Credit Page

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Declaration

I, Yee Yee Htun, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature………………………………..

Date…………………………………………

The thesis has been supervised by:

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Abstract

This paper presents as a qualitative research to describe and to analyze the role of civil society in democratizing development in a study of Burma. The contextualization approach for understanding my study is the concepts of civil society, democratization and development. The research explores the empirical phenomenon of the challenges of civil society organizations in Burma/Myanmar under the control of the authoritarian regime and how much civil society actors could work for civil rights and development in local and national level. Then, the research explored the position and action of Burmese civil society organizations in Thailand, and how they could support civil society organizations and actors inside Burma/Myanmar. The hypothesis of this study is "A strength civil society and democratization" research. The research employed "a case study design" with critical type (Bryman, 2008, P.52-53) to better understand the role of civil society in democratizing development in a case of Burma/Myanmar. As a case study design, this qualitative research in the case of Burma/Myanmar studied of particular social groups, Burmese civil society actors and a specific institution, called Vahu Development Institution, based in Bangkok, Thailand. Field work for the research project was conducted in Bangkok, Chiang Mai and Maesot, Thailand, where many Burmese civil society organizations are based and where Burmese civil society actors from inside Burma/Myanmar usually come for training. This is the place where I could interview them. The research design included face to face in-depth, semi-structured and unstructured interviews as well as phone and e-mail queries, focus groups discussion, and document analysis.

Recently, the new Myanmar government is founded as parliamentary government after 2010 election and it does little to end the army's dominance in Burmese politics. I hear the news that there is reducing restrictions on media and some business in Burma/Myanmar through mass media and social media. It is widely considered to be a charade that has little hope for a genuine transition from an authoritarian system to a full-fledged democracy. However, there is still strong footing of authoritarianism in Burma/Myanmar, constitutionally and practically. At that point, many Burmese civil society actors, Burma expert and scholars are hopeful that the recent reemergence of the civil society in Cyclone Nargis disaster in 2008 will contribute to the eventual transition to democracy as a force group. Today, the scholars strongly consider strengthening civil society in Burma/Myanmar. This study therefore examined the extent that the Burmese civil society organizations contribute and shape development and democratization in Burma through their pronounced strategies, missions and visions.

Acknowledgements

I should write acknowledgements in the first page of my master thesis because there are many people who supported me with advices, grant, important contacts, interviews and literature during my studies in UMB and during my fieldwork in Thailand.

Firstly, I am very grateful to the Burmese social and development workers who spoke openly and frankly about their exciting ideas and their experience of civil society in Burma when I interviewed them for my thesis. A few of them allowed me to use their profile in my thesis if I needed to, but most of them wish to remain anonymous. Through the interviews, I could understand the challenges of the social and development workers, how the civil society survives and whom they work for. I gratefully acknowledge their contribution of time and sharing their opinion. I thank to CSOs players of key civil society organizations both from inside and outside of Burma. They let me use their observations legally and allowed me to present freely their profiles in my thesis if I need.

Secondly, I am deeply thankful to Vahu Development Institution (VDI), based in Bangkok, Thailand. During my three-month-long field work in Thailand, it was not possible for me to meet the social and development worker from inside Burma without the help of VDI. VDI has implemented the Community Development and Civic Empowerment Program (CDCE) at Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University, Thailand where I met with over 30 actors from different civil societies from inside Burma when they came to study three-month intensive CDCE program. In addition, I thank VDI for letting me participate in all fieldtrips to Thai's community and for the experience and friendship gained from the participants of CDCE. This opportunity allowed me to hear their voice from their heart like friends or co-workers along the fieldtrips.

Thirdly, I would also like to thank FRITT ORD for selecting me as one of the five candidates to receive "The Freedom of Expression Grant 2011". FRITT ORD (the Freedom of Expression Foundation) helps promote freedom of expression in Norway and other countries. Next, I thank Den norsk Burmakomite (NBK) for providing travel grant for my fieldwork. NBK (Norwegian Burma Committee) is a Norwegian advocacy group with the mandate to support and strengthen the Burmese democracy movement. I am proud of myself to have the grants from both FRITT ORD and NBK for my research with the title: "The role of civil society in democratizing development with study of Burma".

Fourthly, I would like to thank to my supervisors Darley Jose Kjosavik for her important

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABSFU: All Burma Federation of Students' Union

ABSU: All Burma Students' Union

AFPFL: Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (Party)

BCP: Communist Party of Burma

BSPP: Burmese Socialist Program Party

CDCE: Community Development and Civic Empowerment Program

DVB: Democratic Voice of Burma

DKBA: Democratic Karen Buddhist Army

ECCD: Early Childhood Care and Development

FFSS: Funeral Free Service Association

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

HDI: Human Development Index

HRDP: Human Rights Defenders and Promoters Network

IMF: International Monetary Fund

KNU: Karen National Union

KIO: Kachin Independence Organization

KIA: Kachine Independence Army

LGED: Local Governance and Economic Development

MMA: Myanmar Medical Association

MMCWA: Maternal and Child Welfare Association

MRC: Myanmar Red Cross

MBCA: Myanmar Business Coalition on AIDS

MSDN: Mon-region Social Development Network

MWEA: Myanmar Women's Entrepreneurs Association

NDF: National Democratic Force (NDF)

NHEC: National Health and Education Committee

NLD: National League for Democracy (Party)

NMSP: New Mon State Party

SLORC: State Law and Order Restoration Council

SPDC: State Peace and Development Council

SSA (North) Shan State Army (North)

SSA (South) Shan State Army (South)

UN   United Nations

UNDP   United Nations Development Program

USDP   Union Solidarity and Development Party

UWSA   United Wa State Army

VDI   Vahu Development Institution

WLB   Women's League of Burma

WON   Women's Organizations Network of Myanmar

YMBA   Young Men's Buddhist Association

YMCA   Young Men's Christian Association

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Image 1: Photos of my life story[i]

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[i]Image 1: Photos of my life story: The background photo is showed the distance between Burma/Myanmar and Norway (Source: Google maps). The photos from button to up is showed (1)Voter Education in 1990 in Mague, Burma/Myamar, (2)Nu Po refugee camp in Thailand, in 2005, (3) Democratic Voice of Burma in Oslo, Norway 2005-2010, (4) "Released Aung San Suu Kyi Campaing" in Oslo, Norawya in 2006, (5) A student life in UMB in 2010.[78]

1. Introduction

This thesis focuses on the role of civil society in democratizing development in Burma/Myanmar. This section presents the story briefly about my motivation to write this thesis. This story tells the background of the focus on this topic and this story is related to my life experience during my participation of social groups and democratic movements in Burma/Myanmar under the authoritarian regime.

Before starting of my thesis, I would like to explain the name of the study location of my thesis clearly, which s called Burma or Myanmar. Before 1988, "Burma" was the official name of the country in English both in local and international community. After the military's coup in 1988, the new military regime has promoted the new name of the country as Myanmar starting in 1989. The United States changed to use the new name "Myanmar", but the democratic opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, asked the world to continue to use the old name, Burma (www.abcnyheter.no)[1]. Most international community, including the government of the Untied State, still uses the old name, Burma (www.cia.gov)[2]. For me, as a Burmese, I agree that both names have the same historical meaning, but have different pronunciation and spelling. The old name "Burma" pronounced by British colonial government came from the word "Barmar". The new name "Myanmar" is the correct form of the writing for pronunciation "Barmar". In my thesis, I decided to use both names "Burma and Myanmar" and I use the name in this form "Burma/Myanmar". I have three reasons to use both names in my thesis. The first reason is that "Burma" is more of a familiar name for international people, the second reason is that "Myanmar" is the current official name in local short form, and the last reason is that I am not sensitive and conservative in the name of my country.

1.1 Motivation of the study

Before I studied International Development Studies at Norwegian University of Life Science (UMB), I grew up under the authoritarian regime in Burma/Myanmar and I became a freedom fighter in Burma/Myanmar since the 1988 people uprising in Burma/Myanmar. I joined the student union (ABSFU) in Burma/Myanmar and I led a student group to provide for political prisoners' needs such as blanket, medicines, etc. We visited prisons to contribute essential meterials for political prisoner from 1990 to 1996. Because of my involvement in the University student's movement in December 1996, the Military Intelligent Service (MI)

arrested and imprisoned me at Insein and Thayawaddy prison in Burma/Myanmar for 6 years. I was released in 2002, but I had no right to study at my University to complete the master degree. I left Burma/Myanmar in 2004, and I was resettled in Norway by the UNHCR's resettlement program in 2005. In Norway, I worked for Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB) in Oslo, as a journalist from 2005-2010 and I contributed my knowledge and skills to the people through the media (DVB) by following up the news about human rights violations in Burma/Myanmar.

When I was in prison, I witnessed the prison's staffs abused the prisoner without any regards to human rights. I thought these staffs violated others' human rights easily because they did not understand what human rights means and they did not realize that they were committing such crime. At the same time, the prisoner did not know their rights as prisoners. It is the same problem for most people in Burma/Myanmar that do not understand their fundamental rights, rules and principles because the Burmese people grow up in the closed society like a dark world under the authoritarian regime. At that point, I realized that both active and passive people need awareness of their fundamental right such as right to equal protection under the law and I dream of working for people to understand their rights theoretically and practically through their communities, social groups or networks.

When I studied the development theories at UMB, I get to understand that development is connected to human rights in the same process. Democracy and human rights are clearly interrelated concepts and democracy. Development is linked in fundamental ways. In contrast, if people do not have any fundamental rights and democracy in a country, this country where these people live will not be developed. (Peter Uvin: 2004) This concept is very appropriate to Burma/Myanmar where there are high rate of human rights violation and high risk of ethnic armed conflict, which is one of the least developed countries ruled by authoritarian regime since 1962. In the history of Burma/Myanmar, the military regime cracked down the democratic movements violently. Because of the Burmese regime's human rights violations, the UN Security Council met on September 2006 to discuss with Burma/Myanmar to take action for the first time, but China used its veto power in January 2008 to defeat a UN Security Council resolution condemning Burma's human rights abuse (Harvard.edu and www.un.org) [3]. After being ruled by military group more than 4 decades, Burma/Myanmar is still one of the 50 least developed countries and one third of the 50 million populations are still living in poverty (World Statistics Pocketbook 2010) [4]. Under this condition, Burmese people feel hopeless to dream of a democratic Burma/Myanmar with well development in

both social and economic.

On the other hand, some scholars recently discoursed on the civil society to be built in grass-root to become force for changing in Burma/Myanmar (Steingberge et al. (1999), South,Ashley (2008), Kramer, Tom (2011)). When Cyclon Nargic hit the Irrawaddy delta in Burma/Myanmar in 2008, the regime was not able to deny the participation of civil society from local and international NGO to relief the victims of the natural disaster. Even though the regime limited the working space of civil society groups, the civil society groups had opportunity to work long term process of relief programs in post disaster. The civil society groups are able to develop themselves and their working spaces grow. (Skidmore & Wilson, 2008, p.4 and HRW, 2010) It is also that the re-emergence of civil society groups and their strengthening following the political society's failure to intervene in post-disaster has heightened the hope for Burmese civil society among the Burma experts. (South, 2008)

Additionally, after the new national election in 2010, the new Myanmar government has been in a cosmetic transition that does little to end the army's dominance in Burmese politics. It is widely considered to be a charade that has little hope for a genuine transition from an authoritarian system to a full-fledged democracy. In this saturation, many Burmese civil society actors and some scholars are hopeful that Burmese civil society will contribute to the eventual transition to democracy as a force if the recent reemergence of Burmese civil society becomes stronger. It is also that the Burmese opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kyi is contributing to the work of many civil society groups. On these points, I wanted to examine the concept of the linking between civil society, development and democracy to fit in the case of Burma/Myanmar. Therefore, I decided my thesis to focus on the civil society in democratizing development by study of Burma/Myanmar.

When I decided to focus on this topic, I considered two challenges. One is that some scholars, but not many, had already done the researches to focus on the civil society in democratization with the study of Burma/Myanmar and their researches had already presented their outcomes. However, most social researches done in Burma/Myanmar did not include the contribution of the researcher's own experience in Burma/Myanmar. I think my experience in the democracy movements and social organizations, and my work experiences at DVB strongly support for the findings valid outcomes in my study. Additionally, I do not need interpreters or second language when I interview the Burmese people for my research. I could interview them directly in Burmese language without using interpreters and losing out in translation.

Other challenge was that I have no right to visit Burma/Myanmar for my field work because I

was a refugee of Burma/Myanmar in Norway. I could not visit Burma/Myanmar to meet the people for my research. Fortunately, Vahu Development Institution (VDI) has agreed to support me for meeting the actors of civil society from inside Burma /Myanmar when they came to Community Development and Civic Empowerment Program (CDCE) at Chiang Mai University, in Thailand. I could interview them when they were attending the three months training at CDCE.

Then I started the processes of my research such as reading literature, writing my own proposal, applying for visa and was able to complete them before I left for fieldwork. After taking field course "State and Civil Society in Development and Environmental Governance " in India which assisted me with relevant experience for my fieldwork later, I left for Chiang Mai, Thailand to collect data for my research during my fieldwork at VDI from early October 2011 to end of December, 2011.

1.2 Research objectives and research questions

Objectives of the research

The goal of this thesis is to examine the extent that the Burmese civil society organizations can contribute and shape the development of democratization in Burma/Myanmar through their pronounced strategies, missions and visions. My research planned to focus on four objectives which are based on the literature I have read about the civil society, democratization and development. They are as follows:

1) To understand the perspectives of civil society actors to the Burmese regime and its democratic reform
2) To understand how civil society organizations cooperate with political groups
3) To understand activities and processes through which civil society organizations work for vulnerable groups' needs and rights for development
4) To understand how Burmese civil society organizations play a role in the democratization process of Burma/Myanmar

Research Questions or hypotheses

This research addressed four key research questions as follow:

1. How do civil society actors view on the Burmese regime and its change? Do the civil society organizations relate to the Burmese regime? What are the institutional and other interactions they have with the Burmese regime? What challenges they have experienced in?

2. Do civil society organizations cooperate with the democratic opposition groups to promote the democratization process? How do they work together?

3. What are the activities performed by civil society organizations to promote for vulnerable group's need and rights? How do they achieve?

4. How do the actors of civil society organizations understand democratic practices? What is their approach to democratization? What is CSOs role in Burma's democratic reform?

This research has a hypothesis statement that: "Civil society organizations have strengthened the civic empowerment and they have played an important role in eventual democratization and development of Burma/Myanmar."

1.3 Rationale of the topic

The Nobel Peace Prize winner, Burmese democratic leader Aung San Suu Kyi defines the democracy movement in the context of Burma that *"the struggle for democracy and human rights in Burma is a struggle for life and dignity. It is a struggle that encompasses our political, social and economic aspirations. The people of my country want the two freedoms that spell security: freedom from want and freedom form war. Democracy and human rights are indivisible from the culture of peace and therefore essential to sustained development."* (Kyi 1995, see also the Dalai Lama 1999, 3-4)" (Peter Uvin, 2004, P.128)

According to the above argument of the Burmese democratic leader Aung San Suu Kyi, everyone could understand how Burmese people have struggled for human rights, freedom and development in Burma/Myanmar. However, Burma/Myanmar is too far from development and democracy because Burma is in a state of high risk for violent internal conflict between ethnic and military government since its independence in 1948. Burma is ruled by authoritarian regime and people have no right to participate in decision-making processes. Civilian and minority ethnic groups are oppressed and have suffered human right abuse by Burmese military junta. (Smith, 1994) People still suffer from poverty because of

the impact of armed conflict between ethnic groups and government and wrong social economic system. Military regime has annually achieved GDP: $40.288 billion (2011 estimate, www.state.gov) [5]. However, public health expenditure and education expenditure (% of GNI) has accounted for 1.3% of total government spending in 2011 (World Statistics Pocketbook 2010/LDC) [4]. In additional, Burma/Myanmar is one of the low human development countries in 149 positions among 187 countries (UNDP HDI Release, 2011)[6.]

The military regime held the new national election in November 2010 after 2 decades of 1990 election and then the new Myanmar government has recently been in a cosmetic transition that does little to end the army's dominance in Burmese politics because the new constitution allows 25 percent of the parliament representatives for military to take seats at parliament without election (www.cia.gov) [2]. It shows that the same people who ruled Burma/Myanmar before as top leader in the military regime have held the rein of the power in their hands. Even the new government started democratic reform recently, the world accepted a "wait and see" approach to Burma/Myanmar. The Burmese regime has committed forced labour and human rights violation in the ethnic armed conflict area where some civilians were used as "human shields" and women suffered from sexual violence. (HRW 2012 report, P.1-4)

Like this situation of Burma/Myanmar, the following argument of Eigen (1998, ch-5, pp.1) is so relevant for Burma/Myanmar:

> "Today, it is no longer contentious to say that without the active involvement of civil society we would live in a world ridden with much more violence and human rights abuses, burdened with greater social injustice and equipped with less sensitivity to the ecological problems we are facing."

Yet his argument is true for Burma where people are educating themselves in organizational dynamic and self government under the military regime. The Burmese regime does not take any responsibility for most people. Burma has much more violence and human rights abuses in the world. When the government has failed to carry out their responsibility for people, people feel they are neglected by the state and understand the rearms such as solidarity and social interaction. Therefore, they have formed their legal or clandestine communities even if military regime does not want it to happen. They are filling up many of the areas where the state has failed (Sidmore and Wilson, 2008, p.113-209).

When the worst recorded natural disaster in Burma/Myanmar's history, Cyclone Nargis, hit the Irrawaddy delta in Burma/Myanmar in 2008, the military regime did mismanagement of

humanitarian efforts and its impacts on disaster victims were higher and worse in the disaster history of Burma/Myanmar. Young people and public figure like Zagana organized social group to volunteer and provide for the victims of the disaster. There were many volunteer organizations exploring during the relief and rehabilitation efforts. (HRW, 2010) In 2011, there are 119 NGOs, according to Kramer, Tom (2011, pp.11). These NGOs work for people' development, for example, health care and funeral services like Free Funeral Service Society (FFSS) work for small infrastructure projects such as self-help road building and hydroelectric firms and community forestry. They work have been the mainstay of Burmese civil society. Nowadays, It can be said that Burmese civil society groups play an important role in the development process and challenge the authoritarian regime. Therefore, I am interest in examining what is the role of civil society in Burma/Myanmar to play in democratizing development and I think therefore the topic of my thesis is worth researching in a case study of Burma/Myanmar's democratizing development.

1.4 Limitations of the research

The first limitation of my research with the study of Burma/Myanmar is that the fieldwork's site of my study is limited to Thailand, but not in Burma/Myanmar because I have no right to visit Burma/Myanmar as a refugee of Norway. I therefore have to meet the resources persons of my research in Thailand when they come from Burma/Myanmar to take training or to attend conference in Thailand. The benefit of this limitation is that I got the opportunity to have interview with qualified actors who have already had international experience and knowledge.

The second limitation of my research is time because the speed of political changes in Burma/Myanmar is so fast within a short period of my thesis process. After finishing fieldwork in the specific period, the world could see that Burmese regime started to reduce their autocratic control over democratic opposition, media, and civil society organizations. At the same time, the international community encourages these changes with some liberalization to go forwards successfully. However, my research is limited by specific period of time. My finding and conclusion are therefore presented in the relation of the political reform in Burma/Myanmar.

The last limitation of my research is the perspectives of the informants on political opposition groups by the actors of civil society organizations. When I interviewed the resource persons

for my research during my fieldwork, the democratic reform process in Burma/Myanmar was in its beginning. If I interviewed my research informants after bi-election on 1st April, they would perhaps have different perspectives on political opposition groups. If it is usual that the view of people on political groups depends on political weather, it is opportunity for further research to have different views by actors of civil society.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis includes of six chapters. The chapter 1 has already presented in the above as introduction part. The rest of the chapters are briefly summarized below:

Chapter 2: Contextual Background

This chapter presents a description of the study's location and background history of the study, Burma/Myanmar, and the history of Burmese civil society. This contains the context of Burma/Myanmar, the role of military regime, armed conflict, the role of democratic opposition, involving role of international community, and the update situation of Burma/Myanmar. This chapter indicates why Burma/Myanmar moved to military regime from parliamentary government after interdependence in 1948 and why Burma/Myanmar still face conflicts until today. Then this chapter also presents the background history of civil society related to Buddhism and Burmese culture. This gives the readers a greater understanding of the study's development status, armed conflict, democracy movements and Burmese culture in the specific context of Burma/Myanmar.

Chapter 3: Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

This chapter gives the theoretical framework which is relevant to my thesis's topic and hypothesis and I argue why I have decided this theoretical framework is relevant to my thesis. The main focus on the literature of my thesis is concepts of the relationship between civil society, democratization and development of Burma/Myanmar. I employ different scholars' arguments to define this relationship and to explain a definite concept of each term, democratization, development and civil society. This chapter also contains an overview of earlier research related to my study.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter presents the research methods I have used during the field work and writing up the finding/conclusion. This study is a qualitative research with case study design and I

explain why I decided to use this method in my research and how I applied these methods to answer the objectives and research questions. As a qualitative research with case study design, this chapter describes the field work's site, sample size, interview process in data collecting method, ethical considerations for informants of my research and my experience and challenges in the fieldwork. Additionally, I present how the challenges and new experience have affected my findings in my research.

Chapter 5: Findings and Discussion

This chapter is divided by four main sections and each section is related to each specific objective and research questions of my study. This chapter focuses on organizing and analyzing the data I have collected during my fieldwork to present the finding of my research. I produced only the findings by analyzing of the answers of the participants during the semi-structured interview, transcripts of participants observations and documents source as data. At the same time, both the finding of study and the relevant theoretical ideas are discussed together in the end of each section for answering the research questions of my thesis.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter is the conclusion of my thesis. This contains a summary and my closing arguments and some suggestion for further research to implement a strengthened civil society in Burma/Myanmar.

CHAPTER 2: CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUN

Image 2: Photos of the contextual background [ii]

[ii] Image 2: Photos of the contextual background. (Top-down): Saffron Revolution in September 2007 (Role 1, left & right) [75], Protests over a fuel and commodity price rise in Augst 2007 (Role 2, left & right) [75], Relief supporting of CSOs in Cyclon Nargis in May 2008 (Role 3, left & right) [75], Reunion of Democratic leader, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and Students leader in 2012 after they were released (Role 4, left) [76], Daw Aung Suu Kyi has attended in Parliament in May 2012 after bi-election in April, 2012 (Role 4, right) [77].

2. Contextual Background

In this chapter, I present facts and information on the Geography, Economy, Education and Health system of Burma for a better understanding of development condition of Burma/Myanmar. Then I present detail on the political history of Burma, which is related to the part of my research "Democratization". To understand today's role of civil society in Burma/Myanmar, it is also necessary to include the background and history of Burmese civil society.

2.1 The context of Burma/Myanmar

Map 2.1a:
Map of Burma/Myanmar showing
7 states and 7 divisions
(Source: www.myanmars.net)[7]

Map 2.1.b:
The location of Burma/Myanmar
(Source: www. globalr2p.org) [8]

Physical and Social Geography

Burma is a country in Southeast Asia bordering the Andaman Sea and the Bay of Bengal, and sharing border with China, Laos, Thailand, Bangladesh and India. Burma is the largest country in Southeast Asia with the total area of 678,500 sq km where 657,740 sq km occupies the land and 20,760 sq km occupies the water (www.gov.mm)[9]. Burma is used as a name of conventional short form, and its name of conventional long form is Union of Burma. Myanmar is used as local short form, and "Republic of the Union of Myanmar" is the name in local long form. There are three major cities in Burma/Myanmar: Yangon is located in the lower region of the country, Mandalay in the upper region of the country, and Nay Pyi Taw in the central part of the country, built in 2005 as an administrative capital. The estimated population in Burma/Myanmar in 2012 is 54,584,650 and the estimated population growth rate in 2012 is 1.07%. Of the total population 59% is 15-59 years old, 31% is under 14 year old, and 8% is over 60 year old. The rate of female population is greater by 1% than male population (www.cia.gov)[2]. Burma/Myanmar has 135 national races and the eight main ethnic groups in Burma/Myanmar are Bamar, Shan, Kayin (Karen), Rakhine, Kachin, Kayah, Chin and Mon. The official language is Myanmar, but minority ethnic groups have their own languages. The main religions of the country are Buddhism (89.2%), Christianity (5.0%), Islam (3.8%), Hinduism (0,5%) and other (www.gov.mm)[9].

Social and economic factors (Economy, Education and Health)

The context of economy, education and health is directly related to with the status of development of a country. Here I present the legal statistic of International organizations' reports about Burma/Myanmar's economy, education and health. Burma/Myanmar's emerges as a rich country in natural resources such as Petroleum, Timber, Limestone, Jadestones, Natural Gas, and Hydropower. GDP (Purchasing power parity) is 82.72 billion in the 77th position of the world, and its GDP growth rate is 5.5% in the 58th position of the world. According to the December 2010 statistics from Myanmar Government's Central Statistical Organization[12], Myanmar/Burma exports $8.1 billion in 2009; the main revenue is from natural gas 32.8%, agricultural products 13.9% and precious and semi-precious stones 10% by selling to Thailand, India, China, Japan, Singapore and Malaysia (www.cia.gov)[2]. However, Burma/Myanmar is one of the poorest countries in the world. Majority of the population depend on agriculture for their livelihoods. (www.fao.org)[10]. 32% of the population lives in poverty in Burma/Myanmar, and an estimated 10% of the population cannot meet even their

basic food needs (www.mm.undp.org)[11].

GDP (per capita-PPP) is US dollars $ 1, 300 in the 206th position of the world (www.cia.gov)[2] and the public health expenditure and education expenditure (% of GDP) has accounted for 1.3% of total government spending in 2005-2010 (www.un.org)[13].

Table 2.1 a: Human Development Index and its components (Source: www.undp.org) [14]

	Human Development Index (HDI) Value	Life expectancy at birth (years)	Mean years of schooling (years)	Expected years of schooling (years)	Gross national income (GNI) per capita (constant 2005 PPP $)	GNI per capita rank minus HDI rank	Nonincome HDI Value
HDI rank	2011	2011	2011[a]	2011[a]	2011	2011	2011
LOW HUMAN DEVELOPMENT							
142 Solomon Islands	0.510	67.9	4.5[i]	9.1	1,782	10	0.567
143 Kenya	0.509	57.1	7.0	11.0	1,492	15	0.584
144 São Tomé and Príncipe	0.509	64.7	4.2[i]	10.8	1,792	7	0.564
145 Pakistan	0.504	65.4	4.9	6.9	2,550	−7	0.526
146 Bangladesh	0.500	68.9	4.8	8.1	1,529	11	0.566
147 Timor-Leste	0.495	62.5	2.8[i]	11.2	3,005	−14	0.499
148 Angola	0.486	51.1	4.4[r]	9.1	4,874	−38	0.455
149 Myanmar	0.483	65.2	4.0	9.2	1,535	7	0.536
150 Cameroon	0.482	51.6	5.9	10.3	2,031	−4	0.509
151 Madagascar	0.480	66.7	5.2[i]	10.7	824	26	0.605
152 Tanzania, United Republic of	0.466	58.2	5.1	9.1	1,328	10	0.523

Table 2.1 (a) indicates Burma/Myanmar is one of the low human development countries with 149th position among 187 countries in 2010. By the impact of low expenditure in Health and Education, life expectancy at birth is 65.2 years and the school life expectancy is 9.2 years old in Burma/Myanmar and then poor children quit school after primary education (UNDP HDI Release, 2011)[14]. In addition, 0.6% of population in adult age has HIV/AIDS in 2009 estimated (www.cia.gov)[2].

According to TCG's report (2008), Burma stands up at risk with 3D-3 global disease: malaria, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS. 70 percent of the population lives in endemic malaria areas, and over 240,000 are highest risk group for HIV. The high risk group includes those who inject drugs, have sex with sex workers and men among the age group of 15-49 years. In addition, Burma ranks as one of the high risks countries for tuberculosis in the world. (TCG, 2008, pp.66) Health care system is also weak that over 20, 000- 25, 0000 people in rural depends on per rural health center with 16-50 beds. (TCG, 2008, pp.66) Under vulnerability in social factor, Burma has still been one of the least developed countries (World Statistics Pocketbook 2010/LDC) [3]. Because of lack of full responsibility in health and education by government,

people try to compensate for the many areas where the state has failed, and I will present these later under the title: 2.3.

2.2 Background history and politics

Here I present a very short history of the country before it gained independence in 1948 even though the time prior to 1948 may not seem relevant to my thesis. I concentrate on the history detail the parliament democracy period (1948-1962) and the military regime period (1962-2010) because the changes were drastic between pre-1948 and post-1948 in Burma/Myanmar.

Burma/Myanmar had been populated with settlers of diverse tribes throughout its history. The first indigenous people, known today as Pondang Man, the "long-neck" or "giraffe" tribe, settled in Pondaung, northern Burma/Myanmar about 40 million years ago. The majority Burman (Bama), a Tibeto-Burman ethnic group, were the latest comers who came to settle down in the Irrawaddy valley from today Yunan Province of China around the 9th century AD. There were 3 empires which were emerged along the history: King Anawrahta of Bagan Dynasty (1044-1077 AD), King Bayinnaung of the Taungoo Dynasty (1551-1581 AD) and King Alaungpaya of the Konbaung Dynasty (1752-1760 AD). In 1885, the whole Burma was occupied by the British colony and King Thibaw and his loyal family were taken to Ratanagiri, India. After over 100 years under British colonial rule, Burma became independent in 1948, where Burma ruled with a democratic parliamentary government for over 14 years before the military coup in 1962 (www.myanmars.net)[7].

2.2.1 The role of military regime (1962-2010)

Here I present detail about the role of military regime. The leader of military, General Ne Win seized power in the military coup in 1962, and he eliminated the 1947 constitution. He established Burmese Socialist Program Party (BSPP) to run the country with socialist economic policies. When Burma's economic reached the worst condition, students lead people uprisings in Rangoon calling for regime change in August 1988. During the uprising, Aung San Suu Kyi, the daughter of General Aung San, became an opposition leader to the military regime after her first political speech. Military forces cracked down the protestors and killed more than 3,000 demonstrators. Then more than one thousand students fled into the ethnic armed groups in the border regions of Burma/Myanmar (www.state.gov) [5].

In September 18, 1988, a new military group took power and the military regime was named the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC). The chairman of SLORC was General Saw Maung in 1988-1992 and he held the national election in 1990. Aung San Suu Kyi founded National League for Democracy (NLD) party after the 1988 people uprising. She was under house arrest starting in 1989. Her party won 392 seats of the 485 seats in the national election in 1990, but the military regime did not hand over the power to her party. Because of the result of the election, General Than Shwe removed General Saw Maung in 1992. In 1997, the military changed its name to the "State Peace and Development Council" (SPDC) and chairman of the SPDC Senior General Than Shwe became the head of state. In 2005, the military regime moved the capital city of the country from Ranoon to Nay Phi Taw from Rangoon. Military regime wrote a new constitution and the new constitution, which reserves at least 25 percent of seats for military in parliament, was approved by the referendum in May 2008 (www.state.gov) [5].

Recently, Burma/Myanmar's history has changed in a cosmetic shift. Burma/Myanmar held its first election in two decades on November 7, 2010 and the pro-junta Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) won about 80 percent of the seats (www.dvb.no)[15]. Aung San Suu Kyi, the pro-democracy leader, was released on November 13, 2010 (www.dvb.no)[16]. Burma/Myanmar's new Parliament pointed Thein Sein as the country's president on 4 February, 2011 (www.dvb.no)[17]. Next Myanmar was changed its name as "Republic of Union of Myanmar" (www.myanmar.com)[18]. International media criticized Burma concerning its new president; "Thein Sein, Myanmar's outgoing prime minister, has been chosen to become the military-run country's first civilian president in half a century in a cosmetic shift that does little to end the army's dominance in politics" (www.Aljazeera.net)[19]. Although the role of military regime ended after the 2010 election, the military's role remains an institution itself and the head of the armed forces has the right to take special powers if the state's condition is dangerous. It means that the head of armed forces can take the ability to put a stop to the civil liberties and abolished parliamentary authority. (www.state.gov) [5]

2.2.2 Armed conflict between minority ethnic groups and authoritarian regime (1948-2010)

I concentrate deeply on the history of the conflict between ethnic groups and authoritarian regime because this part indicates why Burma/Myanmar moved to military regime from

parliamentary government, and why Burma/Myanmar could not solve the conflict for over 60 years.

Historically Shan state has been under local chieftains called "Sawbwas" who were subject to the Burmese monarchy. Ethnic issue became the hardest problem in Burma's negotiation of independence with the British following the War. Many ethnic groups felt that they were more privileged under the British. It was Aung San, the charismatic national leader who convinced, the ethnic leaders for the need of a union. Aung San had succeeded in bringing some of the minorities together at the Panglong Conference in 1947 to form a union. After all, they had a sizable population and land and they did have the right to secede from the Union according to the 1947 constitution. Unfortunately, Aung San, along with seven cabinet members, were assassinated in July 1947, leaving the country with a big void in leadership.

Nonetheless, Aung San's party Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) became Burma's first independent government. Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) did not apply the federalist which had already been agreed at the Panglong Conference before getting independence. AFPFL recognized in the Constituent Assemble that only Shan and Karenni had the right to change the federal state after a 10 year trail period if they wanted. However, the rest of other ethnic groups were not awarded any right to become a federal state. Many national parties, mainly the Karen National Union-KNU, were against the political process of AFPFL. A few months after the independence in 1948, the Communist Party of Burma (CPB), which had been proscribed by the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) government, took up arms against the state. The CPB's quest for 'genuine independence' was followed by the quest for autonomy of the Karen people, led by the Karen National Unions (KNU). As the CPB and KNDO walked out of parliamentary process and took up arms, many ethnic Burman and Karen units in the army mutinied in sympathy. At one point, the government control was reduced to just six miles out of Rangoon, prompting the Western media to peck the Burmese government, the Rangoon Government. Gradually, with the help of the British and India which had provided arms to the AFPFL, the government reasserted urban control. But the war was unstoppable and throughout the late 1940s and 50s various other ethnic groups, including the Karenni, Mon, Pao, Rakhine and Muslim *Mujahids,* went underground by taking arms. (Smith, 1994, P.24-25)

The communists and ethnic resistance groups made several attempts to come up with a united front against the AFPFL government (Democratic National United Front in 1956, National Democratic United Front in 1959, National Liberation Alliance in 1960). (Charney, 2009,

P.76) The civil war essentially weakened the parliamentary process of the AFPFL and entrenched the Burmese army in the country's politics, since the army considered itself as the savior of the country from the brink of the broking up. As the Shan ethnic Sawbwas began to negotiate with the AFPFL government for possible secession in the late 1950s, the army, concerned over the strategic loss of the area, staged military coup in 1962, ushering in the era of the military rule in Burma and eliminating once and for all the local system of Sawbwas in Burma. The rationale behind the military coup was to rescue the union from the brink of the breaking up, or non-disintegration of the union. Since then the Shan State Army (SSA) has been fighting for Shan independence. The Burma army staged a military coup and took over the power from a democratically elected government in 1962. Since then the Burmese military regime has been denying political, civil, cultural, educational and religious rights of the Burmese peoples and committing human rights abuses such as forced relocation and forced labor to this day. (Smith, 1994, P.11)

The ceasefire process began in the early 1990s when the regime army was able to coerce or convince a number of weakening and dwindling ethnic insurgent groups into tacit ceasefire accords that basically allowed the latter to remain armed while giving them economic concession in their territory. The regime forced several ethnic insurgent groups to sign onto restrictive ceasefire agreements. To the regime, the ceasefire process is the most defining feature of the SLORC/SPDC era. 34 ceasefire groups were invited to participate in the National Convention in the end of 2003 and this included both ceasefire and non ceasefire, both 17 major ceasefire groups (example KIO, NMSP) and 17 various splinter groups (example Pa'O). (HRDU, 2006, P.16) Towards the end of 2000s, 29 ethnic armed groups, most of which are small irregular armies formed on ethnic 'autonomy' lines signed ceasefire agreement with the Burmese regime. However, the major ethnic armed groups such as KNU, MAG, SSA-south had not had any agreement on ceasefire until 2006. (HRDU, 2006, P.470)

From 1948 to 2005, Burma/Myanmar became the country with the second largest number of conflicts involving government forces within country and the second longest years in conflict over the world (HSRP 2005, P.14 & 16) [20]. As of this writing, the conflict in Burma/Myanmar continues with no end in sight. The 2008 constitution of Burma, approved by a sham referendum, postulates that there be only one armed force in the Union of Myanmar, demanding all the ceasefire groups to be disarmed or to become Border Guard Forces (BGFs). As a result, a new wave of civil war has broken out soon after the 2010 election in Burma/Myanmar.

As soon as the Burmese military regime held the election on 7 November 2010, the armed fighting between ethnic armed group (DKBA) and Burmese troops resumed at the eastern Burma border areas. Up to 17,000 refugees had been forced to flee from their homes into neighboring Thailand (www.dvb.no)[21]. The news had dominated Burmese exile and International media headlines for a while. The serious fighting has been broken up between Burmese government troops and UWSA which was based in southern Shan State in April, 2010 (www.Irrawaddy.org) [22]. There was also fighting between Burmese Army and Shan State Army (SSA-N) based on Mong Hsu in June, 2011 (www.dvb.no)[23]. Another fighting was between Burmese troops and Kachin Independence Army (KIA) based on Laiza in June 2011(www.dvb.no) [24]. This historical background about armed conflict between ethnic groups and the state can provide my study when I examine the opinions of the informants on the Burmese government's democratic reform.

2.2.3 The role of democratic opposition (1988-2012)

The role of democratic opposition should be presented in my thesis because democratic opposition groups force the Burmese military regime to reform in Burma/Myanmar by struggling for democracy since 1962. Aung San Suu Kyi , her party, democratic students and Buddhist monks are still the most important democratic opposition groups in the history of Burma/Myanmar. Their role should be presented in my study because it can support the reader to understand what informants of my study talked in the finding, chapter 5.

National League for Democracy Party (NLD)

After military seized the power in 1988, Aung San Suu Kyi founded a party known as the National League for Democracy (NLD). She was put under house arrest in 1989 because people she led could remove the military regime's power. Her party won nearly 60 percent in the 1990 national election. However, the military regime refused to transfer power to her party, and detained her party members and student leaders. The NLD party has never been allowed to call parliament (www.state.gov) [5].

She was under house arrest 3 times (1989-1995, 1999-2002, 2003-2010), but her party (NLD) remained loyal to her and her leadership. The NLD decided to boycott the elections of November 7, 2010 because it did not support 2008 new constitution, which reserves at least 25 percent of the Parliament seats for military in parliament and the NLD did not want to participate under the flawed electoral laws. Because of the NLD boycotting of election, her

party was announced as an illegal party by the election commission in September, 2010. As soon as the 2010 national election had completed, she was released from house-arrested in November 13, 2010. In April, 2011, the NLD she led has appealed at the High Court to dissolve the decision of the election commission (www.asianews.it) [25].

Aung San Suu Kyi always calls for dialogue with the regime for political reform. On August 19, 2011, the president of the new government, Thein Sein, accepted to meet Aung San Suu Kyi at the administrative capital, Nay Pyi Taw (www.dvb.no)[26]. Although both of them did not release officially what they had discussed to the public and media, Aung San Suu Kyi and all leaders of the NLD agreed to re-register again as a legal political party to participate in the bi-election of November 18, 2011 (www.irrawaddy.org)[27].

Under her leadership and organization, the NLD won 43 seats out of 44 parliamentary seats in the bi-election on April 1, 2012, and the NLD has 6.4 percent seats out of the 664 seats (both House of Nationalist and House of Representatives) in the Parliament (www.mizzima.com) [28].

The role of students and monks (1920-2011)

Since the British period in 1920, the Burmese university students demonstrated against a new University Act which aimed to place restrictions Burmese students. It was the first university movement in Burma history, and All Burma Students' Union (ABSU) was formed in 1935-36. From that movement, university students participated in politic, political parties, underground movement and armed struggle for independent from the British colony. After getting independence in Burma, university students continued to struggle for democracy and human rights against military regime in 1962, 1974, 1988, 1996, 1988, and 2007. Military regimes always crushed down all of student's democratic moments and they arrested the student leaders. All Burma Federation of Students' Union (ABSPU) was reformed during the 1988's people uprising. After the military coup again in 1988, thousands of students fleet to join the area of armed ethnic groups in border of Burma/Myanmar and hundreds of students were arrested, and lost their lives in prisons in Burma/Myanmar (absfu.net) [29].

Min Ko Naing and Ko Ko Gyi became both key figures in the 1988 demonstration and they reorganized student leaders for their political activities. When people suffered from impact of increasing fuel prices, Min Ko Naing led to demonstrate peacefully against a massive recent fuel price hike (www.irrawaddy.org) [30]. The regime arrested over 100 protesters and the leaders of the demonstration, including Min Ko Naing and Ko Ko Gyi were sentenced to 65

years imprisonment in November, 2008 (www.dvb.no) [31]. After the demonstration against massive fuel price, Buddhist monks began leading peaceful marches to protect against the economic desperation in August 28, 2007. It was known as, "the Saffron Revelation" by honouring the colour of monks' robes. On September 26 and 27, 2007, the regime cracked down violently and arbitrarily detaining 196 monks in prisons (www.uscampaignforburma.org) [32]. Hundreds of protesters, including 88 generation students and monks, were given 3-65 years imprisonment by the special court in 2008 (www.mizzama.com) [33]. South, Ashley (2008) says, after the monk protest of Burma in autumn 2007 or the Saffron Revolution as it came to be known, rightly counts the Burmese sangha (the community of monks) as a civil society actor. The participation of monks in the rescue and rehabilitation efforts of the post-Cyclone Nargis Burma has not been missed out. Nonetheless the suppression of the state of the monk community, the fact that the sangha body itself has been polarized (the sangha must be above politics, the purist monks argue) poses limitations of the sangha as a powerful civil society actor in Burma.

After the dialogue between democratic opposition leader Aung San Suu kyi and the new government's president Thein Sein in August 2011, hundreds of political prisoners, including key figures of students and monks, were released groups by groups within the six months starting in January 2012. However, a few student activists, Buddhist monks and democratic protesters still remain in prisons as of May 2012 (af.ruters.com) [34].

2.2.4 The role of International community

1988-2012

Here, I present on the role of international community in the democracy for Burma/Myanmar to give more understanding about the role of international community in Burma's democratization, but do not present the other relationship between the Burmese regime and international community. When the military regime controlled the power and abused the people's human rights, many nations, including U.S, UK, Canada and European Union have imposed investment and trade sanctions on Burma/Myanmar to bring dialogue between the military regime and the oppositions such as Aung San Suu Kyi and armed ethnic groups. US started to impose the first economic sanction against Burma/Myanmar in 1993, and then the EU followed to impose trade and finance sanction against Burma/Myanmar in 1996 (www.guardian.co.uk) [35]. Australia's sanction aimed to impose mainly at Burmese junta

family members going to Australian schools and universities, and Canada and New Zealand imposed same sanctions too (gov.au and gc.ca) [36].   The Security Council met on September 2006 to discuss Burma for the first time, but China used its veto power in January 2008 —for the fifth time in history—to defeat a UN Security Council resolution condemning Burma's human rights violations. UN supports constructive engagement that can lead to national reconciliation. It proposes inclusive dialogue between Myanmar's Government and all parties in the country (Harvard.edu and www.un.org) [37]. The US president expended the JADE Act of 2008 as sanctions on Burma/Myanmar yearly until 2011 August. Under this pressure by international community, the Burmese military regime joined ASEAN in 1997 and Burma has had more trade with India, China and Thailand. (state.gov) [5]

After the new government started dialogue with Aung San Suu Kyin, the democratic opposition leader, the world begin to contact with the Burmese government agin. The secretary of the United State government, Hillary Podham Clinton visited Burma and met both the new president and Aung San Suu Kyi. After bi-election was approved free and fair, and the NLD won 43 seats out of 44 seats in 1 April, 2012, the U.S announced to lift some sanctions on Burma (washingtonpost.com) [38].   EU suspended nearly all sanctions against Burma/Myanmar, except arms embargo (www.aljazeera.com) [39]. Norway also lifted economic and visa-bans sanctions against Burma/Myanmar on April 17, 2012 because Norway believes it is time to encourage the policy reform in Burma/Myanmar (www.norway-un.org) [40].   EU, UK, Australia, and Norway have already lifted tourism sanction and travel bans on the president and 80 Burmese government senior officials last year, 2011 (www.mzzima.com) [41].

2.2.5 The Republic of the Union of Myanmar

According to the 2008 constitution, the country changed the name officially from "the Union of Myanmar" to "the Republic of the Union of Myanmar" and changed the new designed flag on October 21, 2010. After the general election in November 2010, the new government was established and it is controlled by mainly 83 percent of parliamentarians who are former senior military officers and military representatives from 25 percent of reservation seats. Thein Sein, who was a former Prime Minister of military regime (SPDC), became the first civilian president of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar (Reuters.com) [42]. After President Thein Sein took office, the new government has been going toward democratization under his leading. Within the short period, one year (2011 March-2012 April), Burmese President Thein Sein has approved that the 4new government goes toward democratization with the following

democratic reform process:

- He started dialogue with Aung San Suu Kyi, the top leader of democratic oppositions leader in August, 2011 (dvb.no) [26]

- He paid attention to the public who demanded a stop to the Myintsone dam project, which can impact the natural landscape of the Myitsone area and the livelihood of the local people. Myitsone dam project has been suspended by the president's order in Sept, 2011 (www.irrawaddy.org) [43].

- He offers peace to all anti-government armed groups and the delegation of peace-talks from his government have signed ceasefire agreement with six armed groups, including UWSA, SSA-North and SSA-South and NMSP. This delegation of his government is still talking with other five armed groups, including KNU and KIO (news.xinhuanet) [44]

- Bi-election that his government held could be approved as free and fair election in the international page (bbc.co.uk) [45]

My thesis is expected to contribute the result for future of Burma/Myanmar by analyzing the past and present to further researchers in the study of Burma/Myanmar. I started my fieldwork in August. At the same time, the democratic reform started to run in Burma/Myanmar and went forwards very quickly. While I was writing my thesis, I followed up with the updated situation of Burma/Myanmar to apply to my thesis. I will therefore use some of these above facts in the findings and discussion in Chapter 5.

2.3 Background history of Burmese civil society organizations

To understand today's role of civil society in Burma/Myanmar, I explain the background history of Burmese civil society organizations here, which includes the relationships between the civil society and other actors in Burmese life.

2.3.1 The shape of civil society (1948-1962/ 1962-1988)

1948-1962

Pre-colonial (pre-1885) Burma had many religious charity organizations traditionally but their vision did not amount to the democratic visions and missions envisaged by the Western counterparts. In the colonial Burma where Western-educated students brought into the idea of

the enlightenment and self-rule, Burmese people formed various civil society groups such as charity organization, unions and self-help educational institutions with a broader vision of self-rule and anti-colonialism. For example the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA) as well as the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) worked for not only social welfare but also advocacy activities in anti-colonialism. (Steinberg et al. 1999, p.4-5)

Post-colonial (post-1947) the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPLF) got state power and it organized the body of citizen through the generation of mass organizations linked to the political process. Burma kept a rich civil society in democratic political system. Since Burma enjoyed independence, some organizations that the educated population led were related to government because members of these organizations were employed by government and some organizations such as the All Burma Worker's Organization were under a political party's control. (ibid, p.6) In the democratic Burma where independent student union and the Buddhist sangha organization had mass influence in Burmese life because these organizations led the independence movement. (ibid, 66) However it is true that only after the 1962 military coup, the vibrant associational life in Burma was thoroughly suppressed.

1962-1988

As soon as the military took over of power, the student union building was blown up because democratic students' movement was against the military coup. Since this time, students union stood as an underground movement against the junta. Then all of independent private organizations, such as the Burma Writers' Association, were controlled by military government and any foreign assistance to private organizations was not allowed. The military regime allowed a few private organizations such as YMBA to only work for social and religious activities and a few faith based organizations such as Myanmar Council of Churches (MCC) work for only religious activities, but not any political activities. In 1980, the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) oppressed the monks to produce the Buddhist Sangha organization with the government control. Additionally, the Buddhist, the youth group, civil servants, workers and peasants were organized for the state purpose by the BSPP which was established by the military coup group. Most social activities in the community such as sport and art, run as the BSPP's social activities. It was finally under the BSPP that the function of civil society was killed and the term of civil society had disappeared in the Burmese life. (ibid p.8-9) In August 1988, the BSPP was ended by the people uprising.

2.3.2 Civil society under authoritarian regime (1988-2011)

All information in this section will provide reader to have clear understanding about the functions and role of the Burmese CSOs under the Burmese regime when I present the findings and discussion of my study in chapter 5.

Before Cyclone Nargis (1988-2008)

The Burmese military cracked down the people uprising and the military group had controlled the country as an authoritarian regime. Under the military regime (1988-2010), a further step was taken to ensure the control of the civil society. Mass Government-Organized Non-Governmental Organization (GONGOs), and the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA) were formed in 1993 as a grassroots support the regime. USDA receives funds from mainly the government and its members are based on government servants, 12 percent of populations whom the government forced to involve. Other civil society organizations under government influence such as the Maternal and Child Welfare Association (MMCWA), the Myanmar Medical Association (MMA), Myanmar Red Cross (MRC) were founded to support the regime. (ibid p.11-13, 43) Finally, the USDA, which at its inception was supposed to be apolitical, was transformed into the government party to contest the 2010 election and they won a landslide.

On the other hand, the regime controls non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with the register law to do activities legally. If an organization does its activities without register pass, people get involved in this organization will be taken action by the Unlawful Association Act and order 1/90 (ibid 62-63). Anyway, when the government has failed to carry out their responsible for development in many areas and then people are forced to educate themselves in organizational dynamic and self government under the military regime. Some local NGOs are recognized by government to work for nursery, primary school education or Early Childhood Care and Development (ECCD). There are over 1500 pre-primary schools run by Christian Churches especially in ethnic areas and over 1500 monastic schools run by Buddhist monks especially in divisions of the country in 2000s. The monastic educational types of NGOS have to register under the Ministry of Social Welfare (MSW) and the Ministry of Education (MoE). (Skidmore & Wilson, 2008, pp.134, 160-165) Because of the social economic problem such as drug abuse, lack of sex-education, and challenges of three main transmitted diseases, nearly 40 international and local NGOs have run for healthcare sectors.

They provided blood testing, anti-retroviral treatment (ART), 100% targeted Condom program and etc for HIV positive suspected people. These international and local NGOs claimed that the restriction of the government was the major obstacle in the HIV response. (HPN, 2008, p.26-29) Additionally, after saffron revolution in Sept 2007 and before Nargis in May 2008, the Burmese regimes oppressed some monastery and the civil society with the NLD background which provided hospitality for HIV/AIDS patients from rural areas. For example, Maggin Monastery and Phyu Phyu have provided hospitality for the HIV/AIDS patients from rural areas during their receiving treatment from the hospital in Yangon (The Buddhist channel TV) [46] and (www.Irrawaddy.org) [46]. According to HRW (2010, p.44), there are only 64 non government organizations (NGOs) and 455 country wide community-based associations (CBOs) in 2005 Local NGO Directory. They have worked for healthcare, educational and religious activities in local level in Burma/Myanmar, but they do not get involved in political dimensions

After Nargis (2008-2011)

When the worst recorded natural disaster in Burma/Myanmar's history, Cyclone Nargis, hit the Irrawaddy delta in Burma/Myanmar in 2008, young people and public figure like Zagana organized social group as volunteer to provide for the relief process of victims of disaster. (HRW, 2010) In post-Nargis, many of these volunteer groups continued to work for humanitarian aid and development sector by organizing itself as civil society organizations. Some civil society organizations had more opportunity to operate in political activities such as voter education after Cyclone Nargis than before, but it was still too little space. (CPCS, 2010, p.106) civil society members deeply thought of the way that could make strong civil society in the effect of people' awaking and with understanding of the authority (CPCS, 2010, p.6, 107). The government reduced its restriction on operating space in ground work, for example travelling, application, and donor monitoring missions (HRW, 2010, p.87). After 2008 Cyclone Nargis, number of civil society has increased in humanitarian aid and development sector and 1431 monastic schools working for over 200, 000 children who are in the primary education level and are not able to access education at government schools have been registered in 252 townships in 2011 (www.mmtimes.com) [47].

On the other hand, 90% of NGOs, including FFSS and Chan Mya Thazi civil society, have not been recognized by the government yet until March 2012 and they have applied for legal registration since 2008 (www.irrawaddy.org) [48]. According to Kramer, Tom (2011, pp.11), number of NGOs has increased to 119 NGOs in 2011 from 60 NGOs in 2005 that was

showed in the Myanmar Local NGO Directory.

In this section, I have presented the role of CSOs under the authoritarian regime within the period of 1988-2011.

2.3.3 Civil society in ethnic's border area and ceasefire region (1988-2012)

All information in this section will provide the readers for having understanding about the role of CSOs in ethnic border regions when I present the findings and the discussion of my study in chapter 5.

After signed ceasefire agreement between the Burmese regimes and some ethnic armed groups such as KIO and NMSP in 1990s, these ethnic ceasefire groups have run their own education program in its own schools system under its own education department. It is also in ceasefire region that the ethnic actors have extended space for civil society activities through their social welfare sector, but these activities had to be kept away from political character. (Skidmore & Wilson, 2008, p.163-164)

When military regime cracked down the people uprising, thousands of democratic activists left from Burma. Monique Skidmore and Trevor Wilson (2008, pp.200-214) says when people needed everything as refugee in exile, they educated themselves to establish their social organization for health, education and labor. The first civil society organization in health sector is Mae Tao Clinic which was established by Dr. Cyntha Muang in 1989. From that time, this clinic has developed into an inclusive health care center with reproductive health care, a laboratory, and HIV/AIDS presentation center. The clinic runs its work by the funding of over 20 international communities' donors. In Thai-Burma border, there is not only civil health care center, but also civil education society organization. The National Health and Education Committee (NHEC), Monique Skidmore (2008, pp.214), was also founded after 1988 in Thai-Burma border to support for people's health and education along the border as well as border-based health groups by providing training. These example civil society organizations have still been working for development in Thai-Burma border until today.

There is not only a civil society for basic needs but also rights-based approach civil society established in Thai-Burma border. For example, The Women's League of Burma (WLB) is found in 1999. It has eleven women's organization members consisting of different ethnic backgrounds from Burma. This organization works for women's empowerment by providing capacity building training and by encouraging women to participate in decision making. WLB

has network with 10 women organizations inside Burma and provide training for young women inside Burma/Myanmar (www.burmalibrary.org) [49]. In 1996, university students struggled for founded student unions and it was the largest student democratic movement in Burma after 1988 and before 2007 (www.abfsu.net) [50]. Similar to 1988 democracy uprising's benefit on civil society organizations, Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (Burma) were founded in the Thai-Burma border area in 2000 to provide assistance for political prisoner inside Burma/Myanmar (www.aappb.org) [51].

2.3.4 International Non-Governmental Organization (1988-2012)

International Non-Government Organization (INGO) related to health and education such as Medecins Sans Frontieres (Netherlands), World Vision (UK, Population Service International (PSI), Save the Children Fund UK, etc returned to Burma/Myanmar after 1991. These organizations cooperated and organized workshops for GONGOs and especially focus on aid for the humanitarian crisis (ibid p.41, 80, 87) International Labor Organization supported the local people to eliminate the force labor (ibid p.57). INGO must apply for Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) to operate in Burma/Myanmar and INGO must deal with relevant ministry to get agreement for their operations after they have gotten MOUs. Some INGO had to work under authority's watch. (ibid 80-84) International Labor Organization have supported the local people for eliminated the force labor (ibid p.57) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited prisons to monitor the condition of prison and support for humanitarian aid. However, after 2004, the military regime restricted INGOs; for example, ICRC was not allowed to visit prisons. Because of more restriction on INGOs and inconvenient to operate under the authoritarian regime, some INGOs such as the Global Fund withdraw from Burma/Myanmar in 2005 (Skidmore & Wilson, 2008, pp.31). Instead of Global Fund, the European Union replaced Three Diseases Fund in 2006 to eliminate the danger of malaria, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS.

After Cyclone Nargis hit in Burma/Myanmar, the Global Fund decided to return to Burma/Myanmar with 110 million dollars in the late 2009 because the Burmese government reduced its restriction on the implementation of humanitarian projects. Additionally, after the national election in 2010, the new government allowed back the ICRC to visit prisons (www.irrawaddy.org) [52].

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Image 3: Photos of some literature books for my study

3. Conceptual and Theoretical framework

In this section, chapter 3, I present the theoretical framework that is relevant to my thesis's topic and hypothesis to bring into the findings and discussion in chapter 5 and I also argue why I have decided this theoretical framework as relevant to my thesis. The main focusing literature of my thesis is concepts of the relationship between civil society, democratization and development. I employ different scholars' arguments to define this relationship and to give a specific concept of each term; democratization, development and civil society. This chapter also contains an overview of earlier research related to my study. I will bring into discussion on Burmese civil society to examine the applicability of these connections in that specific context.

3.1 Democratization

In the recently debate on democracy, democratization is considered as a process of democracy. Democracy means the right to rule the country by citizens and the legitimate use of force are confined to the state and its government, which can be influenced through regular free and fair elections. Citizens expect their democratic governments to be accountable to their citizens, respect the rights and freedoms of their people and ensure the protection and equality of minority groups. Democratization is a process of transition from non-democratic to democratic condition as a shift from authoritarian to democratic rule in a country. (Cherif Bassiouni et al. 1997, pp. IV-V & 6)

3.1.1 Components of democratization

The contemporary wave of democratization gained enormous popularity in 1974. It is considered as street politics to table politics in a transformation from above and below and as a removal process of the authoritarian elites standing. (Berman, 2007, p.29-33) The democratization process may be defined in a number of ways by depending on a country's condition and authoritarian regimes type.

According to Schneidere & Schmitter (2004), the contemporary wave of democratization has three components/statges: (1) Liberalization: "the process of making effective certain rights that protect both individual and social groups from arbitrary or illegal acts committed by the state or third parties" (ibid, p.60) (2) Transition: It is a period and process of exceptional

political change from one regime to another (ibid, p.65) (3) Consolidation: "the processes that make mutual trust and reassurance among the relevant actors" to keep going full democratic outcome. (ibid, p.61)

According to Carothers (2007, 12-13), a state in democratization process have more conflict than stable autocracies. To prevent this danger, preconditions should have in authoritarian regime for transition to democracy peacefully. Carothers suggests preconditions of democratization is economic development, rule of law (democratic political character), and state building (middle class/ civil society/institution). He (ibid, p.19-20) argues democratization should wait until Autocracies, especially liberalized, can create precondition.

On the other hand, Carothers (2007, pp.24) argues that successful democratization process is non-linear even it depends on preconditions. He argues if a country has both good level of economic development and plenty of historical experience with political pluralism, this country is easy to succeed democratic reform. If a country has concentration of sources of national wealth, identity-based divisions or nondemocratic neighborhoods, this country is difficult to succeed in democratic reform. Based on the above theory, I will examine the level of Burma's democratic reform by the perspectives of the informants of my research.

3.2 Development

Peet and Hartwick (2009:1) defines that; "development means making a better life for everybody''. In this context, a better life for everybody means changing of the people's ways of living, attitudes and behaviors positively. Specifically, a better life for all means having access to the basic needs for a suitable standard of living, leading long and healthy lives with affordable services, being knowledgeable, and being able to participate in the communities with dignity and respect. It says that development means not only for meeting people's basic needs but also having for people's fundamental rights.

According to Boesen and Martin (2007, 10-11), needs and rights are interchangeable in development initiatives and fundamental human needs are the basis of human rights too, for example, when people need water, food, shelter, healthcare and education and it is also rights of people to have water, food, shelter, healthcare and education. However, there are notable differences between needs-based approach and rights-based approach. Boesen and Martin (2007, pp.11) present a table "Difference between needs-based and rights-based approach" as below:

Table (3.2): Difference between needs-based and rights-based approach

(Source: Adapted from Boesen and Martin, 2007, 11)

Needs Approach	Rights-Based Approach
Focus on input and outcome	Focus on process and outcome
Emphasizes meeting needs	Emphasizes realizing rights
Recognizes needs as valid claims	Recognizes individual and group rights as claims toward legal and moral duty-bearers
Individuals are objects of development interventions	Individuals and groups are empowered to claim their rights
Individuals deserve assistance	Individuals are entitled to assistance
Focuses on immediate causes of problems	Focuses on structural causes and their manifestations

Although needs-based and right-based have different approaching, needs and rights are linked in development thinking. Development is linked to think of the dignity and fundamental rights of the individual in the range of democracy. Amartya (1999, pp.4) also argues that development can be achieved when people have their free agency and development and people's free agency depend on each other. Moreover, he argues that "Quality of life" is linked not only economic development (income per head) but also the freedom of individuals. If a person has more individual's freedom than rich, that person usually live long and live well. (Sen, Amartya, 1999, pp.5) Therefore, in the following section, I present detail on how development and freedom in democracy is linked.

3.2.1 Development and Democracy

"Development is equality, and only equality will allow democracy to occur." (Peet, 2009, P.282) In this sense, democracy is equality, and only equality will allow development. Sen, Amartya (1999, pp.3) argues that "Development requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or overactivity of repressive states." The reason for his argument is given by himself that the various types of unfreedoms make people have "a little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency". (Sen, Amartya, 1999, pp.xii)

According to the milestone UN secretary-general's 1994 Agenda for Development , the paragraph number-120 and other, it says that democracy and development basically relate to each other. Democracy provides the equality for all without decimation between different race, gender, religious and culture. Because of the benefit of equality in democracy, it can reduce the risk of violent conflict between the different ethnic groups and everyone can have equal fundamental rights such as right to education and right to health which is related to the quality of human development. Democracy provides people to have right to participate in decision-making processes which affects their lives in a basic tenet of development (United Nations, 1994) [56]. It can be said that democracy make development for people to have better life or development works for people in a country where people have democracy.

The level of development and the quality of democracy in a country can be measured by Human Development index (HID). HDI indicates health (life expectancy), education (number of years of schooling) and income (GDP per capital) and HDI relates to both social and economic factor (hdr.undp.org) [57].

3.2.2 Development in Democratization

I have already presented that democratization is a process of authoritarian regime change to have more democracy in a country and one of the preconditions of democratization is economic development. On the other hand, Berman (2007, p.30) warns if a country make democracy work economic development before democratization, it is dangerous to explore conflict and violent in many ways. The contemporary democratization is more complex and protracted with danger of radical trend, shock therapy and common ground. In addition, Whitenhead, Laurence (2002, pp.8-9) explains more detail that some scholars in the nineteen

century argue that it needs to produce much economic development with market liberalization than social development for building minimum version of democratic county from authoritarian regime because economic development produces better social development outcome. Unlike during the much of twentieth century, many researchers argue that economic development only provides people out of poverty, but not for fundamental rights for people. Today, many scholars discourse promotion of social development such as "participation, civil society, and empowerment" in processes of democratization.

3.2.3 Development actors

To implement development of a country, donor of UN agencies and International community, the local government, international non-government organizations and civil society organizations are important actors in development. In my research, I study only civil society organizations, one of the development actors. According to the World Bank (2006) CSOs acts the interests of poor and vulnerable populations, especially in supporting citizens to practice their own rights, and contributing to development goals such as education, health, and gender equality, reducing poverty and etc. (World Bank, 2006) I therefore discuss more on civil society in this following section.

3.3 Civil society

Civil society is defined in many different ways depending on the context and there is no common accepted definition of civil society. De Tochqueville, Alexis, who was one of the philosophers to introduce the concept of civil society firstly in 19th century, defines as "Civil Society is essentially the arena of private interest and economic activity, and corresponds more or less directly to the capitalist economy." (Kumar, 1993, pp.381) In the 20th century, according to "Understanding Civil Society: Issues for WHO" (CSI, 2002), we can say in the common understanding that civil society are independent from government or business. When the state or business actors have failed to carry out their responsibility for people, civil society replaces the blank for people through its network to challenge the state's power and hierarchy and promote a public interest without profit. The term "civil society organization" is known as "non-state, not-for-profit, voluntary organizations formed by people within the social sphere of civil society". (CSI, 2002, pp.4) Diamond (1994) defines that civil society "as the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, (largely) self-supporting, autonomous

from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules'' distinct from "society" in general. The term "grassroots organization" will be added in this paper to indicate to a wide range of civil society organizations in Burma/Myanmar. (Diamond, 1994, pp.5)

Although civil society organization is defined as non-government or not-for-profit organization in theory, it complicates always in the relationship between civil society, state and market. Tabbush, Constanza (2005, pp.17) draw a figure to illustrate the relationship of three sectors as follow:
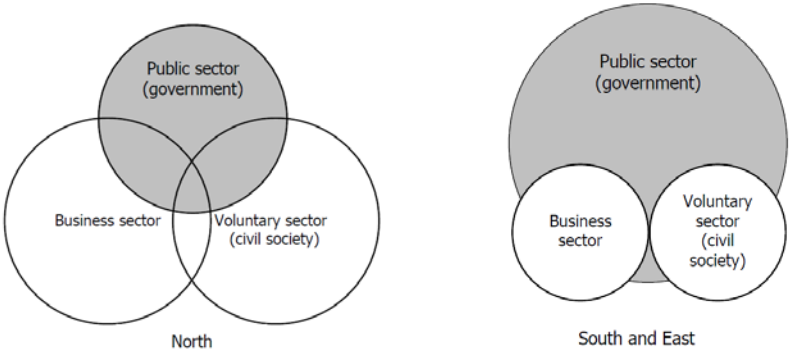
Figure 3.3 a: Model of three sectors in North,   Figure 3.3 b: Model of three sectors in South and East

(Source: Tabbush, Constanza, 2005, pp.17)

Figure 3.3.1 a indicates that civil society in North of the world has relationship with business sector and state in overlapping shape, but Figures 3.3.1 b indicates civil society in South and East of the world is formed separate from business sector as a part of the state. These figures will be applied on to examine the relationship between three sectors in the case of my study, Burma/Myanmar which is a Southeast Asia country.

3.3.1 Model of Civil Society Organizations

To divide the Burmese civil society organizations in the common model of civil society organizations, I use two literatures, Civil Society Initiative (2002) "Understanding Civil Society" and Larry J Diamond (1994) "Toward Democratic Consolidation" and I will employ this concept when I analyze the types of Burmese civil society organizations. The typologies of civil society organizations are grow below:

(CSI, 2002, pp.4-5) **State reinforce:** If a civil society organization is formed as a grassroots organization support regime and it depends on the State's funds, it is knows as Government Organized NGOs (GONGOs).

(CSI, 2002, pp.4-5) **Economic:** If a civil society organization such as trade chambers of commerce or trade associations is formed as market interests and it depends on funds in the market, it is known as Business Organized/Interest NGOs (BONGOs/BINGOs).

(Diamond, 1994, pp.6) **Cultural:** A civil society organization is formed to defend common rights, value, faiths, beliefs, and symbols as a religious, ethnic, communal and other institutions and associations.

(Diamond, 1994, pp.6) **Informational and educational:** A civil society organization is formed to contribute public knowledge, ideas, news, and information for people through its network. They may be for-profit or not-for-profit such as private tuition, monastic schools and independent media.

(Diamond, 1994, pp.6) **Interest-based**: a civil society organization is formed by specific professional members to advance or defend the common functional or material interests such as lawyers, workers, journalists and pensioners.

(Diamond, 1994, pp.6) **Developmental**: a civil society organization is formed by local people to improve to improve the infrastructure, institutions, and quality of life of the community such as safe water, shatter, and food security groups.

(Diamond, 1994, pp.6) **Issue-oriented**: a civil society organization is formed by activists or protester to campaign and act for their own interest such as movements against war, environmental protection, women's rights, released for political prisoner, land reform, or consumer protection.

(Diamond, 1994, pp.6) **Civic:** a civil society is formed by citizens in political interests to improve the political system and to have more democracy in the society such as human rights monitoring, voter education and mobilization, anticorruption efforts, and so on.

3.3.2 Civil society under authoritarian regimes

In the study of Burma, I give attention to consider the role of civil society under authoritarian regime before I consider its role in democratization. In a nondemocratic country, authoritarian regimes often seek to suppress civil society organizations or to limit their independence. The regime usually restricts organization's activities and operation by Registration Act. (Cleary, 1997) Because of the impact of Registration Act, civil society organization can have a number of difficulties to do their activities legally such as association, travelling, organizing, and

financial management. (Xiaoguang & Li, 2006) Diamond (1994, pp.13) warns about state corporatism where countries such as Indonesia and Egypt (Burma and China today I would add) creates, control and manipulates civil society groups to its own end as GONGOs. This is the real caveat that has to be taken into account in country like Burma where civil society groups can only survive under the tutelage of the state. However, in some cases, a national disaster can support civil society for more space in relief operations when the authoritarian government faces emergency needs, for example tsunami in 2004 in Indonesia. (Antlöv.H, Ibrahim.R, Tuijl.P.Van, 2006, p.154) It is the same when Cyclone Nargis hit Burma/Myanmar in 2008, Burmese regime could not deny the increasing numbers of Burmese civil society organizations.

3.3.3 Civil society in exile or border range

In my study, there is a controversial issue to define the role of Burmese civil society in exile and ethnic armed conflict area. David I. Steinberg (1993, pp.3) argues that the common understanding of civil society fits in legal bounds of state laws and regulations, and he denies the organizations out of civil society if these business, political parties and social groups are engaged in insurgent activities. (Steinberg et al. 1999, p.3) In contract, Burma expert, Ashley South (2008) argues that the role of civil society as mediators between the state and the insurgent groups. Outside Burma, there are a number of exiled groups that have come to be term with the Burmese civil society in exile. Unlike the groups inside Burma, the exile groups can be and are more articulate about their democratic visions. The nexus between the inside groups and outside groups is subtle as most of the groups depend on the inside actors for information and project implementation. I would add another argument like South, Enckevort (2010) sees that civil society is stronger in exile than inside the country since many of the student and monk leaders remained behind bars in 1988 people uprising and students' movements in Burma/Myanmar. After I have presented civil society in theoretical framework, I continue to present the role of civil society in democratization in the literature.

3.3.4 Civil society in democratization

This research will be based on a number of assumptions for examining civil society in democratization in literature, in which working function and running process of civil society are included. Diamond (1994, pp.4), argues the ""resurrection of civil society," the

restructuring of public space, and the mobilization of all manner of independent groups and grassroots movements" under a repressive authoritarianism are recognized as vital for democratization. In contrast, drawing from the experiences of the Eastern bloc, particularly Poland, Charles Taylor (1990), "Modes of Civil Society", reiterates the age-old wisdom that the civil society is crucial in opening up a liberal political space. Not just that, the continued existence of the civil society in the transitional society may prove fruitful for the democratic transition and its future. Taylor (1990, p.117) also argues that "civil society is not so much outside political power, rather it penetrates deeply into this power, fragments and decentralizes it.'' His approach is more state-centered than Diamond but his typology of civil society based on the strength of the relation between state and civil society might be a useful tool in studying the impact of civil society for democratization. Vries, Stephan Dar (2009. 11-12), "The Downfall of Simplicity", writing nearly 20 years after both Diamonds and Taylor comes up the state, civil society and political society are interconnected with each other and especially civil society and political society are closely composed like a coin with two sides. To achieve successful democratization needs strengthening of both societies. It is also in a peaceful transition, Vries (2009, P.17) recommends the civil and political societies should work together like bridges and it is essential that civil society should be political party aid because political parties in many countries in transition are not very well-rooted and lack much connection to civil society. Nevertheless, Virs, Stephan Dar (2009, p.17) warns that the single-issue groups are narrowly focused and rarely passes onto broader range of issues. Their coalitions should build outside the conflict areas and that their success cooperation should build trust for the democratization. I add another argument here, Schneider & Schmitter (2004, p.66) argues the involvement of civil society which can play as a key role in democratization, should be restored in the mode of transition process and the mobilization of civil society should ensure within the period of transition. However, Dahl, A. Robert (2000) argues civil society cannot produce democracy directly, but it can maintain stability and sustainability when transition to democracy occurs.

One of the experts in the concept of civil society in Asia, Alagappa (2004, xi) claims the relationship between civil society and democracy with the four reasons. First civil society does not need to connect to democratic change because civil society organizations have already expanded democratic space by advocating political liberalization, political reform, and democratic transition. Second, civil society supports democracy by acting democratic practices and contributing democratic idea in its members and people. Third, the democratic

role of civil society depends on opportunity of politics, stage of political development, role of the state, quality of political groups and its strengthen in a country. Fourth, democratic civil society is needed in democratization, but it not an essential condition for democratization.

Alagappa (2004, pp.xi-xii) claims between state and civil society in Asia do not need to confront each other and they can cooperate with respect. He also argues development of civil society does not need to harm development of political society because they should cooperate together.

3.3.5 Function of democratic civil society

According to Diamond (1994, pp.7-10), he discusses ten functions of civil society. First civil society is as a watchdog for the democratic governance that will check and control pervasive political corruption to arbitrary and statist rule. Second, associational life is as conducive to promoting political participation, increasing political awareness and skills of democratic citizens. Third, civil society as a training ground for the political arena to advocacy and lobby. Fourth, civil society is vital for creating channels for traditionally marginalized groups such as women and minority groups. Fifth civil society is vital for what he calls 'attitudinal cross-pressures' that transcend the old nationalist impulses and longstanding narrow regional, religious, ethnic and partisan divides. The sixth civil society produces new political leaders by provided gathering and training. Seventh, civil society's numerous think tank and monitor groups are working to transform governance. Eighth, a vigorous civil society widely disseminates information, thus aiding citizens in the collective pursuit and defense of their interests and values. This relates to point nine of civil society's function as he argues the information is vital for market economy. The tenth function of civil society, Diamond argues, is as the guarantor of associational life, that derives from the above nine function. I add more literature about functions of democratic civil society here. Alagappa (2004, pp.486) explain that civil society in Asia have conducted three main roles functions in democratic transition. These three main roles civil society plays are delegitimizing authoritarian rule, constricting democratic counter-narratives, and bolstering democratic forces.

According to Inter-Parliamentary Union "civil society cannot exist without a population that has the will and capacity to act in defense of its values and institutions" (Bassiouri et al. 1998, pp.11), but Bassiouri and other scholars (1998) warns people must have the knowledge and capacity to practice repeatedly in resist of their fundamental rights in order to bring about

democracy, and in order to keep going democratic reform. Then, people are certain to see the democratic outcomes in these above function. (ibid, pp.12) I draw a figure to demonstrate the above concepts as follow:

$$W + (P + S) > (R/F) \rightarrow C$$

W=Will

P= Democratic practice

S= Strategy in capacity and knowledge

R= Resistance in restrictions

F= Force to democratic reform
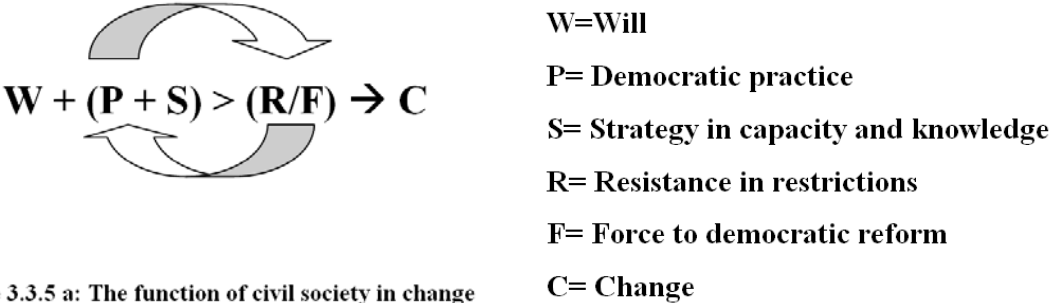
C= Change

Figure 3.3.5 a: The function of civil society in change

(Source: Adapted idea from the precentation of "Case study of Myanmar's Politics" by Kyaw Win)[I]

I draw the above figure by adapted idea from the presentation of "Case study of Myanmar's Politics by Kaw Win, but it is not the same with the original figure in his presentation. I modified it to harmony with the above the theory "Function of democratic CSOs". This figure (3.3.5 a) shows CSO actors need to have goodwill (W) for democratic reform. They should use democratic practices (P) among them and in their activities. They need to have good strategy to strengthen CSOs (S) with their capacity and knowledge. They need resistance (R) against restrictions. At the same time, they should force (F) the authoritarian regime to create democratic change. They should repeat the activities between (P + S) and (R/F) many times until changes occurs in a country.

3.3.6 Overview of earlier researchers on Burmese civil society

Much research has been done on the role of civil society in democratization and development. However, Burma/Myanmar stood in the dark for a long time and international scholars and academics did not get legal permission from Burmese government to research in political and social issues because the Burmese regime wanted to hide the real condition of Burma/Myanmar. Researchers have not had opportunity to collect the data about Burma/Myanmar legally and most have to use the informants of research with low profile. Therefore, until today, there are few researches about Burma/Myanmar compared to other countries. Among the few researches on the role of civil society in democratization and development with a case study of Burma/Myanmar, I will look into two recent country-specific studies of the role of civil society and I will present what they have already found in

their research.

'Civil Society in Burma: The Development of Democracy amidst Conflict (2008, East-West Center, Washington) by Burma expert Ashley South was a timely look at how civil society organizations in Burma have been contributing to the conflict containment. South argues Burma's that options for top-down elite level transition is limited. On the other hand, he does not rule out the mass protests in the future but I agree with Khin Zaw Win, a key civil society activist whom South quotes, that the bottom-up options are also rather limited in the current scenario. Nonetheless South argues that we should explore Burma's civil society as an engine to promote democracy from especially in the ethnic areas. South's monograph maintains that civil society networks can effect democratic transition at both local and national level. South sees support civil society in Burma as a win-win solution since, while responding to local needs, local civil society actor can help promote democratization. They also constitute important local partner for international organizations and which is able to influence the West as Vries recommends.

'The Role of Civil Society in Democratizing Authoritarian Regimes: The Case of Burma/Myanmar' by Enckevort (2010) is a rather detailed look at Burmese civil society in historical context. He sees the spontaneous emergence of the civil society out of the dire need of the impacts of the Cyclone Nargis in May 2008 has caught the regime by surprise. Since then numerous civil society groups, self-help and internationally-aided, have been allowed to operate, albeit still under the watchful eyes of the government. Enckevort observes astutely that as long as the civil society groups do not step over the territory of the political society, they are tolerated in Burma. In conclusion Enckevort concedes that at this moment there is a small civil society in Burma. The room for maneuver remains small but many important issues such as women rights to voter education have been covered by the Burmese civil society. He observes the bettered cooperation between the state and the civil society in Burma and hopes that the hybrid notion might lead to strengthening of the people. Towards that end the civil society in Burma can be conducive to the political role, educational role and communication and countervailing role, cooperative role and democracy building role. Enckverot concludes all these roles have been only partially fulfilled.

These two recent country-specific studies of the role of civil society are done after Cyclone Nargis in Burma/Myanmar in May 2008, but before the national election of Burma/Myanmar in Nov 2010. After the new regime, even it is ruled by formal military leaders, Burma is built as a parliamentary democracy government starting in February, 2011, where the world gets to

see the democratic reform process in Burma/Myanmar. This change of Burma/Myanmar, even it is beginning step, will effect on my outcome to surely differ from other earlier researches because of the reduction of restriction on civil society and the perspectives of the informants on recent change.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY
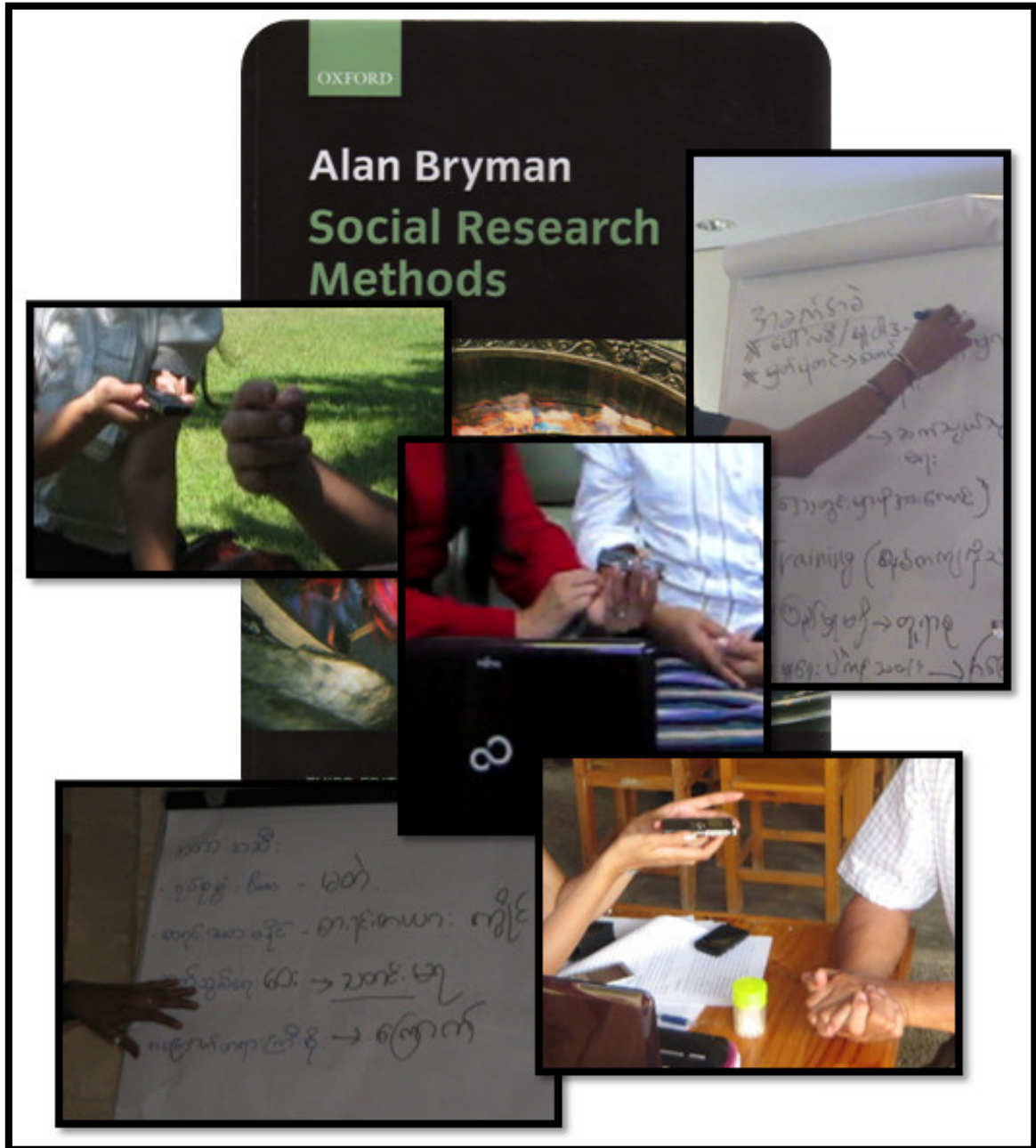
Image 4: Photos of data collection technique in fieldwork [iv]

[iv]Image 4: Photos are shown my data collection technique with semi-structure interview and focus group discussion in Burmese language during the fieldwork in Thailand, in October-December, 2011

4. Methodology

This chapter presents the research methods I have used during the field work and writing up the finding/conclusion. This study is qualitative research with case study design, and I explain why I decided to use this method in my research and how I applied these methods to answer the objectives and research questions. As a qualitative research with case study design, this chapter describes therefore the field work's site, sample size, interview process in data collecting method, ethical considerations for the samples of my research and my experience and challenges in the fieldwork. Additionally, I present what the challenges and new experience have affected my findings.

4.1 Qualitative research strategy

My study's approach was qualitative research because I wanted to emphasize the answers of the Burmese civil society organization actors in my social research. As argued by Bryman (2008), qualitative research emphasis words. By the benefits of my qualitative research, I have many information from Burmese CSOs through the interviews, for example how CSOs work for people, what activities CSOs do, what challenges CSOs have with people, rule, fund and the authority, how CSOs pass over these challenges and etc. I believe these information and knowledge from the informants will be useful for me if I work for development issues as an actor of CSOs or INGO in Burma/Myanmar later.

My qualitative research also based on an epistemological position described as interpretivist, and an ontological position described as constructionist. (Bryman, 2008, pp.366) I would explain the meaning of the terms "epistemological (interpretivist) and Ontogical (constructionist)" by fitting in my research in below.

4.1.1 Epistemological and ontological considerations

The main objective of this research is to examine the role of civil society in democratization process in Burma towards the civic empowerment taking into consideration rights-based approach development. For this social science research, I considered an epistemological standpoint of interpretivism in my research to focus on understanding of the role of civil society in Burma. My research tried therefore to grasp the civil society actor's subjective meaning of social action. (Bryman 2008: pp. 694) An interpretation is presented by the actors'

point of view, and that is exactly what I wanted in this research. This is especially true for the part concerning Objective nr.1 and nr.4 of this research. I adopt a constructivist ontological position in my research because the main concept in my research was namely "the role" as a constructed one. I have therefore examined the role of civil society in Burma from the civil society actors' point of view, and how this concept is viewed and understood from the outside. (Bryman, 2008, pp.366 & 692)

4.1.2 Case study design

The research employed "a case study design" with the critical type (Bryman, 2008, P.52-53) to understanding better the role of civil society in democratizing development in Burma/Myanmar. As a case study design with critical type, my research has critically studied of the perspectives and action of Burmese civil society organizations and specific study of Vahu Development Institution in the case of Burma/Myanmar. As a qualitative research with case study design, my research has been conducted using the principles of qualitative research and the research design therefore included face to face in-depth in both semi-structured and unstructured interviews, as well as phone and e-mail queries, focus groups, participant observation (Ethnography), sampling and document analysis. I have used qualitative document types in which consist of reports by United Nations' organization, interviews, journals and articles by mass-media and social-media, and private/publish official researches by Burma experts.

4.2 The eight main steps of my qualitative research

As discussed by Bryman (2008, P.370-372), there are six main steps of qualitative research. In my study, I modified Bryman's idea to become the eight steps which were completely applied in my qualitative research. They are (1) general research questions, (2) selection of relevant site/sites (3) Importance of paperwork and timetable (4) selection of relevant of sampling (5) design and procedures for the collection of data (6) interpretation of data (7) conceptualization (8) writing up findings/conclusion. I drew a figure of these eights main steps to give you more understanding. See below:

Step 1	General Research Question (RQ)
Step 2	Selection of relevant sit
Step 3	Importance of paperwork and timetable
Step 4	Selection of relevant of sampling
Step 5	Data collection ← Further data collection
Step 6	Interpretation of data
Step 7	Conceptualization → Specification of research questions
Step 8	Writing up finding/conclusion
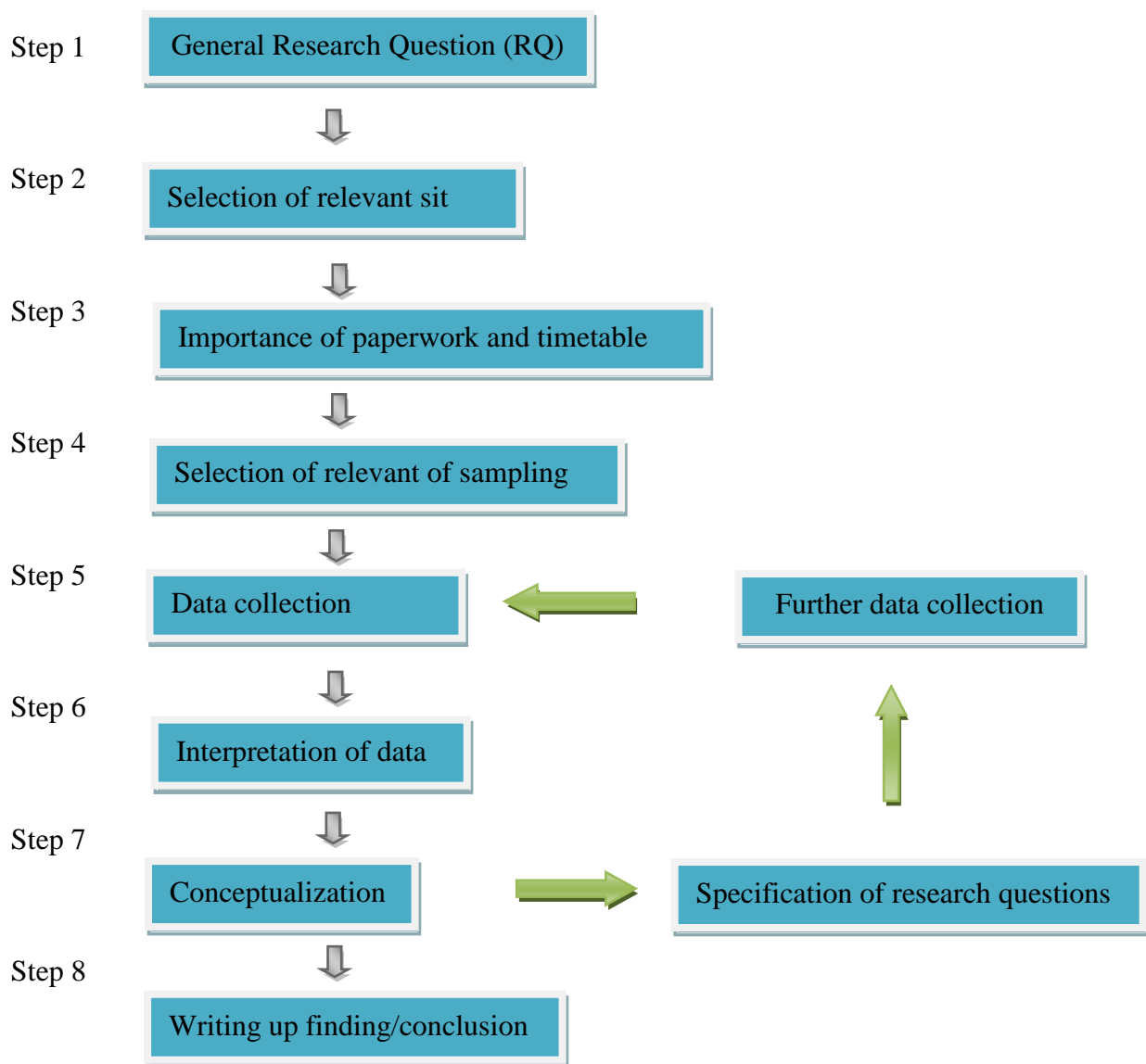
Figure 4.2: The eight main steps in my qualitative research

(Source: Adapted from Bryman, 2008, p.370)

In Figure 4.2, the producers of the steps (5, 6 & 7) mean if the answers of the samplings do not meet to answer on research questions in the theoretical framework, the research must necessitate further data collections. I have already presented the research questions of my thesis under the title of 1.2 "Research objectives and questions in the introduction chapter 1. In this chapter 4, I started to present from the step 2 of the above figure (4.2).

4.3 Selection and descriptions of relevant field work's site

A master student should get involved in fieldwork in his/her study for a short time. It was also for me to have fieldwork in the study area of my thesis for a short time. My research was the case study of Burma/Myanmar and I should take fieldwork in Burma/Myanmar to see with my eyes the real world. However, I have unfortunately no right to visit Burma/Myanmar as a Burmese refugee in Norway. It was one of the challenges in my research. Therefore, field work for my research was conducted in Chiang Mai and Mea Sout, Thailand, where many civil society organizations from Burma/Myanmar and for Burma/Myanmar based and where civil society actors inside usually came for training and where they have been interviewed.

In order to give most of the civil society actors inside Burma had the possibility of participating in my interviews, I have based myself strategically at Vahu Development Institution (VDI), based in Bangkok and Chiang Mai, Thailand where 30 civil society actors inside Burma came for Community development program (CDCE) each of 2 periods per year. I selected to examine the role of VDI as a civil society in democratization in my research theoretically and practically. Here, I presented detail about VDI as specific institution of case study of Burma/Myanmar and I quoted to write about VDI from the official document of VDI "Vahu 2011 Strategy" I have gotten.

4.3.1 Vahu Development Institution (VDI)

Vahu Development Institution (VDI) is a non-profit foundation based in Bangkok and Chiang Mai, Thailand. It promotes educational development and exchanges, people-to-people networks and partnerships, resource sharing and knowledge transfer essential to comprehensive and sustainable development. It has 3 level basic strategies and they are (1) civil society development at grassroots levels (2) community coalition building at the sub-national level (3) reform advocacy at the national level. (Vahu 2011 Strategy)

This follow figure (See 4.3.1) is described with its function. VDI maintains core organizational activities such as policy and strategic research projects, multimedia (radio and TV) production media engagements as well as track II diplomacy in 2011 while continuing its successful training programs such as Community Development Program (CDCE), Buddhist leadership program (BLCE), Community Development Community Program (CDCP), and Trickle-up Microfinance Program (TUM) as an integrated strategy to promote civil society development and participatory process.

Figure 4.3.1: Strategy Diagram of VDI

(Source: Vahu 2011 Strategy)
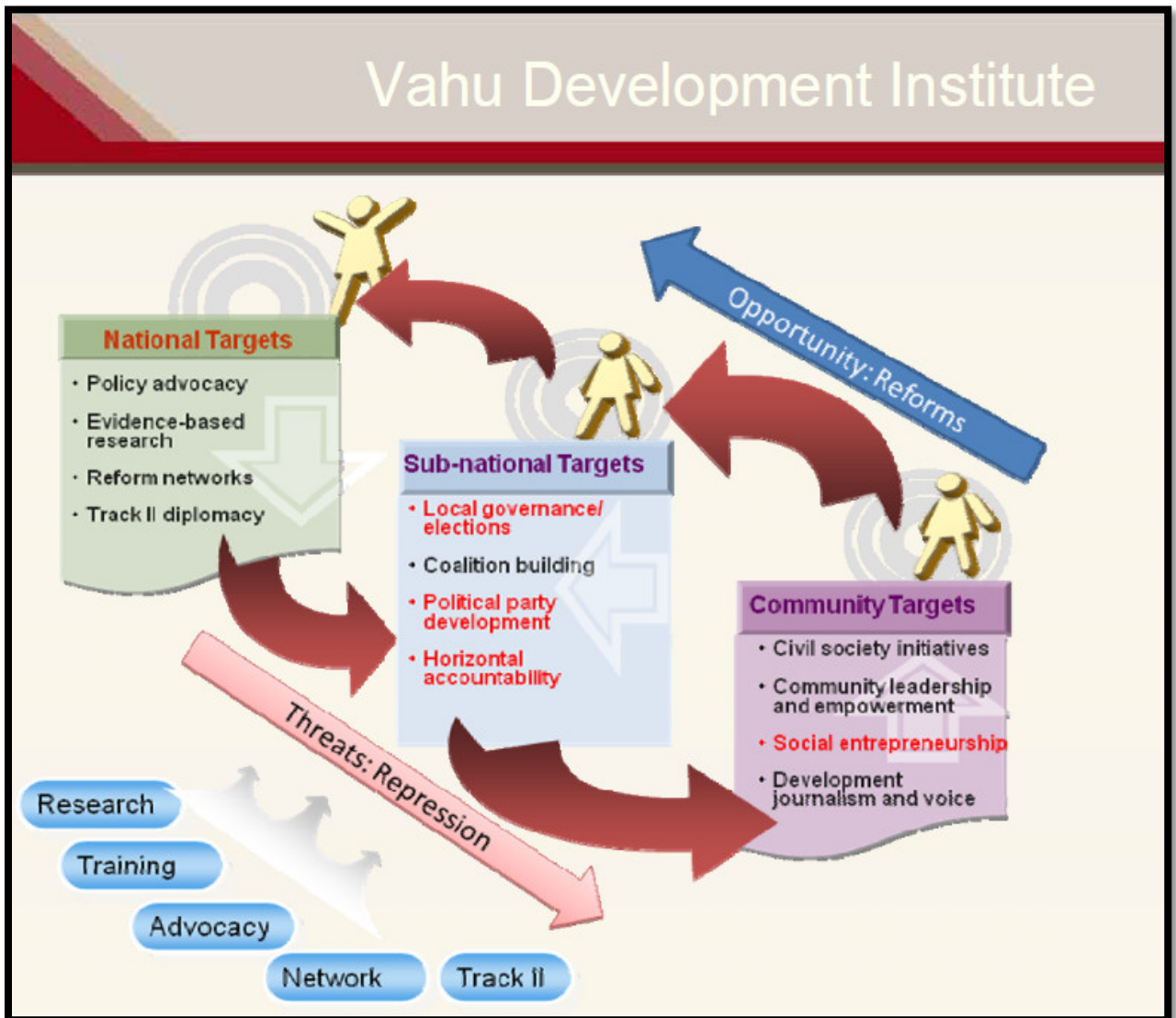
Following successful completion of the Community Mobilization Skills Institute, VDI is developing a new program for political party development and local governance building, which can target emerging political structures at the sub-national level. VDI also plans to introduce a new TOT called strategic advocacy that aims to empower NGO networks to strengthen their status and relationships with the government entities, starting at the local levels. Through consolidation of achievements at the grassroots levels and relative engagement at the sub-national levels, VDI effectively promotes sustained democratic developments in Myanmar while its readiness to assist any immediate change is being improved. (Vahu 2011 Strategy)

4.3.2 Community Development Program (CDCE)

The CDCE program where I sat to meet the Burmese civil society actor for data collection is a three-month certificate program designed to provide basic knowledge and skills for younger generations of community development workers, NGO managers and grassroots change-makers in the least the conceptual foundations of community development skills that are applicable in complex institutional environments. The training program will provide participatory and interactive classroom-based learning combined with field trips and observation tours to study the real-world activities and best practices of development NGOs and other civic groups.

4.4 **Importance of paperwork and timetable**

Timeframe was important steps in the research process. I therefore draw a timetable of my research (See Table 4.4).

As soon as I got agreement with my supervisor on the contract for my field-site in Thailand and my research timetable, I started to prepare all paperwork for my fieldwork. I asked agreement with Vahu Development Institution where I met the samples of my research. I got invitation letter from VDI on May 11, 2011 before 5 months of starting my fieldwork (Appendix 1). Because of the effect of this invitation letter from VDI, I got Non-Immigrants Education visa from Thailand Embassy in Oslo on July 25, 2011. It was important for research student in aboard to have safety with research permit of local authority. It was also I needed to make sure to have enough funds for my fieldwork before I left from Oslo, Norway and I therefore applied for student-stipend at Fritt ord, Låenkasen, Norwegain Burma Committee (NBC), and NORAGIc before I left for fieldwork. Additionally, I managed to have an introducing letter from Course coordinator Ingunn "Who concerned NORAGIC" before I left for fieldwork in Thailand. (Appendix 2) It made easier for me to approach interviewees.

Table 4.4: Timetable of my research

Phase	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	YEAR
literature review, project planning and research proposal		▓	▓	▓									2011
Predations for field course and work (Financial, flight ticket, visa, etc)					▓	▓	▓						2011
Field course: State and civil society, development Studies Institution, India								▓	▓				2011
Field work for data collection in Thai-Burma border, Mae Sout										▓	▓	▓	2011
Data processing and analysis	▓												2012
Research implementation and Thesis writing		▓	▓										2012
Thesis editing				▓									2012
Thesis Printing					▓								2012
Thesis Submission					▓								2012

I left from Oslo on 1st August, 2011. However I did not go to directly my fieldwork in Thailand. Form August-September, I took field-course "State and Civil Society in Development and Environmental Governance in India" at Institute of Development Studies in Jaipur, India for 3 months (August-Sept) and this field-course supported me to have practical experience with CSOs in India. Then I left for my research fieldwork in Thailand in October 2011. My fieldwork period was 3 months from October to December in 2011.

4.5 Selection and description of relevant sampling

I used purposive sampling that was relevant for my research topic and questions in a case study design. The purposive sampling is non-probability form of sampling and it is known as snowball sampling. (Bryman, 2008, pp.415) My research samples in this form would not allow me to generalize because the samples could not be considered representative of the all civil society actors of interest in the case of Burma/Myanmar.

I made contact with the Burmese civil society actors who were participants of Community

Development Program (CDCE) by Vahu Development Institution (VDI) as well as I made contact with players of key Burmese civil society organizations inside and outside Burma/Myanmar.

Firstly, I selected the 13 purposive samplings for my research from the CDCE program of VDI because of their relevance to understanding CSOs experience. They have already had at least 2 years experience at civil society organizations as volunteers, members, founders, employers or facilitators. They were difference from each other with their background, place, ethnic, and religion. I got agreement with each sample to give me focus interview per one time in order to know their attitude on what I examine. I will explain detail how I have dealt the samples to participate in my research under the title "Challenges encountered in field work (4.8)" and "ethnical consideration (4.9)"

Then, I selected 5 persons from 5 organizations that are key players of Burmese civil society organizations from inside or outside Burma/Myanmar as the purposive samples of my research. They have already had experience with environmental and social issue over 10 years experience and the organizations they run stand in the leading role among the civil society organizations in Burma/Myanmar.

Finally, I selected 3 Burmese experts. One is a famous Burmese writer about culture, economies, and a political issue as well as trainer of CSOs. Another one is an independent consultant and author. The last one is a Burmese national security expert. Additionally, I added one American academic who have worked as a program manager at the Burmese NGO over 4 years.

After coming back from fieldwork, Burma's democratic reform started to go forwards so fast. I wanted to examine perspectives of civil society actors on the recently developed democratic changes in Burma/Myanmar and I therefore added 2 new purposive samples, who were the actors of Burmese civil society organizations, after the bi-election on 1st April, 2012.

I selected totally 24 purposive samplings in my research (the 13 sample from CDCE, 5 key players, 4 Burma experts in fieldwork and 2 new informants after fieldwork). They were surely relevance for my research as purposive samples. Why I selected these above samples for my research is that the purpose of subject research is to determine the attitudes of these selected respondents towards the role of civil society to play democratization process in Burma.

4.6 Design and procedures for the collection of data

In regard to the nature of qualitative research (Bryman, 2008, P.400-455), there are 4 types of data collection, in which they are participant observation, the focus interviewing (individual interview or group interview), language-based approaches (conversation and discourse analysis) and documents as sources of data (diaries, letter, photographs, video, film, etc). My research has been conducted the principals of qualitative research. My research design therefore included face to face in-depth in both semi-structured and unstructured interviews, as well as phone and e-mail queries, focus groups, participant observation (Ethnography) and document analysis. Each type for data collections has different structure, advantages and disadvantages for the researcher. In my research, I combined to apply all of data collection types to have any relevant information and to emphasize the understanding of civil society actors, key players, and experts in democratizing development. The time limit of data collection and observation was 3 months in Bangkok, Jomtien Beach, Chiang Mai, and Maesott in Thailand where I could meet the purposive samplings.

4.6.1 The language for data collection

Fortunately, I did not need experience with misunderstandings in interpretations of the questionnaire both from the interviewer and the interviewee. The interview was conducted orally in Burmese to all respondents. Between I (the interviewer) and the respondent (the interviewee) communicated directly in our mother language, Burmese during the interview. I therefore recorded directly all conservation with digital recorder so that I interpreted myself from Burmese to English when I wrote down their answers to be analyzed and discussed in Findings and Discussion, chapter 5. By using the common language with the interviewees in the data collection process, it made easier for me to dig their insights. In addition, it was also one strengthening point for me than other researchers with the case study of Burma/Myanmar when I was able to use the same language with the samples of my research. On the other hand, all respondents were able to speak and read in English and I let them to read my research proposal in English before starting interview. However, the writing up of the research must be in English.

4.6.2: Participant observation at VDI in Bangkok

 According to Bryman (2008, pp.257 & 697), participant observation is one of the best-known

methods for data collection in qualitative research. The researcher (me) got involved, as an internship as well as a participant, in a pilot program of VDI in Bangkok and CDCE program of VDI in Chiang Mai. I took my role as "participant-as-observer" in the participant observation method at VDI and the members therefore understood my status who was a researcher. (Bryman, 2008, pp.410)

The first months of my fieldwork started at VDI in Bangkok in October, 2012. I stayed together with VDI staffs at the VDI staffs apartment. The purposed to employ the participant observation at VDI in Bangkok was to study the function of VDI office where they implemented projects/training programs for Burmese people in Burma/Myanmar. I went the VDI office together with the VDI staffs to study their daily work at office. I had conversation with the VDI staffs about their research and projects and it made me have more understanding about VDI. I visited the Burmese stakeholder training class which was a VDI's pilot program, Local Governance and Economic Development (LGED) in Bangkok. I sat in the training class together with the Burmese stakeholder who came from inside Burma/Myanmar to attend this training. It was good chance to me to listen to their open opinion on political lecture in the class. I also had many conversations with them to know their perspectives on this program and VDI. I joined the fieldtrips to Thai's CSOs together with these Burmese stakeholder and VDI staffs. These fieldtrips showed me the strategy of VDI's training program. During the fieldtrip, I established friendships with them and I had good time to have many conversations with them. However, it was not possible for me to record any conversation between the VDI staffs, Burmese stakeholders of this pilot program and me. I used mental-notes in the moment and I wrote down the important short points from my memory to my note book at night.

Unfortunately, I experienced seriously with Bangkok's flooded in the second week of October, 2011. Therefore, VDI decided to move from dangerous floating area in Bangkok to safety area in Pattaya where many flood refugees stayed temporary in this periodic. Before we left for Pattaya, VDI groups, including me, got involved in volunteer work for parking food, basic accessories and medicine at Chulalongkorn University. It made me find new experience from Thai society, which is neighbor of Burma/Myanmar, and it made me learn with my eyes understanding of the role of civil society in Thailand during the disaster. Then we moved to Pattaya in the 3rd of October, 2011.

4.6.3 Participant observation at CDCE program in Chiang Mai

After I completed participant observation at VDI in Bangkok in the end of October, 2011, in the first week of November, I moved to Chiang Mai to get involved in participant observation at CDCE program. My role was "participant-as-observer" in the participant observation method and the members understood my status who was a researcher. (Bryman, 2008, pp.410) The purpose of this method in the data collection was to observe their behaviors, to listen to their conversations in the training room and fieldtrips and to interview them during the 3 months CDCE program.

VDI arranged me to stay together with VDI staffs at the same place in Chiang Mai, Thailand. This place was close to the hostel the participants stayed during the training at CDCE. The leaders of VDI as well as the lectures of CDCE introduced me to the participants as a researcher from Norway and it made easier for me to have trust from them. I had therefore regular interaction with them and I participated in their daily life such as attending the training and joining the fieldtrips together with them. It helped me establish friendship with the participants of CDCE program.

I employed unstructured interview technique for my qualitative research in the type of participant observation for data collection. When I sat in the CDCE training class, I listened to the voice of civil society actors as well as participants of CDCE and I wrote down short-notes about their arguments, for example discussion on strengthen networking in Burma/Myanmar. When the lecture class finished, we (me and the participants) came back together to the hostel. Along the way to the hostel, we had many conversations about their background, their work experience and their daily life in the content of Burma/Myanmar. Most of our conversations were relevant for my topic and these conservations helped me to have more understanding about Burmese's survival life in daily and current saturation of Burma/Myanmar. During the fieldtrips within Thailand, I observed of their behavior through their activities, I listed to their conversation between them and I also got involved in their discussion sometimes. (Bryman, 2008, pp.257 & 697) Even thought it was not possible to record our conversation, I memorized the important facts in our conversations which were relevant to my topic. By the effect of my role in participant observation method at CDCE, it helped me to select the right purposive samplings from different faculties, and with different backgrounds and preferences among 30 participants of CDCE program.

4.6.4 Semi-structured interviews

After I have reserved 13 civil society actors, 5 players from 5 key civil society organizations and 4 Burma experts who were relevant to my topic, I decided to employ semi-structured in my qualitative research, but I understood semi-structured and unstructured interview technique are close to one type or the other in most qualitative interview. I used semi-structured interview technique with all 24 purposive samplings because my qualitative research wanted to emphasize the words of the interviewees and to analyze the understanding of respondents. Therefore, the semi-structured interview technique was appropriate to my purposive samples to understand how they should answer on what questions through the interview guide. When the interviewees have already understood the specific meaning of the questions, it makes opportunity for the researcher to listen their words that easily came out from their insight during the interview. (Bryan, 2008, pp.438)

4.6.4.1 Interview process

Before actually starting face to face interview with the informants, I prepared the questions to follow the research topic and I checked these questions to ensure they could capture real attitude of civil society actors according to the research questions and research objective. I wrote interview guide with the research questions. (Appendix 3) I made surely my digital recorder worked well. I arranged for my research interview one time per each sample for forty-five minutes in order to know his/her attitude on what I wanted to examine. (Bryman, 2008, P.442-445)

Then I let each interviewee read interview guide I prepared before starting interview, but the interviewee did not need to answer on the series of questions during the interview. It was also I did not ask the interviewee in the same order of interview guide. To change the order of my questions and to change the wording of my questions depended on the respond and interest of interviewee. As a semi-structured interview, I should allow the interviewee to talk freely because we could talk as much as we wanted in Burmese, but our conversation should be in the range of my research topic. In this experience, semi-structured interview was flexible enough for the interviewer (me) to add new questions for the interviewee. I managed surely to ask each interviewee to answer all my research questions when I totally finished the interview with he/she. I managed surely that all research questions were the same for all interviewees in my research. (Bryman, 2008, P.438)

4.6.4.2 Interview places

As a case study of Burma/Myanmar and social research, I needed to meet particular Burmese people relevant to my research. When it was not possible to meet them inside Burma/Myanmar, I travelled around Thailand where my purposive samplings visited from inside or where their organizations were based.

Map 4.6.4.2: Map of Thailand showing interviewed places

(Source: Google maps)
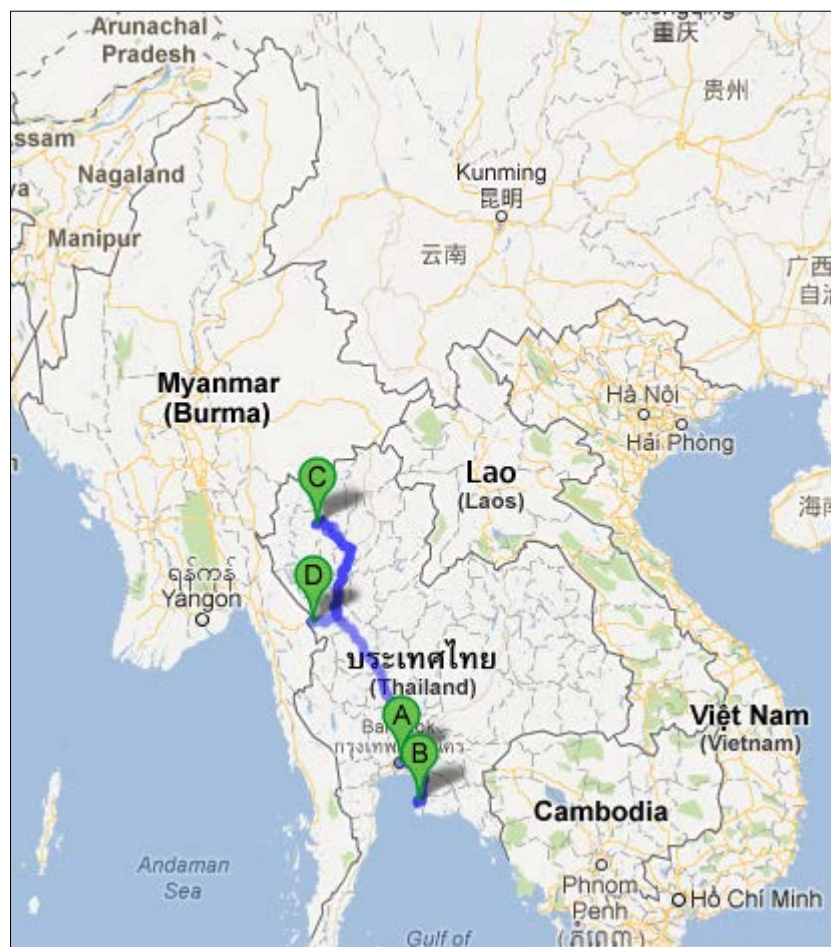
The Burmese academics and one of the founders of VDI , U Aung Thu Nyeen" were interviewed in Bangkok, Thailand (See: Map 4.6.4.2-Location A). I interviewed 13 Burmese civil society actors at CDCE program in Chiang Mai, Thailand (See: Map 4.6.4.2-Location C). Two players of key Burmese CSOs were interviewed at Pattaya, Thailand (See: Map 4.6.4.2-Location B). The founder of Mae Tao, Dr.Cynthia Maung, was interviewed at Mae Tao Clinic in Maesot, Thailand (See: Map 4.6.4.2-Location D). The rest of players of key Burmese CSOs, the actors of CSOs and the rest of Burma experts were interviewed around Thailand where they attended conferences.

4.6.4.3 Interview tools

All interviews with the sample of my research were recorded with digital recorder while I interviewed them. I understood that it was not possible to have quality sound record when I did not interview them in the quiet room, but I decided to use recorder tool for data collection because I wanted to have eyes-contact with my samples during the interview and I wanted to talk with them without gapping our conversation. If I wrote down notes, it was not possible for doing it.

After doing all this, I continuously took field notes around challenges and different findings and considerations every night by listening to their interview I have recorded. The qualitative interviews helped the researcher to contribute a deeper understanding around the issue, and it also made me do a more complete and thorough analysis.

4.6.5 The focus group discussion

I thought I had huge luck with data collection in Thailand although I was not able to collect the data in Burma/Myanmar. When I moved to Pattaya during the floated period in Bangkok, I had change to meet many Burmese scholars and civil society actors from inside Burma/Myanmar at the Myanmar Scholarship Student Annual Conference. By the arrangement of VDI, I had chance to join the presentation and discussion group with the title "Myanmar's New Government: Civil Society Issues".

During this panel, the moderator/facilitator was the key play of civil society organizations in Burma/Myanmar, but not me (the researcher). This focus group discussion is a little different from the form of Bryman (2008, pp.410) because the participants did not know me who was a researcher and I was not also a moderator of this focus group discussion. My role in this panel was "Complete participant" as a fully participant in this social setting and other participants in this panel did not know me as research, but the moderator knew me who I was. I got permission from moderator let me record all of the discussion in this panel and let me employ it in my research later. These populations in the focus group discussion were so relevant for my research because they participated in this conference as civil society actors, scholars or students in social science. However, this population had not included under the list of my purposive samplings.

According to Bryman (2008, pp.474 & 694), I had chance to approach focus group discussion method in this panel and this focus groups only had civil society interest I wanted. The

moderator divided 9 focus groups, minimum 8 and maximum 12 members in each group, to discuss the topic "disadvantages and advantages for civil society organizations" within 15-20 minutes time limited. After discussion, each group had to talk their results from their group discussion within 5 minutes. I captured the variety of views from all focus groups in this discussion and I recorded the oral presentation about outcome from each focus group discussion. It was also I took the picture when the moderator wrote the results on the whiteboard which was useful to be employed in the finding and discussion, chapter 5.

4.6.6 Documents as source of data

According to Bryman (2008, 514-527), one of the criteria in qualitative research is to use documents as source of data. Therefore, in my research, I have used qualitative document as source of data in which consist of reports by United Nations' organizations and international organizations, interviews, journals and articles by mass-media, and private/publish official research by Burma experts. However, it was so difficult for a researcher (me) with the study of Burma/Myanmar to have the Burmese government's official documents such as the reality of economic, politics and social data, deriving in library, at books shops and in online. Recently, one of the top journals "The Voice Weekly" was prosecuted by the ministry of mines because this journal expressed the reality economic data of this ministry. (The Voice Weekly facebook) [59]

Therefore, I used more official private sources as documents in my research. Since I started to write the proposal of my research in February, 2011, I searched the relevant documents concerned Burma/Myanmar in Online, TV news, and other media outputs and then I saved Burma/Myanmar's information on my computer. I always followed up daily update news because Burma/Myanmar started to step democratic reform.

During the fieldwork, it was good chance to search the documents concerned the democratization, CSOs and NGOs, developments in the content of Burma/Myanmar at Burmese and international organizations based in Thailand. They shared me some relevant documents generously. When I came to Oslo, I have brought relevant printed documents from Thailand for my documents analysis in my research.

4.7 Qualitative data analysis procedures

As a qualitative research, the product of the collected data generally comes from the response of participants. During the fieldwork, I have gotten rich databases from interview, transcripts, field notes, media and other document. It was so rich, but complex to analyse. Before writing my finding and conclusion in my research, I needed to sure that I have collected the complete data by confirming my research questions. According to Bryman (2008, pp.370-372, pp.538-540), I used "Analytic induction" which is one of the approaches in general strategies of qualitative data analysis. Analytic induction approach is combined as a cycle in the interaction of the steps (5, 6 & 7) (See figure 4.2) in qualitative research methods. I illustrated a figure (4.4) (See below) which explained the interaction between the steps (5, 6 & 7) in the Analytic induction approach to analyze the data.

According to "Analytic induction" for data analysis by Bryman (2008, pp.370-372), in the beginning of implementation my research, I thought deeply to make research questions of my study and then I continued to go the fieldwork to collect the data under my research questions. (Step 5 in figure 4.7) During the whole data collection process, I always listened back to every recording sound file of each interviewee at the apartment at night and interpreted the meaning of their words. I made interim summary of analysis and findings towards end of my data collection process in the fieldwork. I did double-check by listening to recording file to fine some gaps in the data. I deeply examined the data I have collected in many ways: how each respondent has answered on my research questions, who has missed to answer what research questions in the interview, how many different answers I have gotten from the respondents, how different these respondent have answered on the research questions and how many respondents have answered the same on the research questions. (Step 6 in figure 4.7)

Then I rechecked my theoretical framework I have already done in chapter 3 and the theoretical framework is linked to the research questions. I analyzed to be sure that my research questions and the theoretical work were a good match and I checked the understanding of each respondent into theoretical framework. (Step 7 in figure 4.7) When I found misunderstanding of a respondent on my research questions, I requested him/her let me interview again. (Analysis A in figure 4.7) In this case, I did not ask him/her the series of research questions, but I interviewed him/her only the specific research questions he/she misunderstood. Fortunately, this case occurred with only one person during the data analysis producer in my research.

Figure 4.7: The process of analytic induction

(Source: Adapted from Bryman, 2008, pp.540)
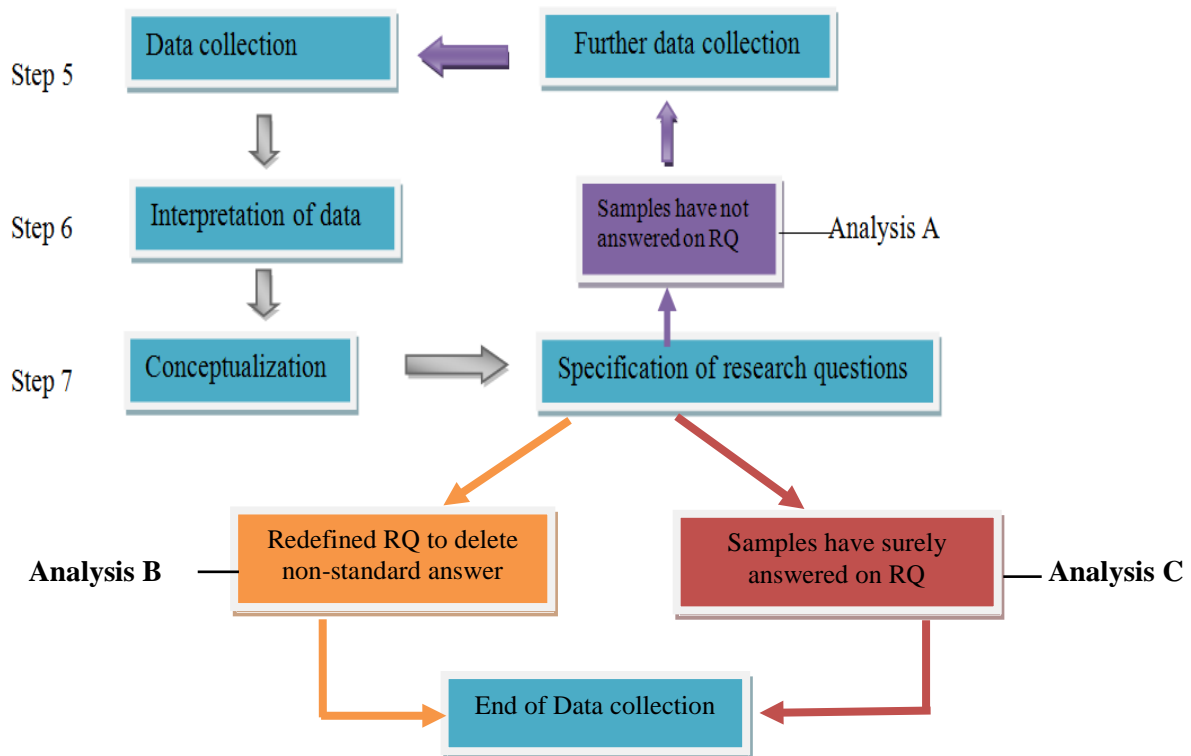
Additionally, Bryman (2008, pp.370-372) says to a research when a researcher find useless interview from data collection during the data analysis producer, the researcher should interview with this particular respondent again or the research should redefine research questions. (Analysis B in figure 4.7) When I analyzed the answers of the respondents of my research I have collected, I did not find this case with useless data because all of the respondents of my research have high education at least Bachelor Degree from the Universities in Burma/Myanmar and they have at least 2 years experience with CSOs. Even if one of the samples of my research has never heard or considered my research questions in his/her life, she/he asked me to explain what the concept of this research questions conducted. Then she/he answered the research questions again. After I interpreted all data I have collected in the fieldwork into the theoretical work, I made sure that these collected data were answered on my research questions (Analysis C in figure 4.7) and I decided to end data collection process in the field work.

When I came back to Oslo, I organized the data in the specific categories. In a social research in politics like my research, background experience of a person could impact to his/her perspectives different from other. I draw a table (4.7) to present the draft information of 24

purposive samplings with different ethnic, religion, region, gender and organization as below:

Table 4.7: The draft information of 22 purposive samplings

INGOs	CSOs/ CBOs	Female	Male	Ethnic Groups	Religion	Place
2	18	11	13	6	3	15
				Kachin, Kayin, Kayah, Mon, Myanmar, Shan	Buddhism, Christian, Muslim	Yangon, Mandalay, Magway,Ayeyarwad-dy and Tanintharyi Division, Mon State, Shan State, Kachin State, Kyayah State, Thai-Burma border, Thailand

The above Table 4.7 explained that I used the samples from 18 different CSOs/CBOs and 2 INGOs, the samples with 6 different ethnics, the samples with 3 different religions, the samples coming from 11 different places and the samples with different gender. After I had completed data analysis producer in this chapter, I was ready for writing up finding in the next chapter. I presented and discussed on their perspectives on my research questions in the findings and discussion, chapter 5.

4.8 Challenges encountered in fieldwork

I have already mentioned previously in introduction chapter 1 that I expected difficulties and challenges during the interview process. I had a big two main challenges during the data collecting process.

Trust and honest

The first big challenge was that I needed personal trust of people on me than other researchers because of my background. All researchers basically need the understanding of the people on their research topic and it is enough for them letting people who are official researchers. For me with political background, it is really different from other researchers in the study of Burma/Myanmar where has very sensitive in politics.

If I thought that I was just an official researcher like other and I did not think of my background myself, I would not have the difficulties to have interviewed with the participants

because of VDI introduction me who was a researcher and internship. However, if I asked the participants to give me interview without telling my background, it would make me feel guilty as a liar. I did not want them to give interview without understanding about me clearly. I therefore talked openly them about me that I was ex-political prisoner in Burma/Myanmar as a student activist, I worked for Democratic Voice of Burma in Oslo over 5 year as a part-time reporter/presenter, and I am a master student of UMB in Ås, Norway. I promised them their personal data did not present in my research and I would present all data in general, but I needed to use their words with unknown-name.

After they had known about me on this way, most of them showed their understanding on me, but they requested me not to use their voice on air like DVB. At that time, DVB was illegal media in Burma/Myanmar. I understood that they did not know what difference between the position of a researcher and a journalist is. I therefore explained to them the position of the researcher and I showed them the recommendation letter from NORAGIC. Because of my background, there were only two persons refuse me to give interviews with me for my research even they understood my research topic. Normally, many people showed more open on me after they understood who I was and they talked openly me their opinion during the interviews with their trust. This challenge makes me learn that it is a good strategy to pull out the deeply feeling of other after they get to know about me deeply, but I must surely be honest.

On the other hand, I did not have any problem to interview the key players and Burma experts as the focus samples of my research because they said to me that they had already understood the position of the researcher and they were pleasure to involve their voice through my research by telling the truth from their view.

Time and place

The second challenge was to have appointment with the participants of CDCE. During the period of the CDCE program, all of the participants were busy with their daily schedule such as lecture class, group project, and research proposal. I respected many of them who were hard-workers for their project to get the best project prize, but it made me to have difficulty for making appointment with them for my research interviews. I had sometimes to wait for them at their hostel until they had finished their group discussion at night and then I could interview with them. I interviewed sometimes them within the schedule of their activities such as dancing time. I took sometime interview on the way where we went out fieldtrips. The advantage of the interview on the bus was that we did not need to do anything and we could

have good time to talk along the way, but the disadvantages was for me to have good sound quality in my audio digital recorder because of other voice on the bus. According to Bryman (2008, pp.443-444), I should say that I did not have the good quality recording and the quite place for interview with some samples in my research, but I had chance to interview with many samples to have good quality recording in the quite places.

On the other hand, I did not have any problem to interview the key players and Burma experts as the focus samples of my research because they gave me appointment with the specific time and place. Then I had to go to these places on right time to meet them. Our appointment places were usually at the quite room at hotel or office and I did not need to hesitate for interviewing them within the appointment hours. In this condition, it was more possible to have the qualitative interview in my research.

4.9 Ethical consideration

According to "Ethics and politics in social research" Bryman (2008, pp.113, 130-132), ethnical consideration must be included in social research, especially in the main political dimensions of research. My research topic was concerned democracy and development issue and I could end up only interviewing civil society actors inside Burma/Myanmar. I understood the Burmese authoritarian regime has still kept watch civil society actors who have had contact with international communities. It indicated insecurity of people life and lack of democracy in Burma.

In the condition, it was very important for me as a researcher to respect ethical principles at all stages in the research such as data collection process, document analysis, printed research, etc. Bryman (2008, pp.118) recommends four classical ethical principles in social research. They are harm to participants, a lack of informed consent, an invasion of privacy and deception.

I discussed firstly deception ethical consideration here. Bryman (2008, pp.124) says that deception occurs when researchers do not tell participants about their actual purpose of research. These researchers want to have more neutral answer by hiding their actual work of research. It is so wrong for researchers to have quality data without trust. For me, whenever I started to interview each respondent or I got involved in the participant observation in VDI and CDCE, I openly introduced myself in honest and I showed up a letter from NORAGIC (Appendix 2) in which introduced me as research-student from UMB, my research

information, and requested to assist me if it was possible for any person. Then I let him/her know detail what my research topic was about "the role of civil society in democratizing development and the reasons behind it was to promote the role of civil society for Burma's democratic reform, but it was totally not my personal-interest research. Why I talked my research purpose was that I wanted all participants, including VDI to totally trust me without any suspect. Their support in trust could help me to have qualitative data in my research.

On the other hands, after I promised them to take responsible for their identity as confidential in my research, I requested them to answer on my research questions with their honesty, integrity, and openness. Fortunately, many youth civil society actors talked me openly their personal background, their experience and their perspectives on the new Burmese government. It does not need for me to be surprised that they let me know their insights. It is our Burmese culture to tell openly each other when we have trust between us. In contrast, if a Burmese do not trust you, you won't know any information from and about him/her.

In the ethical consideration harming to participants, Bryman (2008, pp.118) says that a researcher must avoid to harm any participants in physically and mentally. However, in a social political qualitative research, I couldn't avoid the sensitivity of personal interviews with civil society actors in my research. I did make sure his/her identity would not be included in the analysis and could not be traced through my research. I let them know when I use telling excerpts of the informants, I give the name to them in the order of interview like Interviewee 1, Interviewee 2, Interviewee 3, ..., and Interviewee 24, but I do not present their real name, their organization name, and etc.

I should not make their life to be harmed by the impact of my research which was needed to publish legally. Additionally, I carefully avoided harming the participants physically. I said to all samples that they had right to stop interview anytime if they did not want to answer anymore because of their health, stress and change of mind. For example, they had many activities and paperwork during the CDCE program and they usually gave me interview at night when they had a little free time. In this situation, they might be uncomfortable to answer my questions and I therefore asked them they could stop the interview with me if they were tired.

In the ethical consideration of the lack of informed consent, Bryman (2008, pp.121-122) says that let all participants know about the researcher with fully information and let them know their rights in the study. I have already explained in above how I approached to participants in the title of 4.9 "The challenges encountered in fieldwork" whenever I asked interview with

them. Additionally, I always explained to every respondent that answer and participation was voluntary, and that their personal data were confidential. Since they agreed to give interview me, I let them understand that their words were used with unknown name in my research. Unfortunately, for this agreement between, I had no contract they signed on paper. Bryman (2008, pp.129) supports my case if I requested them to sign in an informed consent form, it would reduce prospective participants' willingness to be involved in my research. I know surely our Burmese culture is not familiar with signing in contract. If I request to sign in normal case, it is abuse to the trust between us. Burmese people are used to promise by words in many cases even lending money, purchasing house and etc. It is so complicate culture and it makes people have criminal problems when one side breaks down the promise. In my research, it was also the same that they agreed me by words. The agreement was they let me record their answer in the digital recorder and they let me take a picture with every interviewee as evidence for our interview.

In the respect of invasion of privacy, Bryman (2008, pp.123-124) says that every participant must have full rights to refuse to answer any questions they do not want. During the all interviews in the fieldwork, I carefully avoided to force the samples to answer any questions or by any means. Every interviewee had right not to answer any questions when they felt insecurity, uncomfortable, or something. When I interviewed the samples of my research, I was so lucky for that all participants in my research were willing to answer on all questions and no one refused me to answer at least one questions. However, only two samples said to me they had never heard that kinds of questions and they had never thought to answer that kind of questions in my research. They requested me to explain the concept of this research question because they were eager to answer when they understood the concept of the research question. For example, "Have you/your organization (CSOs) ever cooperated with representatives/activities of political parties you trusted?" They did not understand why I asked this question to them, civil society actors. Yet this question came out from theoretical framework in my research. After they understood the concept of this question, they answered from their insights.

Finally, with the respect to ethical consideration in publication stage, all citations I used in my research have been acknowledged and are referred to in 'Bibliography' of my thesis.

4.10 Qualitative research Criteria

According to Bryman (2008, pp.376), the quality of qualitative research can be measured by reliability (dependability), internal validity (credibility) and external validity (transferability), confirmability (objectivity) and authenticity. I tried to write my qualitative research to become the best quality research with these criteria, and I presented how I tried my best in the measurement of qualitative research criteria here, but I do not present what specific meaning of these terms in this section.

"Credibility" in the criteria of "internal validity": I implemented the whole process of my research alone and the finding of my research is definitely produced from the actual data I collected in the fieldwork. Then, I submitted the finding of my research to my supervisor (Miss.Darley) to have feedback on it. Her feedbacks provided me to ensure that my observation in the fieldwork and the finding of my research are good match

"Transferability" in the criteria of "external validity": My research was based on the understanding of the small samples in a case study of the changeable and unstable political situation of Burma/Myanmar and the results of my research cannot be repeatable with the understanding of other samples in another political situation of Burma/Myanmar. The participants of my research did not represent all civil society actors in Burma/Myanmar and the finding of my study cannot be generalized for all populations. It can be said that my qualitative research does not meet the criteria of "external validity".

"Dependability" in the criteria of "reliability": The whole process of my research, I regarded the qualitative research method such as selected field site, sampling, observations, focus group discussion, individual interviewing, analyzing data and etc. After data analysis producer, the findings are presented as the produce of analysis of participants' answers. My supervisor helped me to check the methodology and the finding. When my supervisor found what I was wrong, she let me know it to be edited. (Bryman, 2008, pp.378)

"Conformability" in the criteria of "objectivity": In the whole process of data collection, I concentrated in the understanding of the civil society actors in Burma's the democratic reform and I investigated what their activities provided for vulnerable people with the approaching of rights-based or needs-based. The answers of the Burmese civil society actors in the interviews explored as the finding of my research, but I carefully avoided influencing on this finding with my opinion. When the perspectives of the civil society actors did not agree with the theoretical work in my research, I carefully avoided their perspectives to drive into the finding

with fitting in theoretical inclinations. The findings of my research are not manipulated to fit values or theory. (Bryman, 2008, pp.379) The findings are produced as the products of the data I collected, but it is not my opinion. However, my own opinion and experience are used in the discussion and conclusion part.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION ON CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN BURMA/MYANMAR

Figure 5: Telling quotes in analysis

5. Findings and Discussions: Civil Society and Democratic change in Burma/Myanmar

This chapter is divided into four main sections (5.1, 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4) and each section is related to each specific objective and research questions of my study. This chapter firstly focuses on organizing and analyzing the data I have collected during my fieldwork, and I will present the interesting features of my qualitative data collection as results/findings of my research. In each section, the findings are produced by analyzing of the answers of the participants during the semi-structured interview, transcripts of participants observations, focus group discussion and documents sources as data. Whenever I have presented the findings in each section, I will discuss on the findings in the end of each section. The findings of the study and the relevant theoretical idea are combined together for understanding the four objections of my study. I discuss on some findings that fit in the theoretical framework, and I also discuss on some findings are against the theoretical framework. In the discussion, I use my knowledge and experience in the positions of a Burmese citizen, a freedom fighter, a journalist, and a master student, but I try to avoid bias. I will also give the reasons for the findings of my study if they are needed. In my discussion, I also consider how trustworthy the findings of my study are.

Section 5.1: CSO actors' perspectives on the Burmese regime

The first objective of my study is to understand the perspectives of the CSO actors on the Burmese regime and its change. This section focuses on analyzing different perspectives of the informants on the Burmese regime and its democratic reform process. This section also includes the analysis of the challenges of CSOs actors by cooperation with the authority in any level and these challenges will be presented as advantages and disadvantages of cooperation with the authority. In the end of this section, I discussed on the findings of this section.

5.1.1 Perspectives on Burma's recent change

Recent change of Burma/Myanmar has already been presented with witnesses in the contextual background, chapter 2, under the sub-title 2.2.5 "The Republic of the Union of Myanmar" and the positive responses of international communities on Burma's democratic reform are also presented under the sub-title 2.2.4 "The role of International community" of chapter 2.

On the other hand, the opinions of the Burmese CSOs actors are different from international communities' opinions when I analyzed the data I have collected during the fieldwork. Based on their answers, I realized that the Burmese regime wanted to gain legitimacy. The Burmese regime therefore planned for Burma/Myanmar to change in the "form" of democracy such as election, multi political parties and constitution. The third and current constitution was approved by referendum in May 2008. The general national election in Burma/Myanmar was held in Nov 2010 and then Burma's democratic parliament appears with elected persons. In this status,

> Interviewee 6 argues that *"It made them have confidence as the elected government and then they started to take the first step to "liberalization", but it is like "control change"."*

When I collected the qualitative data which is related to objective No.1 and research questions No.1 during the fieldwork in 2011, political reform process between the Burmese government and opposition groups had not been seen obviously until December, 2011. After the National league for Democracy (NLD) won in bi-election on April 1, 2012, I interviewed 2 new persons to examine the changing of CSOs' attitude on Burma's political reform. I analyzed all different perspectives on the Burmese regime to be seen as the findings of my study. When I analyzed the 24 informants' opinions on Burma's change, I found many different answers on it. These differing opinions came from answering on the question "What is your opinion on the recent change on Burma?" in interview guide (See Appendix 3). To become a quality research, I must try to analyze the answers of informants without bias and I must try to present a balanced finding. I have therefore organized the answers of the 24 informants according to their opinion on the recent change in the below table (5.1.1).

Table (5.1.1): CSO actor's perspectives on the recent change

Findings	Number of informants				Number of informants	Number of informants	Total number of informants
Liberalization/Reducing restrictions, but so little	20						20
No liberalization/no legal reducing restrictions					3		3
Absent to comment on change						1	1
Total informants (group answer A)	20				3	1	24
No trust/not democratic change/need time to wait and see	3				3		6
Hope for positive forwards		2					2
Sensitive between forwards and backwards			9				9
Absent to comment on future				6		1	7
Total informants (group answer B)	20				3	1	24

Based on the above table (5.1.1), the informants confirm that the new government is reducing some restrictions, for example, people have the rights to establish unions and associations, and recently, the president listened to the people voice over Myint Sone Dam, and private Medias have more freedom of expression than before. Myintson Dam was a hydro-electronic power project on the Irrawaddy River in Burma's northern Kachin State. The China Power Investment Corporation invested $U3.6 billion and Myintson Dam will become the world's fifteenth tallest dam. To complete this dam, there will be the estimated displacement of 15,000 people and ecological damage to the Irrawaddy River. The environmental protesters, local people, CSOs and political groups, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, were against this project, and then the new president U Thein Sein used his power to suspend the project in September, 2011. (Democratic Voice of Burma) [60]

Interviewee 9 said: *"Last April, 2011, the monastic school where I work as a teacher opened Summer English language class with 400 youths from community. The authority encouraged this activity instead of forbidding. It was different from before."*

Interviewee 15: *"I think Burma/Myanmar is moving towards democratic change because we can say freely the word "democracy", and we can see Bogyoke [II] picture anywhere"*

Interviewee 18 said: *"Many CBOs applied for grant at our INGOs in this year and it*

shows that number of CBOs increase because of the effect of liberalization."

According to Kramer, Tom (2011, pp.11), number of NGOs has increased to 119 NGOs in 2011 from 60 NGOs in 2005, as shown in the Myanmar Local NGO Directory. It seems, therefore, changes have really happened in Burma/Myanmar, but Interviewee 1, who is a Burmese academic, warns: *"People should not think that it is absolute success for democracy."* The informants told based on their experience that this liberalization from top level has not affected many local levels yet. Although some CSOs/INGOs have dealt with the top level to implement its projects, these CSOs still face difficulties in local level because of lacks of communication between top-down levels of the authority. In addition, the participants of focus group discussion say the same thing that they still have problems on local level when the top level authority have reduced some restrictions.

Moreover, it is not sure that the recent changes can be defined as "democratic change". Many informants argue that the recent war between Kachin Independent Army (KIA) and the Burmese Army has not been solved yet and the war has resulted in the increase of refugees on border areas between Burma/Myanmar and China. Some informants argue that this change is Burma's democratic reform without practical reconciliation process.

> Interviewee 7 also argues. *"We have not seen obvious dialogues with all ethnic groups in any level from grassroots to national level and we have not seen legal liberalization under law, for example INGO support for having network between CSOs/CBOs inside and exile, but it is done illegally network with limitations and restrictions. Although the national election was held in 2010, in which people were not allowed to know openly and to participate freely in the process of election, that kind of election cannot solve any political problems in the democratic way. It is important to have equal right for all ethnics and in all regions, including CSOs in ethnic areas. If not, it cannot be said that there is democratic change for all."*

More than 60 members of British Parliament like Interviewee 7 argue that "no reforms have yet been enshrined in law" (www.irrawaddy.org) [55]. The six informants I met argue that recent change should not be trusted and that people need time to wait and see the change process until it initiates national reconciliation with all armed ethnic groups.

In final, based on the analysis of informants' answers, why the Burmese regime has started the recent political change is that the regime wanted international communities to lift sanctions imposed on the Burmese military group and the regime also wanted to prepare for

the next election in 2015 for having people' votes. Therefore, they try to have the "trust" of the people, democratic oppositions, and the international community. However, it is difficult to say that this change surely goes forwards. There are many possible reasons for the change to turn backwards. One possible reason for this is, some informants answered me, that there is a power struggle between the leaders of the new government. They are ex-military leaders in the old government, the SPDC. Some hardliners in the new government are still resisting the change towards democracy while reformers in the new government have been working for democratic change in cooperation with democratic opposition groups like the NLD. In contrast, if the hardliners in the new government change their mind, people will have more chance to hope for changes going forwards. Without the will of the government, the political reform process cannot happen.

This section has presented the informants' opinion on the Burma's recent change. On the other hand, Burmese people and civil society actors are still facing the challenges in their daily activities. The next section presents challenges of CSOs actors in their daily life under the Burmese government.

5.1.2 Registration and restrictions

The regime controls NGOs with the registration law which compels them to carry out social activities legally. If an organization engages activities without the registration pass, people involved in this organization will be taken action against by the Unlawful Association Act and order 1/90 (Steinberg et al. 1999, 62-63). When an organization has at least 30 members, this organization can apply for registration with Ministry of Home Affair. In the period of post-Cyclone Nargis disaster, many CBOs/CSOs/NGOs have explored various ways of helping people and they carried out relief programs without having the registration permit. 90% of NGOs, including FFSS and Chan Mya Thazi civil society, were not recognized by the government until March 2012 and they have applied for legal registration since 2008 (www.irrawaddy.org) [48].

According to Kramer, Tom (2011, pp.15), there are many strategies for CSOs to deal with the authorities. Some want to carry out their activities legally under the registration law, but some want to carry out their activities with low profile under the radar. Using his argument and analysis of the answers of informants and the argument of focus group discussion with the title "disadvantages and advantages for CSOs", I found that when a CSO registers with the

authority, this CSO has both advantages and disadvantages. In contrast, when a CSO does not apply for registration with the authority, this CSO also has both advantages and disadvantages.

Advantages of registration are that a CSO can get easily trust of local people when it visits villages with government registration pass. This CSO can give full information on its objectives to local people legally and people can understand easily who CSOs actors are. This CSOs actor can smoothly carry out activities when local people trust them. It also has rights to publish legal report of training's outcome in the community.

In contrast, if CSOs have no registration pass, they cannot easily gain the trust of local people when they want to carry out activities in the community and they cannot cooperate with civil servants legally, for example, recognizing education level of monastic school by the government and working together with government health workers for HIV issues.

Disadvantages of registration is when a CSO applies for registration with the authority, it may have more difficulties to carry out activities before it gets the registration pass. According to the registration law, a CSO has to stop all activities before getting legal registration pass. When a CSO registers with the authority, it has to sign that its activities are kept away from politics and all members need to confirm that they are not member of political parties. In addition, all members' personal information must be allowed to be checked by knowing from the authority. It is the restriction on CSOs by the authority poses, and challenges to many CSOs to explore their activities.

In contrast, CSOs do not want to register with the Ministry of Home Affair because it take time at least 1 year and the authorities in many levels usually extort money for registration pass. If these CSOs are able to deal with local authority privately, they have no problem to carry out their activities, but it is not legal. If CSOs have good relationship with local the authority and the people, CSOs can carry out their activities in community with free and trust.

> Interviewee 20 described his experience as follow**:** *"Our voter education training was not allowed by the township authority when they know what we work in 2010 election period. However, we have done this training for the local at a house by dealing with the local authority because we have good relationship with the local authority and people in this community."*

In any case, all CSOs have to inform to both relevant department of government and local authority whatever they do in the community. Sometimes, it makes life easier for CSOs to

have the understanding of local authority, to smooth its activities, and to work in safety. Sometimes there are delays for CSOs activities when the authority does not give permission.

5.1.3 Cooperation with the authority

Based on the answer of the informants, Burmese CSOs are founded by local members and depend on members' fee or donation finance of people, but these CSOs do not have any financial support from the government. However, cooperation between CSOs and the government depends on the type of CSOs. According to the answer of the informants, who have experiences of cooperating with the authority, CSOs have both disadvantages and advantages by cooperating with the authority.

Advantages of cooperation: Some CSOs are not able to avoid cooperating with the authority to implement their projects and some CSOs need to cooperate with the authority. For example, ECCD program and monastic school cannot avoid cooperation with the Ministry of Social Welfare (MSW) and the Ministry of Education (MoE) to have permission, to draw curriculum, to have teacher training, to set examination for monastic students at government high school, etc. Some INGOs/CSOs with health issue need to cooperate with staff from department of health under Ministry of Health (MoH) which has stability with skilled workers and infrastructure. For example, MSS forum, Global Fund, 3 D Fund provide Antiretroviral therapy (ART) medicine and treatment technique directly to both department of health and HIV positive patients, and department of health let HIV/AIDS patients have treatment at hospitals, if needed. Another advantage is, the informants told me, that people have more trust in government health program than NGOs' health programs sometimes because people do not know the role of NGOs and they are familiar of government program. People usually pay more attention to the authority's order than NGOs requests because they do not dare to absent of the authority's order with pressure and they do not respect to other request without pressure.

> Interviewee 19 said his experience in HIV CSOs: *"When we went to the community together with government health workers, people joined our program easily with their trust. When we went to village without government staff, we had to use our energy and time to explain our aim to the local people, but it is very hard to have understanding from local people."*

Disadvantages of cooperation: The big challenges are discussion and corruption for some

agreements when CSOs cooperate with the authority.   When CSOs discuss with the government staff about their programs, they are so sensitive even with words, for example, dealing for drawing ECCD curriculum. CSOs/INGOs have also problem with the corruption of the authority. When CSOs/INGOs donated facilities such as schools, books, medicine, medical equipments and etc, some local authority corrupted without providing people in community. When CSOs/INGOs provided skilled training for local people, the local government staffs misused their authority.

> Interviewee 11 said: *"9-10 standard students from our monastic school need to register for examinations at government school. Sometime, the headmaster asked us some money as correction and also the government political party (USDA) asked the teachers to get involve as its members. We have to agree what they want because we need good relationship with the authority".*

> Interviewee 10 told: *"We provided all facilities for a training program to produce community workers, but the local authority selected trainees from their family member or relationship instead of appropriate persons from community. These trainees do not usually work for community. When we monitored and countered later, we got to know how they corrupted."*

Another corruption case is that the health INGOs donated a small clinic with all equipments such as building, beds, delivery room, and etc. Health workers from local health department accept it and they agreed to open this clinic at least 2 days per week for local people with free charges of treatment and service, not including medicine. This clinic was beside the INGO's local office in Irrawaddy division (I do not want to present the specific place because of ethical consideration). After the INGO donated this clinic and a few months later, the clinic did not open regularly and the staff saw patients waited for the opening this clinic until evening. Therefore a staff of INGO went to local health worker's house to ask for opening of the clinic. However, after 6 months later, this clinic almost shut down and so many things from this clinic were moved to some local authority's house. INGOs staff could not make complain in this case.

5.1.4 Discuss on the findings to examine the first objective

The cooperation between CSOs and the authority did not gain the argument by Taylor (1999) and Alagappa (2004) for strengthening CSOs. For strengthening CSOs by cooperation with

the authority, CSOs actors agree that it is good to work with the government where skilled workers and infrastructures have. However, the challenges for CSOs' cooperation with authority are the authority's corruption, misusing power, restrictions, and lack of transparency. If the authorities change their behavior, civil society will strength by cooperation with the authorities. Registration with the authority is more advantages for CSOs to have transparency between the authority, donors and actors, to have trust of people and donors, to work with confidence and to carry out activities legally. However, CSOs still have difficulty to register with the authority. CSOs want the authority to reduce limitations in registration rules for strengthening CSOs, for example has to sing not to participate in politics and delay process for registration. Corruption, misusing power and restrictions of the authority make CSOs' strengthening be limited. If the Burmese government wants to go towards democracy, the strengthening of CSOs is important for transitional process to have stability. The government needs to reduce more registrations than today, and the government should take action on corruption of the authority.

However, the findings of my study confirm that the Burmese government started "Liberalization stage" in democratization, but it is only in the beginning step. The Burmese government is carefully reducing restriction step by step. It can only be said that liberalization process is started by reducing restrictions and liberalization process is going forwards, but it has not totally completed yet. The reducing of restrictions has not been approved legally in the constitution and the effect of liberalization has not affected in ground level yet, especially in rural area and ethnic regions. Although I tried to examine new informants' perspective on Burma's change by interviewing after bi-election, the findings of their perspective are not different from many other interviewees who were interviewed before bi-election.

It can be said that people still feel unsure about Burma's future in the top-down change and they are hard to trust in the Burmese regime. For this finding, people are not wrong at that point because there are many relevant reasons for their argument. The first reason is that the Burmese regime did not keep the promise to the people, for example the Burmese regime did not transfer the power to NLD in 1990 election. The second reason is, according to Carothers (2007), that Burma/Myanmar's revenues have concentration of natural resources, especially natural gas. The third reason is that Burma/Myanmar is a country with much ethnic diversity (8 majority ethnic groups and 135 minority groups) and the Burmese regimes have been facing conflicts with armed ethnic groups since Burma got independence in 1948. The fourth reason is that one of the neighborhoods of Burma/Myanmar is China which is powerful

nondemocratic country and Burma/Myanmar is closer to China than other neighborhoods in the economic relationship. In addition, without amending the 2008 constitution, transition stage cannot work in Burma/Myanmar to build a democratic state. Daw Aung San Suu Kyit's party, NLD, won in 43 of 45 open seats in by-election in April, 2012, but cannot be defined as transition stage. The fully political power cannot be transferred to democratic representatives who are elected by free and fair elections because 2008 constitution reserves at least 25 percents of seats for military in parliament. The constitution also paves the way for the military to seize the state power and the military has right to take the power in the unstable political conditions if the president request. (Myanmar 2008 constitution, pp.168) By these above reasons, the Burmese regime cannot easily succeed democratic reform. People are therefore worried for military cope again on one day and they have a little hope and trust on the Burmese regime's recent change.

On the other hand, there is possible opportunity for the Burmese government if they really wanted to change Burma/Myanmar towards democracy. According to "International Monetary Fund Country Report" in May 2012, Burma/Myanmar's GDP growth rate is going to increase en estimated 6 percent in 2012/2013 from 5.5 percent in 2011/2012. The Burmese government considers creating economic development by planning rural development and industrialization. If Burma/Myanmar's resource based revenues are used in building infrastructure and human capital, instead of high expenditure on military, Burma/Myanmar's growth will increase in future and middle class's economic will develop. (IMF, 2012, pp.8-12) Economic development of Burma/Myanmar is a necessary precondition in liberalization process to go peacefully transition stage. If the Burmese government practically implements both economic development and social development together as IMF's suggestions, middle class will also develop. The Burmese regime can create more liberalization for citizens and CSOs to become stronger of people power. Strong CSOs' empowerment can support Burma/Myanmar's political reforms to go forwards steadily and stability. If this condition actually appears in Burma/Myanmar, people can have more trust on the Burmese government and its changes. CSOs can have good relationship with the state to cooperate for their activities and projects.

Section 5.2: Perspectives on relationship between political parties and CSOs

This section present analysis of collected data related to objective No.2 and research questions No.2 in my study. This No.2 objective aims to understand the relationship between Burmese

CSOs and political parties. I collected this data related to objective No.2 and research questions No.3 during the fieldwork in 2011, but the political change process between the Burmese government and opposition groups had not been seen obviously until December, 2011. After National league for Democracy (NLD) won in bi-election on April 1, 2012, I interviewed 2 new persons to examine the CSOs' attitude on political parties. I analyzed all different perspectives of the 24 informants on political groups. I used only two interview questions (See Interview guide Appendix 3) to examine the understanding Objective No.2. One is "What is your opinion on political parties that work for people as CSOs under their party's flag?" and the other is "Do you think that CSOs should support political party's activities for your community's benefit?" When I analyzed their answers, I found many different answers of the informants with many reasons and I present the finding based on their answers in the following section. In the end of section, I discussed on the findings with my argument based on the theory, history of Burma/Myanmar and my knowledge.

5.2.1 Political parties work as and for CSOs

I have analyzed the information from the 24 informants which came from answering the question "What is your opinion on political parties that work for people by founding CSOs? Based on the answers of the informants, I present the following table (5.2.1) with different perspectives of the informants in the two different groups. First group is "Agree that political parties work as and for CSOs" and the second group is "Disagree that political parties work as and for CSOs". See Table 5.2.1: "CSO actors' different opinions on political parties' activities as and for CSOs", I drew this table with two colors to give clear information I have found.

Table (5.2.1): CSO actors' different opinion on political parties' activities as and for CSOs

	Agree that political parties work as and for CSOs	Numbers of Informants	Disagree that political parties work as for and CSOs	Numbers of informants
1	Political parties should get involve CSOs' activities as actors for people with goodwill and without self-profit	10	Political parties should not involve CSOs' activities as actors because of pressure of the authority until today	3
2	Political parties can involve CSOs' activities as actors for people even if they expect getting votes	5 (3+2)	Political parties should not involve CSOs' activities as actors when they have self-profit	9 (7+2)
3	Political parties should support the strengthening of CSOs' role only, but political parties should not found directly CSOs as a function of the party.	2	Political parties should keep away from CSOs anyway during the democratization	1

The Table (5.2.1) explains that the ten informants (role one, green column) answered to me that they welcome political parties to work for people through their own CSOs under the parties' flag and it is important that these parties must only have pure goodwill for people, but they should not canvass people through their CSOs' activities. The ten informants agree:

> *"All citizens have the responsibility for social work and also all political parties have the rights to work for people as they like, but it should not be for personal-gain or party-profit."*

The five informants (Table: 5.2.1 role two, green column) answered that political party always have party-interest whatever they do. When a political party works for people through their own CSOs, it is good image for political party to show people that they do take care of their people, but it does not work for strengthening CSOs' role. Anyway, these five informants agree that they do not need to ask any political parties to keep away from CSO's activities and they think they have rights to do what they want. I presented specific words of Interviewee 4 who is out of these five informants as below:

> *"The NLD works for humanitarian aid such as HIV care center with the purpose to extend their space or the USDA works for micro finance projects for people with the purpose of having votes, but both do not work for strengthening CSOs."*

The two informants (Table: 5.2.1 role three, green column) answered that political parties should support the strengthening of CSOs' role, but should not found directly CSO as a function of its party. CSOs should have freedom from any influence of political organizations with constitutions.

On the other hand, the three informants (Table: 5.2.1 role one, pinky column) and the one informants (Table: 5.2.1 role three, pinky column) did not agree that political parties should founded CSOs to work for people because people have little freedom and they still have pressure from the authority. If political reform processes unfortunately turn backwards, the authority will crack down on opposition groups, including their own CSOs. If it happens, CSOs will be limited with restrictions by authority at the same time.

> Interviewee 11 said: *"When political party get involved in CSOs activities, it forces the authority to watch carefully all CSOs."*

They argue therefore that CSOs or political parties should go separately on their own way and should not cooperate in anyway. It means working for people in parallel space, but going to same direction. Interviewee 1 explained on his opinion that: *"It is like division of labor in democratization process.*

The nine informants (Table 5.2.1 role two, pinky column) answered that political parties should not found its won CSO if they want to canvass people through CSOs' activities. CSOs mean non-profit organizations, but not for personal profit or parties' profit. The 2 persons out of nine persons said they never trust political parties' CSOs activities because they always have self-interest with having votes.

Informant 17 responses: *"I do not believe that representatives from political parties have complete understanding of the real problems in the community because these parliamentary representatives come from top-down position in their party."*

Many of informants gave negative views on political parties' social activities with many alternative reasons. CSOs actors In contrast, I examine how they view on CSOs' support for political parties in the following section.

5.2.2 CSOs should support democratic political parties

When I have analyzed the 24 informants' opinion on the question "Do you think that CSOs should support democratic political party's activities for your community's benefit", I also found many different answers of the informants with many reasons. Based on their answers, I drew a Table to present the different perspectives of the informants in the two different groups. First group is "Agree to support democratic political parties" and the second group is "Disagree to support democratic political parties". I drew Table 5.2.2: "CSO actors' different perspectives on supporting political parties" with two colors to give clear information in this section. See in below, Table 5.2.2.

In Table 5.2.2 (role one, green column), the eleven informants think that CSOs should support political parties activities in democratization process. They think that it is possible for democratic political parties to be strengthened by supporting knowledge of CSO actors.

In addition, CSOs should support political groups to hear real voice of grassroots people. At the same time, CSOs can help people in local level to select right party and right representative for their community. CSOs also have chance to advocate their interest issue through political party when CSOs cooperate with political parties.

Interviewee 9 agrees that CSOs have already supported political groups in Burma/Myanmar: *"Egress group is a CSO and it supported a political party, National Democratic Force (NDF) during the last national election in 2010. Another example is Myitsone Dam where CSOs and political groups worked together."* And Interviewee 16 also agrees: *"Faith based CSOs got involved in the peace process between the KIA and Burmese government in 1995."*

Table 5.2.2: CSO actors' different perspectives on supporting democratic political parties

Role	Agree to support democratic political parties	Number of informants	Role	Disagree to support democratic political parties	Number of informants
1	CSOs should support democratic political parties' activities for community's profit in democratization process	11	1	CSOs should not support any democratic political parties' activities because CSOs must be free and independent to avoid any pressure by someone such as the government, donors and members	4
2	CSOs should support democratic political parties' activities for community's profit, but take time to wait and see the political reform first	4			

In Table 5.2.2 (role two, green column), the four informants agree that CSOs should support political parties activities, but they do not want to take risk before they have not seen reliable liberalization process. To cooperate between political party and CSOs freely, they argue CSOs should have more freedom in future than today in the democratic reform process. The Burmese government understands itself that CSOs are related to democratic activities. They are still afraid of CSOs, including the real name "Civic" and they still try to control the interests of CSOs. In this initiating condition of building CSOs, CSOs should work for common interests with needs-based approach in their own framework and CSOs need to approve by keeping away from politics. One informant told me her experience in 2010 that:

> "*A person applied for technical training at our organization. In his application, we found he was a member of the NLD. If we accepted him in our training, we could have problem with the authority because we have to deal with them to have permission. We denied him with regards. I am still sorry for him until today, but we had no choice.*"

In Table 5.2.2 (role one, pinky column), the four informants argue that CSOs must be free and independent and CSOs should not support any political activities in any condition because it can make CSO have conflict not only between the authority and CSOs but also between the CSOs members and donors. It is best for CSOs to exit with dignity its own vision and mission.

Interviewee 12 and 18 said: *"If a donor of our CSO forces us to vote his favorite party, it can make difficulty for CSOs' standing. To avoid same problems like that, CSOs should stand on its own vision and mission."*

On the other hand, many Burmese CSOs have produced political leaders as elected persons in 2010 election. (Kramer.T 2011, pp.21) For example U Saw Aye Maung worked for Rakhin Thahaya Association as vice-president before he became the minister for Rakhine Affairs in Yangon Region in the 2010 election. It is also Dr. Sai Mawk Kham was the head of the central committeeof the Shan Literature and Cultural Committee and then he became one of the two Vice-Presidents in the 2010 election. His argument is members of organizations have good personal relationship with not only people in their community but also the local authorities and it is a good chance for them to work in the new local government. Even if members of CSOs do not get involved in the new local government, they can provide political parties with technical assistance on various issues.

5.2.3 Discuss on the findings to examine the second objective

The findings of this section do not fully gain the arguments of Vries (2009) and Alagappa (2004) that civil society and political society should support each other to be strengthen as forces groups in democratic reform, and they should cooperate together to succeed democratic reform. Many informants do not trust in the role of political parties' involvement directly in CSOs as founder or actors or some are worried for the impacts of political parties on CSOs. It can be said that people are not only fear of politics but also feeling loathing on political groups. Fear of politics is reflected from their experience that they have witnessed the horrible oppressions on political groups by the military regime over 4 decades. The military regime pressed people to keep away from political society. Loathing on political groups is reflected from negative propagandas by the military regimes on political groups and the history of Burma's history. They think that political parties like the government's political party-USDA carries out social activities for people because this party wants votes from people.

Some informants I met have never thought of the idea of successful cooperation with political groups to force democratization because they do not know this knowledge. When I interviewed them for Objective No.2, I asked them to answer Research Question No.2. Some did not understand why I asked these questions and they said me they had never heard the idea of my questions. Since the military regime took the power in 1988, political science

subject was removed from the curricula of university and people did not have opportunity to learn knowledge of politics. All legal political books, including journals and magazine that were published before the military coup in 1962 were destroyed wherever the authority found. For example, when I was arrested by the Military Intelligence (MI) at my home, they took all political books without concerning with crime.

On the other hand, CSOs actor agree to provide democratic parties with 3 main reasons. The first reason is that they want to have a good representative for their community by providing democratic political party they like. The second reason is that they want to support political groups to hear real voice of grassroots people. The third reason is they want political parties to advocate their interest issue to the government directly. They think that it is possible for both democratic political parties and civil society to be strengthened when CSOs cooperate with political parties. In my findings, some CSOs international higher educated persons led like Egress and some Burmese academic from CSOs who have trust in recent change have already worked for political parity. However, some actors who have no trust Burma's recent change or who are still afraid of politics want to wait and see until liberalization process developed before provide for political groups. Some actors from rights-based CSOs provided political parties in 2010 elections by contributed voter educations awareness for people. Some CSOs have produced parliament representatives in 2010 elections. At this finding, it can be said that CSOs like an active group cooperate with political parties like a passive group. This relationship is able to support for forcing Burma's democratic reform to go towards. Here, I wanted to warm that what CSO actors provide political parties for their community's benefit are different from how CSO actors do not trust political parties' social activities for having votes.

Vries (2009, P.17) warns that transition process in many countries are not very well-rooted because civil society and political parties are lack much connection to each other. To achieve successful democratization needs strengthening of both societies by connection to each other like bridges. In my study with Burma/Myanmar, civil society started to take a step to provide political parties, but it is in beginning stage. To gain the arguments of Vries (2009) and Alagappa (2004) in Burma's democratic reform, CSOs and political society should strongly cooperate between them to achieve democratization, and political parties should provide CSOs to become stronger by advocating their issue directly to the government.

For Objective No.2, the weak point of my study is that I did not interview any persons from political parties to examine their perspectives on civil society. I had many opportunities to

interview them, but I decided only to concentrate on the role of civil society in my study because of limited time and limited level of master thesis.

Section 5.3: Work on needs-based or rights-based approach

Objective No.3 and Research Question No.3 in my study is to examine what activities CSOs do, whom CSOs work for, and how CSOs approach people's needs and rights. When I collected the data for Objective No.3 and the research questions No.3, I interviewed 24 persons who have worked for different NGO/INGOs at least 2 years. When I interviewed them, I got to know them, they have more than 4 years experience in CSOs/CBOs/INGOs. Most of their organizations are well-known among Burmese CSOs and I have already heard about these organizations through my Burmese friends and mass media, but it is not in details. When I interviewed the actors from these organizations, I got to know their organization activities in detail. After I have presented what I found, I would discuss on that finding in the end of this section.

5.3.1 Models of Burmese CSOs

Based on the activities of their background organizations, I wanted to analyze the Burmese CSO activities in the approach of needs-based and rights-based. Therefore, I decided to describe firstly their organizations interest into the model of CSOs, this concept I have already discussed about in Chapter 3 under the title 3.3.1 "Model of Civil Society Organizations". I drew Table 5.3.1 "The model of Burmese CSOs in its own interests" to define Burmese CSOs' interest, but I did not present the specific name of their organizations because of ethnical consideration. I only met 20 different organizations, but some organizations work for many issues under different departments in the same organization. For example, a Church has 27 departments with a different issue under different departments such as education department, environmental department, and culture department.

Table 5.3.1: The model of Burmese CSOs with its own interests

Model of CSOs	Informants' Organization Interest	Number of organizations
Informational and education	Monastic school, Child education interests organization, Independent media, ECCD Church based organizations, Social Network Organizations, Capacity Building Training Organizations	13
Cultural	Churches, Use Ethnic Language Schools, Ethnic Social Activities, Islamic Social Group Network	7
Development	Health issues organizations, Building infrastructure organizations	5
Civic	Voter educations groups	4
Issue-oriented	Based Environmental, Based Woman's rights	3
Interest-based	Based on gay members, Based on HIV positive persons, Based on journalists	2

Table (5.3.1) explains 13 CSOs are concerned with "Informational and education model" which related to monastic education, early child care development (ECCD), capacity building training program, developmental documentary media, and information network. 7 CSOs are concerned with "Culture model" because these CSOs are faith based Churches, protection of ethnic language, and women empowerment. 5 organizations work for development such as HIV/AIDS issue, General health development program, building road in rural area, and Free Service Clinic. In the "model of Civic", there are only 4 Voter educations groups, and 3 organizations work for environment issues such as land grapping and woman's rights issues such as rape case and domestic violation in the "model of Issue-oriented". There are only 2 organizations in the "model of interest-based" such as Journalists association, Men who have sex with men (MSM) group, and HIV positive group. The informants I interviewed are not concerned with the "models of State reinforce" (GONOS) which is formed as a grassroots organization to support regime, for example USDA in Burma/Myanmar. They are not also concerned with the "model of Economic" (BONGOs/BINGOs) which is formed as market interests and it depends on funds in the market, for example the Union of Myanmar Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry UCMFCCI. I therefore used official documents and researches to analysis the model of Economic (BONGOs/BINGOs).

According to the theory of CSOs' approach by Boesen and Martin (2007) that I have already presented in the chapter 3 under the title "Development" 3.2, CSOs are divided into needs-based and rights-based approach. When I analyze based on the Table (5.3.1), 18 Burmese CSOs are more interest in Needs-based approach than in Rights-based approach. I understand the activities of informants' organizations are more emphasizing meeting needs of vulnerable, implementing development interventions in rural area and focusing on immediate causes of HIV problem in the model of Informational and education, Development and interest-based. On the other hand, there are few CSOs to use rights-based approach which is emphasizing realization voter rights, woman's rights and land rights, being empowered to claim people's rights in land grabbing cases. These activities are concerned with the "model of Civic, issue-oriented, culture and interest-based". According to document analysis of Kramer, Tom (2011, pp.31), over 100 CSOs/NGOs worked on social welfare, health, religious affairs, water and sanitation, HIV/AIDS and agriculture, but did not work on rights-based approaches until 2004. After Cyclone Nargis in 2008, some CSOs were founded with rights-based issues such as woman's right issue based organizations, for example Women's Organizations Network of Myanmar (WON). However, numbers of needs-based approach CSOs are more than rights-based approach in Burma/Myanmar. At this point, Interviewee 1 criticizes: *"Rights-based or needs-based depend on what donors offer or people's interest."* Interviewee 2 also criticizes that CSOs actors think rights-based approach is concerned with politics, they are afraid of arrest because of politics and they have less knowledge to work for it.

> Interviewee 16 confessed his fear of politics: *"We grow up in the conflict area between the Burmese Army and our ethnic army. All people, including me, are used to be fear of speaking out our inner feeling and getting involved in politics because of our life experience. When I tell you now, I try hard to spit out my words from my insight."*

5.3.2 Needs-based approach

After finding the 18 CSOs' interest in needs-based approach, I analyze how CSOs work for vulnerable people in needs-based approach and how CSOs support volunteer CSOs actors to become skilled workers in CSOs later.

5.3.2.1 Work for vulnerable people's need

According to the answers of informants, who are founders of a Funeral Association and capacity building organizations, I got to know when a poor person die in hospital, his/her

family usually leaves this dead body because they have no money for funeral. Based on human's dignity, some people founded free funeral services associations/organization with many different names around the country.

Also some people founded CSOs to open free clinic center for poor people. According to Kramer (2011) and one informant's answer, the Byahmaso Humanitarian Aid Association which is based in Mandalay has provided free treatment and medicine for at least 1500 patients per week and this association expenses $ 10, 000 per month with supporting from Burmese donors. There are 17 associations like the Byahmaso in Mandalay. (Kramer, 2011, pp.32) The health worker at this health NGO such as medical doctors and specialist are volunteers for free treatment. Other CSOs/INGOs with health interests support health knowledge for local people in rural area, and these CSOs also support training for some people who can work in their community. CSOs' health awareness programs are 4 cleans program (water, sanitation, hand and food), family planning program, people behavior change program in rural area where there are not medical staffs. Health awareness programs are definitely needed for uneducated people in rural areas. For example, Interviewee 10 who has worked at a health association said "some parents get baby without willing because of lack of knowledge".

Some CBOs I met get funding by applying for HIV project grants at INGO. Then they, as volunteers, supported training for people at village level to have HIV awareness. HIV positive groups CSOs were founded by HIV positive persons to help HIV/AIDS patients. It can be said that vulnerable persons work for vulnerable persons. They share HIV knowledge to members in the network and most of HIV positive persons are usually from poor family background and lack of knowledge. That is why HIV positive groups CSOs support awareness training for people in rural area and support workplace policy training as field-trainers for staffs in organizations. They send messages about HIV information to the Government and International organizations as representative of HIV positive patients.

Educational CSOs founded monastic schools and ECCD programs to work for poor children from ethnic regions, street children, and orphan children to have rights to education. Children can study from primary level to high school level at many monastic schools in Burma/Myanmar, but some monastic schools could only provide primary level for poor children. According to Kramer (2011) and one informant's answer, the Phaung Daw Oo Monastery founded monastic school in Mandalay in 1993, and there were over 7,000 students and 145 teachers in 2006/2007. Income is based on private donations and international NGOs.

Also some Churches work as CSOs for children to have education, health awareness programs, social activity groups, especially in ethnic areas. In the conflict ethnic areas, young people's lives are not safe, and they are likely victims between the Burmese army and ethnic army. In some ethnic conflict areas, using drug is also big problem for youth because drugs could be obtained cheaply. Churches in ethnic areas have therefore organized youth groups to enjoy religious, sport and art's activities. Churches have aslo founded orphan houses and have opened ECCD program for 2-8 years old poor children.

The model of Economic CSOs also work for people's needs according to Kramar, Tom (2011, pp.35). The Myanmar Business Coalition on AIDS (MBCA) work for the impact of HIV on the population. The MBCA advocates business leaders to contribute HIV awareness to people through their workplaces. The MBCA also work for Cyclone Nargis refugees by reconstruction of shatter and recover their livelihoods. The Myanmar Women's Entrepreneurs Association (MWEA) also works for girls' health and education.

Development CSOs work for self-building road at village level in ethnic areas and they also provide psycho social support for indigenous people. Independent media CSOs work for vulnerable people problem by making documentary to message to the world. For example, Some CSOs are founded by social youth groups with member fees and they have opened libraries. Sometimes, they go to village and support knowledge for local people on how to systematically establish a committee at village level, how to found emergency fund committee, and how they should use this fund. CSOs not only provide support for people's needs but also for people's skills. The following section is presented to show how CSOs support for people's empowerment.

5.3.2.2 Support training for volunteer actors' skill

Health CSOs/INGOs support training for Community Health Workers (CHW) and Alive & Well (A&W) by cooperation with the Department of Health. It is important to select right persons who can really work for the community and CHW and A&W workers should therefore be selected directly from community. Health CSOs/INGOs expect people to have better life with quality health care. Health NGOs/INGOs help people to establish emergency fund in Community for CHW and A&W and community committees have been trying to keep this fund increasing by doing fundraising or contributing from the community.

Educational CSOs support monastic school teachers training such as Child Center Approach

(CCA), school administration, child rights and child protection, and psycho social support to produce skilled monastic school teachers in rural areas. Today, the succeeded educational monastic schools and CSOs try to promote Buddhist monks to open monastic school in their community.

> Interviewee 11 said that *"Our CSOs opened monastic school and we accepts over 1000 children from ethnic regions (both boys and girls), but there are still many poor ethnic children who want to stay and study at our monastic school. We are not able to accept them because we have no enough place and fund for more than 1000 children. If Buddhist monks in ethnic region are able to open monastic school in their own community, there is more opportunity for poor children to have education."*

Some educational CSOs/INGO support ECCD teacher training for local people to be able to work for 8 years old children as skilled workers. These educational CSOs/INGOs also train local people to work as volunteers for "Parent Education Facilitator" (PEF). At the same time, educational CSOs provide some money for the community to establish funding committee for ECCD teachers. It can therefore be said that CSOs are able to work for both people needs and skills in local level.

5.3.3 Rights-based approach

A few CSOs I met work for vulnerable people's rights such as protection their lands from being taken by Companies or government for development projects. These CSOs help people to solve their displacement problem and to avoid suffering from negative impact of development projects. One issue oriented CSO I met get involved in writing Land Law project together with other 50 NGOs since 2008 under the "Bell draft committee". This law, in which rights of farmers are presented, is started to the discussed in the parliament in 2011.

5.3.3.1 Work for vulnerable people's rights

The CSOs I met support people to have awareness on the environment, for example knowledge on the relationship between trees and weather. These CSOs explain local people to be aware that many forested areas in Burma/Myanmar have been depleted by companies, the government, and local people themselves. And that many trees are destroyed by development projects such as building high-way road and are destroyed by the disasters. To solve the

problem of depletion of forest and trees, CSOs urge local people to plant a tree around the villages, along the street or at their surroundings as community forestry projects. These CSOs especially work in Kachin state and upper Burma/Myanmar where there are the worst impacts of development projects by China. According to Kramer (2011, pp.32), the Forest Resource Environment Development and Conservation Association (AREDA), the Biodiversity and Nature Conservation Association (BANCA), the Friends of the Rainforest of Myanmar (FORM) and ECODEV work on the environment.

Other NGOs with environment issue in Kachin State especially support local people to have awareness of land rights, because their lands have been taken away by the Burmese Army for mining areas or Business Company. People have any documents to approve that they have owned these agricultural traditionally as heir loom although they grow paddy on these farms along their lives. CSOs help them to get information how they should try to take back their lands. For example, in HpaKant, Nganhmyar area, people signed on a letter, in which people demanded their land to be returned and this letter was sent to government. Then, because of the effect of this letter, people got some money as compensation for their land from the government.

It is also the same in Kachin State, the CSO I interviewed work for Kachin people to get back their land by protection with unity of local people. When China Business Company invested in Kachin state with agreement of the government, it tried to confiscate people land. People were so angry and sad for their loss, but they did not understand how to protect their interests. In 2010, the CSO firstly helped them to understand themselves their rights.

> Interviewee 4 said to me how he supported people to understand their rights: *"You must protect yourself first when a thief comes to your home. You must cry out with loud voice so that your community can know your problem"*

Then the CSO supported idea for these people to protect their land by enclosing with bamboos every day. When the workers from China Company broke bamboo fence and dug on their land by bulldozer in day time, many local people enclosed their lands again at night. At the same time, the CSO gave video camera to these local people to record how they defended their land. After this action and reaction was happened again and again, the authority agreed to discuss with local land owners. The CSO took these evidence videos to show other people with the same problem in other area to emulate this success.

Religious based CSOs work for vulnerable women and girls who are of the same religious to

know their rights to education. The CSO actors encourage them to go out for seeing the real world.

> Interviewee 12 told me: *"When we started this project in rural area for women and girl from poor family background and low-education, some men did not like us. We tried to explain to them to change their attitude with understand the gender equality. We helped them not only by our answers but also by our hands. We helped them to start their small business such as opening tailoring shop by providing a sewing training and machine."*

Another CSO I met also work for woman's rights and the CSO help free lawyer service for women who were raped or suffered from domestic violence. This CSO support women to empower, and support gender equality training, gathering meeting on International Woman Day and awareness of woman's rights.

Only 4 CSOs I met were interested in voter educations training during the national election in 2010. The CSO actors visited villages or they invited people to their office like churches. Then the CSO explained people to understand citizen's right to vote in election by objecting or supporting political parties' candidates. The actors of CSOs explained to people how to vote correctly and not to be wasting votes.

Based on the analysis of mass-media, Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB) and The Irrawaddy News, I find some CSOs work on rights-based approach in Burma/Myanmar. One is Human Rights Defenders and Promoters Network (HRDP) which works for farmers who lost their lands through the government confiscating them unfairly. Last year, 800 acres of land of 200 farmers were confiscated unfairly by the government's Myanmar Fisheries Department, and so these farmers protested for getting their land back in September, 2011. HRDP helped for these farmer to get their land back (www.dvb.no) [62]. HRDP's founder, U Myint Aye and Ko Myint Naing, were arrested by the authority in 2008 because of their activities against the authority's human rights abuse (www.dvb.no) [63]. The next rights-based approach CSOs is Guiding Star that works for eliminating child soldier and forced labor in Burma/Myanmar. Guiding Star help parents who have lost their children under 18 years old. Their children were arrested by the Burmese military on the way to home. Guiding Star helps these parents to have contact with International Labor Organization (ILO) in Yangon, and to help them to take back their children from the Burmese military to home (www.irrawaddy.org) [64]. Guiding star CSOs was founded by lawyer U Aye Myint who was also arrested by government 3 times for providing free lawyer services for farmers' land-rights cases in 2009 (U.S state's Human Rights Report, 2011, pp.9). Another rights-based approach CSO is youth lawyer association

led by young lawyer Phoe Phyu who was also arrested for providing free lawyer services for confiscated land cases in 2009 (U.S state's Human Rights Report, 2011, pp.14). He works for farmer and worker's rights today (www.dvb.no) [65]. Recently, in February 2012, workers from Tai Yi footwear factory staged striking for fair wages and this strike went to arbitration court because the Chinese owner did not agree with the demands of the workers. Lawyer Phoe Phyu helped these workers' strike from the beginning to the ending with success (Mizzima News) [66] and (The militant) [67].

5.3.4 CSOs in ethnic regions

The CSOs actors in ethnic border area are different from CSOs inside Burma/Myanmar. Ethnic CSOs need to work for local people when the government does not provide responsibility for ethnic people. Ethnic CSOs actors as well as vulnerable persons work for their own people. They are victims of armed or political conflicts. These vulnerable persons try to protect their rights through CSOs and they try to empower themselves in their vulnerable groups. They are not separate from vulnerable people. Actors of CSOs are based on local human resources, but most actors are not educated person like CSOs actor from urban areas. The actors of CSOs in ethnic conflict areas are not skilled workers, but they could get short training from international non-government organizations sometimes. They work for people like them. For example, Mae Tao Clinic is run by 300 health workers to work for 100,000 patients per year. The Children Development Center (CDC) at Mae Tao has 1200 students and 100 staffs for teaching. According to Skidmore and Wilson (2008, pp.214), I find The Mae Tao Clinic also work for local people inside Burma/Myanmar where three clinics have already founded, and The Mae Toe Clinic supports medical training for health workers to have skills as well as human rights awareness training to work on either side of the border. Other ethnic education schools in other conflict areas are almost the same like vulnerable persons who work for vulnerable people as much as they can.

> Interviewee 9 explains that: *"Our ethnic school work for poor ethnic children who cannot join government school because of distance, transportation and economic problem. I finished high school at our ethnic school and then I work at this school as a teacher. Our ethnic school has the aim to keep our own ethnic language, and we teach our ethnic children in our own ethnic language."*

According to Kramer, Tom (2011, pp.23), The Mon-region Social Development Network

(MSDN), which was established in 2009, support over 50 private schools in Mon State. The advantage of ethnic school is to keep their ethnic languages as a right, but the challenges for them are the danger of being swallowed by the government when they signed ceasefire. After making agreement ceasefire, ethnic children have chance to study at government school. Few ethnic schools were forced to close in Mon state. To avoid this challenge of ethnic CSOs, Dr Cythia Maung, who is the founder of Mae Tae Clinic in Burma-Thai border, Maesot, Thailand (maetaoclinic.org) [68], warns:

> *"Ethnic CSOs must try empowerment themselves and they should have their own strategy and they need the understanding of CSOs principles before cooperation with authority. If yes, CSOs can work at equal level with the authority. If not, CSOs can be swallowed up by the authority."*

One of the CSOs in ethnic border area, Burma-Thailand border is Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (Burma) (AAPP) which is founded by ex-political prisoners as vulnerable persons. These vulnerable persons work for political prisoner in the Burma's prisons who are vulnerable persons. According to my experience as a member of AAPP and based on document analysis, I find that AAPP collects political prisoners' news and prison conditions where they are detained, and AAPP provides medicines, food, and financial help for political prisoners in Burma's prisons through their family. AAPP has published reports about human rights abuse of the Burmese government on political prisoner in Burma's prisons (www.aappb.org) [69]. There are also many civil society organizations in Thai-Burma border and they run for supporting people's basic needs and struggling for freedom and human rights in Burma/Myanmar, for example, The Women's League of Burma (WLB) [70] work for woman empowerment. Also Dr Thein Lwin, from his based CSO in Chiang Mai, northern Thailand support Teacher Training for Burmese Teachers (TTBT) for monastic school teachers inside Bruma/Myanmar (according to telling by one informant who has taken this training), and Earthrights International (ERI) [71] work for defending of human rights and the environmental "earth rights", especially focus on the abusing of earth rights in Burma/Myanmar to be protected by watchdog and campaign.

There are many CSOs both with needs-based and rights-based approach on the border in Maesot and I have already presented the information of some CSOs there in Chapter 2 under the title of 2.3.3.

5.3.5 Discuss on the finding to examine the third objective

The findings of my study confirm that the Burmese civil society organizations work for development not only for people's needs but also for people's rights. The Burmese CSOs provide people to have better life by changing of people's ways of living, attitudes and behavior positively. The Burmese CSOs provide people for having education, healthy lives with affordable services such as monastic schools and free health care service , for example the Phaung Daw Oo Monastery and Byamaso Humanitarian Aid Association. The Burmese CSOs provide people for being knowledgeable of health and their rights such as HIV awareness program by MBCA and land rights by church based CSOs. The Burmese CSOs provide knowledge for people to know how to protect their fundamental rights, for example worker and farmers' rights by the Guiding Star. The Burmese CSOs provide people for having participation rights in their community as community workers, for example Parent Education Facilitator (PEF) and Community Health Worker (CHW). It can be surely said that the Burmese CSOs work for both development and democracy with providing people's needs and removing "unfreedoms". Private sectors like MBCA work on development, and their focus is humanitarian aid and health awareness. However, as discussed by Tabbush (2005), Burmese civil society organizations and private sectors in Burma/Myanmar cannot overlap each other and they are still separated from each other. As argued by South (2008) and Enckevort (2010), I found that the civil society in ethnic's border regions are fulfill their aims for people's needs and rights as much as they have potential in their community.

However, most of Burmese CSOs work on needs-based approach than basic-need approach in Burma/Myanmar. Even though "rights" and "needs" are linked to each other in development and democracy, it is not enough for forcing democratization with only fulfilling people's needs but also people's rights. It should be balance for increasing numbers of CSOs between rights and needs approach. Today's Burma/Myanmar, few people like Lawyer U Aye Myint and Lawyer Phoe Phyu are bravery for working on people's rights issues, but original people with high education are only interested in working on people's basic needs.

One reason for this point is that people think rights-based approach is concerning politics and it challenges them to be arrested by the authority. There are many evidence for them that lawyer U Aye Myint from the Guiding Star, Lawyer Phoe Phyu from the Youth lawyers group and U Myint Aye from HRDP were arrested many times because of their supporting to remove "unfreedoms". Although worker unions are recently founded in Yangon by supporting of CSO actors, I witness these CSOs actors are ex-political prisoners who focus on

worker rights, for example Su Su New, Tun Tun Naing, and Han Win Aung who are ex-political prisoners. Another reason for few numbers of rights-based CSOs is that people are lack of knowledge in this area such as worker rights and farmer rights. The last reason is that international and local donors support needs-based projects for CSOs because donors want transparency and accountability of receiving organizations, and needs-based approach projects are sure to be implemented safety under the restrictions of the authority. Rights-based approach CSOs like the Guiding Star and HRDP cannot be registered with the authority and donors are therefore difficult to know about them. When Rights-based approach CSOs cannot have donations from local people, they depend on their self-money or the victims' support such as travelling cost.

On the other hand, woman's rights and environmental rights issues CSOs are founded by Burmese educated persons who have relevant knowledge, and they work for vulnerable people and victims by abuser and natural impacts. To balance the numbers of organizations between needs-based and rights-based approach, people need firstly knowledge about rights. Secondly, CSO actors who work on rights-based issue should have protections under the law. Finally, local donors should support funds for rights-based CSOs, and international donors should provide knowledgeable training about rights for CSOs actors.

5.4 Burmese CSOs in Burma's Democratization

This section is related to Objective No.4 of my study that examines the role of Burmese civil society in Burma's democratization process. During the fieldwork, I have obtained many different answers of the 24 informants on three questions (See Interview guide Appendix 3) "What do you think how CSOs are linked with democratic practice, value, and function in your experience?" "How do you contribute democratic criteria for people through your organization?" and "What do you think of CSOs' role in democratization process?" To get answers for these three questions, I used three data collection methods. One is participant observation with unstructured-interview, another is semi-structured interview and the last one is focus group discussion on "disadvantages and advantages of exploring CSOs". While I stayed closely with the informants in the training class, along the field-trips, and in the leisure time at night, I concentrated on seeing the informant's action and listening their conservations between them so that I could generally estimate their attitude on democratic practice. In this section, I also present the findings about CSOs actors' democratic practices by analyzing not only their different answers but also their behaviors and skills I have seen.

5.4.1 Democratic practices

I asked the informants in the interviews: "What do you think how CSOs are linked democratic practice, value, and function?" and they answered that CSOs have opportunity to practice democratic value and democratic procedure among their members. They argue that they do not like unfairness and injustice and they want to be against what they do not like. It is also that Burmese people have social capital traditionally and they easily feel sad for other person's troubles. When they see unfairness between poor and rich people in socioeconomic conditions and they want to take the responsibility for vulnerable people. Then they decide to work together for vulnerable people on common interest with same value. When many different peoples work together in a non-profit organization, people organize on common interests, people accept difference between them, people avoid casing conflict among them, and people discuss peacefully their opinion on some issues among members to have agreements. These practices can help CSOs to realize the democratic capacities. They say with their experience that CSOs surely go to democratic goal and CSOs can easily change to democratize.

On the other hand I got to know some negative views on CSO actors during the focus group discussion. I have already explained about this focus group discussion in chapter 4. When I analyzed this discussion, I realized that the participants argued that there is usually no trust between CSO actors because of insecure condition and unsafe life experiences, and some people participate in CSOs by expect opportunity for their personal profit or by corruption for their personal profits because of poor economic system. There is top-down relationship in CSOs between young and adult and there is less opportunity for young than adult because of the tradition, CSO actors need capacity building training to develop their skills, CSOs actor have not been released from fear of politics and CSOs/CBOs are still as weak organizations by running with few members. The finding from focus group discussion can be approved by the answers of the informants that:

> "Even between CSOs actors, we do not trust each other to discuss politics. Some friends warn me I should not tell about politics in front of him/her in this training."

> "Many know only what they want and what they need. They do not understand politics."

And also another informant told me corruption problem is a challenge for strengthening the role of CSOs. Kramer (2011, pp.36) notice that "Almost all organizations in Burma are characterized by a top-down and hierarchical leadership style." People from community or

members of organizations have so small space to participate in decision-level and only one person in top position is used to decide him/herself in Burmese organizations.

5.4.1.1 The finding of my observation in CSOs actor's democratic practices

I participated in the observation of the democratic practice by CSOs actors in two places. One was at VDI's LGED program in one month in Bangkok, Thailand and other is for one month at VDI's CDEC program in Chiang Mia, Thailand. The participants of LGED were both member of political parties and actors of CSOs. When I went to LGED's training class, I had many conversations with the participants. I got to know their experience and information about CSOs and political parties. At the same time, I noticed there were some problems between some persons because of their backgrounds, for example, different parties or different ethnics. I heard sometimes they argued seriously on one issue from different views.

When we went out fieldtrips together, we joined social games together during the fieldtrips. These social games are created to test people's social skills and it helped me to understand the participants' democratic practices too. I participated in all games together with them. These social games could be only won or ended by cooperation between all members. Some games were ended easily within short time by cooperation between us, but one game was very difficult for us to end successfully. 22 persons joined this game, and the rule of game did not allow any member to do any mistake. If at least one of us did at least one mistake, we had to start back this game. In this game, I got to see practically their democratic practice skills. When one person talked to us how we should solve the problem of game, all listened to that person with respect and they discussed him with more possibility. When one person led to pass over the problem of this game, all followed him trustfully. When one person did at least one mistake and we had to start this game again, no one blamed him. When we reached almost to the goal of the game, we had many challenges and we had to strongly cooperate between us. During the struggle for success, I noticed that they forgot their identity, "my party, my ethnic, my place" and they just remembered "cooperation, accepts difference, respect to other, trust to other, listening skill, understanding, thinking a possible way to solve problem together and perseverance for gain." This game took two hours to be won and we were so tired in the end, but it was worthies.

Unfortunately, during the period of LGED program, Bangkok had flooding crisis in the mid of October, 2011. People, including participants and me, had pressure from flood information

every day. Fortunately, it made me have chance to observe their democratic practices again. VDI decided to move from dangerous floating area in Bangkok to safety area in Pattaya where many flood refugees stayed temporary in this period. Before we left for Pattaya, VDI groups, including me, got involved in volunteer work for parking food, basic accessories and medicine at Chulalongkorn University. During this volunteer work, I saw LGED's participants were glad to work for Thai flood refugees and they helped them bring up many packs from building to trucks without tiredness. I remarked they had goodwill for all people.

When I stayed in Chiang Mai to observe CDCE's participants, I went to training class, their hostel, and I had conversations with them by sharing our experience with each other. I joined in their fieldtrips to Thai non-governmental organization. During the fieldtrips, I observed their social skills when they communicate with different people who were Thai CSOs actors. At nights, I sat beside them to listen to their discussion about their project in CDCE program period. I listened to them to observe their ability in democracy such as accepting difference and discussion skills. Sometimes I visited them to see their dancing programs and I found that they learned different ethnic dances and they cooperated between them to celebrate ethnic dance concept in the CDCE program. They arranged this ethnic dance concept themselves, and they managed themselves under this concept to be done well. Without cooperation and dealing between them, this concept could not be celebrated successfully. I appreciated their cooperation skill between them and social skill with other different people from Thai NGOs.

I find the difference of the participants between CDCE and LGED in democratic practices. Many participants from LGED are interested in open discussion on politics in the training class during the lecture, but most participants of CDCE are so quite to talk about political issue anywhere. The participants from LGED have many arguments with their identity (my party, my ethnic, my experience and etc) between them, but the participants of CDCE respect other identity (your ethnic language, your organization and etc.)

5.4.2 Contribute democratic value

Community forestry interests CSOs like "Sein Yaung So"[72] and "EcoDev"[73] organize local people to grow plants to keep the environment. When people grow plants themselves in their community, they understand they should take the responsibility for these trees. When they protect these trees by pouring water or doing something, other should understand these trees belong to the community. Interviewee 3 said *"This action let people understand democratic*

values, responsibility and rights." In this way, people emulate the success of other people in the same level with them and they understand how they take responsibility and they get their rights.

And faith based CSOs with women's rights interest support knowledge for women to empower by changing their mindset, encourage women to have right to participate in community and give opportunity for women to send their voice to the community. Women program of CSOs targets to advocate gender issue to the people such as "Protection from sexual harassment on the bus" and women project of CSOs targets people to have gender awareness such as elimination of domestic violence. These programs and projects can make women and men change their behavior after understanding their rights.

Based on the informants' answers and documents (ASEAN ECCD directory, 2007), I find that actors of ECCD programs support children under 8 years old to grow up with democratic practice. Children in this program have participation practices by letting them to say anything without felling fear, and they have the protection from being beating by someone to harm both their physical and psychological developments. On the other hand actors of ECCD programs support trainings such as Awareness Training for Community Leaders, Mother Circle Leaders Training and ECCD Teachers Training for people in village level to work back for children in their community as ECCD teachers. It helps people to know how to respect child rights and how to protect and develop their children. In addition, this training let them have participation skill in community. With their experience in community's activities, they are ready for involvement in local government level. For example, community groups in village level become members of Ya-Wa-Ta (local governance).

When they explained me how they contributed democratic value and knowledge to vulnerable people, I find almost informants viewed Burmese people in the same way that people are not interested in knowing their rights, people are afraid of the words like "rights, democracy, and politics", people are not ready for democratic change and so on. Two informants said to me that they have not seen good results of many political movements after 1988 people uprising such as 1996 students' movement and 2007 saffron revolution because entire people did not get involved in these movements. There is no doubt that everyone wants to be free from every level authority's unfairness and injustice, but they do not know how to do. People surely want democracy, but they have no time to think how to struggle for their rights. They have to only concentrate on how to survive in their daily life in the poor economic system. The two informants suggested that democratic leaders and CSOs have the responsible for people to

know their rights. Interviewee 17 also suggests:

> *"People need experience and maturing in democratic practice. Our organization tries to open people's eyes by changing their understanding through "open society's discussion"."*

Here, I wanted to present the quotes of one informant because his answer helps me to imagine the fear of Burmese people in politics. The informant, Interviewee 22, went to a village to support training for people about awareness on social capital. He told his experience as follow,

> "I introduced people *"I will discuss "politics" in this training"*. Then people were suddenly quiet. Someone requested me not to talk about it. Some people went back home. In this saturation, I asked next question *"Aren't you interested in politics?"* People answered me *"No, we don't!"* Then I asked next question *"Don't you have interests in your family' affair and your community's development?"* They answered *"Yes, we do!"* I explained to them *"It is politics too. Politics is not separate from your daily life.""*

Some informants also commented on people that people do not know what rights they have as citizen and how to go against injustice through their activities under the law. People just feel that they do not have any power and that they are victims. They give reasons that there are many high risks, under pressure of the authoritarian regime and that they are contented with their poor life. Therefore, more educations are really important for people to empower. CSOs should help them to see other cases with truth in the world through the documentary. It is important for CSOs to encourage people to speak openly what they want in local capacity building programs. After letting many times for people to speak openly, people will surely be satisfied with their participation in their community work and it will make people empower.

5.4.3 CSOs' role in democratization

I analyze how CSO actors, including Burmese academics, understand the role of CSOs in democratization and I find that clever actors of CSOs understand it well. The 5 players of key CSOs and 4 Burma experts argue what the best way is to eliminate oppression on people and to end the authoritarian regime completely. People should try for reducing the restriction or for destroying the owners of power in the authoritarian regime. No one knows exactly which way will directly lead to democracy in Burma/Myanmar. In the democratization, there are 3

main actors, democratic opposition groups, civil society groups, and elite groups. Transformation process in democratization cannot be implemented by only one of them. Political parties and student groups have been forcing the democratic change since 1988 although their impact is slow on the Burmese government to move towards democracy. Political factors can change the authoritarian regime power and political parties can take the governmental powers. On the other hand, it is not possible to establish a democratic country with stability without strengthening CSOs. They are connected to each other. Therefore, change from button-up definitely takes time and very long way to democracy, but it is needed to occur in parallel with top-down change at the same time.

> Interviewee 2 argues about the relationship between political parties and CSOs: *"Burmese political parties have many weak points and mistakes along Burma's history, and they are traditionally top-down organized and hierarchical under over controls. If Burmese CSOs become stronger, they can support political parties to strengthen in the right way. It is "win-win" theory."*

It also means that CSOs should try to strengthen themselves instead of waiting for the developed change process by elites' top-down system or political opposition groups' leading. CSOs are just a product of democratization process and they are not a key to democratic change, but CSOs actors are surely a force for democratic reform to go forwards fast. In this relationship, democratization process is firstly needed to be strengthened in liberalization stage, and then CSOs can follow this opportunity to empower themselves. Otherwise, if the speed of democratization process is forced to increase by something before CSOs have not been strengthened and empowered, it is in danger of that process turning into backward. In the sensitive condition of Burma' democratic reform, Informant 15 suggests:

> *"To avoid the change process going backwards, CSOs and political groups should not be in any positions, neither misusing freedom in the sensitive stage nor enduring the pressure like before."*

Therefore, institutions and organizations must be strengthened and empowered during the liberalization process to be ready for forcing the next stage in democratization. With this strategic, even if democratic reform process unfortunately turns backwards, CSOs can go forwards themselves. Therefore, I present the strengthening and empowerment in the following section.

5.4.4 Strengthen and empowerment

To strengthen CSOs, each person who gets involved in CSOs should have skills and capacities to be ready for change in Burma/Myanmar. Many informants I met gave me comments that CSOs definitely work for people, but they need skills. Some informants, who grew up in rural areas, talked to me that they had no confidence in their skills to force democratization process to go forwards.

Interviewee 11: *"I want democracy because I want to be free from fear from them* (the authority). *If we have a democratic government, all youth, including me, will have more opportunity than today and CSOs will have more freedom." "However, I grew up in dark world and I have no enough knowledge to get involved in democratization process as CSOs actor. I should follow the leading of skill leaders who are internationally educated as Burmese academics."*

Interviewee 10: *"I believe that strengthening CSOs can work for community development and support people to have democratic knowledge. However, I have no confidence to lead my ethnic community. I want more education to have trust from people as a skilled person."*

I find 4 Burmese academics and 5 players of key CSOs could estimate the actual skill of vulnerable CSO actors' and what they need to fill vulnerable CSOs actors. As analysis of their sharing information and documents from official organizational websites, I find that CSOs trainer and scholar groups, such as VDI, Myanmar Egress (Myanmar Egress website) [74] and ECODEV (forest-trends.org) [73] support knowledge, technique and funding for people to find CBOs in their community and also support capacity building training for CSOs actors from grass-root level until they can manage local level development. One informant, who is a Burma academic as well as a trainer for CSOs actors, argues:

> *"Training is one piece for capacity building with cheap cost and short time, but trainees definitely need practices to combine theory and practical experience for local level CBOs/CBOs actors."*

I find CSOs trainer groups and Myanmar scholar groups such as Egress, EcoDev, and VDI have both vocational for capacity building training and field-projects such as micro-financing activity, community forestry and so on for their participants. However, the capacity building trainings and field-projects are not enough for CSOs actors in ethnic regions, especially conflict areas to empower people. The ethnic informants I met agree that empowerment of CSOs is very important in any condition, but they argue that it is not easy for the actors of

ethnic CSOs who have suffered from grievances and fully bitter long civil war in their whole lives. When they survive for their daily lives, they automatically forget their bitterness without knowing themselves. When they have equal right under democratic land, the worst bitter experiences in bitters will remind them automatically to suffer again. Reconciling process, which is a part of democratization, is not only enough making dialogs and peace but also adding the war victim rehabilitation program for vulnerable people as well as actors of CSOs.

The role of CSOs can fall down in the backward political situation without concerning to skills and capacities of the CSO actors. For example, the role of Kachin CSOs falls down with the period of Kachin war recently. The role of CSO does not depend how much CSO actors have capacities and skills, but it depends on how much they need risk or how they also suffer from Kachin war. To strengthen CSOs to play democratization as a force group, it is important to have political stability and equality in all levels and all regions. The international and local donors should examine carefully who have goodwill for people, where people really need in and what they need, who have political orientated to protect people rights. More effective supports from local and international donors are needed for Burmese CSOs to strength their role.

As arguments by Kramer, Tom (2011, pp.36-38), I find that UN agencies and international NGOs have supported fund for local NGOs with many reasons. They assist fund and training for CSOs inside Burma/Myanmar to promote citizen participation and pluralism. They also support fund, training and technique for CSOs in ceasefires areas or conflict areas to alleviate poverty and to have effective delivery of humanitarian aids. They provide for CSOs with culture and oriented-interests, but very few CSOs, to promote their social empowerment interest and awareness programs for particular groups. However, international donors are not able to support their fund to reach small CSOs and they are used to engage with small number of big projects than a large number of small projects. International donors should change their funding strategies to fill the gaps for small CSOs to be strengthening.

5.4.5 Discuss on the findings to examine the fourth objective

Democracy means participation, accepting different opinions, cooperation in common interests, transparency between members and taking responsibility for the society. Democracy values are responsibility and rights. In this sense, CSO actors apply democratic practices and

coexistence of differences is immune in the culture of CSOs. According to my observations, CSO actors are able to apply democratic practices. In Burma/Myanmar, there are over 100 NGOs where CSOs actors probably apply democratic practices. Without applying democratic practices, over 100 NGOs are not able to stand on today in Burma/Myanmar. Some people argue there is usually no trust between CSO actors because of insecure condition and unsafe life experiences, but they try to accept difference to work on common interest. In this sense, I do not confuse that they apply democratic practices.

As discussed by Diamond (1994, pp.7-10) about function of democratic CSOs, I confirm that the Burmese CSOs is as a watchdog for the democratic governance that will check and control the authority's corruption at local level and they monitored and countered the authority's corruption. The Burmese CSOs work on political awareness, for example voter education. The Burmese civil society is as a training ground for the political arena to advocacy and lobby, for example against Myitsone project together by bobby effectively. The Burmese civil society is vital for creating channels for traditionally marginalized groups, for example Women's Organizations Network of Myanmar (WONM). And also the ethnic civil society works for keeping their culture and language, for example Shan literature and culture committee. The Burmese civil society produces new political leaders, for example the Rakhin Thahaya Association. The civil society started to take a step to work to transform governance as monitor groups, for example 88 Generation Election watch group in bi-election in 2012. The Burmese civil society works on defense of vulnerable people's interests and values, for example HRDP work for farmers.

However, all of these functions can be derived by few CSOs. Many CSOs are needed to fulfill democratic functions to play a role of force group in democratization of Burma/Myanmar. To fulfill democratic functions and to strengthen CSOs, CSO actors need capacity building training to develop their skills. As discussed by Bassiouri et al. (1998), Burmse people must have the knowledge and capacity to practice repeatedly in resist of their fundamental rights in order to bring about democracy, and in order to keep going democratic reform. Many Burmese capacity trainers therefore provide CSOs actors capacity building trainings, for example VDI and Egress. To strengthen CSOs with people empowerment is people should have skill and knowledge about politics. To empower of CSO actor, the culture and tradition of Burmese organizations which have top-down and hierarchical leading style should be changed with democratic criteria. Corruption can make CSOs empowerment be limited and COSs should accompany with accountability and transparency between the members.

As discussed by Diamond, the guarantor of associational life is that derives by income or fund from donors. Therefore, international donors should support their fund to reach small CSOs. They should engage with large number of small projects for CSOs, instead of small number of big projects. International donors should change their funding strategies to fill the gaps for small CSOs to be strengthening in liberalization process of Burma/Myanmar.

5.5 Case of Vahu Development Institution

In this section, I present what I have found in the studying of Vahu Development Intuition as a NGO where I participated as an internship during the fieldwork. When I present the finding with VDI, I based on my observation at VDI by seeing and hearing, analyzing the document of VDI, an interview with U Aung Thu Nyein, a senior associated of VDI and comments of participants of CDCE and LGED.

Cooperate with the government and political parties: VDI has strategies with sustainable positive advocacy on reform agenda at the national level. VDI started to get involved in team-work of the Burmese government program in national level from 2010 and VDI work for development issues in cooperation with the government in national level such as assisting development of policy platforms and building organizational capacities. At the same time, VDI decide to cooperate with all political party to force democratic reform process as sub-nations in local level and VDI support "shaping policy input" for political leaders as non-partisan. VDI cooperates with political parties to change democratic reform as sub-nations in local level

Strengthening and empowerment: VDI supports capacity building programs for CSOs in grass-roots level to be strengthened. VDI have Community Development Program (CDCE), Buddhist leadership program (BLCE), Development Journalism Program (CDCP), and Trickle-up Microfinance Program (TUM). CDCE program is opened 2 times per year and each program is run in 3 months period. VDI's programs provide international development theory, analytical skill, participatory and interactive classroom-based learning combined with field trips. The field trips aim for participants as observation tours to study the real-world activities and best practices of development NGOs and other civic groups. VDI's programs expect participants to be able to manage CSOs in middle level, but VDI have not trained participants to become human rights advocators to work on rights-based issues.

Work for vulnerable people: VDI normally receives 180 applications for every CDCE

program, but VDI accept 25-30 participants among the hundreds applicants. All participants are from inside Burma. They must have at least 2 year experience in CSOs/CBOs and at least university level. VDI selects participants based on their writing essay and personal interview. VDI considers selecting participants in a list of priority- different ethnic, young age, different organizations, different experiences and different regions and it purposes for all CSOs actors with different backgrounds to have equal chance.

Evaluation: After 10th CDCE programs within 5 years, there are 200-250 CSOs actors who have completed CDCE program in Burma/Myanmar. Many of them get job at NGOs/INGOs and they work especially for needs-based issue, but not rights-based issue as advocators. The reason is not only pressure of government but also their skill and knowledge. Some of CDCE's ex-participants work at VDI as office staffs, projects staffs, and trainers at VDI's program.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The previous chapter has shown the findings and discussion of my study related to the four objectives and research questions I presented in chapter 1. In this chapter, the conclusion of my study, I present the summary of my study by gathered the finding to answer the research hypothesis: "Civil society organizations have strengthened the civic empowerment and they have played an important role in eventual democratization and development of Burma/Myanmar." I also present the idea for further research.

My study confirms that the Burmese government started "Liberalization stage" in democratization, but it is only in the beginning step. The Burmese government is carefully reducing restriction step by step. It can only be said that liberalization process is started by reducing restrictions and liberalization process is going forwards, but it has not totally completed yet. The reducing of restrictions has not been approved legally in the constitution and the effect of liberalization has not affected in ground level yet, especially in rural area and ethnic regions. The numbers of CSOs have surely increased within 3 years from 2008-2011.

For strengthening CSOs by cooperation with the authority, CSOs actors agree that it is good to work with the government where skilled workers and infrastructures have. However, the challenges for CSOs' strengthening in cooperation with authority are the authority's corruption, misusing power, restrictions, and lack of transparency. Registration with the authority is many advantages for CSOs to have transparency between the authority, donors and actors, to have trust of people and donors, to work with confidence, and to carry out activities legally. However, CSOs still have difficulty to register with the authority. CSOs want the authority to reduce registration rules, for example have to sign not to participate in politics and delay process for registration. In the registration and cooperation, the authority's corruption, misusing power and restrictions make CSOs' strengthening be limited to be ready for transition process in democratization.

For strengthening CSOs by cooperation with political parity, the Burmese civil society actors do not agree with the role of political parties' involvement directly in CSOs as founder or actors if political parties expect for having people' votes. They think that political parties carry out social activities for people because this party wants votes from people. On the other hand, CSOs actor agree to provide democratic parties with 3 main reasons. The first reason is that they want to have a good representative for their community by providing democratic political party they like. The second reason is that they want to support political groups to hear real voice of grassroots people. The third reason is they want political parties to advocate

their interest issue to the government directly. To achieve successful democratization needs strengthening of both civil and political societies by connection to each other like bridges. In my study with Burma/Myanmar, the Burmese CSOs like an active group cooperate with political parties like a passive group. This relationship is able to support for forcing Burma's democratic reform to go towards. civil society started to take a step to provide political parties. It is in the beginning condition, but it has not fulfilled.

My study confirms that the Burmese civil society organizations work for development not only for people's needs but also for people's rights. The Burmese CSOs provide people to have better life by changing of the people's ways of living, attitudes and behavior positively. The Burmese CSOs provide people for having education, healthy lives with affordable services such as monastic schools and free health care service. The Burmese CSOs provide people for being knowledgeable of health and their rights. The Burmese CSOs provide knowledge people to know their fundamental rights. The Burmese CSOs provide people for having participation rights in their community as community workers. It can be surely said that the Burmese CSOs work for both development and democracy with providing people's needs and removing "unfreedoms".

However, most of Burmese CSOs work on needs-based approach than rights-based approach in Burma/Myanmar. Even though "rights" and "needs" are linked to each other in development and democracy, it is not enough for forcing to democratization with only fulfilling people's needs. One reason for few rights-based CSOs is that people are lack of knowledge in this area such as worker rights and farmer rights and these issues have challenge to the authority role. Another reason is that international and local donors support more needs-based projects than rights-based projects. Rights-based approach CSOs like the Guiding Star and HRDP cannot be registered with the authority, and donors are therefore difficult to know about them. To balance the numbers of organizations between needs-based and rights-based approach, people need firstly knowledge about rights. Secondly, CSO actors who work on rights-based issue should have protections under the law. Finally, local donors should support funds for rights-based CSOs, and international donors should provide knowledgeable training about rights for CSOs actors.

The Burmese CSOs actors apply for democratic practice that means participation, accepting different opinions, cooperation in common interests, transparency between members and taking responsibility for the society. The Burmese CSOs gain the functions of democratic CSOs. It means that the Burmese CSOs is as a watchdog for the democratic governance that

will check and control the authority's corruption at local level and they monitored and countered the authority's corruption. The Burmese CSOs work on political awareness, and it is as a training ground for the political arena to advocacy and lobby. The Burmese civil society is vital for creating channels for traditionally marginalized groups. The Burmese civil society produces new political leaders. The civil society started to take a step for working to transform governance as monitor groups. The Burmese civil society works on defense of vulnerable people's interests and values. However, all of these functions are able to be derived by few CSOs. Many CSOs have not fulfilled democratic functions to play a role of force groups in democratization of Burma/Myanmar. To fulfill democratic functions of CSOs and to strengthen CSOs, CSO actors need capacity building training to develop their skills. The guarantor of associational life is that derives by income or fund from donors. Therefore, international donors should support their fund to reach small CSOs. International donors should change their funding strategies to fill the gaps for small CSOs to be strengthening.

There are some limitations to what I found out in my study. One limitation is that few informants in my study have not experienced with politics and they were general lack of awareness of politics. When I asked them some research questions concerned about politics, they did not understand easily. After I explained them the meaning of the questions, they tried to answer my questions. I thought their answers were not based on their knowledge, but their answers were based on their feeling with politics. However, they could answer me their work experiences very well like experts of their areas. Many informants understood my research questions concerned about politics. They could answer my questions with their knowledge and experience in politics. They could also answer me their work experience very well.

Another limitations is to what I found out in my study is that my research was based on the understanding of the small samples in a case study of the changeable and unstable political situation of Burma/Myanmar. The results of my research cannot be repeatable with the understanding of other samples in another political situation of Burma/Myanmar. It is also that the participants of my research did not represent all civil society actors in Burma/Myanmar and the finding of my study cannot be generalized for all populations.

The last limitation of my research is the perspectives of the informants on political opposition groups by the actors of civil society organizations. When I interviewed the resource persons, the democratic reform process in Burma/Myanmar was in its beginning. If I interviewed my resource persons after bi-election on 1st April, they would perhaps have different perspectives on political opposition groups. If it is usual that the view of people on political groups

depends on political weather, if Burma/Myanmar's GDP will increase in 2012/2012, and if liberalization process will develop, it is opportunity for further research to have different views by actors of civil society.

In the limitation, my study is concluded that civil society organizations have strengthened the civic empowerment, and they have achieved development by working on people's needs and by removing "unfreedom". However, the actors of CSOs need to have more skill and capacity to empower and the Burmese civil society organizations need to become stronger than today to play a role, as a force group, in eventual democratization in Burma/Myanmar.

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https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=370830586266076&set=a.36223916045855
2.107216.287336421282160&type=3&theater

77. Photo Credit ot AFP News Suu Kyi joins parliament as Myanmar enters new phase AFP
released on May 2, 2012 and retrieved on May 3, 2012
http://news.yahoo.com/myanmars-suu-kyi-enters-parliament-oath-031511717.html

78. Photo Credit to NORAGIC, Norwegian University of Life and Science, Ås, Norway
https://fronter.com/umb/main.phtml

FOOTNOTES:

I.   Kyaw Win: The university of Lowa

KYAW WIN is an active contributor to the Myanmar literary scene whose interests
span a variety of cultural, economic, and political issues. His published translations
include Thomas Friedman's *The World is Flat* and Joseph E. Stiglitz's *Making
Globalization Work.* In the 1980s and 90s, Kyaw Win founded and ran a private school
in Monywa. After three periods of imprisonment, he moved to Yangon and became a
freelance writer and editor. He has edited five magazines, most recently *Khit San*
['Watershed Era'] in 2003 and ['The Waves'] Magazine, where he is currently Chief
Editor. His participation is independently funded. Retrieve on April 12, 2012 from
http://iwp.uiowa.edu/writers/kyaw-win

II.   "Biography Of General Aung San" National Hero of Burma: 13th February 1915 Born at Natmauk, a township in Magwe district, central Burma.1935-36: Elected to the executive committee of the Rangoon University Students' Union and became the editor of the Students' Union Magazine.1938 to August 1940: Acted as the Head Office General Secretary of Dohbama Asi-ayone.1938-39: Countrywide strikes known as Revolution of Year 1300 (Burmese calendar year).1939 to 1940: Helped to found Bama-htwet-yat Ghine (Freedom Bloc) and became the general secretary.December 194:Founded Burmese Independence Army (BIA) in Bangkok, Thailand with the help of the Japanese and became chief-of-staff Major-General Aung San (a.k.a. Bo Teza). July 1942: Reorganized BIA and become Burma Defence Army (BDA). Appointed as Commander-in-Chief Colonel Aung San. 6th September 1942: Married with Daw Khin Kyi. August 1944: Founded Anti-Fascist Organization (AFO) and became the military leader of the organization. 27th March 1945:Burmese troops throughout the country rose up against the Japanese. January 1946: Elected as president of the AFPFL. 19th July 1947Assassinated during the Executive Council meeting together with six other Councillors, including his elder brother, U Ba Win. U Saw, a former Prime Minister, was found guilty of the abetment and executed. Retrieve on April 12, 2012 from http://www.abitsu.org/?page_id=271