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KACHIN STATE: ETHNIC LITERATURE AND CULTURE ASSOCIATIONS

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1. Introduction

There are six Kachin (Jinghpaw, Lachik, Lhao vo, Lisu, Rawang, and Zaiwa), five Shan (Tai Khamti, Tai Lay, Tai Leng, Tai Lone, and Tai Sa) and a small number of other Ethnic Literature and Culture Associations (ELCAs) found in Kachin State. Most of the ELCAs are headquartered in Myitkyina, but have township, village tract, and village level associations in areas where there are substantial populations of the relevant ethnic group. ELCAs generally have a loose structure, with the lower-level bodies exercising considerable autonomy. In general, the Kachin LCAs are more active to the north of Myitkyina and the Shan associations south of Myitkyina. Other ELCAs representing groups such as the Kayin and Rakhine, are predominantly present in Hpakant Township, where there is a large migrant population. This paper aims to explain the structure of the ELCAs within and across different levels, their activities and functions, and their limitations and needs.

2. Methodology

This research covers five townships in Kachin State, namely Bhamo, Hpakant, Mohnyin, Myitkyina, and Waingmaw. Interviewees include six Kachin ethnicities (Jinghpaw, Lachik, Lhao vo, Lisu, Rawang, and Zaiwa), five Shan ethnicities (Tai Khamti, Tai Lay, Tai Leng, Tai Lone, and Tai Sa), and other ethnicities such as Chin, Gurkha, Mro, Rakhine, and Ta'ang/Palaung. A total of 27 key informant interviews (KIIs) and five focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted. Most KIIs were with the chairperson or secretary of the ELCAs, as individuals best positioned to provide in-depth information regarding their respective associations. FGDs were conducted with a minimum of three and a maximum of six members of the executive committees. Most interviewees were older males, reflecting the overwhelming demographic of the ELCAs' executive committees; at least one woman and one youth were interviewed in each township except for Waingmaw. One KII combined respondents from both Waingmaw and Myitkyina, as most ELCAs are headquartered in Myitkyina. The breakdown of interviewees by township is in the table below.

Table 1: Number of Interviews by Township

Township	Myitkyina and Waingmaw ¹	Mohnyin	Hpakant	Bhamo
KII	9	8	4	6
FGD	1	0	3	1
Number of women interviewees	3 ²	2	1	2
Number of youth interviewees	2	2	1	1

3. Background

Ethnic Literature and Culture Associations were first established in Myanmar in the 1950s but were formally banned under military rule from 1962 to 2008. Efforts during these decades to promote and preserve ethnic languages, literature, and culture remained underground and were often carried out through religious organizations. The informal structures created during this period have carried over into many of the current ELCAs.

In 2008, the inauguration of a new constitution gave renewed prominence to the so-called 'national races', including explicit recognition of the importance of preserving and promoting their languages, literature, and culture.³ The enactment of the Ethnic Rights Protection Law in 2015 allowed for the legal recognition and promotion of ethnic-based organizations. Such organizations began to play an increasingly important role in their communities and communities worked to establish official and permanent entities. This led to an increase in the number of official organizations and to the creation of state level associations for the different ethnic groups and the formation of an umbrella body for the Shan groups; the Kachin State Shan Ethnic Literature and Culture Committee in 2018. The Kachin National Association of Tradition and Culture, the umbrella body of Kachin groups, had already been formed in 1998, but its existence was formally recognized after 2015, enabling it to take on a greater role.

4. Organizational Structure

ELCAs can be organized at village, village tract, township, and state levels. The Tai Leng LCA exceptionally also has district-level associations in Bhamo and Mohnyin Districts where there is a considerable Tai Leng population. Most of the associations at various levels are loosely connected and can carry out their own activities without influence from the higher-level associations. Most activities are conducted at the village level, but when activities are carried out at the township or district level, members in the villages may be invited to attend and participate. The role of state and national level ELCAs is primarily to interact with the government. Their interactions with the lower-level associations generally take the form of providing support (such as training for language teachers) or asking the lower-level associations to provide participants for events (notably dance troops). The township level associations carry out relatively few activities on their own, but act as a bridge between the state level and the village level as well as providing an organizational grouping for activities such as teacher training.

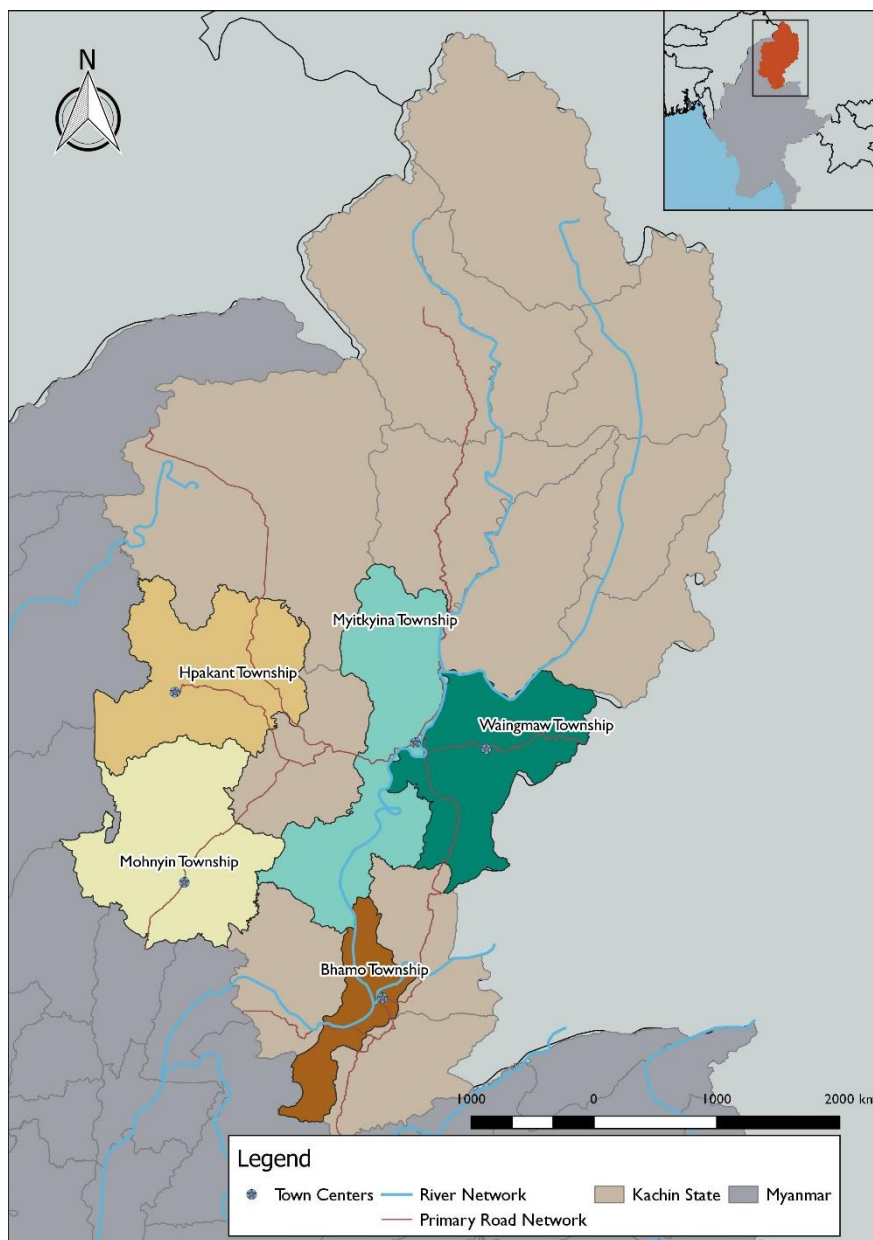
Each ELCA sets up their organizational structure differently, depending on their size and hierarchy. For example, if an ethnic population is small and is mostly present in a single village, a village level ELCA may be formed without the existence of a township level ELCA. This tends to be true of non-Kachin or Shan ELCAs due to smaller ethnic communities being present only in localized pockets in the state. In cases where there are many villages in a township with sufficiently high densities of the ethnic population, there may be a village tract or township level association which consolidates the efforts of lower-level ELCAs. For example, Shanni (Tai Leng) populations are found in many villages throughout Mohnyin

District and have a district-level ELCA. The Tai Khamti, however, have several village and township level associations in Mohnyin but no district level association; instead there is direct contact between the state level ELCA and the township and village level associations.

Associations are similarly varied in the degree of organizational development. Older associations tend to be more organizationally developed (i.e., with monthly meetings and strict hierarchies), while newer associations are not as systematically functional.

4.1 Geography

The map below shows township locations of ELCA respondents in Kachin State. Some associations work at from village to central-level, while others may only have an association at the township or district level. See Annex I for details of ELCA locations and levels.



4.2 Membership

At the village level, villagers of a specific ethnic group are automatically considered as members of the relevant ELCAs. In theory, the entire ethnic population of the relevant area continues to be considered members of the township, and state level associations. However, in practice it is usually only the executive committee members of the lower-level associations who are actively involved at the higher levels. For the Kachin and Shan groups this means relatively low levels of representation in the higher-level associations, but for other groups, notably the Rakhine or Ta'ang/Palaung LCAs, the smaller population and fewer associations lead to more representation. At all levels, the requirements to become a member of the executive committee include interest in the preservation of literature and culture and being a member of the ethnic group or being married to a member. There is no religious restriction to join the association, but most of the members of the Shan ethnicities' associations are Buddhists and most members of the Kachin ethnicities' associations are Christians.

4.3 Executive Committees

At each level (village, village tract, township, district, and state or central level), the ELCAs have an executive committee, a group of patrons, and sub-committees. The executive committee always includes a chairperson, vice-chairperson, secretary, and treasurer, but in some associations these positions are shared by two or three people. The number of executive committee members varies among surveyed ELCAs from 13 to 80.

Leaders of the ELCAs are elected. Some of the commonly expected requirements for individuals in these positions are a strong desire to preserve the literature and culture, articulate and literate in the ethnic language and literature, strong integrity, and being respected by people of different communities. Patrons are usually elders, who serve as advisors to the executive committee.

Elections for the executive committee take place every three to five years. At the village level, the executive committee is directly elected by the villagers. At the higher levels, there are differences between the different ethnicities on how the elections proceed. The Shan associations have a nomination process, with two or three nominees being put forward by each village or village tract; these nominees are voted on at a meeting attended by all members of the association at that level. The Kachin associations create an election committee (from which the current executive committee are excluded) about six months before the end of the executive committee's term. The election committee selects and nominates suitable leaders from each village, who are voted on at a general assembly attended by representatives from the village (for township level elections) or township level committees (for state level elections). Other associations are generally smaller and select suitable leaders by direct election at a general assembly of all members of the association at the relevant level.

4.5 Subcommittees

Most ELCAs also have sub-committees to deal with specific issues. The most common sub-committees are literature, culture, women, youth and fundraising. Among the Kachin associations it is also common to have a dispute resolution committee to resolve issues outside of the Myanmar legal system. However, at the village level, the shortage of qualified members sometimes means that there are no permanent sub-committees. Instead, members of the community are called on to help with activities in a piecemeal fashion.

4.6 Decision-Making

Decision-making at the township level occurs autonomously without influence from the district or the state level associations. In most cases, a committee meeting is called at the township level with representatives from villages in attendance. Issues are discussed at the meeting and decided by vote. Most associations only call such meetings when necessary and rely on the chairman to make decisions in the interim.

4.7 The Roles of Women and Youth

At the village level, the habit of counting all villagers of the relevant ethnicity as members of the ELCA results in an even balance between male and female members. However, at all levels at all levels the executive committees are dominated by older men. However, there are a few exceptions. The Lisu LCA in Bhamo Township and the Shan (Tai Lone) LCA in Waingmaw Township have more female than male executive committee members. Women are secretaries of the Shanni (Tai Leng) LCAs in Bhamo and Mohnyin township level associations. The head of the Shanni (Tai Leng) LCA at the state level - also head of the Kachin State Shan Ethnic Literature and Culture Committee - is a woman. As this shows there is space for youth and women to take on leadership roles in the ELCAs. However, at present most ELCAs lack the capacity themselves to provide training in relevant skills. Consequently, only women and youth who already have the perceived requisite leadership skills are likely to be elected. This does suggest that efforts to improve the skills of women and youth could expand their leadership opportunities. On the other hand, there are few signs at present that the ELCAs are likely to start actively promoting and creating opportunities for women and youth to take on bigger roles in their communities.

Supporting women and youth to take on leadership roles at the higher levels of the ELCAs may require reducing the reliance that such positions place on the individual connections and resources of those appointed. Addressing these barriers to female participation through targeted and structural support systems and the creation of more systematic connections, including frameworks for sharing useful contacts, could help promote female leadership. Working with women themselves to develop their skills and capacity, as well as their confidence in their ability to take on leadership roles could also be beneficial

Despite the lack of leadership positions, women and youth are active in supporting ELCA activities. During festivities, women are responsible for cooking and hosting, while youth oversee organizing the dancing, preparations, and invitations.

4.8 Funding

Most of the associations do not have steady funding but collect donations from their membership for specific events. The exception in this respect is the Kachin National Association for Literature and Culture which receives a regular income from renting space in Manau Park, which they own. Before events, the associations generally form a committee mostly composed of young people to seek donations; most funding comes from wealthy individual donors.

Some activities are supported by external donors. The teaching of ethnic languages is supported by the Kachin State Education Office, which pays the salaries of teaching assistants and language teachers in schools. ELCA can also receive 2 million MMK each from a joint fund of the Union Ministry of Education, Kachin State Minister of Shan Ethnic Affairs, Kachin State Government and UNICEF to support training of language teachers. This funding is channelled through the state level ELCA. It is rare for ELCA to receive direct support from NGOs or international donors. Although the Shan and Kachin associations receive funding from UNICEF this comes to them indirectly because of UNICEF's support to the Ministry of Education. Where ELCA do receive funds from donors it is usually due to ELCA members who have connections with these external actors.

As a rule, higher-level associations do not provide financial support to the lower-level ELCA. The only financial support that the state level association provides is an allocation of the townships' shares of government funds intended for the printing of books. The funding for training of language teachers is used directly by the state level associations, which organize these trainings for those teachers identified by the lower-level associations.⁴

5. Intra-Associational Structure

Both the Shan and the Kachin LCAs in Kachin have umbrella organizations under which the various associations come together. For the Kachin, this is the Kachin National Association of Tradition and Culture (KNATC), based in Myitkyina. The Kachin State Shan Ethnic Literature and Culture Committee serves as the convening organization for the Shan. Non-Kachin and Shan ethnicities employ different models and levels of organization.

5.1 Kachin ethnicities

The KNATC serves as the official headquarters for all six Kachin LCAs and is the representative body for all Kachin LCAs at the national-level. Each Kachin group has its own state level association: the Jinghpaw, Lachik, Lisu, and Zaiwa LCAs are based in Myitkyina; the Lhao Vo LCA is based in Waingmaw; and the Rawang LCA is based in Putao. The Jinghpaw LCA is the only one to be registered at the state level.

Kachin LCAs at sub-state levels are mostly autonomous, arranging their own activities and functions. Most interactions between the state associations and lower level ELCAs in Bhamo, Hpakant, and Mohnyin Townships relate to receiving government language education materials, attending committee meetings, and attending national-level events such as the Manau Festival.

5.2 Shan ethnicities

The Kachin State Shan Ethnic Literature and Culture Committee brings together all five of the Shan ethnic groupings. The state level associations of the Shan LCAs are in Myitkyina apart from Tai Sa and Tai Lay LCAs, which have their headquarters in Waingmaw Township.

Tensions exist between some of the Shanni associations because of the usage of the words “Shanni” (the Burmese name for the Tai Leng) and “Tai Leng.” For example, the state level Shanni (Tai Leng) LCA in Myitkyina calls itself the Tai Leng Language and Culture Association and accuses other associations – especially the Mohnyin District Shanni (Tai Leng) NCA – that use the term Shanni of being “Burmanized.” This has led to the Mohnyin district-level association being largely cut off from contact with other Shanni (Tai Leng) LCAs in Kachin State. The division is so great that the district-level association and the state level association separately wrote their textbooks. While the state level association received support from the government and UNICEF for curriculum development, the Mohnyin District LCA had no financial or technical support. However, their textbooks are accepted in government schools and village level associations in Hpakant Township, and the state association use both textbooks.

5.3 Other ethnicities

The other ELCAs present in Kachin State are the Rakhine LCA in Myitkyina, Mohnyin, and Hpakant; the Gurkha LCA in Mohnyin; and Ta’ang/Palaung, Chin, Kayin, and Mro LCAs in Hpakant. These associations only have village and township level associations in Kachin State.

6. Activities

The associations at each level carry out their own activities, with the most common activities related to education, culture, and dispute resolution.

6.1 Literature

Teaching their respective ethnic languages is a core concern of the ELCAs. Some of the older and more developed associations, including the Jinghpaw, Lisu and Shan (Tai Lone) LCAs, were doing so before the ratification of the 2008 Constitution made such activities legal. At this time, most language teaching took place in religious institutions; many ELCAs began openly providing summer language classes after the legal changes.

After the adoption of the Ethnic Rights Protection Act in 2015, it became possible to teach ethnic languages in government schools. The state level ELCAs are responsible for developing curricula and materials for ethnic language teaching and receive financial and pedagogical technical support from UNICEF and the government. At present, 11 ethnic groups in Kachin State (the Jinghpaw, Lachik, Lhao vo, Lisu, Rawang, Zaiwa, Tai Khamti, Tai Lay, Shanni (Tai Leng), Shan (Tai Lone), and Tai Sai) receive such support to develop their language and literature curricula for kindergarten and grades 1 and 2. However, interviewees complained that the funds provided to them by UNICEF and the Union Ministry of Education (around 4 million MMK per ethnic group) to print text books was not enough, leaving township and village level associations needing to buy teaching materials from the state level associations.⁵

The central and state level associations also provide training for language teachers. Additional trainings may be provided at the village or township level if the relevant association does not have the funding to send potential language teachers to the centrally organized trainings. This has been the case, for instance, with the Shanni (Tai Leng) LCA in Hpakant.

The Kachin State Education Office appoints teaching assistants and language teachers who are integrated into the school system and paid by the government at a rate of 90,000 MMK per month for teaching assistants and 30,000 MMK per month for language teachers - lower than full-time government teachers who generally receive approximately 150,000 to 200,000 MMK per month. These appointments are based on lists prepared by the ELCAs and transmitted to the Kachin State Education Office via the state level ELCA. The ELCAs often ask parents to contribute additional funds to supplement these salaries, acting as a disincentive for economically disadvantaged parents.

Language teachers are only expected to teach language classes, while teaching assistants also teach other subjects. In theory, one teaching assistant or language teacher can be appointed if there are at least 40 students from the same ethnic group. One Tai Khamti interviewee mentioned that the school principal treated this requirement flexibly; however, this is likely an exceptional case. Many respondents complained that the government only approves half of the teachers who apply for teaching assistant and language teacher positions, though it is unclear on what basis the government fails to appoint teachers. In some schools, ethnic languages must be taught outside normal school hours. Language teachers and teaching assistants, particularly in Bhamo Township, are not allowed to teach their language classes during normal school hours and are not given days off to attend ELCA meetings.

In general, it falls on the village or township level ELCAs to collect lists of students and possible teachers and request a teacher from the government. These requests are usually channelled to the government through the state level associations. The initiative to collect such lists and efforts to ensure that this is done in an effective and timely manner may come from any level, depending on where there are individuals who recognize the importance of

doing so. The Rawang and Lisu LCAs were among the first to recognize the potential that this offered and worked to have language teachers and teaching assistants appointed.

6.2 Culture

ELCAs at various levels celebrate their own festivals as well as participate in national celebrations. For many groups, the biggest celebrations are the ones to mark the beginning of the new year. Many of the Shan events are also Buddhist festivals and celebrations usually take place at the village monasteries. This may be due in part because many Shan festival are also (or overlap) with Buddhist festivals, thereby inherently including a religious component. The same is not true, however, for Kachin events. There is a more distinct separate of religious and ethnic events, in which Kachin LCAs do not explicitly or institutionally link their cultural events with any religion or religious institution.

6.3 Dispute Resolution

Kachin LCAs generally have a dispute resolution sub-committee. At the township, district, and central levels these committees are composed of experts on Kachin customary law, while village level committees are usually composed of village elders. In addition to the permanent members of the sub-committee, external experts may join the sub-committee for a specific case. The ELCAs can only become involved in a case if both parties agree to ask for their assistance in resolving the issue. Usually both parties are of the same ethnicity, but it is possible for cases involving individuals of different ethnicities to be referred to an ELCA, provided all parties consent. Most cases referred to the ELCAs concern vehicle accidents, marital issues, and land disputes. Interviewees stated that they go to the ELCAs instead of to the police because of the time and money required to use the formal legal structure.

The Shan LCAs do not have formal dispute resolution sub-committees at the township level and above. However, in remote villages it remains common for village elders and administrators to resolve local issues, including applying customary law, rather than refer them to the formal justice system. Shan LCAs in both Waingmaw and Mohnyin Townships also reported that they negotiated informally on behalf of Shan youth who are involved in local conflicts.

Hpakant Township is unique due to the large number of migrant workers present there, resulting in the presence numerous ELCAs. In addition to dispute resolution among community members, these ELCAs often assume the role of negotiating for and representing the people of their ethnic constituency in interactions with companies. For instance, ELCAs have been involved in requesting compensation from companies on behalf of jade workers and scavengers who are hurt or killed in the mines. Kachin, Shan, Rakhine, Palaung, Mro, Chin and Kayin LCAs in Hpakant are all reported to have supported their communities in this way.

6.4 Trainings

Some ELCAs provide trainings on topics other than language and culture. The topics covered and ability to offer such trainings often depend on individual members and the resources which they can access. For example, the Shanni (Tai Leng) LCA at the district level in Mohnyin has a member with technical expertise who can provide trainings on community development and gender to its youth members. Likewise, the Shanni (Tai Leng) LCA at the district level in Bhamo has a member who used her connections with NGOs to obtain trainings on human rights for youth members. There are some efforts to provide more systematic trainings; the Shanni (Tai Leng) LCA trains youth on health, politics, and rights, while the Kachin LCA in Bhamo provides awareness-raising sessions about drugs.

6.5 IDPs and Humanitarian Assistance

ELCAs generally do not have the funds to support IDPs and do not routinely provide humanitarian assistance. However, the associations sometimes organize one-off collections of donations for victims of disasters. For example, the Shan (Tai Lone) LCA donated 300,000 MMK to build houses for IDPs from Kutkai Township, Shan State, who resettled in Mohnyin.

It may be posited that the limited ELCA engagement in IDP affairs can be attributed to the more prominent role assumed by KBC and other church organizations in supporting IDPs in Kachin State. These religious organizations generally have better resources - including sometimes in terms of physical spaces that can be used to house the IDPs - than the ELCAs

The lack of direct engagement with IDPs means there are few opportunities for ELCAs to promote IDP involvement in community decision-making. This seems something of a missed opportunity given the ubiquity of the ELCAs. The ELCAs seem unlikely to spontaneously start including IDPs, but if there was pressure from either the host or the IDP communities they might be willing to do so.

7. Inter-Associational Interaction

There is generally little interaction between different ELCAs in most townships. The most common form of interaction between ELCAs is when one association hosts a social or cultural event and representatives of other associations are invited. Hpakant Township is an exception, in that it hosts many inter-associational events. This is due to the presence of many ELCAs (and their associated communities) in a relatively small and relatively prosperous geographical area. This has made it easier financially and logistically to organize inter-associational events. It has also led to an explicit or implicit effort to increase social cohesion among the various ethnic groups due to the risks of inter-communal tensions. For example, a Kayin dance group was reported to have performed at the Shanni (Tai Leng) New Year Festival in Hpakant Township; the Kachin LCA hosted a futsal match between ELCAs in January 2020; and a government hosted ethnic youth literature event in January 2020 which brought together different groups. Such efforts to promote social cohesion have

notably only taken place recently and are organized by either the government or the ELCAs themselves.

The lack of such interactions elsewhere appears to be largely due to a lack of capacity among the ELCAs. Their limited financial and human resources are focused on responding to the needs of their own communities leaving little spare to consider inter-community engagement. Moreover, where populations tend to live in ethnically homogenous communities such cooperation may not appear to be a priority, as well as posing logistical challenges. In general, ELCAs seem open to the idea of working together, but there is no sense of urgency and no clear idea of what such cooperation would look like.

There appear to be tensions between the majority and minority groups within the larger Kachin and Shan communities. The Shan (Tai Lone) LCA, the oldest and largest Shan LCA, like the Jinghpaw (oldest and largest Kachin association), appear to disapprove that these smaller groups officially established their own associations after 2010. Interviewees from the Shan (Tai Lone) LCA portrayed dissatisfaction at the fact that there are now more Shan associations, which has led to each group receiving a lower amount of government funds (which are generally split evenly between the different associations). They also expressed doubts about the efficacy of language teaching in government schools and said they would prefer languages to be taught through summer schools. Furthermore, they prefer to promote a common Shan language, namely the Shan (Tai Lone) language, rather than individual ethnic languages and literatures. Likewise, the Jinghpaw LCA would prefer that the five other Kachin LCAs come under its umbrella, which they claim represents all six of the Kachin ethnicities. Both the Shan (Tai Lone) and the Jinghpaw associations believe that the other minority ethnicities should be a part of their associations.

8. Interaction and Cooperation with Key Actors

8.1 Government

Most interaction between the government and the ELCAs takes place at the state level. One of the main roles of the state level associations seems to be this contact with the authorities and relaying information from the lower level associations. This occurs notably in relation to requests for language teachers and teaching assistants, alongside the associated lists of students and potential teachers. It is also the state level associations that are in contact with the government on the provision of trainings for language teachers and the preparation of curricula for language teaching.

The second form of interaction takes the form of the State or Union governments inviting ELCAs to participate in celebrations, usually by sending dance groups. These invitations seem to be conveyed to the state level associations, who then relay them to the lower level associations.

8.2. Tatmadaw

The ELCAs have relatively little contact with the Tatmadaw. One of the reasons for this lack of contact may be that most of the ELCAs are not active in geographic or thematic areas of concern to the Tatmadaw. The ELCAs interviewed for this report did not have a strong presence in contested areas, where there might be a pressing need to engage with the Tatmadaw on behalf of their communities. Similarly, the lack of engagement with IDP issues removes a major thematic area in which civil society in Kachin State has contact with the Tatmadaw. It is also possible that on general issues the Tatmadaw do not see the ELCAs as a relevant interlocutor in terms of representation of the communities, due to their relatively small size and lack of capacity.

8.3 Ethnic Armed Organizations

The ELCAs report almost no interaction with Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs). As with the Tatmadaw a major factor may be the lack of a perceived need for the ELCAs to advocate for their communities with EAOs.

However, the Shanni (Tai Leng) LCAs complain that they and their communities have suffered attacks from the Kachin Independence Army (KIA). For example, an explosion near the Shanni (Tai Leng) LCA in Hpakant Township was believed to be linked to the KIA and interviewees mentioned cases of Shanni (Tai Leng) individuals being targeted by the KIA. However, these incidents have not led to attempts by the Shanni (Tai Leng) LCAs to engage with the KIA on behalf of their communities. This lack of action is most likely due to a perception that such engagement would be ineffective; a view reflected in the belief that the KIA has deliberately tried to stop the Shanni (Tai Leng) community organizing and so would not look kindly on its institutions.

8.4 NGOs/CSOs

It is rare for ELCAs to receive direct support from or work with non-governmental / civil society organizations, but such cases do sometimes happen. For example, Helone Village, a Tai Khamti village in Mohnyin Township, receives support from a local civil society organization. The financial support is intended for village development, which has included supporting the work of the Tai Khamti LCA. It is notable that in this instance the funding was secured by a member of the ELCA who used to work at the CSO and therefore possessed the knowledge to apply for support. The other cases where there was reported interaction between ELCAs and CSOs were similarly due to personal connections. For example, the Shanni (Tai Leng) LCA at the district-level in Bhamo has a member who used her connections with NGOs to arrange for trainings on human rights for the youth members of the LCA.

9. Limitations and Needs

The biggest limitation that the ELCAs face is financial. The members of the associations work on a voluntary basis and therefore only meet when necessary. As a result, ELCAs are

run by a small number of individuals who are economically well-off and able to devote time to what is perceived as voluntary work. ELCAs' capacity to carry out activities and fully represent their communities through diverse active members and leaders is consequently limited. Few ELCA leaders have any training in financial or organizational management or have contacts with NGOs.

Annex I

Ethnic Literature and Culture Associations in Bhamo, Hpakant, Mohnyin, Myitkyina, and Waingmaw Townships.⁶

Name	Level	Location (Township)
Kachin Literature and Culture Association	Township	Bhamo
Lisu Literature and Culture Association	Township	Bhamo
Shan (Tai Lone) Literature and Culture Association	Township	Bhamo
Shanni (Tai Leng) Literature and Culture Association	District	Bhamo
Ta'ang/Palaung Literature and Culture Association	Township	Bhamo
Tai Lay Literature and Culture Association	Township	Bhamo
Tai Sa Literature and Culture Association	District/Village	Bhamo
Chin Literature and Culture Association	Township	Hpakant
Kachin Literature and Culture Association	Township	Hpakant
Kayin Literature and Culture Association	Township	Hpakant
Mro Literature and Culture Association	Township	Hpakant
Rakhine Literature and Culture Association	Township	Hpakant
Shan (Tai Lone) Literature and Culture Association	Township	Hpakant

Shanni (Tai Leng) Literature and Culture Association	Township	Hpakant
Ta'ang/Palaung Literature and Culture Association	Township	Hpakant
Gurkha Literature and Culture Association	Township	Mohnyin
Kachin Literature and Culture Association	Township	Mohnyin
Rakhine Literature and Culture Association	Township	Mohnyin
Shan (Tai Lone) Literature and Culture Association	Township	Mohnyin
Shanni (Tai Leng) Literature and Culture Association	Township	Mohnyin
Tai Khamti Literature and Culture Association	Village/Township	Mohnyin
Kachin State Shan ethnic Literature and Culture Committee	State	Myitkyina
Jinghpaw Literature and Culture Association	State	Myitkyina
Kachin National Association of Tradition and Culture	State	Myitkyina
Lachik Literature and Culture Association	State	Myitkyina
Lhao vo Literature and Culture Association	State	Myitkyina

Lisu Literature and Culture Association	State	Myitkyina
Rawang Literature and Culture Association	Township	Myitkyina
Shan (Tai Lone) Literature and Culture Association	Township	Myitkyina
Shanni (Tai Leng) Literature and Culture Association	State	Myitkyina
Tai Khamti Literature and Culture Association	State	Myitkyina
Tai Sa Literature and Culture Association	State	Myitkyina
Zaiwa Literature and Culture Association	State	Myitkyina
Tai Lay Literature and Culture Association	State	Waingmaw
Shan (Tai Lone) Literature and Culture Association	Township	Waingmaw

10. Endnotes

¹ Myitkyina and Waingmaw were grouped together because of their proximity to each other. Furthermore, only one KII was conducted in Waingmaw since most ELCAs are in the bordering Myitkyina Town.

² One interviewee is a young woman; she has been counted under both the woman and youth categories in this report.

³ For example, 'Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar' (2008), sec. 22 states "The Union shall assist: (a) to develop language, literature, fine arts and culture of the National races" and sec.354 states "Every citizen shall be at liberty in the exercise of the following rights, if not contrary to the laws, enacted for Union security, prevalence of law and order, community peace and tranquillity or public order and morality: ... (d) to develop their language, literature, culture they cherish, religion they profess, and customs without prejudice to the relations between one national race and another or among national races and to other faiths."

⁴ There are three sets of funds involved: 1) Salaries for teaching assistants and language teachers. The ELCAs have no role in these payments – the government pays the teachers directly. 2) Funds for the printing of course materials. These are paid to the State-level associations, which disburse them to the township-level. 3) Funds for training of language teachers and curriculum development. These are paid to the state level associations who use the funds themselves – developing materials and organising trainings. The trainings are attended by the teachers chosen by township and village level and are sometimes described as “township level trainings,” but are organized and paid for directly by the state level.

⁵ The Ministry of Education provided each of the 11 ethnicities with 727,000 MMK and UNICEF provided each group with an additional 30 lakhs MMK (as part of their support for developing the curriculum). The Shan ethnicities received an additional 20 lakhs MMK from the same sources for training language teachers and 5 laks MMK each from the Kachin State minister of Shan Ethnic Affairs. It is assumed that the Ministry of Education would provide the same amount to any ELCA which is providing ethnic language education to its population in the area. The fact that in Kachin State it is only the Kachin and Shan groups that are receiving this funding is because other ELCAs appear to be prioritizing other activities and have not requested such assistance.

⁶ Although the researchers strived to ensure that all township-level ELCAs are included in the list, some associations may not have been reported due to inactivity.