိုကြမှာ မကျေသော သူများ အားကျော်တွင်းပါတယ်။ သူများက ယာယီပေးနိုင်မည်ဟု ဆိုကြပြီး မကျေသော သူများ အားကျော်တွင်းပါတယ်။"
မိုးဆောင်းရင်းနားလမ်းများ အခြေခံသောစာမျက်နှာများကို မျဉ်းသားရေးနိုင်အောင် အလုပ်လေးသောစာမျက်နှာများ သစ်သောစာမျက်နှာများ ပြုလုပ်ရန် အခြေခံကြားချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။

ချမ်းချင်သောစာမျက်နှာများ တို့အပါအဝင် အလုပ်လေးသောစာမျက်နှာများ သစ်သောစာမျက်နှာများ ပြုလုပ်ရန် အခြေခံကြားချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။

၂၅၆ | အောင် သာ ကြေနော
...အကြမ်းများသည် အရာရှိသူများ အဆိုပါ ဆန့်ကျင် သတ်မှတ်ပေးသည်။ အထောက်အထားများတွင် မတူညီသည်။ ရှာဖွေပြီးတိုင်း ၏ွင့်စိပ်များသည် ဆိုင်ရာအရာသို့မဟုတ် ၏ွင့်စိပ်များဖြစ်စေသော အရာများ သတ်မှတ်ပေးသည်။ စိတ်ဝင်စားသူများသည် ဆိုင်ရာအရာကို မြှင့်တင်သော်လည်း ဆိုင်ရာအရာကို မြှင့်တင်သောညွှန်းအားဖြင့် သိရှိရမည်။
258 | အချက်: ချပ်စာ...

သင်္ကေတ်ရုပ်ဖော်အနှုန်းနှင့် အကျိုးကျားသည် ချပ်စားချောင်းများ အချက်
ထူးချွန်တွေ့ရှိ

...အချက် ပိုဘာ အုပ်စုလုပ် အချိန်အချိန်
ပြချင် ထိခိုက် ချပ်စားချောင်းများ အကျိုးကျား
မျှော်လျားသည် အချိန်အချိန်
ထိခိုက်မှုများ အချိန်အချိန်
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 fades away and the collagen is restored to the original state.  In this way, the skin returns to its normal appearance, and the effects of the injury are minimized.

The process of wound healing involves several stages, including inflammation, proliferation, and remodeling. During inflammation, the body responds to the injury by sending immune cells and other factors to the site to clear debris and stimulate new tissue growth. The proliferation stage involves the growth of new tissue from the edges of the wound to fill in the gap. Finally, remodeling occurs as the collagen is remodeled and the tissue regains its normal appearance.

In summary, the treatment of skin injuries involves a combination of rest, elevation, and appropriate wound care to promote healing and minimize scarring. By addressing the underlying causes of skin injuries, we can reduce the risk of complications and improve outcomes for patients.
262 | აღაპება თუ უფრო უმრავლება?

ახლომდე აღმოაჩენეთ ადამიანის მკვლევარულობა და თავისი ჯერჯერობა ადგილობრივ პარამეტრებს და თავისი კუთვნილობას თავის აქტიური პოტენციალით. მიუხედავად ადგილობრივ პარამეტრებს და შემდეგ დააკავშირეთ ახალგაზრდა ადამიანთა მკვლევარულობა ან ამავე მიკროყურება სიმპტომებით.

ART ამავე ადგილობრივ ქვეყნებში აღმოჩენილი ადგილობრივ პარამეტრების გათვალისწინებით. HIV/AIDS ხანგრძლივობის დროს არ ადგილობრივ გამჭვირვალება უჟავებთა მიღება აქტიური პოტენციალით. აღმოჩენილი ART ამ პარამეტრების გათვალისწინებით. აღმოჩენილი ART ამ პარამეტრების გათვალისწინებით. სხვა გადაჯერების წყალობის მიღება ამ პარამეტრების გათვალისწინებით.
အားချင်း စာ 263

ကြုံဆောင်ရွက်သော အခမ်းအနားအဖြစ် လူမှုနှင့်
ညီညွတ်ချင်ရာ အခွဲစိတ်ကို ဖော်ပြချက်ရန် ဖျင်သည်။
အခြား ကျော်ကြားသော ပြည်ထောင်စီးပွားရေး ဖျင်သည်။
အားလုံးကို ဖျင်သည်။ အားလုံးကို ဖျင်သည်။

ချစ်ချစ်သော စိတ်ကို မျှဝေချက်ရန် ဖျင်သည်။
အားလုံးကို ဖျင်သည်။ အားလုံးကို ဖျင်သည်။

“ကျော်ကြားသော အခမ်းအနားကို ဖျင်သည်။
အားလုံးကို ဖျင်သည်။ အားလုံးကို ဖျင်သည်။
သို့မဟုတ် ဖျင်သည်။ ဖျင်သည်။

စိတ်ကို မျှဝေချက်ရန် ဖျင်သည်။
အားလုံးကို ဖျင်သည်။ အားလုံးကို ဖျင်သည်။

“အားလုံးကို ဖျင်သည်။”
နောက်ဆုံးရှိ စာမျက်နှာတစ်ချက်ကို ဖော်ပြရန် သို့မဟုတ် ပြသရန် အရေးစွဲပါသလား?
266 | အချိန် မောက်တာ

မိုးစွေ့ကို အွန်လိုင်းစိုးမိုးနေသော သောက်ခြင်းသို့ အတွေးအရေး အရေးအထိမ်းရှိစေ၍ သော့ချ် သောင်းတင်ဟု သုံးစွဲခြင်းüss } ဖော်ပြရမှာ။

သောင်းခြင်းကို မှန့်စွာပြသော အချိန်များကို သုံးစွဲခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ အဘယ်ကြောင့်လည်း အားလုံးသည် သောင်းခြင်းကို သို့မဟုတ် သောင်းခြင်းထူး အားလုံးနှုန်းညွှန်းခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ သောင်းခြင်း သို့မဟုတ် သောင်းခြင်းသည် သောနှင့် ရှိသို့မဟုတ် သောင်းခြင်းအားလုံးကို အချိန်လေ့လာရန် ဖော်ပြရပါမည်။

စားသောင်းခြင်းကို မှန့်စွာပြသော အချိန်များကို သုံးစွဲခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ အဘယ်ကြောင့်လည်း သောင်းခြင်း၏ ရှေးအားပြင် သောင်းခြင်းကို သို့မဟုတ် သောင်းခြင်းကို သို့မဟုတ် သောင်းခြင်းအားလုံးကို အချိန်လေ့လာရန် ဖော်ပြရပါမည်။

မိုးစွေ့ကို အွန်လိုင်းစိုးမိုးသော သောက်ခြင်းသို့ အတွေးအရေး အရေးအထိမ်းရှိစေ၍ သောင်းခြင်းသို့မဟုတ် သောင်းခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ သုံးစွဲချက်များကို အချိန်လေ့လာရန် ဖော်ပြရပါမည်။
Rats in the Farm

Ashey

A woman disrobes
She possesses no body, no ears
No arms, no legs
No hair, and no stomach.

On her body lies farms
Farms that can no longer be cultivated
Birds
Birds that bear no feathers for flight
Sea crabs
Sea crabs with no water to swim in
Cattle
Cattle that lost the power to plough
New babies
Babies that cannot find their mothers’ breasts to feed.

The river is murky
We, who are watching that woman
Are swimming and relaxing.
სამართლებრივი წიგნი

არჩივი:

ამჯობადი ჯამობრივი საშუალო დღეობის მოგვიანება
მათი აღთვალისცემი ღირსშესანიშნაობა
არჩივი გზით
ამჯობად აღთაურის წყარო

ვისადელიმე გამორჩეული
თბოთირი მიფიჭური ეკლეტური გამორჩეული
დროგის გარეშე
პირველმა აღთაურმა შეუძლია გამორჩეული
ბრძოლის სამხრეთ
აღრიცხვის დროის
ამჯობად გამორჩეული მოგვიანებას განათავსებული
მისი რუკა რუკა რუკა გამორჩეული თაყვანი გამორჩეულის

გამორჩეული აკრალოგები
აღრიცხვის საშუალო უჯრედი გამორჩეული
თბოთირი მიწის რუკა
How Education Can Help Rohingya Women Avoid Human Trafficking

Maria Begum

Abstract

How a Rohingya woman receives education and healthcare services from the Myanmar state depends on where the woman is born. In this article, a Rohingya doctor from Yangon describes how she was treated differently to her female relatives in Rakhine State. Drawing on her time working at a non-governmental organization (NGO) in northern Rakhine State, the author also describes how some well-intentioned NGO projects that tried to promote women’s rights in Rakhine State went wrong, and proposes an alternative for Rohingya women who are at risk of human trafficking.

Introduction

I am a Rohingya woman born in Yangon, so I am luckier than other Rohingya women, particularly those born in Rakhine State. One of the ways in which I am luckier is that I had the opportunity to study. The lives of Rohingya women differ greatly by where they are born. My cousins born in Rakhine were unable to have the same education as me. My father used to tell me about Rohingya women who died giving birth in their homes because Rakhine State’s public hospitals are inaccessible to many Rohingyas. Such stories motivated me, and I was determined to study medicine and return to Rakhine State to serve my people. I had always dreamed of returning to my father’s village in Buthidaung Township among the mountains, rice fields, and cold winter mornings. The serenity and beauty of my father’s village lived inside me thanks to his many nostalgic stories.

After graduating from medical school, I joined the government service. My first posting was at Myawaddy Township
Hospital, on the Thailand-Myanmar border in southeast Myanmar. Working as a doctor in a conflict-affected area like Myawaddy exposed me to the suffering of ethnic Karen women as well as the predicaments of young Burmese immigrants working in garment factories in Mae Sot, the town opposite Myawaddy in Thailand. I witnessed huge suffering and how conflict and poverty put the lives of women in danger. This led me to become very interested in women’s issues.

When my mother died in 2011, I quit my government job to look after my family. The government’s regulations at the time banned me from practicing medicine, as I had technically quit before completing my term of mandatory service, until retirement at 60 years of age. The government revoked my medical license and I also had to pay the equivalent of US $1,000 to compensate the government for my medical education. I started to see the power of the state that had extensive control over us. I gradually became an activist to fight this oppressive system instead of working within it.

My First Visit to Rakhine State

The first day I had the chance to set foot in my father’s hometown in northern Rakhine State was the day before he passed away in 2020. I had secured a job at a non-governmental organization (NGO) in Rakhine State, and when I told my father, who was suffering from liver cancer at the time, that I had to visit there, he was very excited and happy. He had left his home in the 1970s to look for work in Yangon. For the whole time I had been alive, he had been unable to return to his mother’s home in Rakhine State.

Rohingyas cannot travel easily in Myanmar without a National Registration Card (NRC). Rohingyas born and raised in Rakhine State have long been prevented from traveling outside of their immediate surroundings, let alone outside the state, by successive Myanmar regimes. They cannot travel from Buthidaung or Maungdaw towns in northern Rakhine State to Sittwe Town, the state capital, without receiving permission.
from township and state immigration authorities. Even if they manage to secure permission to travel, they can only stay in their destination for a limited number of days. When they return home, they are subject to interrogation and extortion, and if they cannot pay bribes, government security forces arrest them.

As a result, many Rohingyas who flee Rakhine State cannot visit their relatives at home until they obtain NRCs. It is extremely difficult for Rohingyas to receive an NRC. Even with an NRC, immigration authorities still harass us. This is why my father did not have the courage to return to his home in all those years. All minorities in Myanmar face similar hardships, but discrimination against Rohingyas based on their NRC registration is systematic, widespread, and severe. We are denied the right to a birth certificate, family registration documents, NRCs, and even death certificates. Essentially, the state withholds all the documents we require from birth to death, creating the impression that we are stateless.

My own family members in Yangon have long been afraid to visit Rakhine State without NRCs. Even after receiving NRCs, they constantly worried that the government could intercept and arbitrarily detain them, as there are no laws protecting Rohingya people. I only dared to set foot in Rakhine State when I received the status of working for an NGO, long after I had an NRC.

My father was excited for me to meet my grandmother, so I went to her village the very same day that I set foot in the state. Riding a motorcycle on a muddy road in the rain had never been so difficult in my entire life. My uncle, the elder brother of my father, waited for me in front of the village. He can speak a little bit of Burmese, and he welcomed me by saying, “Our daughter has come!”.

I saw my 89-year-old grandmother when I entered the courtyard of her house. She was dressed in traditional Burmese attire and wore a white scarf over her head. She welcomed me at the stairs, calling me *phutu*, or “baby” in our Rohingya language. My grandmother and I had never spoken directly before. Since I do not speak Rohingya, in the past I had to listen to her
words being translated by my father when he talked to her on the phone. But as soon as we saw each other in her home, my grandmother and I cried together. We were unable to talk in a mutual language. Living in the same country as my grandmother but being unable to meet her until my early thirties, I could not help but cry.

**Why Many Generations of Rohingya Living Outside Rakhine State Do Not Speak the Rohingya Language**

My uncle, the elder brother of my father, translated for my grandma and I as we sat in her home. She was upset that I could not speak Rohingya and blamed my father for not teaching me. Most Rohingyas who grow up outside of Rakhine State, like my siblings and I, do not speak the Rohingya language. When we were young, we often asked our father to teach us. My father himself was afraid to speak Rohingya, even in the home. The only exception was when he called his family in Rakhine State on the phone. He was worried that our primarily Burman neighbors might notice that he was Rohingya and find out where he was from. He was scared of being forced back to Rakhine State. Every Rohingya family like us who lives outside of Rakhine State feels insecure about their mother tongue. We can easily be arrested, tortured, and imprisoned just because we are Rohingya from Rakhine State. Fear flows through many generations and fear is the main factor ridding us of our heritage, including our language.

My father was so terrified when the census officials came to our house when we were kids. His legs and hands trembled, and he could not even speak. It was not until I moved to Rakhine State that I realized why my father was terrified of the police officers, soldiers, and ward administrators who patrolled our neighborhood. In Rakhine State, soldiers and police stop, curse at, and beat Rohingya people at any time and for any reason. I encountered soldiers at checkpoints in Maungdaw Township who asked whether I was a *kalar* (a derogatory term for people of South Asian appearance) or of Rakhine ethnicity.
Rakhine State is a very beautiful land. It is the origin of our Rohingya traditions, customs, and culture, but at the same time, it is also an open-air prison where our people are unjustly detained on a daily basis. My father knew this and refused to teach us the Rohingya language because he wanted to protect us and hide our identity.

### Oppression Against Rohingya in Rakhine State

After I met my grandmother on the day of my arrival, I went into the back room of her house to meet my aunts and cousins, who were sobbing quietly in a room. They felt vulnerable. I could feel their anguish at seeing someone like me who can freely visit them while they cannot even travel easily inside their own township. They felt ashamed as they lived in poverty brought about by the oppression and violence against them. I was crying with them, but I did not dare look into their eyes. I could not face the eyes of my relatives living in fear and hopelessness.

We were crying because we were feeling sorry for ourselves. We felt the violations of our fundamental rights to live in dignity, survive, have free movement, be educated, and receive state-provided healthcare. My aunts and cousins wept because my presence showed a sharp contrast to their own lives. They were well-off farmers who owned land and lived with dignity before the period of military rule under General Ne Win, when oppression against the Rohingya and other minorities began in earnest.¹ They now depend on other relatives who live outside of Rakhine State. So they were sad for being dependent, poor, and still hopeless.

By looking into the eyes of my relatives, I came to understand the terror felt by Jewish people in Nazi concentration camps, the pain of Palestinian farmers whose lands are forcibly seized by Jewish settlers in Gaza, and the sadness of Uyghur Muslims who are forced to abandon Islam and are put in detention centers by the Chinese government. I felt resentment and

¹ Druce, 2020.
rage in my mind about us being predestined to precarity, injustice, and violence brought about by our identity. I kept thinking that my life would be the same with my aunts and my female cousins if I were born and raised in Rakhine State, and that thought terrified me. I also realized my privilege as an educated Rohingya woman.

The Differences Between Rohingyas Inside and Outside Rakhine State

When I walked around our village in Buthidaung Township with my uncles, I saw many young and old men in front of the mosque my grandfather had built. They were preparing to start their daily prayers. I looked around and noticed that there were no other women on the street. There were only a few elderly women standing in their yards looking at me. In Rohingya villages, when a female reaches puberty they are no longer allowed out of their house without permission from the guardians of the family and without wearing a niqab, an Arabic term for a black garment that covers the entire body except for the eyes.

It seems that using the niqab to restrict women’s movements and appearance was introduced through the religious teachings of the Wahhabist sect of Saudi Arabia. Ghoshal highlights the niqab as an example of Arabization affecting Muslim women outside the Arab world.² Rohingya people once wore more Burmese-style dress. Women wore yin bone and longyi with a hijab on our heads (a piece of cloth that only covers the person’s head, like a hood). When the Burmese authorities closed off the geographical and cultural spaces of the Rohingya community, it became evident that the Rohingyas started to embrace Arabic culture and Wahhabist teachings to a greater extent. This shift can be attributed to the fact that many Rohingya men and women acquired their knowledge of Arabic and religious teachings from scholars who were trained by expatriate scholars from Saudi Arabia, primarily in Pakistan and Bangladesh. The influence of

² Ghoshal, 2010.
these scholars on the lives and religious interpretations of Rohingya women is widely acknowledged within the community. However, it is important to note that there is a lack of comprehensive research on this subject. Rohingya women continue to be strongly controlled by their communities and families and instructed to strictly follow the *niqab* dress code in their daily lives.

Most Rohingya women I know do not like to wear the *niqab* out of the house. The scorching heat, coupled with mud or dust, inconvenience them as they try to walk down the street. But if they go out in a more convenient outfit, they are harassed and criticized by their neighbors, and their fathers and husbands are admonished by the religious leaders of their villages.

Rohingya men use religious teachings to assume the authority to discipline the women in their family. Women must ask for permission from their fathers, husbands, and brothers for the minor and major things in life. After puberty, female Rohingya are only allowed to leave the home when accompanied by a male guardian, such as a brother, a father, a husband, or a son; even in an emergency, such as to visit a hospital or clinic when they are sick. Due to these religious prohibitions on women’s movements, it has become normal for Rohingya women to simply stay home.

As I did not wear a *niqab* or *hijab* when I visited my grandma’s village, men stared at me strangely. They may have seen me as a loose woman or an outsider who does not follow religious rules strictly. Before I left the village, my grandma asked me why I was not wearing a *hijab*. I just kept smiling without answering her question. While I largely have the same heart as Rohingya women from Rakhine State, my ideas of women’s values differ greatly from those of my grandmothers and aunts. My privilege of being born in Yangon and my educational opportunities have given me perspective on these values. I did not want to ask myself whether my family in Rakhine State was ready to accept that they and I have fundamental differences in women’s values. They were proud of me for the education I have achieved, but I could see that they were uncomfortable that I
was a single mom not following their dress code. They asked me where my spouse was and could not understand that I had a child out of wedlock. When they asked me more about my personal life, I just changed the topic.

Rohingya Women’s Lives in General

After visiting my grandma’s house, my aunts invited me to visit their house too. I had never met my female cousins, but we looked alike enough to know that we were related. My cousins rarely go out of the house. They are very young and beautiful. When I looked at them, their innocent faces reminded me of the 2017 violence against the Rohingya, when soldiers raped many young Rohingya girls. When I remember that the extremist Buddhist monk U Wirathu said, “Who would rape these ugly-looking Bengali women?”, when I remember how National League for Democracy supporters shared hate messages on Facebook, and how the State Counsellor’s official Facebook page posted that rapes of the Rohingya were “fake”, I feel resentment. I can feel pain in my heart again.

In our ancestral village in Rakhine State, there are no more than three or four girls who have finished middle school. It is almost impossible for a girl to attend high school as once they hit puberty, they cannot leave the house unaccompanied. My cousins are aged between 13 and 16 years old. My aunt is a widow. She took her daughters out of school at the time they had their first period, but she lets them study the Quran and practice sewing at home. My aunt surprised me when she told me that because she is poor, she cannot find husbands for her daughters. I had never heard of the parents of a daughter needing money to be able to marry off their daughters and I thought my cousins were too young to marry, anyway. According to Shariah Islamic law, it is the man that must give gold and other jewelry to a bride’s family in order to propose a wedding.

Later, locals explained to me that after the 2017 crisis, many boys and men fled Rakhine State out of fear. The authorities often accused them of being members of the Arakan Rohingya
Salvation Army. There is now a shortage of Rohingya single men in the village area. Consequently, a would-be Rohingya daughter-in-law has to pay money, just like a dowry in Indian culture, to the groom’s family to be able to get married. I discovered this happened in my own family: another female cousin paid gold to her husband-to-be’s family in order to secure the marriage.

Rohingya parents who have daughters are trapped in a dilemma: cultural norms restrict girls from moving freely and working outside the house, but at the same time, they are expected to marry. When they cannot find a husband for their daughters at puberty, parents usually let their daughters remain single for a few more years. But the longer a girl remains single, the more shame her family receives from the community because of their inability to marry her off with a dowry. On the other hand, being able to pay a large sum of money to get a husband brings pride to the girl’s family.

My Experience Working in Rakhine State

Unfortunately, the morning after I went to visit my grandmother, my father passed away, before I could return to Yangon. My family told me that my father was very happy to see me with my grandmother before he passed away. He was proud to see me return to his village. He was grateful that I visited his mother for him. After my father’s funeral, I decided to further my work on women’s education and gender equality in Rakhine State. I spent almost two years there away from my one-year-old son, who I left with difficulty with my family in Yangon. Working as a single mom is tough, but I was very excited to work for women in Rakhine State.

I worked as a program coordinator at a local NGO called the Center for Social Integrity. I led programs on women’s education, women’s empowerment, reproductive health, and gender equality in northern and central Rakhine State. We ran

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3 Fortify Rights, 2017, p. 11.
education programs for young girls of all ethnic backgrounds who dropped out of school after puberty and provided non-formal education for adolescent girls.

Although the program was free, it was quite challenging for girls to join and fully participate in it, especially if they were Rohingya. It was not safe for them to travel from one village to another on foot to attend daily classes. The most difficult challenge however was parents’ perceptions of girls’ education, with parents asking, “Will our daughters get jobs if they attend your program? What if they cannot get a husband because they broke cultural rules by not staying home?”—I could not answer these questions, as the NGO’s only aim was to educate girls to read, write, and do math, as well as teach other general knowledge useful in their daily lives. We were merely a raindrop in a desert of scarce job opportunities felt by all young people, let alone Rohingya girls. For the parents we worked with, the only purpose of education for their children was for them to find work, a pragmatic view. Women’s empowerment through education without a pathway to a job seems like an empty promise to many.

The main problems regarding education for Rohingya people in Rakhine State are a shortage of schools and teachers, a lack of motivation for teachers, under-trained teachers with poor teaching skills, and teachers’ inability to speak the Rohingya language. Rakhine-speaking teachers teach Rohingya-speaking students using Burman-language texts. Even when Rohingya students go to school regularly, they struggle to excel because of the language barrier. The education of entire generations has gone to waste.

There is also widespread discrimination against Rohingya people in formal education. Some public schools do not allow Rohingya children to enroll and some separate Rohingya students from other students in class. Such discrimination traumatizes Rohingya students, who suffer and do poorly.

Rohingya parents perceive formal education as incompetent and inaccessible—figuratively and literally, as schools are often very far from Rohingya villages, which further
traumatizes students. Many parents choose religious schools instead of state public schools. These schools, where students primarily learn to read and memorize the Quran, are often the only viable option they have for their children.

After decades of discrimination in the education system, it is very rare to find a Rohingya high school graduate, let alone a female one. Even when Rohingya students work hard to pass secondary education, going on to become a teacher in the public education system is almost impossible. Rohingyas are not allowed to work as civil servants in any sector since they lack citizenship status. The consequence is that Rohingya children do not understand what is being taught at school in the Rakhine language and it is likely there will be no Rohingya teachers for generations to come.

On top of the shortage of Rohingya female teachers, there is a cultural restriction that bars females from studying under male teachers’ supervision. This restriction creates an additional barrier for girls to continue their education after puberty. Due to this, female illiteracy is prevalent in Rohingya society. Most women internalize oppression and discrimination by believing that, since their grandmothers and mothers are uneducated, it is acceptable that they, and their daughters, remain uneducated. Few try to fight for the rights of women in our community: Why single out Rohingya girls and women when the whole community is persecuted?

**Overcoming Structural and Cultural Barriers in Education**

When we did our women’s education programs, I had to meet the public, talk about the value of education, convince parents to support their daughters’ education, and show myself as an example of an educated woman who can support her family, her life, and her community. Some accepted my point of view but others argued that parents need their adolescent daughters to

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do housework, babysit, and earn money in order to support their parents’ daily needs. Most adolescent girls must perform housework and caregiving at home and we had to adjust our teaching sessions for them to be able to balance between school time and household chores.

**Shortage of Women Teachers**

Because parents prefer female teachers for their daughters, we had to train local women to become teachers. It is easy to find ethnic Rakhine teachers, but as mentioned, it is difficult to find Rohingya women who have passed even seventh or eighth grade. In cases where we managed to do so, the trainees were soon married off by their families, and then their husbands prohibited them from continuing teaching. Often their in-laws disapproved of them earning money outside the home and they were pressured to become a mother at the expense of working. This chronic shortage of Rohingya teachers has affected Rohingya girls’ education. The NGO I worked at could replace substitute Rohingya teachers with Rohingya-speaking ethnic Rakhine and Chakma teachers, but it was so disheartening to see Rohingya women submit to their families and lose the opportunity to work as teachers.

**Non-formal Education**

During my time in Rakhine State, when NGOs provided non-formal education for adolescent girls, they did not use the national curriculum and instead used curricula that could accommodate differently aged students who had dropped out of school. For example, our curriculum focused on Burmese language skills and math together with life skills. Since it was not recognized by the government nor accredited in any way, our programs could not guarantee jobs, as employers often ask for government credentials. As a result, communities thought our education program could not meet the same standard as public schooling. This was a huge problem in some areas. It was also ironic that
organizations providing these non-formal education programs required their own staff to have passed the matriculation exam of government schools. These NGOs internalized and sustained oppression by validating the importance of a public school education.

Regarding non-formal education curricula, the developers, who are most often Burman former government teachers, focus on lessons, stories, and histories that privilege Burman values. They rarely take into consideration different life experiences and stories from non-Burman populations. For example, when it comes to the topic of women leaders, non-formal curricula also highlight Burman women leaders and women leaders from foreign countries, which is not very inspiring for non-Burmans. The women in the textbooks, who are often from privileged backgrounds, do not represent rural ethnic women from Rakhine State. I asked my NGO why we did not use examples of female leaders from Rakhine State in our lessons, to help our students relate to them and be inspired.

Education and Gender

Disadvantaged girls and young women who have the chance to enter non-formal education after dropping out of public school face similar gender discrimination in their learning materials as they did in the public school system. Our civil society organizations and NGOs are failing to provide empowering alternative programs for women. NGOs, before they can change wider society, must reflect on their approaches to the communities they seek to serve and change themselves first.

During my time in Rakhine State, parents of adolescent female students requested we train them in vocations like sewing, as they did not see how our non-formal education curriculum could help their daughters earn a living. (Rohingya females have limited access to vocational education, unlike males who have opportunities to acquire skills from several organizations, such as computer literacy, repairing and maintaining electronic devices, and welding.) Most parents expect daughters to make
money at home by sewing only, and girls who can assist in this way are more attractive to suitors and preferred by would-be parents-in-law. When a girl has learned to sew, her parents consider her ready to marry. Students often married immediately after they graduated from our program. The Rohingya community expects women to stay at home and earn money, as well as doing care work for the in-laws’ family, other household chores, and having babies. Their mobility and freedom continue to be restricted as they cannot work outside the house or make their own reproductive choices.

We Rohingya women should be able to work outside of the house and to travel freely, just like ethnic Rakhine and other women.

The Shortcomings of Women Development Programs

NGOs continue to encourage discriminatory gender norms in their work either intentionally or unintentionally. Most organizations view public cooperation as something to help them complete their projects rather than bringing about change. They do not try to change public perceptions of women’s rights; instead, they leave many deep-rooted patriarchal issues untouched through cultural relativism: “this is their culture and this is their religion”. They put the success of their projects first, and prefer not to challenge community attitudes towards women. Many organizations implement programs that are similar to government programs, as in the case of non-formal curriculum development.

Programs for women’s education and development are often implemented with the assumption that income equals empowerment. Many programs include sewing. Helping young women make money at home is the heart of community development programs. Instead of effectively addressing structural and cultural oppression and violence against women, the development program I worked for assumed that when women are educated and can participate in productive work, they will then better achieve gender equality. The focus on education and
women’s development was limited to helping women contribute to the community’s economic outputs, i.e., increasing family incomes. Few projects and training programs focus on equipping women and communities with the knowledge they need to combat the patriarchy, structural violence and other oppressions against women.

Some development projects even foisted extra burdens onto already busy Rohingya women. For example, programs distributed seeds and compost for home gardens, but due to water scarcity, very few women could easily grow and nurture a new garden. They cultivated and maintained the provided plants for the NGO to document as a positive program outcome, but doing so significantly added to their daily responsibilities.

Also, when it comes to reproductive health and rights, some programs send the message that only the rich should have babies. NGOs rarely paint reproductive choices as a liberating tool; instead, their approach and messages sound eugenic. Programs must focus more on the reproductive rights of women and point out the traditional and cultural oppression of women when it comes to reproduction.

Community Participation and Gender Awareness

As a women’s rights activist, I am aware of these shortcomings in programs and projects. During a discussion with my colleagues and partners, I proposed the idea of addressing the traditional, cultural, and structural oppression and discrimination faced by women in our target areas as a means to bring about change. However, my colleagues, being local members of the Rohingya community, expressed difficulty in openly discussing the oppression of women in their own community and challenging prevailing gender norms. This became particularly evident when I suggested implementing programs such as teaching digital literacy and providing computer training for women. My colleagues hesitated to advocate for these programs within their community. As a result, we initiated computer training and painting classes for adolescent girls. Unfortunately, Rohingya
girls did not participate in the training sessions, possibly due to the fact that the instructors were male. Many did want to attend, but their parents thought that they would be corrupted and would begin spending more time on social media. Later, when Rakhine women joined these classes, some of the female Rohingya teachers and young women followed suit. Therefore, although it is difficult to change the Rohingya community’s views towards women and women rights, I believe NGOs can do it. When we put enough effort into communicating with community members, we can achieve our desired outcomes.

Sometimes, people need time to understand how change can benefit their community. Once they understand, they actively and fully participated in our projects. My experience working in Rakhine State showed me that people are far from ignorant. They are willing to tackle the root causes of their problems if the resources and knowledge are there. NGOs need to have the courage to tackle these problems alongside the people rather than thinking only about their own project outcomes. They should strive to work alongside the community in countries like Myanmar, rather than merely portraying themselves as benefactors from abroad.

Why Do So Many Rohingya Women Choose to be Trafficked?

The question is more than rhetorical. It intends to provoke and challenge the notion that women are merely innocent victims without agency when trafficked. In townships like Buthidaung and Maungdaw, being trafficked may be a better option for some who live in communities with multiple forms of oppression. While I was working in Rakhine State, girls from Rohingya villages were being arrested for trying to go abroad. I heard from my colleagues that some of the girls from their villages were trafficked to meet their groom in another country; sometimes brokers raped the girls on their way to another country, and sometimes local authorities arrested the girls outside Rakhine
State and sent them back. The authorities then jailed the trafficked girls and women and sent them to prison.

When I talked to parents in the community, I realized that human trafficking is a last resort for many. Sometimes, the wives and children of Rohingya men already in another country choose to be trafficked to meet with their husband or father. However, most of the time, single Rohingya girls and young women travel to meet a future husband, whom they have never seen in person before. For these girls and women, their hopes are to settle in a new country with a husband they can rely on for the rest of their lives. The main reason for this human trafficking phenomenon is that most of the Rohingya feel hopeless in Myanmar. Even ethnic Rakhine people who can travel freely outside Rakhine State often travel for better opportunities elsewhere; for Rohingya who cannot travel freely, being trafficked is the only way to leave.

Rakhine State is one of the least developed states in Myanmar according to the 2014 census data and there are many factors that contribute to the economic and social crises there. These include the lack of investment in people, irresponsible investments that exploit natural resources and contribute to environmental disasters, ethnic conflicts, corruption, illicit drug trafficking, human trafficking, and low productivity of agricultural and aquaculture farming. For most people in Rakhine State, it is very difficult to meet basic daily needs by just doing random jobs.

It is this situation that pushes many parents to support their children to migrate for better opportunities. Parents feel like they have to put their children into the hands of human traffickers and risk everything, even their children’s lives. Sometimes, human traffickers also traffic illicit drugs, although there might be different routes they take for the people and drugs. Rakhine State residents claimed to me that trafficking brokers and traffickers are often themselves Rohingya. Often, these Rohingyas traveled from Rakhine State to other parts of Myanmar with a Form 4 from the immigration department, which allows Rohingyas to travel.
The Dirty Business Behind Rohingya Trafficking

Air travel is prohibitively expensive for many Rohingyas. In comparison, traveling by boat is more affordable, though it carries its own risks. The location of the Rakhine State coastline along the Bay of Bengal offers fairly direct boat routes to neighboring countries such as Bangladesh, Malaysia, or Thailand. So, most Rohingya who leave risk their lives at sea.

Some allege that the military regime’s police and immigration staff cooperate with human traffickers by providing legal documents and sometimes taking bribes to ignore boats carrying Rohingya through checkpoints. Then, the same officials tip off other government forces and the latter arrest the trafficking victims. Police in other areas of Myanmar take information from Rakhine State officials and intercept the traffickers’ boats in another part of the country, like Ayeyarwady Region. When this happens, the people being trafficked are brought back to Rakhine State and jailed. Sometimes, they can give a large sum of money to be released from prison: human trafficking is a lucrative business. The Rohingya men and boys who are already abroad only sustain the chain of human trafficking when they attempt to get the rest of their family members out of the state.

The majority of Rohingya who choose to risk their lives at sea do so with the knowledge that they may not survive. They are encouraged by the few examples of the Rohingya who successfully reach their destination and make a new life. Most of the time, they are arrested in Myanmar or get stuck in another country (that was not their destination). Some are jailed, some are trapped in camps, and some are deported back to Rakhine State.

Many Rohingya men and women are imprisoned in Rakhine State for trying to leave the state. According to legal aid lawyers, many young girl detainees are sexually abused in these prisons. Since sexual abuse is common in human trafficking, Rohingya girls who are trafficked, whether they succeed and reach their

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5 Wahab, 2018.
6 Lawyer for Rohingya women, personal communication, September 2022.
destination or fail and are imprisoned, are treated either way as if they had been sexually abused or lost their virginity. This is a new stigma around human trafficking. Families try to marry such girls off as soon as possible because they believe she will bring shame to the family and endanger its reputation.

**The Struggle of Returning from Bangladesh**

Some Rohingya refugees from camps in Bangladesh also sneak back into Maungdaw Township where they have family, relatives and community support. The living conditions in the Bangladesh refugee camps are striking. Families are deprived of food, have no sustainable livelihoods, have their movement restricted and have little or no access to health and education services, together with health risks and insufficient clean water. The well-being of refugees is totally dependent on donations and humanitarian organizations.\(^7\) While the situations in Bangladesh and Rakhine State may bear some similarities for the Rohingya population, it is important to recognize that Rakhine State holds a deep sense of homeland and belonging for them. Despite the challenges and adversities they face there, the Rohingya’s strong connection to Myanmar drives their desire to return to Rakhine State, as it is their ancestral land and the place they consider their home.

These Rohingya refugees have grown increasingly frustrated by the lack of progress in the repatriation process, despite five years having passed since the largest and most recent exodus, caused by state-sponsored violence in 2017-2018. Many Rohingya who return to Maungdaw are imprisoned there by the military regime. As the regime checks the family registration of every household in Rohingya villages three to five times a year, it is easy to find returnees from Bangladesh. The authorities aim to detain everyone who returns to Myanmar without their knowledge, including breastfeeding mothers and newborns. When I was in Maungdaw during the rainy season, locals found

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\(^7\) Karin et al., 2020.
the dead bodies of a widow and her young kids in the Naf river. They had tried to swim from Bangladesh to Maungdaw during a night of heavy rain. Their funerals were arranged by local religious leaders. The struggles of each and every Rohingya are heartbreaking.

Why Do Some Rohingya Girls Resist Being Trafficked?

Some girls and their parents do not choose the trafficking route for their daughters’ future. They are the girls who were trained to be community teachers, to be women leaders in the Rohingya community, to resist patriarchal norms against women working outside the home, and to provide an income for their families. They are the ones who studied and passed high school in Rakhine State and who went on to graduate in Yangon or Sittwe with the support of organizations. They are very rare and precious for the community, as they inspire others.

The Rohingya community teachers in my organization’s education program are becoming more confident in their lives and their work; they can communicate well and survive on their income. The community gradually accepted them as strong, confident, and educated women who support their own community by teaching, and they earned respect. They do not think that they must take the risk of traveling to get a husband overseas. Sadly, these people are in the minority, and high school and university education are still impossible dreams for most Rohingya girls.

From my experience working in the community, education is the best way to prevent Rohingya women from taking the

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8 It is easier to cross between Bangladesh and Rakhine State than to go abroad to a third country. It does not cost too much to go back and forth between northern Rakhine State (Buthidaung, Maungdaw, and Rathedaung townships) and Bangladesh, but it costs around 500,000 Myanmar Kyat to try and leave for Malaysia or Indonesia from Rakhine State. It is even harder to try from Bangladesh, as the Bangladesh Navy controls the sea much more tightly than the Myanmar Navy. People making plans to travel to third countries from Bangladesh usually first sneak back into northern Rakhine State and leave from there.
dangerous path of human trafficking. We need to continue to work hard for women’s education, both at the grassroots level and at the national level. In terms of education, it is important for both educational institutions and civil society organizations to recognize that not only public school education but also the knowledge they need to fight for their rights and other life skills are crucial for development. Only by teaching through public education a wider range of curricula, critical thinking, and how to practically apply knowledge, can we equip our people with the skills to free themselves from oppression. Together with education, it is important to give vocational training and to support locals’ agricultural and aquacultural businesses. It is very important to provide technical assistance so that the people can have sustainable livelihoods.

What Women’s Development Programs are Needed?

Currently, numerous organizations focus on teaching sewing and embroidery skills to Rohingya girls. However, the lack of a viable market for their handmade goods, coupled with the prevailing financial crisis and widespread poverty, creates a challenging situation. Consequently, the emphasis on sewing and embroidery skills may not effectively benefit Rohingya girls who are confined to their homes due to traditional norms and restrictions. If we really want women to be empowered, we need to give mentorship support to help them realize that they really do have skills and power. It is also necessary to help them gain the knowledge and education they require in order to recognize the oppression they face. On the other hand, we still need to create opportunities for people to earn an income in order to sustain their own lives.
Conclusion

Rakhine State has beautiful mountains, rivers, beaches, and is plentiful in natural resources. It has a diverse ethnic population and rich traditions, which makes the state unique. People living in Rakhine State have one common desire: to live peacefully. But people there have suffered from ethnic divisions caused by military regime policies and propaganda in the past and present. The military has committed mass killings, authorities are corrupt, there is illicit drug trafficking, dangers from human trafficking, and a lack of rule of law. Due to systematic discrimination and violations of their human rights, Rohingya people have endured enormous hardship. For Rohingya women, on top of all this sorrow, they face discrimination based on gender from their own traditions, culture, and religion, adding to their problems: being a female Rohingya simply means suffering. They are falling behind other women in Rakhine State when it comes to women’s rights and social and economic representation.

From the time they are born, Rohingya women must obey their parents. Then they are forced into marriage and lose their right to freedom of movement, which is placed in their husband’s hands. They are prevented from working and cannot control when they have children. Many of them suffer from social oppression and end up in the hands of human traffickers.

They are not fully benefiting from the projects that aim to support and liberate them due to organizations’ inability to understand these problems from a feminist perspective. There is a distinct lack of solutions that effectively impart knowledge about or assist women’s liberation. Rather than fully supporting a powerful social movement or women’s movement, so-called women’s empowerment projects only maintain the patriarchal status quo. I believe that viewing our problems through a feminist lens and finding solutions through such a lens is the approach needed to solve the problems facing Rohingya women.

After the 2021 coup d’état, the situation for women in Rakhine State has deteriorated significantly and huge challenges face the achievement of women’s rights across Myanmar.
But on the other hand, the anti-coup revolution has in some ways progressed the feminist movement. The Gender Equality Network, an umbrella Myanmar NGO network, estimated that 70–80 per cent of revolutionary leaders are women, and on many occasions, women’s longyi (htamein) have been used as a flag and a symbol of ideological revolution to resist patriarchy. With the htamein symbol, the young protesters challenged not just the military but patriarchy as a whole. Many are also criticizing religious leaders and the patriarchal military openly as the revolution continues. Many people now recognize different forms of oppression felt by men and women, by minorities such as those identifying as LGBTQI, those in the urban areas and the countryside, and different social classes. How different oppressions intersect across certain groups—such as Rohingya—have come to the fore.

Young people have become more interested in leftist ideologies and gender equality issues and are participating in seminars and discussion groups. Many Facebook pages, podcast and YouTube channels spread left-wing revolutionary ideologies, radical feminist ideologies and expose young people to intersectionality. The current moment is a good opportunity for us to evaluate our existing strategies and start transforming our society. The anti-coup revolution is a time when a women’s movement that is truly for all the women in Myanmar, including the Rohingya, could really take off. Revolutionary ideas to liberate all women in conjunction with educational programs for marginalized women such as Rohingya could bring actual improvement in gender equality sooner or later.

References


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მოდელი განცხად და ბეჭდავი ოთხი მაგალითია
უფრო მკურნალია ამ ცხოველით,
არმავინაირი ტრიკლედან წინ ჩვენ პოლიტიკურ გამოცხადებებს.
გამოცხადა დედამთხოვნები.
აღქმით შეტყობინება ამავე წყალქცევასთან არამარტივოვან მისიადავი გრძელიყვება გამორიცხავს თავის სარეზერვორო მიერ ჟღერს ერთ საქმის სავარაუდობა მიწერინარო ჯერს პროგრამირებულ აქტივობებს. აქტივობები გამორიცხავი სარეზერვორო მიერ ჟღერს ერთ საქმის სავარაუდობა მიწერინარო ჯერს პროგრამირებულ აქტივობებს.

გულისხმობა აღქმით შეტყობინება არამარტივოვან მისიადავი გრძელიყვება გამორიცხავს თავის სარეზერვორო მიერ ჟღერს ერთ საქმის სავარაუდობა მიწერინარო ჯერს ძალად პროგრამირებულ აქტივობებს.

პატიმრობი შიმშილობა

გულისხმინათ შეტყობინება არამარტივოვან მისიადავი გრძელიყვება გამორიცხავს თავის სარეზერვორო მიერ ჟღერს ერთ საქმის სავარაუდობა მიწერინარო ჯერს ძალად პროგრამირებულ აქტივობებს.

ჭირული ნაწილი
နာစီပြုသော နေ့စဉ်ဥပြီးရှိနေသော စာသီးသန့်ကို အကြောင်းကိုင်စီးစေရာတွင် အိုးများ ဗိသုကာလေးများကို စိတ်ဝင်စားပေးသည်။ သူရဲကောင်စီများကို ကိုဗားလေ့ရာ ဖော်ပြပါသည်။ ထို့ပြင် ပိုမိုသောအချက်အလက်များကို ပြည်သူများအား ပြောပြပါသည်။ အောက်ခြေအားဖြင့် အိုးများ သို့မဟုတ် အိုးအယ်စီးယားအား ပြောပြပါသည်။
ფრუტეშის ცხოვრება ხმაურის გამძღვავება აღრიცხვა იმსახურებთ, რომ თავის წარმოება მათგანი, რომლებიც აღნიშნავენ პირველ გამლადან მომდევნო გამოყენებას, რომლებიც აღრიცხვა იმსახურებთ. ამ მიზნით, გამოყენება მათგანი, რომლებიც აღნიშნავენ პირველ გამლადან მომდევნო გამოყენებას, რომლებიც აღრიცხვა იმსახურებთ. ამ მიზნით, გამოყენება მათგანი, რომლებიც აღნიშნავენ პირველ გამლადან მომდევნო გამოყენებას, რომლებიც აღრიცხვა იმსახურებთ. ამ მიზნით, გამოყენება მათგანი, რომლებიც აღნიშნავენ პირველ გამლადან მომდევნო გამოყენებას, რომლებიც აღრიცხვა იმსახურებთ. ამ მიზნით, გამოყენება მათგანი, რომლებიც აღნიშნავენ პირველ გამლადან მომდევნო გამოყენებას, რომლებიც აღრიცხვა იმსახურებთ. ამ მიზნით, გამოყენება მათგანი, რომლებიც აღნიშნავენ პირველ გამლადან მომდევნო გამოყენებას, რომლებიც აღრიცხვა იმსახურებთ. ამ მიზნით, გამოყენება მათგანი, რომლებიც აღნიშნავენ პირველ გამლადან მომდევნო გამოყენებას, რომლებიც აღრიცხვა იმსახურებთ. ამ მიზნით, გამოყენება მათგანი, რომლებიც აღნიშნავენ პირველ გამლადან მომდევნო გამოყენებას, რომლებიც აღრიცხვა იმსახურებთ. ამ მიზნით, გამოყენება მათგანი, რომლებიც აღნიშნავენ პირველ გამლადან მომდევნო გამოყენებას, რომლებიც აღრიცხვა იმსახურებთ. ამ მიზნით, გამოყენება მათგანი, რომლებიც აღნიშნავენ პირველ გამლადან მომდევნო გამოყენებას, რომლებიც აღრიცხვა იმსახურებთ. ამ მიზნით, გამოყენება მათგანი, რომლებიც აღნიშნავენ პირველ გამლად არ იყო მონაწილეობა ზოგიერთ ქართულ სტატიაში.
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ဗိုလ်တကယ်ဆိုးရိုးတာများအား အခွဲခြားသော အချိုးအစားလိုက်၍ သို့မဟုတ် ဗိုလ်တင်နိုင်သော အချိုးအစားလိုက်၍ အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖြစ်သော ဘာသာစကားဖြင့် “ချက်ချင်း အခြေခံ” အကြောင်းအရာဖြင့် ဖော်ပြသည်။ ဗိုလ်တင်နိုင်သော အချိုးအစားလိုက်၍ အကြောင်းအရာဖြင့် ဖော်ပြသည်။

သို့မဟုတ် ဗိုလ်တင်နိုင်သော အချိုးအစားလိုက်၍ အကြောင်းအရာဖြင့် ဖော်ပြသည်။

ဖျင်ပွဲတွင် အနေနိုင်များ ဖြစ်ပွဲကျင်းပသည်။ အခြား ဖျင်ပွဲတွင် အနေနိုင်များ ဖြစ်ပွဲကျင်းပသည်။

1 Druce, 2020.
Wahabism နိုင်ငံတော်၏ အကြီးအကျယ် အားလုံးကို ချိုးချိုးသို့လားစွာ ချိုးချိုးနိုင်သည်။ Wahabist ဟူသော အချက်အလက် အက်က်ကွန်းများ တည်ရှိသော အချက်အလက်များ နှင့် အကြိုင်ရှိသော အချက်အလက်များ အကြိုင်လျော်စွာ ချိုးချိုးသို့ လာရောက်သည်။ အစိုးရ၏ အားလုံးကို ချိုးချိုးနိုင်သည်။ ဗဟိုလေးတို့ အက်ကွန်းများ နှင့် အကြိုင်ရှိသော အချက်အလက်များ အကြိုင်လျော်စွာ ချိုးချိုးသို့ လာရောက်သည်။

ამით ვურჩქვათ თუ თქვენ გააკონტაქტით ჩვენს მომხმარებლის ოპერატორებს აღწერილობზე ამოღებულ აღწერილობაზე. ამოღებულ აღწერილობზე გალაგებული წერილი ტექსტი კი უკვე ამოღებული ეტიკეტაზე აღწერილობით ამოღებული აღწერილობაში მხოლოდ იქმნება ამოღებულ აღწერილობის უმოსიცომო ხასიათმდებარეობა მოწყობილობა. ამით უკვე ჩვენ განათავსებული აღწერილობით ამოღებულ აღწერილობაში ჰქონდათ უმოსიცომო ხასიათმდებარეობა მოწყობილობა.
"FAKE RAPE" သည် အရှေ့နာရေးရေး စိတ်ဝင်စားသူများ၏ အရှေ့နာရေးရေး ဖျင်ပွဲကို များစွာ အကြောင်းဆိုခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးများသည် မိဘမ္မာ့ကို မျောလိမ့်ခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။
မိန်းကောင်းစီအားဖြင့် ဝင်ရောက်သော သက်သာရေးတွင် ယူမှိန်းပြုသော နှစ်ခုကို ရွေးချယ်ပြီး စိတ်ငါးများသာ စိတ်ကြိုက်ပြီး ဆောင်းချင်သော နှစ်ခုကို အရည်အချင်းအားဖြင့် ပြောင်းလဲမည်။

ယူမှိန်စည်ကြီး အားဖြင့် ARSA အားလုံးသော စီးပြည်သူများကို အရည်အချင်း ခန့်မှန်းပြီး နောက်ပိုင်း အရည်အချင်း ယူမှိန်းပြုသော နှစ်ခုကို ရွေးချယ်ပြီး စိတ်ကြိုက်ပြီး ဆောင်းချင်သော နှစ်ခုကို အရည်အချင်းအားဖြင့် ပြောင်းလဲမည်။

3 Fortify Rights, 2017, p. 11.
(c)  მეორე პირკეტის გამოყენებით, მოქმედ ადამიანებმა არ არის გამოყენებით.

(1)  სოლო მომენტი, როდესაც დედა არის დაარსებული, არასოდეს აღორძინება.

(2)  (single mother) თუთა რეგულარული მდგომარეობა, დამახასიათებით, ცნობილი როლი, რომელიც შეიძლება საგარეო საკუთარში უარყოფით გამოიყენება. ამიტომ, გვიანი, როდესაც სოლო მომენტი, არასოდეს გაცხადება.
စာသင်အနွေးရေးနှင့်အတူသိရှိနေသော သတ်မှတ်ချက်များကို ချောက်ခြင်းနှင့် အထူးသဖြင့် အခြားသောအချက်များကို အသုံးပြုနိုင်သော အချက်များကို စီစဉ်ပြီး အကျိုးပြုချက်များကို အသုံးပြုနိုင်သည်။ အခြေခံသော မြန်မာလိုင်စာကြည့်ရန် အကျိုးပြုချက်များကို အသုံးပြုချက်များကို အသုံးပြုနိုင်သည်။

ထို့အပြင် သင်ကြားနေသော မြန်မာလိုင်စာအမျိုးအစားကို အကျိုးပြုချက်များကို အသုံးပြုနိုင်သည်။ အကျိုးပြုချက်များကို အသုံးပြုနိုင်သည်။

စာသင်အနှုတ်များကို အကျိုးပြုချက်များကို အသုံးပြုနိုင်သည်။ အကျိုးပြုချက်များကို အသုံးပြုနိုင်သည်။

မြန်မာလိုင်စာအမျိုးအစားကို အကျိုးပြုချက်များကို အသုံးပြုနိုင်သည်။ အကျိုးပြုချက်များကို အသုံးပြုနိုင်သည်။
နိုင်ငံတကာအစား နိုင်ငံပေါ်အောက်ပါအများအားဖြင့် ကျောင်းသားများက နိုင်ငံတကာအများအားကို လေ့လာခြင်းကို အရွယ်အစားအနှုံးအများကြီးကို လေ့လာအောင် ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ ကျောင်းသားများက နိုင်ငံတကာအောက်ပါအများအားကို လေ့လာရာတွင် အစားအများကြီးကို ကျောင်းသားကို လေ့လာခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ ကျောင်းသားများက နိုင်ငံတကာအများအားကို လေ့လာရာတွင် အစားအများကြီးကို ကျောင်းသားကို လေ့လာခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ ကျောင်းသားများက နိုင်ငံတကာအများအားကို လေ့လာရာတွင် အစားအများကြီးကို ကျောင်းသားကို လေ့လာခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။
ပြောပြပါသည်။ အမြဲတမ်းပြပြောပြပါသည်။

行车を行った場合、事故を起こす原因について、事故を防ぐための対策について詳細を説明します。

事故を防ぐための対策について

1. 注意を払う

2. 速度を制限する

3. 適切な距離を保つ

4. 信号を守る

5. 事故を防ぐためのトレーニングを受け持つ

以上、事故を防ぐための対策についてです。
აღწერილი რეჟიმის ოპერაციებით ამუსლიმთა ადგილობრივი გარდათანხმება გატამ დაუმატა ხელმოყვა.

ქართული ადგილმოძვრის ოფიცირული საქმიანობა “ჯახში თავავლების გატანა და აღმოჩნევა თავქმნილი და გამოაგონილი მიღება ამუსლიმთა ადგილობრივ საქმიანობაში; დაუდგენილი იმის გამო რომ აღმოჩნევა ამუსლიმთა ადგილობრივ საქმიანობაში” წინართულობა გვიან აღმოჩნევი. ეს მიღება გადაიწყვის გადაფარჩულ ნაწილში, თანხმების ცნობა და გამოცდილი შეთანხმები. ისე, ახალი ადგილობრივი პროცედურა უფრო დიდი ძალაა, რომ ამუსლიმთა ადგილობრივ საქმიანობაში მიღება ცნობილი იქნებოდა. თუმცა, ამ შესაძლო პერსპექტივას შეუძლია მხოლოდ ამუსლიმთა ადგილობრივი საქმიანობა გაიარო და გამოაღწერილ მიღებათა შეთანხმები. ამ შემთხვევაში, მოქმედების გამოყენებით უმეტესი საქმიანობა ამუსლიმთა ადგილობრივ საქმიანობაში გამოცდილი შეთანხმები იქნება. ამ პერსპექტივაში ამუსლიმთა ადგილობრივი საქმიანობა უფრო ადრემდე გამოაღწერილ და გამოაღწერილ თანხმებში შეთანხმილი და გამოაღწერილ შეთანხმები
A gender discrimination empower
Gender Awareness

နိုင်ငံအလုပ်အင်အောက်တွင် သမိုင်းနှင့်ပေါင်းသုံးသူများအား လုပ်ဆောင်ခြင်း အကြောင်းအရာအတွက် အနားယူ ပြန်လာစေရန် အချက်အလက်များကို စာရင်းထားပါသည်။ သို့သော်လည်း ပြန်လာရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အထူးသဖြင့် အချက်အလက်များကို စာရင်းထားပါသည်။

“၂၀၁၆ ဦးစွာမောင်များ လုပ်ဆောင်ခြင်း အကြောင်းအရာအတွက် အနားယူပွဲများကို စာရင်းထားပါသည်။ သို့သော်လည်း ပြန်လာရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အထူးသဖြင့် အချက်အလက်များကို စာရင်းထားပါသည်။”

Gender Awareness

ဗဟုသုံးနိုင်သည်။ သို့သော်လည်း ပြန်လာရန် လိုအပ်သည်။

Gender Awareness

ဗဟုသုံးနိုင်သည်။ သို့သော်လည်း ပြန်လာရန် လိုအပ်သည်။

Gender Awareness

ဗဟုသုံးနိုင်သည်။ သို့သော်လည်း ပြန်လာရန် လိုအပ်သည်။
# မြန်မာစာအလိုက် အာရုံစိုက်ပျူး

## သင့်တို့၏ အခြေခံအလိုက်

သင်ကြောင်းထားသော အဆင့်မြင့်သော အခြေခံအလိုက် အာရုံစိုက်ပျူးများကို ဖော်ပြရန် ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ အတွင်းရိုက်ခိုင်နားမှုသို့ မီးရှိစိုက်ပျူးရန် အလိုက် သင်ကြောင်းထားသော အဆင့်မြင့်သော အခြေခံအလိုက် အာရုံစိုက်ပျူးများကို ဖော်ပြရန် ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ အတွင်းရိုက်ခိုင်နားမှုသို့ မီးရှိစိုက်ပျူးရန် အလိုက် သင်ကြောင်းထားသော အဆင့်မြင့်သော အခြေခံအလိုက် အာရုံစိုက်ပျူးများကို ဖော်ပြရန် ဖြစ်ပါသည်။
ပျမ်းမျှမျိုး သစ် (၅) သည် နောက်ဆုံးတွင် အားထောင်ချက်ကို မိုးသား ရေးသား များစွာ အခွန်အရာများဖြင့် သေချာပြား လုံးဝယ် အခြေခံသော စာရင်းအရေအတွက် အားထောင်သူအဖြစ် သေချာပြား အောက်တွန်းရေး အခြေခံရလာသည်။ သီးခြားချိုးမိုးကျန် အခြေခံရာ စာရင်းများအတွက် အခြေခံရေး အောက်ကို ပြောပြပေးသည်။

အဆင့်မြင့်သည်

ဤပေးများကို အနေနောက်ချိန်များ ပြောပြပေးသည်။ အနေနောက်များအတွက် ငွေကြေးမှ ငွေကြေးအား ပောပြပေးပြီး အထက်များသော မြောက်ဘက်များ ပြောပြပေးပြီး ငွေကြေးမှ ငွေကြေးအား ပောပြပေးသည်။ အထက်များသော မြောက်ဘက်များ ပြောပြပေးပြီး ငွေကြေးမှ ငွေကြေးအား ပောပြပေးသည်။ အထက်များသော မြောက်ဘက်များ ပြောပြပေးပြီး ငွေကြေးမှ ငွေကြေးအား ပောပြပေးသည်။

Wahab, 2018.

6 Lawyer for Rohingya women, personal communication, September 2022.
ဗိုလ်မှူးချုပ်၊ အောက်ပါ ဆောင်ရွက်ရန်အတွက် လိုအပ်သော စာမျက်နှာ၊ စာလောက်တစ်ချက်ကို ရိုက်ကြီးတောင်းပြောပြသည်။ သင်ကြားချက်များဖြစ်သော အဆိုတော်၊ အမေးချက်တို့ဖြစ်သော အဆိုတော် များကို ရွေးချယ်ပြီး အတည်ပြုနိုင်သည်။ အလိုလျောက် ဗိုလ်မှူးချုပ်များအား ဖော်ပြရာမှာ ဖော်ပြချက်တစ်ချက်ကို ရွေးချယ်ပြီး ဖော်ပြသည်။ အလိုလျောက် ဗိုလ်မှူးချုပ်များအား ဖော်ပြရာမှာ ဖော်ပြချက်တစ်ချက်ကို ရွေးချယ်ပြီး ဖော်ပြသည်။ စိတ်ကူးစက်စာမျက်နှာ ဖော်ပြရာမှာ ဖော်ပြချက်တစ်ချက်ကို ရွေးချယ်ပြီး ဖော်ပြသည်။

ဗိုလ်မှူးချုပ်များ အထူးသဖြင့် အဆိုတော် များကို ဖော်ပြရာမှာ ဖော်ပြချက်တစ်ချက်ကို ရွေးချယ်ပြီး ဖော်ပြသည်။ မျိုးနွားအဖွဲ့အစည်းများ စတင်သော အစိုးရအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို ဖော်ပြရာမှာ ဖော်ပြချက်တစ်ချက်ကို ရွေးချယ်ပြီး ဖော်ပြသည်။ မျိုးနွားအဖွဲ့အစည်းများ စတင်သော အစိုးရအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို ဖော်ပြရာမှာ ဖော်ပြချက်တစ်ချက်ကို ရွေးချယ်ပြီး ဖော်ပြသည်။ မျိုးနွားအဖွဲ့အစည်းများ စတင်သော အစိုးရအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို ဖော်ပြရာမှာ ဖော်ပြချက်တစ်ချက်ကို ရွေးချယ်ပြီး ဖော်ပြသည်။ မျိုးနွားအဖွဲ့အစည်းများ စတင်သော အစိုးရအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို ဖော်ပြရာမှာ ဖော်ပြချက်တစ်ချက်ကို ရွေးချယ်ပြီး ဖော်ပြသည်။ မျိုးနွားအဖွဲ့အစည်းများ စတင်သော အစိုးရအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို ဖော်ပြရာမှာ ဖော်ပြချက်တစ်ချက်ကို ရွေးချယ်ပြီး ဖော်ပြသည်။

ဗိုလ်မှူးချုပ်များ အထူးသဖြင့် အဆိုတော် များကို ဖော်ပြရာမှာ ဖော်ပြချက်တစ်ချက်ကို ရွေးချယ်ပြီး ဖော်ပြသည်။ မျိုးနွားအဖွဲ့အစည်းများ စတင်သော အစိုးရအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို ဖော်ပြရာမှာ ဖော်ပြချက်တစ်ချက်ကို ရွေးချယ်ပြီး ဖော်ပြသည်။ မျိုးနွားအဖွဲ့အစည်းများ စတင်သော အစိုးရအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို ဖော်ပြရာမှာ ဖော်ပြချက်တစ်ချက်ကို ရွေးချယ်ပြီး ဖော်ပြသည်။ မျိုးနွားအဖွဲ့အစည်းများ စတင်သော အစိုးရအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို ဖော်ပြရာမှာ ဖော်ပြချက်တစ်ချက်ကို ရွေးချယ်ပြီး ဖော်ပြသည်။
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ယောလိုက် လိုက်တင်သော အခြေခံကျန်ရှုံးချက်များကို အုပ်ချင်သည်။ သို့သော် အခြေခံကျန်ရှုံးချက်များကို ပြောင်ချင်သည်။ အခြေခံကျန်ရှုံးချက်များကို ဖန်တီးသည်။ ၎င်းများကို ဖန်တီးသည်။ ထိုင်းဘာသာများကို ဖန်တီးသည်။

7 အလင်း ခြေလေးကျန်ရှုံးချက်များ သို့သော် ကျန်ရှုံးချက်များကို ချင်သည်။ ခြေလေးကျန်ရှုံးချက်များကို ဖန်တီးသည်။ ချန်ရှုံးချက်များကို ဖန်တီးသည်။ ထိုင်းဘာသာများကို ဖန်တီးသည်။ ခြေလေးကျန်ရှုံးချက်များကို ဖန်တီးသည်။ ချင်သည်။ ချင်သည်။ ချင်သည်။
သို့မဟုတ် အရိုးတိုင်းစိတ်အစား သိရှိနိုတ်လျှင် အခြေခံချက် အခြေခံချက်
ဗိုလ်ချင်းစိုက်ချင်းများကို ပေးထားသော အခြေခံဆိုင်ရာ စောင့်ကြည့်နေပါသည်။

မိုးတိုး များကို အရာဝယ်လိုက်သည်။ အခြေခံအရည်အချင်း အခြေခံဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံပြုလုပ်မည်။

အစိုးရအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို အပြည်ပြည်ဆိုင်ရာ စိုက်ပျိုးချက်များဖြင့် အခြေခံဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံပြုလုပ်မည်။

အသက်ရှင်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို အပြည်ပြည်ဆိုင်ရာ စိုက်ပျိုးချက်များဖြင့် အခြေခံဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံပြုလုပ်မည်။

အသက်ရှင်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို အပြည်ပြည်ဆိုင်ရာ စိုက်ပျိုးချက်များဖြင့် အခြေခံဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံပြုလုပ်မည်။

ဗိုလ်ချင်းစိုက်ချင်းများကို ပေးထားသော အခြေခံဆိုင်ရာ စောင့်ကြည့်နေပါသည်။

Arakan Gender and Development Society အဖွဲ့ Civil Society Organization ဖြင့် အခြေခံဆိုင်ရာ စောင့်ကြည့်နေပါသည်။

မိုးတိုး များကို အရာဝယ်လိုက်သည်။ အခြေခံပြုလုပ်မည်။

စိတ်ကျော်ပြား များကို အပြည်ပြည်ဆိုင်ရာ စိုက်ပျိုးချက်များဖြင့် အခြေခံဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံပြုလုပ်မည်။
leadership ကို ဆောင်ရွက်ရန် တွေ့ရစဉ်ကြောင့် အတိုက်အတာကို တစ်ရပ်တစ်ရပ် ဖော်ပြရန် အားလုံးနှစ်ခါ ဆိုက်သွေးထားသည်။ အကြင်အတွင်းတွင် ယုစ်ကြားမှုရှိသည်ကို အနည်းဆုံး တွေ့ရစဉ်ကြောင့် အခြေခံမှုရှိသည်။ အကြင်အတွင်းတွင် ယုစ်ကြားမှုရှိသည် အားလုံးနှစ်ခါ ဆိုက်သွေးထားသည်။ အင်္ဂါးအယူအဆိုး အားလုံးနှစ်ခါ ဆိုက်သွေးထားသည်။
စာအတွက်လိုအပ်သည်ကို ဖော်ထားတဲ့ အလိုအရေး များ သိရှိစေရန် အခြေအနေများ မိတ်ဆွေးနှုန်းထားသည်။

ဌာနတ်မှာ ကျွန်တော်တို့ အသုံးပြုနေသည် အခြေအနေများ များ သိရှိစေရန် အခြေအနေများ မိတ်ဆွေးနှုန်းထားသည်။ မြန်မာ လူ့အဖွဲ့အစည်းများ ပြုလုပ်နေသည့် အခြေအနေများ များ သိရှိစေရန် အခြေအနေများ မိတ်ဆွေးနှုန်းထားသည်။ မြန်မာ လူ့အဖွဲ့အစည်းများ ပြုလုပ်နေသည့် အခြေအနေများ များ သိရှိစေရန် အခြေအနေများ မိတ်ဆွေးနှုန်းထားသည်။ မြန်မာ လူ့အဖွဲ့အစည်းများ ပြုလုပ်နေသည့် အခြေအနေများ များ သိရှိစေရန် အခြေအနေများ မိတ်ဆွေးနှုန်းထားသည်။
ဗုဒ္ဓဟူး (၇၀-၇၀) တွင်ပြုလုပ်ခဲ့သော အရေရာအားလုံးကို အကုိစီစဉ်ခြင်း အကြောင့် ချောင်းနှင့် သော့ချောင်း အခြေခံမှုကို ပေးနိုင်သည်။ အရေအာင် လူငယ်များ အားလုံးအရေအာင် ဝင်ရောက်ရန် အထူးသဖြင့် မြင်စွာဖျငါးနိုင်သည်။ အရေအာင် လူငယ်များ အားလုံးအရေအာင် ဝင်ရောက်ရန်အနေဖြင့် စီစဉ်လိုသည်။

LGBTQ ဖြစ်သော လူငယ်များကို အထောက်အကူ နေထိုင်ရောက်ရန် ရှာဖွေနိုင်သည်။ အရေအာင် လူငယ်များ အားလုံးအရေအာင် ဝင်ရောက်ရန်အနေဖြင့် စီစဉ်လိုသည်။

ယူနိုင်သော လူငယ်များကို အားလုံးအားလုံး ဝင်ရောက်ရန်သည်။ အရေအာင် လူငယ်များ အားလုံးအရေအာင် ဝင်ရောက်ရန်အနေဖြင့် စီစဉ်လိုသည်။

ယူနိုင်သော လူငယ်များကို အားလုံးအားလုံး ဝင်ရောက်ရန်သည်။ အရေအာင် လူငယ်များ အားလုံးအရေအာင် ဝင်ရောက်ရန်အနေဖြင့် စီစဉ်လိုသည်။


In that city,
When lilies yawned as usual,
Their mouths reeked of blood.

In that city,
The labor camp
A new version of the old Christian church
Tends to play record after record
Of unpleasant perceptual objects\(^1\)
Until the equator is unplugged.

The butchers’ sing-along
Of unwholesome songs
Enter the ears distastefully.

Drone Music?
Nuclear Art?

Thus as the cup of three calamities\(^2\) drunkenly fell over,
In the lives that were thrown away,
The human rights of that city
Of that city...
Of that city...
Everything dropped and wasted away one bit after another.

In that city,
Are what tanks crushed over

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\(^1\) The original Burmese word here is derived from the Pali word \textit{anìṭṭhārammana}, which in Buddhist philosophy refers to any object of perception which causes aversion. In general Burmese language usage, it connotes bloody images.

\(^2\) In Buddhist mythology, the world will be destroyed three times by three great calamities of fire, water and wind in each aeon.
Potholes
Or people’s lives?

In that city,
Is what the impoverished priest is holding
The Bible
Or the moldy bread?

In that city,
Is what a mother is moaning
Taylor Swift’s Love Story
Or Jesus’ name?

In that city
In that city on the military tactical map
In that city showered by atrocities
In that city where lilies bleed profusely.
အောင်မြင်သူများ၏ အနေအထားအရ သို့မဟုတ် သိရှိချင်သော အချက်အလက်များအပေါ် ကျောင်းများသော အခုတော်သို့မဟုတ် အခြေအနေတွင် သိရှိပါသည်။

အောင်မြင်သူများ၏ အနေအထားအရ သို့မဟုတ် သိရှိချင်သော အချက်အလက်များအပေါ် ကျောင်းများသော အခုတော်သို့မဟုတ် အခြေအနေတွင် သိရှိပါသည်။

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ဗဟိုသို့ အောင်မြင်သူများ၏ အနေအထားအရ သို့မဟုတ် သိရှိချင်သော အချက်အလက်များအပေါ် ကျောင်းများသော အခုတော်သို့မဟုတ် အခြေအနေတွင် သိရှိပါသည်။

အောင်မြင်သူများ၏ အနေအထားအရ သို့မဟုတ် သိရှိချင်သော အချက်အလက်များအပေါ် ကျောင်းများသော အခုတော်သို့မဟုတ် အခြေအနေတွင် သိရှိပါသည်။
မီးညားကြားဖော်ပြထားသည်အချက်အလက်များ
ကြညစ္စာကြညစ္စာများ...
စိုးရိမ်များစိုးရိမ်များ...

အင်္ဂါပေးသည်
ကြညစ္စာကြညစ္စာကြညစ္စာများ
အချက်အလက်များ...
စိုးရိမ်များစိုးရိမ်များ...

အင်္ဂါပေးသည်
ကြညစ္စာကြညစ္စာကြညစ္စာများ
အချက်အလက်များ...
စိုးရိမ်များစိုးရိမ်များ...

အင်္ဂါပေးသည်...
ကြညစ္စာကြညစ္စာကြညစ္စာများ...
စိုးရိမ်များစိုးရိမ်များ...
စိုးရိမ်များစိုးရိမ်များ...
Abstract

This article, adapted from a longer master’s thesis in critical gender studies, describes the discrimination that Burmese queer people face in their everyday lives in Burma, but argues against treating them merely as passive agents. In fact, Burmese queer people are building their own counterpublics to make sense of and redefine nationalism, manliness and honor, and are ungluing the link between ideals of manliness and heterosexuality in the common nationalist agenda. Based on interviews with Burmese queer people and textual analysis of protest slogans and writings used in the Spring Revolution, the article aims to show how queer people are building solidarity with women and other subordinate groups to challenge heteronormativity.

Introduction

In this article, I discuss how old heteronormative narratives are still present in Myanmar’s social movement against military dictatorship, also known as the Spring Revolution, and how Burmese queer people are deploying new strategies to challenge these heteronormative narratives. I identify these strategies and heteronormative narratives within slogans and protest writings and through interviews with those in the Spring Revolution. To this end, I use Van de Velde’s framework as an analytical tool. I highlight the qualities of queer counterpublics in

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1 This article is adapted from my master’s degree thesis, *Queer Counterpublics in the Queer Time (2011-2023) of Burma*, submitted in partial fulfilment for a Master’s of Critical Gender Studies at the Central European University on 15 June 2023 (Aung Zaw Myo, 2023).

2 Van de Velde, 2022.

the new strategies of Burmese queer people to build my theoretical framework. In the case of the intersection of nationalism, middle-class respectability, and sexuality, Mosse, Peterson, and Nagel are useful. This article uses these theories to build an argument that Burmese queer people make sense of and redefine nationalism, manliness, and honor through their slogans and activities, and manage to build queer counterpublics on their own.

**Counterpublics and Heteronormativity**

Michael Warner popularized the concept of heteronormativity. He argued that:

> Every person who comes to a queer self-understanding knows in one way or another that her stigmatization is connected with gender, the family, notions of individual freedom, the state, public speech, consumption and desire, nature and culture, maturation, reproductive politics, racial and national fantasy, class identity, truth, and trust, censorship, intimate life, and social display, terror and violence, health care, and deep cultural norms about the bearing of the body.

He pointed out the hegemonic privilege of “het” (heterosexual) culture to interpret society as itself. In this way, heteronormativity has a “totalizing tendency” to marginalize non-heterosexual sexualities. Reproduction becomes “the logic of sexuality and the means of self-transcendence”. This normalization of

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4 Mosse, 1996.
5 Peterson, 1999.
heterosexuality subordinates those who do not fit into heterosexual norms and sexual relations.

While Warner developed this concept of heteronormativity in the context of the United States, my interview subjects in Myanmar understand it too. They do not dare to show public displays of affection toward their queer partners, for example. Warner came back to heteronormativity in his book, *Publics and Counterpublics*, defining it as:

More than ideology, or prejudice, or phobia against gays and lesbians; it is produced in almost every aspect of the forms and arrangements of social life: nationality, the state, and the law; commerce; medicine; education; plus the conventions and affects of narrativity, romance, and other protected spaces of culture.

To challenge this normalcy and rightness of heterosexuality, they proposed “queer counterpublics”. The term “counterpublic” refers to a social space or community which opposes the dominant wider public sphere. Their modes of communication are often excluded from the larger public sphere. Queer counterpublics are not limited to a physical space. They can be spread through unconventional registers. It could be a book, a novel or an after-hours club or even an academic lecture. They are also not limited to biological sex, can be more inclusive than the counterpart general public, and transcend referential points such as geographies. Queer culture develops different forms of intimacy “that bear no necessary relation to domestic space, to kinship, to the couple form, or property, or the nation”. These intimacies belong to a (queer) counterpublic that is conscious of

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14 Warner, 2005, p. 56.
its subordination position. This reflects not only the creativity of queer world-making but also its fragility.¹⁷

Social Movements and Slogans

Slogans in social movements can “encapsulate an intolerable situation in a few striking, memorable words, and therefore can have a considerable impact on movement mobilization”,¹⁸ even though they are usually short.

Cécile Van de Velde notes that every slogan and form of protest writing is also public expression and voice carrying a political message through a visual medium. Protest writings point out that social movements are not only spaces for speeches and gestures but can also act as stages for the written word.¹⁹ She reminds us that since protest writings do not always reflect a collective voice, we cannot reduce them to a homogenous block. She identifies banners (collective signs, posters, flyers, stickers, visuals) carried by activist groups, unions, and parties as collective writings. On the other hand, signs (individual prints, visuals, graffiti, and words on bodies and clothes) worn by participants and activists are individual writings.²⁰

Van de Velde argues that distinguishing between protest writings as either collective or individual is not enough. Consequently, she made four categories based on writings’ functions. The first carries a demand function. Such protest writing refers to political claims or expressions of refusal directed toward authorities. The second has a proclamation function. It usually comes in the form of contested messages, directed toward a wider public. The third aims to mobilize and give internal cohesion to the protest, such as encouraging messages or rallying slogans.²¹ The last acts as bearing witness to the protest.

¹⁸ Stewart et al., 2001, p. 176.
¹⁹ Van de Velde, 2022, p. 1.
²⁰ Van de Velde, 2022, p. 4.
²¹ Van de Velde, 2022, p. 6.
Empathic messages for the cause, words of support, and personal testimonies belong in this fourth category.\(^22\) This set of literature is useful when I analyze protest slogans and writings from the Spring Revolution.

### Nationalism and Sexuality

A large scholarly literature deals with nationalism, gender, and sexuality.

George Mosse has traced the relationship between nationalism and respectability. Respectability “indicate(s) decent and correct manners and morals, as well as the proper attitude toward sexuality”.\(^23\) He took a special interest in historical sexuality in the framework of nationalism and respectability because “it was basic to human behavior and preoccupied the moral concern of respectability”.\(^24\) Focusing on Germany and Great Britain, he showed how nationalism and respectability allied at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The middle class kept a distance from the aristocracy and the lower working classes through moral superiority, which respectability provided.\(^25\) Sexual intoxication of any kind such as same-sex relationships, pre-marital sex and extra-marital affairs were regarded as “immoral” or “indecent”.\(^26\)

Homosexuals provide a particularly useful example of how the line between normal and abnormal was to be ever more closely drawn through the rise of respectability and its emphasis upon manliness. They were thought to symbolize not only the confusion of sexes but also sexual excess – the violation of a delicate balance of passion.\(^27\)

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\(^{22}\) Van de Velde, 2022, p. 8.  
\(^{24}\) Mosse, 1985, p. 2.  
\(^{25}\) Mosse, 1985, p. 4-5.  
\(^{26}\) Mosse, 1985, p. 10.  
\(^{27}\) Mosse, 1985, p. 25.
Peterson exposed the heterosexist presumptions of state-centric nationalism. She defines heterosexism as “the institutionalization and normalization of heterosexuality and the corollary exclusion of non-heterosexual identities and practices”\(^{28}\).

In *Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations*, Joane Nagel traced the relationship between microcultures of masculinity and nationalism. She argues that masculinity is constructed within nationalist discourses, attaching it to ideals such as honor, bravery, patriotism, and duty.\(^{29}\)

**Methodology**

In this section, I share how I collected queer experiences, motivations, and stories from the Spring Revolution.  
First, I asked gay friends and recent colleagues if they knew of any queer/LGBT/gay people at the forefront of the revolution. At that time, I wanted to focus on queer members of the armed People’s Defense Forces (PDFs). After several weeks, I realized this was not feasible, because I could not identify enough interview subjects who were in relatively safe locations.

Then, I extended my scope to any queer person in any part of the revolution. In the end, I identified ten interview subjects, with four being members of PDFs, and the rest involved in fundraising, in the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM), or sending supplies like food and female hygiene products to political prisoners. I knew three of the research participants personally. The other seven I met for the first time, finding them and learning their stories through the snowball method, and during the interview process.

I used semi-structured questionnaires, with interviews undertaken online for security reasons. Research participants chose the digital platform and scheduling that they were most comfortable with. The interviews ended up taking place through Telegram, Signal, and Facebook Messenger, three commonly

\(^{28}\) Peterson, 1999, p. 39.

\(^{29}\) Nagel, 1998, pp. 251-252.
used social media platforms in Burma. One of the research participants is deaf, requiring us to use typed written communication over a period of two days. All research participants gave either written or verbal consent to participate in the study.

In my research there was power asymmetry and a benefit imbalance between the investigator and investigated. While my research could give me opportunities for work or academic recognition, the best they could expect was the pleasure of talking about their lives and culture to me. Taylor et al. warn that because of such power asymmetries, we should “take good care” of informants, with care here going beyond the “do no harm” principle, ensuring that research participants receive some reward for their participation. The least I could do was to promise myself to later sum up my analyses into the Burmese language and have dialogue with my research participants, so that my findings would not only be circulated in Global North universities. I was told by some interview subjects that they were glad to be interviewed because they wanted to let the general public know that LGBT/queer people were taking part in the revolution. In further regard to “taking good care” of research participants, I made their safety a top priority. I used pseudonyms even when some assented to using their real names.

In this article, I used two methodologies. The first is ethnography, to the extent that I conducted interviews with ten people aged 21 to 36 years old, from across Myanmar. The interviews each lasted from one hour to one and a half hours’ duration. There were laughs, silences, disruptions to the internet connection, frustrations, and hopes in our conversations. I collected rich and dense raw data from them. But their quotes often did not speak for themselves. Discourse analysis filled the gap and is my second methodology, following Fairclough, who categorizes three types of identifiable assumptions in discourse: existential assumptions (assumptions about what exists), propositional assumptions (assumptions about what is or can be or will

30 Taylor et al., 2013, p. 129.
31 Taylor et al., 2013, p. 130.
be the case), and value assumptions (assumptions about what is
good or desirable).  

As mentioned earlier, I analyzed not only what my interview
subjects said, but also protest slogans from the revolution.

**Spring Revolution: New Openings**

The Myanmar military staged a coup on 1 February 2021. It is
worth investigating narratives around sexuality in this social
movement. In response to the military coup, multiple compet-
ing publics arose, including the General Strike Committee, Gen-
eral Strike Committee of Nationalities (comprising of many [mi-
nor] ethnic groups, later the General Strike Coordination Body),
and the CDM. On the fifth anniversary of the genocide against
the Rohingya people (August 2022), strike groups across the
country chanted the slogan, “bathalumyo mahkwecha myanmar-
aingngantha” which can be roughly translated as “No discrimi-
nation against race/ethnicity or religion, we are all Myanmar
citizens”. Sexism and homophobia were left out in this newly
imagined nation.

Maya Mikdashi and Jasbir Puar raise important questions
against the backdrop of the tensions and frictions between
Western “queer theory” and “Middle Eastern studies”:

In a context [where permanent and semi-perma-
nent war exist] what kinds of queer organizing, ar-
chives, theory, practices, visibilities, institutions,
knowledge production projects emerge? The pre-
carity of queer life is not exceptional in these soci-
opolitical spaces: it is additional precisely because
war, genocide, occupation, oppression, dictator-
ship, terrorism, and killings are part of the every-
day fabric of life for many people who live in the
region ... What animates the impulse to search for
something to call or to theorize as queer? What

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must the queer body do, or be, to be recognized as such, and by whom? Do we want this recognition, and if so, how and for what purposes? How can we generate theory out of these locations, and if doing so, are these bodies of theory routed through area studies rather than recognized queer theory?\textsuperscript{33}

While I cannot answer all of their questions, I try to cover some of them in my analysis. My interview subjects are very much aware that the precarity of queer life is in addition to war, oppression, dictatorship, and killings. This leads Burmese queer people to look for and apply new strategies. Whereas the new political situation does not let them organize public “LGBT events” like they could five years ago, they find ways to incite their demands and proclamations through the Spring Revolution. In this section, I present and analyze four slogans and protest writings. Through them, I locate queer counterpublics and the heteronormativity of the general public.

“Fearless Revolutionary Faggots”

The primary function of slogans is to persuade and incite.\textsuperscript{34} In the Spring Revolution, slogans have included “Down with Dictatorship”, “Respect our Votes”, “Support the Civil Disobedience Movement”, “Release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and our President” and many more. However, I focus only on slogans and protest writings which address queerness.

The first slogan is from the LGBT Alliance – Myanmar, a collective strike committee formed by LGBT groups from Mandalay, Yangon, Monywa, Kalay, Kyaukse, Dawei, and Yinmabin townships. They posted a photograph of a protest slogan on their Facebook page on 10 May 2022. The slogan said, “thayhmamachautloq paydayashauqdeq dawhlan-nethaw a-chaut” and can be roughly translated as, “Faggots who march on the streets, dare to die/They are not scared of death, and they

\textsuperscript{33} Mikdashi & Puar, 2016, p. 219.

\textsuperscript{34} Stewart et al., 2001.
revolutionize”. In the Burmese language, the words *chaut* (scared, dry) and *shauq* (march/walk) rhyme. Going by Van de Velde’s categories, this slogan has a proclamation function. It contains a contested message, directed toward a wider public sphere. To apply Fairclough’s discourse analysis, the propositional assumption of the slogan is that these faggots/queer people are not scared of the military’s violent crackdown; they march on the streets and this fearless march alone is a revolutionary act. The value assumption is that fearless queer people, marching and protesting on the streets, doing revolutionary acts, is good and desirable for the social movement. The existential assumption here is a proclamation to let queer people into the space of revolution/the dominant public sphere. The slogan states that queer people have qualities such as fearlessness/bravery and consciousness to perform duties/revolutionary acts. Terms like bravery and duty are attached to general ideals of manliness and the slogan challenges this attachment. I expand on this later in this chapter.

In the framework of the queer counterpublic, this slogan redefined notions of sexuality and identity through bringing a positive connotation to the previously stigmatized term, *a-chaut*, and consequently fostering social change for a future in which queer people can participate in the public sphere. Queer counterpublics are not only limited to physical space. This visual and verbal slogan is a queer counterpublic.

“District 16 Without Faggots”

Burmese queer people dub foreign (not just Western) terms such as *homo, LGBT, seme, uke*, etc. to distance themselves from the Burmese term *a-chaut*, which carries negative connotations. Despite their desperate efforts, they were still addressed as *a-chaut* in the Spring Revolution. This time the term came not from the police, nor bullies at school, but from their

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35 Van de Velde, 2022.
37 Boellstorff, 2006.
revolutionary comrades. One research participant Moe mentioned a slogan, “a-chaut mashidet-setchaut”. He recalled encountering it on a banner within the first three or four months of 2021 and it was carried by a strike group from Yangon or Mawlamyine. I can vouch for the integrity my interview subject and I too remember seeing the slogan on Facebook, which can be translated as: “District 16, a No-Faggot Zone”. In the Burmese language, chaut (the number six) also rhymes with a-chaut. To put this slogan into Fairclough’s framework, the propositional assumption is that there are no faggots in this particular area. The value assumption will be that this revolutionary space or geographic area is free of “faggots” who are sexual “deviants”. The existential assumption is that faggots are not/should not be a part of the revolution/new nation.

For my analysis of this slogan, I investigate the relationship between middle-class respectability, nationalism, and sexuality. I move to the framework of nationalism because while the Spring Revolution is not an anti-colonial nationalist movement, it includes some elements of nationalism. For example, in March 2022, Aung Way, a Burmese poet in exile in the United States, referred to the Spring Revolution as a collective struggle to build a “Fifth Myanmar Nation/Empire”. One of the most popular slogans in the Spring Revolution is “Toward a Federal Democratic Myanmar Nation”. Burmese people who actively take part in the Spring Revolution usually call those who side with the military “Northern Burmese people”. This is a reference to North Korea being under a dictatorship, while South Korea is a democracy.

With these three examples as justifications, I put the aforementioned protest slogan into Mosse’s framework. “District 16, a No-Faggot Zone”, takes faggots/homosexuality as unacceptable peoples/manners. The aim of the Spring Revolution, according to this slogan, is to end the military dictatorship and form a newly imagined nation (a Federal Democracy country). This new nation, it seems, still wants to impose moral superiority over subordinates and the aristocracy. To this end,

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respectability and its emphasis on manliness needs to be maintained. In this slogan, the line between normal and abnormal is drawn at homosexuals, who symbolize confusion between sexes.\footnote{Mosse, 1985, p. 25.} In this way, the slogan excludes queer people from District 16/a revolution space/a new nation.

**“Min Aung Hlaing Would Be Finished Off by the *Hpon* of LGBTs”**

The third protest slogan was posted on the LGBT Alliance – Myanmar Facebook page on 11 November 2021. The post reads, “LGBT-dot-hponnet ma-a-la-ko keitsuadounmeh” which can be translated as “with the *hpon* (the spiritual status) of LGBTs, Min Aung Hlaing would be finished”. Based on Van de Velde’s ideas,\footnote{Van de Velde, 2022.} this slogan calls for ‘mobilizing’ and for the internal cohesion of the Spring Revolution social movement. It is implying that they/we will end the military dictatorship by collaborating with LGBT people and other subordinates such as women.

Before I dive into the analysis, I need to lay out some background information for this slogan. A belief exists within traditional Burmese society that a man’s spiritual status and holiness, known as *hpon* in the Burmese language, can be lowered by women’s dress. One Burmese scholar, Mi Mi Khaing, wrote: “We call it *hpon*, the glory, the holiness of a man, and we respect this not with subservience but with the same feelings as we respect monks and parents”.\footnote{Mi Mi Khaing, 1956, p. 71.} It can be read as a localized form of patriarchy. Women do not have *hpon* and therefore they are not allowed to enter certain parts of pagodas. Because of this belief in *hpon* and a taboo against menstrual blood, women’s clothing are washed and kept separately from men’s. In May 2019, a group of women activists initiated a campaign to counter belief in this idea of *hpon* on Facebook. They asked Facebook users to use a profile picture frame saying, “Women have *hpon* too”. While this campaign reinforced *hpon* ideology, we can say it tackled a
localized pattern of patriarchy. On International Women’s Day of 2021, after the coup, the general strike committees challenged belief in *hpon* and called for a campaign named *htamein-thabaik* (Women’s Undergarment Strike), which involved putting up women’s undergarments as flags in public. Some men joined the campaign by putting women’s undergarments on their heads (which according to belief in *hpon* lowers their spiritual status and holiness) to show solidarity.

The inclusion of Min Aung Hlaing in the slogan, the commander-in-chief of the military that staged the coup, also requires comment. By using his name, the slogan authors do not refer to him alone in personal terms, but rather to the military institution as a whole.

This protest slogan can be read as an attempt at solidarity with fellow female revolutionaries’ struggles. This belief of holiness, *hpon*, is solely based on the division between biological men and women. It does not necessarily extend to LGBT people. This is a new strategy applied by Burmese queer people with a hint to a queer counterpublic. I have not seen collaborative campaigns between women/feminists and LGBT activists before.

In 2013, the Gender Equality Network, together with the Myanmar government and the United Nations, developed a bill called the “Protection and Prevention of Violence Against Women Law” which reached parliament in 2020 but was never enacted, and is now stalled by the coup. This bill addressed gender-based violence experienced by women but failed to include lesbians and transgender women in its framework. Mainstream women’s rights activists focused on biological women as well. On the other hand, LGBT activism (before the coup) such as Colors Rainbow was busy with identity politics based on sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression. In this way, women/feminists and LGBT/queer people were divided along the line of identity politics. The LGBT Alliance – Myanmar slogan breaks this division.

43 An umbrella organization with more than 130 civil society organization members, formed with the aim of furthering gender equality and the fulfilment of women’s rights in Myanmar.
The slogan “With the hpon of LGBTs, Min Aung Hlaing would be finished” positions itself in solidarity with subordinate women. In this way, patriarchy and heteronormativity are framed as the common enemies. As feminists and women’s rights activists challenged the patriarchal hpon belief, LGBT activism joined in the same struggle, challenging social norms against homosexuality altogether. By this strategy, the slogan’s authors became a site of resistance against both patriarchy and heteronormativity.

This is a queer world-making project, beautifully defined by Warner as:

Where the world, like public, differs from community or group because it necessarily includes more people than can be identified, more spaces than can be mapped beyond a few reference points, modes of feeling that can be learned rather than experienced as birthright. The queer world is a space of entrances, exits, unsystematized lines of acquaintance, projected horizons, typifying examples, alternate routes, blockages, incommensurate geographies.44

LGBT activism in the Spring Revolution is not just identity politics (even though the name itself says so) but is creative enough to incorporate other subordinate fellows into it. We have seen this change because this activism/queer counterpublic comes from the people and is not restricted by NGO politics.

“On the Day When Guardian Spirits Had Homosexual Sex”

The fourth protest writing I analyze is a video poem, posted on Facebook on 1 January 2023 by the account “Art Rebel - သားစိန်တွဲမှု” on Facebook, the page has 81,000

followers, and is based in Bangkok, Thailand (after the 2021 coup, many political activists and others went to exile, some to third countries such as the United States, but most to neighboring Thailand and India). The Facebook page usually posts poems and fundraises for PDFs. The video poem I discuss has 2,600 likes, 116 comments, 614 shares, and 22,000 views, with a duration of two minutes and fifty-five seconds. Its title is “On the Day When Guardian Spirits Had Homosexual Sex” and is written by someone with the pseudonym red blood drop (in English: red blood drop). The video poem is narrated by a male. It can be translated as:

On the day when guardian spirits had homosexual sex, martyrs were executed by hanging. In a nation crowded with funerals, those who fuck anuses and those whose anuses are fucked, those uncivilized tarzans, all felt heated and enjoyed getting fucked by Min Aung Hlaing. Without any respect for the executed martyr who said, “Justice will prevail”, those uneducated people howled … When the guardian spirits enjoyed getting fucked by Min Aung Hlaing, the gun won over justice. Jungle rules, motherfuckers with hungry/horny butts, licking bones given out by their masters … Hey, mother-fucker dogs, Min Aung Hlaing is a motherfucker. Hey, sons of prostitutes, Min Aung Hlaing is a motherfucker. Don’t regret only when your mothers are fucked by dogs/soldiers of Min Aung Hlaing. How many poets would have to die so that you can get 5,000 Myanmar Kyat (roughly US $2.50)? Guardian spirits do not watch over this nation.

To give some context, this video supposedly calls for all Burmese people, in exile or within the country, to join the revolution, and to condemn those who side with the military, (allegedly) taking money from them and participating in military-organized events. The martyrs mentioned in this poetry reading are believed to be Phyo Zeyar Thaw, hip-hop singer, Kyaw Min Yu, aka
Ko Jimmy, a 1988 Uprising student leader, and Hla Myo Aung and Aung Thura Zaw, two civilian political prisoners who were executed by the military regime.

Phyo Zeyar Thaw was arrested on terrorism charges on 17 November 2021. Kyaw Min Yu was arrested at his home on October 24, 2021, on the charges of inciting unrest with his social media posts. Hla Myo Aung and Aung Thura Zaw were arrested in March 2021 for allegedly killing a military informant. State media reported the news of their deaths on 25 July 2022. The last time Myanmar’s military rulers carried out capital punishment was in 1988. (At that time, the military put more than 100 people on death row with charges such as inciting unrest or killing informants. Beginning executions anew in 2022 is thought to be aimed at instilling fear in the public so they do not rebel.) These deaths were shocking, and the poet’s anger is understandable, but I must point out how their rage was misplaced.

To go back to the analysis, the poet refers to Min Aung Hlaing and soldiers as dogs and motherfuckers. Those (guardian spirits and people) who sided with the military are referred to as enjoying anal sex, as uncivilized “tarzans”, as uneducated, prostitutes’ sons, as dogs obeying their masters, and those whose arseholes are begging to be fucked. Out of these many accusations, I focus on the homosexual acts and the “tarzan” label.

For the poet, homosexual acts are not “correct” nor “decent” manners, and are morals put at the same level as murdering people or committing war crimes. The same goes for prostitution. Selling your body/sex is an “indecent” manner from the poet’s point of view. Guardian spirits (and people) failing their duties to watch over the nation, bring justice, and disassociate from the evil (military) is equated with people who have same-sex acts and do sex work. In this way, people who have male same-sex relations and sex workers are excluded.

The social hierarchy here can be read as heterosexism, which Peterson theorizes as:

A binary coding of polarized and hierarchical male/masculine and female/feminine identities
(ostensibly based on a dichotomy of bio-physical features) (that) denies all but heterosexual coupling as the basis of sexual intimacy, family life, and group reproduction.45

This denial of non-heterosexual coupling and intimacies can be put into the framework of heteronormativity which Warner argues is:

More than ideology, or prejudice, or phobia against gays and lesbians; it is produced in almost every aspect of the forms and arrangements of social life: nationality, the state, and the law; commerce; medicine; education; plus the conventions and affects of narrativity, romance, and other protected spaces of culture.46

After discussing the narrator’s disgust toward homosexual sex acts and prostitution, I move on to the uncivilized “tarzans”. What I translate as “tarzan” is, in the Burmese language, taw-thar, a slang term for those who come from rural areas. The slang takes its fictional origin in the jungle. Thar is a suffix for male and taw means jungle or rural area. In Burmese urban dictionaries people claim that taw-thar does not necessarily refer to those of rural descent, but to those who act in an uneducated or uncivilized way, wherever they are originally from. But the wording itself indicates that being uneducated or uncivilized is equated with coming from rural (poor or working class) origins.

While I cannot trace the origin of the adoption of this urban slang, tarzan, (whether it was taken from novel series by Edgar Rice Burroughs, an American writer, or the movie adaptions), it showed a hint of colonial fantasy. But Jules Zanger argued that there were no signs of white man’s burden in Tarzan, who carried “no torch of civilization or Christianity to the savages”,47

whereas Biljana Oklopčić pointed out that “tarzan” represented a white, male equivalent to the black rapist stereotype.\footnote{Oklopčić, 2017.} Tarzan, the slang, in the Burmese context, not only carries colonial baggage but also accounts for class formation. Just as Beijing gay men had anxieties that ‘money boys’ from rural areas would come and pollute their city life,\footnote{Rofel, 2007, p. 104.} in this slogan middle-class people in Burma show anxieties that working-class people, receiving funds from the military to oppose the revolution, would cause it to fail. As Mosse argued in a different context, “the middle class sought to maintain their status and self-respect against both the lower classes and the aristocracy, through respectability”,\footnote{Mosse, 1985, p. 5.} Burma’s middle-class people are positioned in this slogan as being “civilized” members of the new nation, while working-class people (who took money from the military) are positioned as dogs “who lick bones, given out by their masters”. \footnote{Nagel, 1998.}

**Honor, Good Citizens, and Queers**

Like in the above poem, many Burmese people try to persuade people to join the revolution. The usual tactic is drawing a line between just and unjust, right and wrong/evil, bravery and cowardice, and good and bad citizenry. Here, I will unpack the ties between nations and manliness\footnote{Nagel, 1998.} through two testimonials from my interviews.

One research participant Bobo told me that he asked his deaf friend Thura if he would like to be part of my research, and Thura agreed. He worked at a military owned factory before the coup and then joined the CDM. Now he is part of a PDF.

Thura explained how he became involved in his PDF. He felt guilty for enjoying his life while others had given their lives for the country already. “They [referring to PDF soldiers] are risking their lives for the country. They do not care about their own interests, they are saints. Unlike those military dogs who are...
animals.” He drew a line between who was doing right and wrong. Thura’s categorization of good and bad are based on ideals such as honor, bravery, and duty. He added:

\[
I \text{ joined this revolution because of good citizen’s spirit and inability to stand injustice. Because I had a consciousness to perform a citizen’s duty without anyone reminding me to do so. Another reason is ... some colleagues at my former work distanced themselves from me. That’s homophobia. Now those straight “real men” do not join the CDM movement. They are scared and kneel under injustice. In other words, they are not manly. I wanted to prove that I, whom they called unmanly, can do manly acts, compared to those unmanly straight men. Actually, manliness is not related with hetero- or homo-sexuality but all about doing what’s right and just, right?}
\]

Thura was not the only one to challenge the ideal of manliness as attached to heterosexual men. Nyo, another interview subject, shared with me his experience of arguing with someone in the revolution. He was told to “act like a man” because he was a ‘man’. He responded:

\[
\text{How do you mean by ‘like a man’? Min Aung Hlaing is a man married to a woman. But can’t you see how much trouble he is giving to the country? Would you call a man like him ‘a good man’? How about women and LGBT people fighting at the front line? How about those (men) who live off LGBT people’s money? Whom would you call ‘a man’? Isn’t it more important to be a good person (citizen), whether they are a man or a woman?}
\]

Nyo was not naïve. He recalled that a gay friend of his was threatened by two drunk PDF for “pocket money” on a full-moon day. He underscored this event by saying his friends and
PDF members had generally good relations, not wanting to paint PDFs or the revolution as bad.

I will put these two testimonials into Nagel’s framework of the linkage between nationalism and masculinity. She argues:

The culture of nationalism is constructed to emphasize and resonate with masculine cultural themes. Terms like honor, patriotism, cowardice, bravery, and duty are hard to distinguish as either nationalistic or masculinist since they seem so thoroughly tied both to the nation and manliness.\(^{52}\)

She reminds us that the ‘microculture’ of masculinity was more visible on the militaristic side of nationalism.\(^{53}\)

Both Thura and Nyo praised patriotic acts such as “risking own lives for the country”, “fighting at the front line”, and the “inability to stand injustice”. They saw these acts as “good citizen’s spirits”. They were very much aware that society attached these qualities with manliness which was automatically translated into “being a heterosexual man”. Thura was trying to bring positive connotations toward queer people who are usually thought to be unmanly based on the lens of masculine notions of honor, cowardice, bravery, and duty. He saw straight “real men” being scared and kneeling under military power as a feminine shame. Both these interview subjects tried to include women and LGBT people (who are risking their lives for the nation) in the wider public sphere. They challenged heteronormativity by removing the crown of hegemonic privilege of heterosexual culture over non-heterosexual sexualities. Warner argued that queer counterpublics are not limited to a physical space and can be circulated through unconventional registers.\(^{54}\)

These testimonials of my interview subjects are queer counterpublics, indeed.

\(^{52}\) Nagel, 1998, pp. 251-252.


\(^{54}\) Warner, 2005, p. 198.
Conclusion

In this article I have analyzed four slogans/protest writings and two testimonials. Whereas my interview subjects adopted foreign terms to stay away from a-chaut, they not only encountered this stigmatized term as exclusionary homophobia but also reclaimed the term to include themselves in the wider public sphere. I have also discussed how they created queer counterpublics by building solidarity with other subordinates, such as women, and challenged heteronormativity. They managed to unglue the link between ideals of manliness (bravery, honor, duty, etc.) and heterosexuality in the nationalist agenda. Most importantly, I have shown that Burmese queer people, including my interview subjects, are not “passive agents”. Through the Spring Revolution, Burmese queer people succeeded in developing queer counterpublics inclusive of other subordinates and managed to challenge masculinist nationalist politics.

We are haunted by the stigmatized term, a-chaut. But one interviewee, Aye, told me about an encounter in which a queer PDF member (‘a good citizen’) introduced himself as a-chaut (using dry humor) at a meeting with local people and was surprised to receive a remark from one of the local people saying, “You are not a-chaut. You are an LGBT person”.

I would like to conclude with a testimonial from one of my interview subjects. I was on the verge of tears when he confessed to me that he told his close friend:

*If I ever died in the revolution, please tell your children that your friend, a-chaut-ma (a derogatory term here reclaimed) did this or that in this movement. Our (queers’) contributions need to be documented. Otherwise, our experiences will disappear into thin air. I have been doing this because I want the next generations of LGBT kids to sow what we reap. With this documented history, we could hope for a future in which we, LGBT/queer people, could love ourselves, get married to whom we love, and embrace ourselves, with equality.*
I genuinely hope that this article does justice to the lived experiences, resistance, and resilience (or decisions to give up) of my interviewees, and all Burmese queer people.

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မြောက်တော်တွင် ကြိုးထွက်သော စာသားများကို ဖန်တီးရန် မေးခွန်းပြောင်းလဲလေသည်။
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მოწოდებულ მომხმარებელთა მეთოდით მიღებული იდეალური მდგომარეობა იქნება ადაგებული ჩვენი წვრილი ინფორმაციის მიხედვით ნიშნული გამოწვეული თუმცა მისი ფუნქცია განსაკუთრებით დაიწყოს უფრო მიმდინარე და უფრო განაგრძელდეს. პოპულარული მაქსიმალიზაციის შესახებ განსაზღვრული იქნა ამ პროცესის განვითარება. სწორედ ამ პროცესში მიღებული ინფორმაცია განვადგურებს ადაგებულ მომხმარებლთა ჩვენთან დაკავშირებით.

ახასიათებული ადაგებული იდეალური მდგომარეობის შესახებ განსაზღვრა და განაგრძელება უმდიდრეთი მომხმარებლთა მეთოდით შეტევი ადგილს. მიუხედავად იმისა, რომ გამომება არ გამოიწვის მაქსიმალიზაციის გამო, მაგრამ იმისა განსაკუთრებით გამოლადავს, როგორ იყო ადგილი შეკეთების შესახებ. სწორედ ამ პროცესში შეტევი გამოიწვის ადგილს მიწოდებული იდეალური მდგომარეობის შესახებ. გამოიწვის იმისა მათი შეტევი იქნა ადგილმდებარე რეზოულაცია.

Michael Warner ა მიითხოვს ამ მომენტს შემდეგ შესთავაზია იქნება. ამ მომენტის შესახებ მისი შეტევი გამოიწვის ადგილი. ამ შეტევის შესახებ გამოიწვის ადგილი მძიმე შეტევი იქნა ამ შეტევის შესახებ. მომენტში შეტევმდებარე გამოიწვის სწორედ ამ შეტევის შესახებ. შეტევის შესახებ გამოიწვის ადგილი. ამ მომენტის შესახებ მისი შეტევი გამოიწვის ადგილ.
Warner နှင့် Social Movements, Identities, and Politics (2005) ဖြစ်သော စာအုပ်တွင် အထောက်အပံ့ကြောင်း ဆောင်ချိန်တွင် အားချက်နှင့် ကြေညာပြန်ကြားခြင်းသည် အကြားတွင် အချင်းချင်းအနေဖြင့် အခြေခံသည်။

Warner ကို Social Movements, Identities, and Politics (2005) ဖြစ်သော စာအုပ်တွင် အထောက်အပံ့ကြောင်း ဆောင်ချိန်တွင် အားချက်နှင့် ကြေညာပြန်ကြားခြင်းသည် အကြားတွင် အချင်းချင်းအနေဖြင့် အခြေခံသည်။

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ავტორმა პოლონეთის საზრდოობით გაიარაგა, როგორც პირველი, არც მეორე, მკვლელ
მიზნით. ალექსანდრე ტეარი, რომელიც გამოაცემს მათგან შემოქმედები და ალტერატი
გასაღებები მათგან შემოქმედებები და ალტერატი
გასაღებები მათგან შემოქმედებები და ალტერატი
გასაღებები მათგან შემოქმედებები და ალტერატი
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გასაღებები მათგან შემოქმედებები და ა�
ორნეტომის სინათლის თანახმად ადგილზე პირველმა (ფუძეჯინერებით შეირქია თანახმად თანხმობით იმას, რაც სხვებს სწორ დაწესებული ჰქონდა) იყო გამოიყენებოდა უძრავს. საბოლოო ფუძეჯინა ადგილი ოთხი დაამთავრება საუკეთესო ოთხი ადგილი ოთხი რიგი გამოიყენებოდა უძრავი ჰქონდა (იმავე სწორ დაწესებული ერთი ადგილი ოთხი ადგილი ოთხი რიგი გამოიყენებოდა).

პეტერსონი აღარ არჩევს მომსახურებელი მომსახურებელს გამოჩენაში. „ახალგაზრდება გამოჩნდება.“ წინაშე, სწორედ თავისი გზის გეგმათ, ამიტომ მცხოვრები მოუჩამებელ ადამიანს გამოჩენილი ქალაქში ამაღლებს. მაგრამ მომსახურებელი ასეთი გამოგზავნის არ იცავს. ოჯახი თავისი არჩევნა აიღო. მათი აღმართვა გამოჩენილი ქალაქის გამოჩენილი სიკვდილი გამოჩენილი ოფისში. ამ გზაზე, როგორც დღეს, ამას ბრძანებენ ადამიანი. ადამიანს გამოჩნდება სიტყვები: „აიღო თქვენი ხალხი“. ამ გზაზე ამას გამოჩენილი მომსახურებელი აიღებს.
 Joane Nagel ကို “Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations” ဖော်ပြသသည်။ မိန့်ခွန်းများအဖြစ် အိုးထောင်ရောက်ခြင်းကို သိရှိခြင်း သိမျှော်စမ်းသပ်ခြင်း ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းများဖြစ်သည်။ အာဏာရှင်များကို လေ့လာခြင်းတွေကို စိုးရိမ်ပြီး ကျော်ကြားရာ များစွာ ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများ ကျော်ကြားရန် အရေးပါသည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အာဟိုးများသည် ကျော်ကြားရန် လိုအပ်သည်။
မြန်မာဘာသာအားဖြင့် ပျော်ရွှင်စိတ် ကျင့်စိမ်သော အရာများ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများကို အသိအမှတ်ပြုစေရန် Telegram | Signal နှင့် Facebook Messenger စနစ်များဖြင့် ဖန်တီးထားကြသည်။ Telegram နှင့် Signal တို့သည် ကြပ်များရေတွက်ခဲ့ကြသည်။ သို့သော် စိတ်ဝင်စားမှုနှင့် ရေဆက်ဆံမှုများကို လွတ်တားခြင်း မရှိသော သို့မဟုတ် သင့်မှုများကို ပျော်ရွှင်စိမ်သော အရာများကို ကြည့်ရှုကြည့်ရှုမှုများပေးရန် အနေဖြင့် နိုင်သည်။

ဆိုလိုသည့်အရာများကို  Telegram | Signal နှင့် Facebook Messenger စနစ်များဖြင့် ဖန်တီးထားကြသည်။ Telegram နှင့် Signal တို့သည် ကြပ်များရေတွက်ခဲ့ကြသည်။ သို့သော် စိတ်ဝင်စားမှုနှင့် ရေဆက်ဆံမှုများကို လွတ်တားခြင်း မရှိသော သို့မဟုတ် သင့်မှုများကို ပျော်ရွှင်စိမ်သော အရာများကို ကြည့်ရှုကြည့်ရှုမှုများပေးရန် အနေဖြင့် နိုင်သည်။

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Maya Mikdashi & Jasbir Puar argue: Affecting...
"LGBT Alliance – Myanmar"

“အမှန်တရာယ်ကြီးနေပါသည်”
...
“District 16, a No-Faggot Zone”

After the collapse of the city, the 16th District became homo, LGBT, seme, and uke. (The term for this zone was District 16.) The area was deserted, and the houses were abandoned. The streets were filled with debris and rubble. The area was now a no-go zone for anyone who was not homo, LGBT, seme, or uke. The area was now known as “District 16, a No-Faggot Zone.”

The area was now a no-go zone for anyone who was not homo, LGBT, seme, or uke. The area was now known as “District 16, a No-Faggot Zone.”
"LGBT ဗား ကွဲပျြို့ အကြောင်း ပြောပြပါသည်"
လူမျိုးခြောက်အထိမ်းအမှတ်များ ကို ဝင်ရောက်စေရန် LGBT အဖွဲ့စည်းများ အဖွဲ့စည်းပေါင်းဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံအလိုအလျောက် ဖော်ပြသည်။

Gender Equality Network ကို အမှတ်အင်းနှင့် အောင်မြင်အသင်းများ ဖျင်စည်းနေသည်။ အောင်မြင်အသင်းများသည် ကျွန်ုပ်များ၏ လူမျိုးနှင့် လူမျိုးရင်းသားများ၏ အခွင့်အရေးအား ဖော်ပြပေးသည်။

Colors Rainbow ကို အမှတ်အင်းနှင့် အောင်မြင်အသင်းများ ဖျင်စည်းနေသည်။ အမှတ်အင်းနှင့် အောင်မြင်အသင်းများသည် လူမျိုးရင်းသားများ၏ လူမျိုးနှင့် လူမျိုးအခွင့်အရေးအား ဖော်ပြပေးသည်။

LGBT Alliance—Myanmar ကို ဖျင်စည်းနေသည်။ အမှတ်အင်းနှင့် အောင်မြင်အသင်းများသည် လူမျိုးရင်းသားများ၏ လူမျိုးနှင့် လူမျိုးအခွင့်အရေးအား ဖော်ပြပေးသည်။
"LGBT မှ အမွေအနှစ်အသား ကြောင်းကြည့်သည်” ဆိုသော သတင်းဆိုချက်သည် လူ့အခွင့်အရေးများနှင့် ပတ်သက်ကြည့်ရှု့ချက်များကို လူ့အခွင့်အရေး ကြောင်းကြည့်သည် LGBT အဖွဲ့ဝေးကြီးအဖွဲ့အစည်းများအနေဖြင့် တာဝါရေးကြောင်းကြည့်ရှု့လိုသော သတင်းများကို လူ့အခွင့်အရေး ကြောင်းကြည့်သည် LGBT Alliance – Myanmar မှ မြန်မာ LGBT အဖွဲ့ဝေးကြီးအဖွဲ့ ကြည့်ရှု့ပါ။ ကြည့်ရှု့လိုသော သတင်းများကို လူ့အခွင့်အရေး ကြောင်းကြည့်သည် LGBT Alliance – Myanmar မှ မြန်မာ LGBT အဖွဲ့ဝေးကြီးအဖွဲ့ ကြည့်ရှု့ပါ။ ကြည့်ရှု့လိုသော သတင်းများကို လူ့အခွင့်အရေး ကြောင်းကြည့်သည်

“အမှတ်အစွဲများ ဖျင်သွင်းချက်များ”

မြန်မာ LGBT အဖွဲ့ဝေးကြီးအဖွဲ့ ကြည့်ရှု့လိုသော သတင်းများ ကြည့်ရှု့ပါ။ ကြည့်ရှု့လိုသော သတင်းများကို လူ့အခွင့်အရေး ကြောင်းကြည့်သည် LGBT Alliance – Myanmar မှ မြန်မာ LGBT အဖွဲ့ဝေးကြီးအဖွဲ့ ကြည့်ရှု့ပါ။ ကြည့်ရှု့လိုသော သတင်းများကို လူ့အခွင့်အရေး ကြောင်းကြည့်သည်
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ပန်းချိန်သူများ၏ ကမ္ဘာ့ကို မြောက်သော ကျောင်းသားများအား ဖွင့်ပြားရန် သဘောတူယူရန် နောက်ပိုင်းကို အမေရိကန် အမျိုးအစားရှိကြောင်း ပြောပြီးဖော်ပြသည်။ အချို့သူများသည် အပြယ်အဆောင် ကျောင်းသားများကို ဖျင်သွင်းရန် မျက်နှာလေးတွေ့ရှိသည်။

ပန်းချိန်သူများ၏ ကမ္ဘာ့ကို မြောက်သော ကျောင်းသားများအား ဖွင့်ပြားရန် သဘောတူယူရန် နောက်ပိုင်းကို ဖျင်သွင်းရန် မျက်နှာလေးတွေ့ရှိသည်။ အချို့သူများသည် အပြယ်အဆောင် ကျောင်းသားများကို ဖျင်သွင်းရန် မျက်နှာလေးတွေ့ရှိသည်။

ပန်းချိန်သူများ၏ ကမ္ဘာ့ကို မြောက်သော ကျောင်းသားများအား ဖွင့်ပြားရန် သဘောတူယူရန် နောက်ပိုင်းကို ဖျင်သွင်းရန် မျက်နှာလေးတွေ့ရှိသည်။ အချို့သူများသည် အပြယ်အဆောင် ကျောင်းသားများကို ဖျင်သွင်းရန် မျက်နှာလေးတွေ့ရှိသည်။

ပန်းချိန်သူများ၏ ကမ္ဘာ့ကို မြောက်သော ကျောင်းသားများအား ဖွင့်ပြားရန် သဘောတူယူရန် နောက်ပိုင်းကို ဖျင်သွင်းရန် မျက်နှာလေးတွေ့ရှိသည်။ အချို့သူများသည် အပြယ်အဆောင် ကျောင်းသားများကို ဖျင်သွင်းရန် မျက်နှာလေးတွေ့ရှိသည်။

ပန်းချိန်သူများ၏ ကမ္ဘာ့ကို မြောက်သော ကျောင်းသားများအား ဖွင့်ပြားရန် သဘောတူယူရန် နောက်ပိုင်းကို ဖျင်သွင်းရန် မျက်နှာလေးတွေ့ရှိသည်။ အချို့သူများသည် အပြယ်အဆောင် ကျောင်းသားများကို ဖျင်သွင်းရန် မျက်နှာလေးတွေ့ရှိသည်။

ပန်းချိန်သူများ၏ ကမ္ဘာ့ကို မြောက်သော ကျောင်းသားများအား ဖွင့်ပြားရန် သဘောတူယူရန် နောက်ပိုင်းကို ဖျင်သွင်းရန် မျက်နှာလေးတွေ့ရှိသည်။ အချို့သူများသည် အပြယ်အဆောင် ကျောင်းသားများကို ဖျင်သွင်းရန် မျက်နှာလေးတွေ့ရှိသည်။

ပန်းချိန်သူများ၏ ကမ္ဘာ့ကို မြောက်သော ကျောင်းသားများအား ဖွင့်ပြားရန် သဘောတူယူရန် နောက်ပိုင်းကို ဖျင်သွင်းရန် မျက်နှာလေးတွေ့ရှိသည်။ အချို့သူများသည် အပြယ်အဆောင် ကျောင်းသားများကို ဖျင်သွင်းရန် မျက်နှာလေးတွေ့ရှိသည်။

ပန်းချိန်သူများ၏ ကမ္ဘာ့ကို မြောက်သော ကျောင်းသားများအား ဖွင့်ပြားရန် သဘောတူယူရန် နောက်ပိုင်းကို ဖျင်သွင်းရန် မျက်နှာလေးတွေ့ရှိသည်။ အချို့သူများသည် အပြယ်အဆောင် ကျောင်းသားများကို ဖျင်သွင်းရန် မျက်နှာလေးတွေ့ရှိသည်။
“ဗူးမှု” အဝိုင်း ပုံစံစုစုပေါင်းဖော်ပြချက် အသိပေးရန် စုစုပေါင်းဖော်ပြချက် ပေးရမည် (နောက်တစ်ခုအားဖော်ပြချက်) ဟုတ် “နောက် ပုံစံစုစုပေါင်းဖော်ပြချက်” အသိပေးရမည်။

ဗျာသားကြီး စုစုပေါင်းဖော်ပြချက်အကြောင်း

အသိပေးမှုနှင့် စုစုပေါင်းဖော်ပြချက်အကြောင်း ပေးရမည်။ နောက်တစ်ခုအားဖော်ပြချက် ပေးရမည် (Naegel, 1998) ဟုတ် “နောက်တစ်ခုအားဖော်ပြချက်” ပေးရမည်။}

ဗျာသားကြီးက စုစုပေါင်းဖော်ပြချက် အနေဖြင့် ပေးရမည်။ နောက်တစ်ခုအားဖော်ပြချက် ပေးရမည် (Naegel, 1998) ဟုတ် “နောက်တစ်ခုအားဖော်ပြချက်” ပေးရမည်။
"მუხლნირჩევი ადამიანები” ზოგიერთ ჯგუფს უკავშირებს მეთოდებით ათვალისწრჷ;

“მუხლნირჩევი ადამიანები” ზოგიერთ ჯგუფს უკავშირებს მეთოდებით ათვალისწრჷickle ქრორი ზოგიერთ ჯგუფს უკავშირებს მეთოდებით ათვალისწრჷickle ქრორი ზოგიერთ ჯგუფს უკავშირებს მეთოდებით ათვალისწრჷ

Warner က သားရေးနှင့် သွားရေး အားလုံးအထဲအား သီကျော်ခြင်းမှာ ရှေ့မှာ စိတ်ကူးခြင်းမှာ အချို့ကြိုးစားကြသည်။ သွားရေးနှင့် သီကျော်ခြင်းမှာ ရှေ့မှာ စိတ်ကူးခြင်းမှာ အချို့ကြိုးစားကြသည်။

ကြောင်းသား သောစက်ကြောင်း ရောက်လာရေးကို စိတ်ကူးခြင်းမှာ အချို့ကြိုးစားကြသည်။
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This issue, part one of two in this special volume on feminism, features seven articles and six poems from contributors identifying as female or LGBTQ+. As part of the "Dawe collective," they write on topics such as how feminism intersects with Marxism and economics, ethnicity, religion, and democracy and labor union politics in Myanmar and the Global South. From feminism, revolution and women's voices are grounded, honest, and uncompromising, and this issue throws into relief how feminists of diverse backgrounds have been affected by, and are affecting, the dynamic and complex societies within Myanmar today. 

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