

# FEDERALISM BASICS

**Trainer's Guide, to  
Accompany the  
Textbook**



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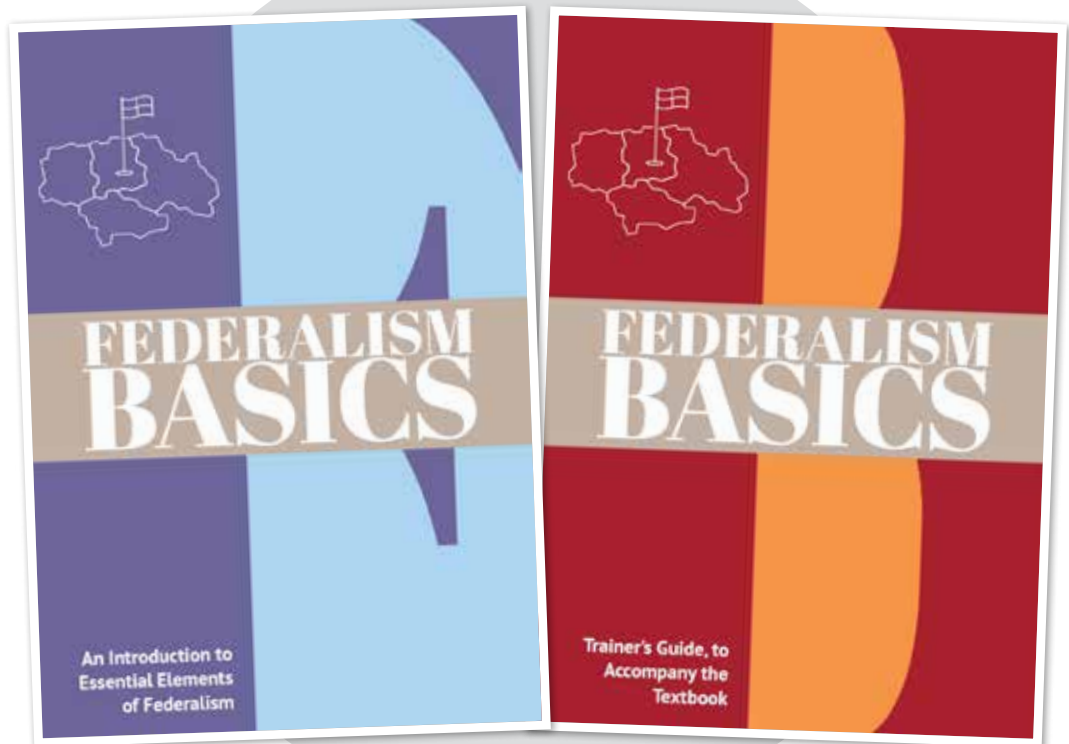


# **INTRODUCTION**

**PLEASE READ THIS SECTION  
BEFORE YOU BEGIN  
TEACHING OR TRAINING  
WITH THE RESOURCE**

## a. What Is *Federalism Basics*?

**Federalism Basics** is a textbook. It has been adapted and expanded from a shorter resource that was used in 2018 in a series of workshops on federalism in Myanmar. The aim of the workshop was to increase mutual understanding, moderating and bringing people's views closer together on a particular issue. The 2018 workshops included people from a range of different ethnic backgrounds, political parties, civil society organisations and ethnic armed organisations.



The original federalism booklet was designed to provide balanced factual information and cover arguments for and against issues within federalism, rather than favour any one perspective. This federalism book has expanded, adapted and updated that information. It has also taken into account events in Myanmar since February 2021, which has further increased interest in federalism.

**Federalism Basics** is designed so that people can use it for self-study. This Trainer's Guide is designed to accompany **Federalism Basics** in workshops or classes, for use in a group, workshop or classroom setting. It also has some additional components (see next section) that allow for easy use in online classes or workshops.

## b. Using the Trainer's Guide

### i. Overview

The Trainer's Guide is organised into three chapters. In each chapter, there is a section that corresponds to a section of **Federalism Basics**, and each section is broken down into **Preview**, **Exercise** and **Activity** tasks. These tasks aim to enhance participants' understanding of the key concepts of federalism and how they apply to their own context(s).

Choose which (if any) exercises and activities to use from each section. This depends on how much time you have and the participants' level of prior knowledge and overall understanding of each topic.

### ii. Chapter Structure

At the beginning of each chapter are some **Guiding Questions** relating to central issues in federalism discussed in that chapter. Encourage participants to consider these questions as they work through the chapter.

At the start of each section there is a **Preview** task. These activate participants' prior knowledge, ideas, experiences and opinions about each topic.

**Exercises** check that participants understand the key points of the section. You may want to do these tasks or not, depending on the participants' level of prior knowledge and overall understanding of each topic. Answers are provided.

**Activities** are an opportunity for participants to use the ideas in the section. Activities promote discussion, problem solving, planning and other cooperative skills.

These are usually interactive, and often based on the discussion questions at the end of each section. They usually involve pair or group work. They draw on information in the text and the participants' own knowledge and perspectives. Where appropriate, likely responses and possible answers are provided as a guide for what might be expected.

There is a **Case Study** in each chapter looking at elements of federalism in the context of other countries: federal structure in Malaysia, paths towards federalism in Sri Lanka, and development of a new constitution and provincial boundaries in Nepal. There are also additional detailed questions in this guide for the case studies.

At the end of each section is one or more open **Discussion/Reflection** questions. This guide offers some suggestions to make these questions into interactive discussions and activities.

At the end of each chapter of **Federalism Basics** are open **To Consider** questions. A corresponding Trainer's Guide task offers the choice to consider these questions:

- as an interactive discussion or activity;
- as a reflection where participants consider their own response;
- as a set writing task, or;
- as an interactive online activity where participants write their ideas on an electronic whiteboard (e.g. Jamboard) or bulletin board (e.g. Padlet), so they can read each others' ideas.

### iii. Task Structure

Each task in the Trainer’s Guide begins with **Purpose, Practicalities and Preparation (PPP)** information. Trainers should ensure they are aware of the PPP before beginning a task. For trainers who are delivering sessions online, the PPP information will give the number of the slide that is relevant to that section.

All tasks have **Instructions** for synchronous classes (all participants are in class together with a teacher or trainer). Where there is a difference in how to complete the task between face-to-face and online sessions, two sets of instructions are given.

Federalism Basics

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## 2.4: Constitutions and Federal Developments in Myanmar

### 2.4 | Preview

---

**Purpose:** Participants check their prior knowledge of Myanmar’s constitutions.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually.

**Preparation:** Write the questions on the board, or show Slide 2.4.1.

**f-2-f   Online   Instructions**

1. Participants answer the questions.
2. They read the text and check their answers.

**Questions for Participants**

1. How many constitutions has Myanmar had since Independence?
2. In the 1947 Constitution, how many years after were Shan and Kayah given the right to secede?
3. How many ethnic states did the 1961 – 62 ‘Shan Federal Proposal’ propose?
4. How many states and divisions were included in the 1974 constitution?
5. When did people start writing the 2008 constitution?
6. What did the Federal Constitution Drafting and Coordinating Committee write between 2005 – 2008?

**Answers**

1. Three
2. Ten
3. Eight (including Bamar)
4. 14
5. 1993
6. A parallel constitution of the ‘Federal Republic of the Union of Myanmar’

Participants read to the end of Section 2.4.

Almost all tasks have **Questions for Participants**. These will vary in type, depending on whether the task is a preview, exercise, activity, etc.

Where necessary, **Answers** or **Possible Answers** are provided.

## iv. Learning Environments

We have designed *Federalism Basics* for a variety of learning environments. Some participants will be reading it themselves. Some will be using it in informal on or offline study and discussion groups. Some will be in a physical classroom, with a blackboard or whiteboard at the front, a teacher in the room and participants sitting on the floor or at desks. Some will be in synchronous online classes, using a preferred social media platform, Zoom, Teams or Meet, and doing the exercises and discussions with classmates and trainer through a phone or computer screen. Some will be in asynchronous online classes, working through the texts, slides and tasks in their own time, leaving comments for other participants and the trainer in a chat box or on a forum when online.

## v. Online Teaching

Online tools you might consider are:

- a learning management system to help with lesson planning such as Google Classrooms or Moodle;
- a slide app such as Google Slides or PowerPoint;
- an interactive whiteboard such as Jamboard or an interactive bulletin board such as Padlet;
- a polling/survey tool such as Mentimeter, Zoom Polls or Google Forms. Mentimeter and Google Forms can be used for assessment, too.

Be aware of your participants' (and your own) online limitations. Some tools are more suitable for computers than mobile phones. Some files use a lot of bandwidth. Activities requiring video interaction might not work if the internet isn't working well.

## vi. Reliance on Mobile Phones

- It is very difficult to multi-task on a phone. When online, only expect participants to use one app (e.g. the meeting app. Switching between them (e.g. from Zoom to Jamboard, or Google Meet and a Google Doc) is difficult on a phone.
- Online whiteboards are difficult to use on a phone. Instead, have participants write their ideas in a chatbox, or write their ideas on a piece of paper and share these with the teacher (either orally or by sending a photo) and then the teacher can input the information into the digital whiteboard.
- Similarly if they can't draw diagrams easily on a phone, they can draw on paper, take a photo and post it.
- For group collaborations on electronic whiteboards, have each group appoint a writer. The writer collects and presents all group members' ideas. (This might also be written on paper and sent in a photo.)

## vii. Limited Internet Access

- If possible, send paper copies of *Federalism Basics*, and printouts of slides and handouts.
- Have participants turn off their cameras in classes unless presenting (to save bandwidth).
- Format reading texts and activities as a Google Doc or PDF.
- Use messaging apps like Signal, Viber, WhatsApp or Messenger to facilitate asynchronous group discussions.
- Don't use (or use less) video during class/workshop sessions (to save bandwidth).
- Have a course plan that incorporates asynchronous tasks using flipped learning (see *c. Flipping Your Online Class* on page viii).

## viii. Slides

Throughout this Trainer’s Guide there are references in the PPP to **slides**. Slides are designed to assist with online teaching and training and are in Google Slides format. They can be accessed via the link or QR code at the bottom of the page.

There are slides that correspond to many of the previews, exercises, activities, case studies, discussion/reflection and ‘to consider’ tasks.

Slides are numbered according to the chapter and section, and the slide number within each section. Some slides have additional lettering where there is an individual slide for each question within an exercise, for example, slides for 1.1.3 a-h.

Some handheld devices such as mobile phones may not be optimal for delivering the presentation online. Downloading the Google Slides app from your app store may increase functionality of the slides, however. Where possible, it is recommended that you use a Windows laptop or desktop computer if you are presenting slides. See the opposite page for some notes on using Google Slides (in a web browser on a Windows computer).

Slides are stored in a Google Drive folder and are View Only. It is recommended that you make a copy of the slides and save them to your own Google Drive.

## ix. Handouts

Throughout this Trainer’s Guide there are references in the PPP to **handouts**. These are tasks that contain a lot of text (such as multiple choice questions). For face-to-face sessions, handouts can be photocopied and given to participants. They are also in Google Docs format. If you are training online, you can share a link for participants to follow. The Google Docs versions of handouts can be accessed via the link or QR code at the bottom of this page.

Handouts are numbered according to the chapter and section that they correspond to. Answers are located at the bottom of the page in the online versions.

The online versions are View Only. It is recommended that you make a copy of the handouts and save them to your own Google Drive if you want to edit, share and allow your participants to also edit and share them.

## x. Appendices

**Appendix A** is questions which can be used for further reflection, class discussion, or as writing assignments. These questions can also be found at the back of *Federalism Basics*.

**Appendix B** is a multiple choice test of key concepts from the course. You can photocopy this for face-to-face classes, or access a PDF version via the link or QR code at the bottom of this page.

**Appendix C** is a class project where participants design their own federal constitution.

**Appendix D** and **Appendix E** are lists of supplementary readings on the topic of federalism.



## Notes on Using Google Slides in a Web Browser on a Windows Computer

Google Slides is a Google app. When logged into Gmail, it should be accessible by clicking the Google Apps button on the top right of your screen (Image 1, button highlighted by blue box).

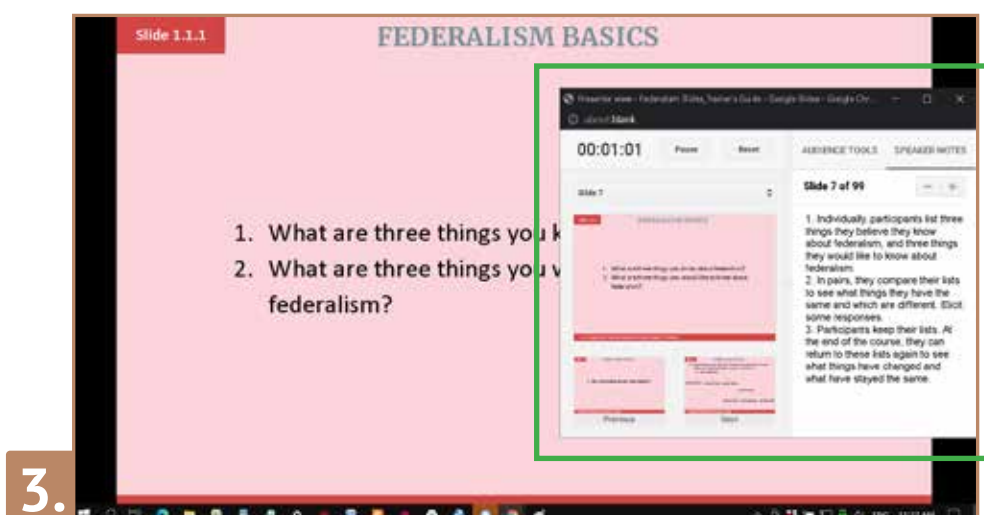
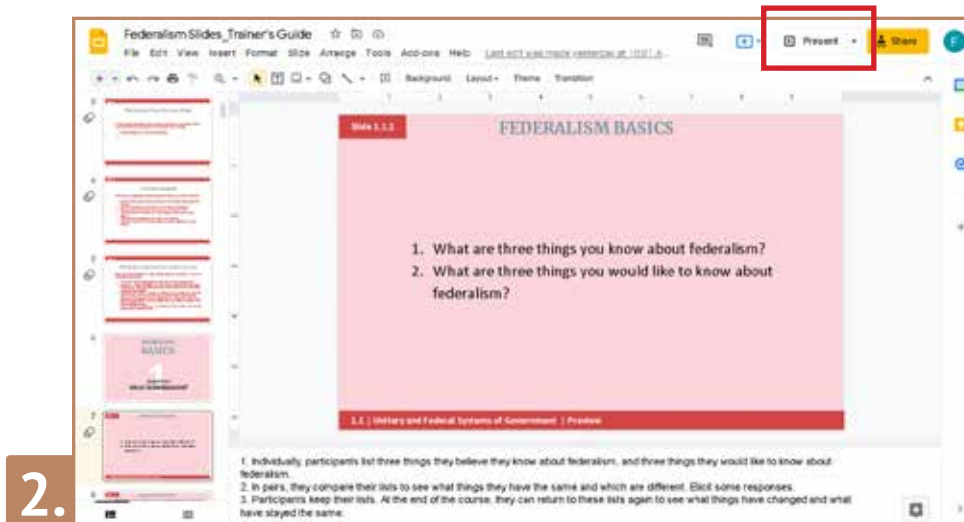
Google Slides has two main modes: the edit screen (Image 2) and Present (Image 3). On the edit screen, slides are displayed one by one on the left side of the screen. You can edit, reorder, add and remove slides. The large slide in the centre of the screen is editable. Below the editable slide are presenter's notes. These notes are instructions and answers for that slide. They correspond to the Trainer's Guide. Presenter's notes can also be edited when on the edit screen.

Present mode is accessed via the present button (highlighted by red box, Image 2). There are two main options – to show only the slides (Present), or to enter Presenter's View. When in Presenter's View on

a Windows web browser, a new window will appear. This contains the presenter's notes (highlighted by green box, Image 3). You can screen share the slide window with your audience in Zoom, Google Meet, etc., and control it via the presenter's notes window. Only you can see the presenter's notes. To enter Presenter's View, click the down arrow to the right of Present then click Presenter's View.

When presenting, press the down arrow, right arrow or space bar to move forward through the slides. To move backwards, press the left arrow or up arrow. On handheld devices such as mobile phones, swiping left and right will move you forward and backwards.

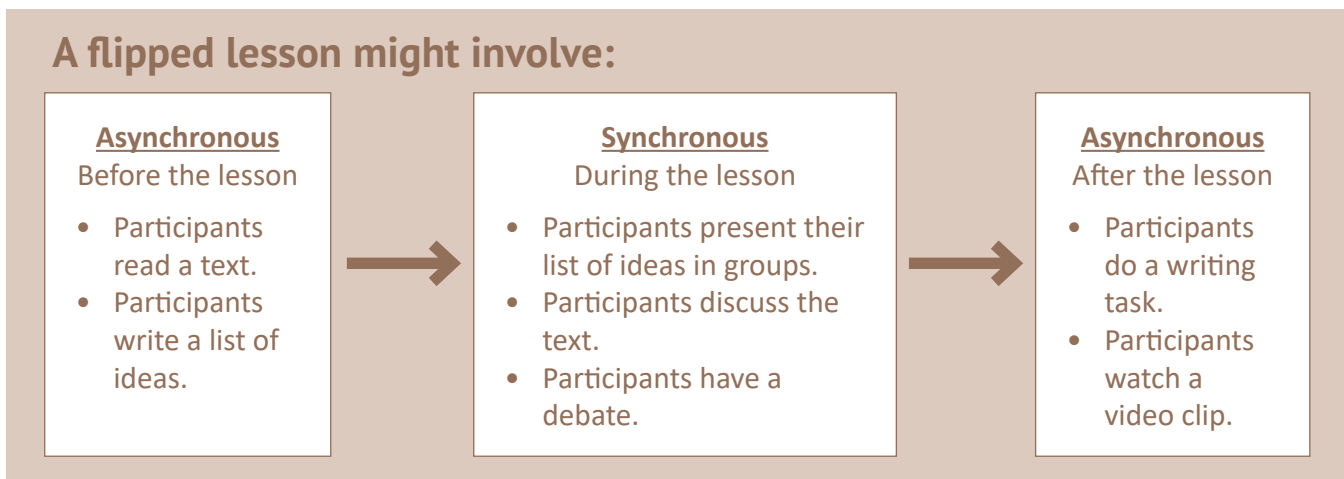
It is recommended that you fully familiarise yourself with Google Slides and the different editing and viewing modes before presenting to your participants.



## c. Flipping Your Online Class

If you and your participants have limited online time or access, consider having participants doing more tasks asynchronously. This involves participants doing some tasks before or after a workshop or class, in their own time, either online or offline.

The advantage of this is that you can get through more material outside of online class time. It's not very useful to be online, as a class, while participants (for example) read an article, or write long answers to questions.



Many of the preview tasks, all the assigned reading and several of the exercises and activities can easily be done, or adapted to be done, outside of class time. Here are some tasks suited to asynchronous online and offline learning.

Asynchronous Online	Asynchronous Offline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Discussion forums and blog posts</li> <li>• Internet research and reading</li> <li>• Image search</li> <li>• Online polls on Mentimeter</li> <li>• Quizzes and surveys on GoogleForms</li> <li>• Questions and answers</li> <li>• Podcasts, videos, slide presentations</li> <li>• Online reflection journals</li> <li>• Group projects</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reading texts</li> <li>• Listening to/watching downloaded audio and video texts, lectures and slide presentations</li> <li>• Writing assignments</li> <li>• Reflection journals</li> <li>• Creating presentations</li> <li>• Creating diagrams, posters and artwork</li> <li>• Individual projects</li> </ul>

Here is an example of how you could apply flipped learning principles for teaching **Unit 1.4 Constitutions**. Participants all have digital or paper copies of *Federalism Basics*, a Whatsapp group, and a class GoogleDocs folder with all slides, handouts and extra resources.

Task	Timing	Resources	Mode
Discuss preview questions	Three days (between synchronous lessons)	WhatsApp	Asynchronous, online
Read text 1.4		(Paper or digital) copy of Participants' Book	Asynchronous, offline
Comprehension checking questions		Handout 1.4	Asynchronous, offline
Check answers	3 minutes	Meeting app	Synchronous, online
Analysis activity	30 minutes	Breakout rooms, electronic whiteboards or GoogleDocs	Synchronous, online
Class discussion	10 minutes	Meeting app	Synchronous, online
Explain research project	10 minutes	Meeting app, examples of websites	Synchronous, online
Internet research and writing	Four days	Websites	Asynchronous, online/offline

## d. Additional Considerations

### i. Awareness of Issues

Some topics related to federalism in Myanmar and the activities or discussions that follow from them may result in people having strong and possibly conflicting views. Be aware of potentially sensitive topics in advance. These could include, for example, ethnicity, identity, language, religion, armed conflict, or differing perspectives on historical events such as the Panglong Agreement. Activities and discussions in this resource encourage dialogue about these topics.

Disagreements or conflicts may occur in groups due to:

- differences in values, opinions or perceptions;
- imbalances in power relations between people;
- issues that may remind people of previous trauma;
- feelings and emotions that have been suppressed;
- feelings of not being listened to or understood.

It is important to be aware of these potential situations, but to also allow people to discuss and share their different perspectives on issues, as much as possible, in an open and non-confrontational way.

### ii. Workshop/Class Ground Rules

Establish guidelines in advance. Participants can contribute to a set of 'ground rules' for workshops/classes. These might include:

- Avoid blame and inflammatory language.
- Listen respectfully, without interrupting.
- Allow everyone the chance to speak.
- Recognise that your words have effects on others, so speak with care.
- Recognise that we all have different identities, backgrounds, and lived experiences.
- Avoid assumptions about other participants and generalisations about social groups.
- Be open to changing your perspectives based on what you learn from others.
- Accept that there are different approaches to solving problems.
- Believe that mistakes are an important part of the learning process.

Write your ground rules clearly and display where they can be seen on the wall, or easily referred to online. Refer the participants back to them at the beginning of each session, at the start of discussing a sensitive topic, or at other times when the values are not being followed by participants.

### iii. Online Etiquette

Specific rules and guidelines for online classes might include:

- not sharing anyone's posts, photos or contact information outside the class;
- not posting things said in the class on other online forums;
- muting yourself when listening, if there is background noise;
- using 'raise hand' function or a visual signal to show you want to speak;
- asking and responding to questions in chat boxes;
- using emojis to respectfully and clearly show feeling;
- limiting how much you (or any one person) speak, especially in larger groups.

### iv. Managing Disagreements

Here are some strategies to help to manage sensitive situations:

- If there is conflict the group may be quiet. Check what is happening if you sense this.
- Thank and acknowledge people for their views, if they express them.
- If there is a serious problem, give each person involved time to explain their position. Offering guidance may be more helpful than trying to offer a solution immediately.
- Encourage each person involved to reflect back or paraphrase what the other is saying so that each feels they have been heard and understood.

- Ask others if they would like to offer constructive input about the issue.
- Encourage the people having differences to accept that each has a different perspective, and acknowledge they also need to continue with the activity/discussion.

For more sensitive discussion topics, consider breaking the class into smaller groups.

There is limited time in any class or workshop. If participants feel strongly about a difficult issue, they can write their perspectives down. These can be placed on a wall or document under a heading 'perspectives', where they can be read by other participants. Participants do this anonymously and they also do not name other participants. You could also run online or offline polls so participants can vote on a particular position in relation to a sensitive topic. This can also conclude some activities or discussions rather than having whole class discussions become too time-consuming or divisive.

Issues in federalism specific to Myanmar cannot be resolved in a few hours. Remind them that what they should come away with is a better understanding of the elements of federalism, how federal systems work, the issues involved, and different perspectives on them.

#### Note

A variation of these additional considerations can be found on *Slides 0.1 – 0.4*. The slides encourage participants to also think about the points here if they arise during workshops/classes.



# **FEDERALISM BASICS**

**TRAINER'S GUIDE**

# CHAPTER 1: WHAT IS FEDERALISM?

## Before you start the chapter:

- Read the guiding questions, which provide an overview of the main themes of the chapter.
- If you like, have the class think about these guiding questions for a minute.

### Guiding Questions for Participants

1. What is federalism?
2. Why are constitutions important in a federal system?
3. How is power divided in a federal system?

## 1.1 Unitary and Federal Systems of Government

### 1.1 | Preview

- Purpose:** Participants activate their prior knowledge of federalism.
- Practicalities:** Participants work individually, then in pairs or groups. Online classes need breakout rooms.
- Preparation:** Write the questions on a board or show *Slide 1.1.1*.

### Questions for Participants

1. What are three things you know about federalism?
2. What are three things you would like to know about federalism?

f-2-f

Online Instructions

1. Individually, participants list three things they believe they know about federalism, and three things they would like to know about federalism.
2. In pairs, they compare their lists to see what things they have the same and which are different. Elicit some responses.
3. Participants keep their lists. At the end of the course, they can return to these lists again to see what things have changed and what have stayed the same.

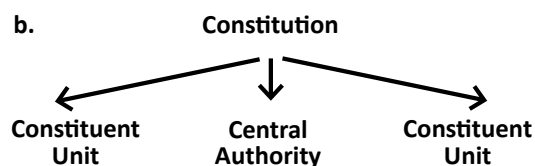
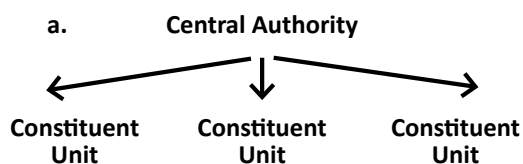
Participants read to the end of Section 1.1.

## 1.1 | Exercise

- Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 1.1.
- Practicalities:** Participants work individually.
- Preparation:** Write the diagrams (Q1) and scenarios (Q2) on the board, or show *Slides 1.1.2* and *1.1.3 a – h*.

### Questions for Participants

- Which diagram do you believe best demonstrates the idea of a federal system, and which demonstrates a unitary system? Why?



- Based on the text about unitary and federal systems of government, categorise these scenarios as unitary or federal.
  - One government makes all laws and policies throughout all of a country.
  - Areas within one country have their own governments as well as a government for the whole country.
  - A local authority is given permission to implement laws and policies that come from the central government.
  - A process is made to share or allocate funds between different levels of government.
  - Different areas can only administer laws made by the central government.
  - A second house in the central parliament represents the interests of people from different areas of a country.
  - Areas with their own governments within one country can develop and administer some laws.
  - A central document ensures what different levels of government in a country can do.

### f-2-f Instructions

- Participants look at the diagrams on the board (Q1), and decide which represents a federal system and which represents a unitary system.
- Write scenarios a – h (Q2) on the board. Participants read the list of scenarios and decide which describe a unitary system and which describe a federal system.

### Online Instructions

- Participants look at *Slide 1.1.2* (Q1) and decide which represents a federal system and which represents a unitary system.
- One by one, show slides 1.1.3 a – h (Q2). Participants read the list of scenarios and decide which describe a unitary system and which describe a federal system.

### Answers

- Diagram a** is unitary because the central authority is above the constituent units.

**Diagram b** is federal because the constituent units are equal with the central authority and they are all under the constitution.
- |            |            |
|------------|------------|
| a. Unitary | e. Unitary |
| b. Federal | f. Federal |
| c. Unitary | g. Federal |
| d. Federal | h. Federal |

## 1.1 | Discussion / Reflection

---

### Questions for Participants

1. What do you believe are some advantages of a unitary system?
2. What do you believe are some advantages of a federal system?

### f-2-f

### Online Instructions

1. In groups or as a class, participants discuss the *Discussion / Reflection* questions (they are also on *Slide 1.1.4*).
2. Or have participants write their responses on an electronic whiteboard or bulletin board.

## 1.2 Institutions of Government

### 1.2 | Preview

---

- Purpose:** Participants activate their prior knowledge of government and government institutions.
- Practicalities:** Participants work in pairs or groups. Online classes need breakout rooms and a digital whiteboard.
- Preparation:** Write the questions on the board or show *Slide 1.2.1*.

### Questions for Participants

1. What is a government?
2. Who are people in a government?
3. What do governments do?

### f-2-f

### Instructions

1. In pairs, participants discuss the questions.
2. Pairs join with another pair and compare answers.
3. Make class lists of the answers.

### Online

### Instructions

1. In pairs or groups, participants discuss the questions.
2. Groups write their ideas on a digital whiteboard.
3. As a class, discuss the answers.

Participants read to the end of Section 1.2.

## 1.2 | Exercise

**Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 1.2.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually.

**Preparation:** Write the questions on the board or show *Slide 1.2.2*.

### Questions for Participants

Match the features of democratic government in federal systems (1 – 5) to their brief summary explanations (a – e).

- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. The legislature      | a. Oversee implementation of laws and government services |
| 2. The executive        | b. Elected members create or alter laws                   |
| 3. The judiciary        | c. Balance between the institutions of government         |
| 4. Separation of powers | d. Permanent employees administer government services     |
| 5. The civil service    | e. Undertake the understanding and application of laws    |

### f-2-f Online Instructions

Participants match the features of democratic government in federal systems (1 – 5) to their brief summary explanations (a – e).

### Answers

- |      |      |      |
|------|------|------|
| 1. b | 3. e | 5. d |
| 2. a | 4. c |      |

## 1.2 | Discussion / Reflection

### Questions for Participants

Do you prefer the parliamentary system where ministers in the executive of government are also elected members of the legislature, or the presidential system where the ministers in the executive are separately chosen? Why?

### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. In groups or as a class, participants discuss the *Discussion / Reflection* questions (they are also on *Slide 1.2.3*).
2. Or have participants write their responses on an electronic whiteboard or bulletin board.

# 1.3 Institutions of Government in Myanmar (2011-2021)

## 1.3 | Preview

**Purpose:** Participants check their prior knowledge of Myanmar government structure 2011 – 2021

**Practicalities:** Participants work as a class.

**Preparation:** Write the parts of government and chart on a board or show *Slide 1.3.1*.

**f-2-f Online Instructions**

Participants put the parts of government into the correct place in the chart.

**Questions for Participants**

Put the parts of government into the correct place in the chart.

1. High Court Chief Justice
2. President
3. Chief Ministers
4. State/Region Hluttaws
5. Pyithu Hluttaw
6. Supreme Court

	Legislature	Executive	Judiciary
<b>Union</b>			
<b>State/Region</b>			

**Answers**

	Legislature	Executive	Judiciary
<b>Union</b>	Pyithu Hluttaw	President	Supreme Court
<b>State/Region</b>	State/Region Hluttaws	Chief Ministers	High Court Chief Justice

Participants read to the end of Section 1.3.

## 1.3 | Exercise

**Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 1.3.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually.

**Preparation:** Write the task on a board or show *Slide 1.3.2*.

### Questions for Participants

Categorise the roles in the institutions of government according to the 2008 Constitution into elected or appointed/nominated.

Elected	Appointed/Nominated

1. Pyithu Hluttaw Members
2. Supreme Court Chief Justice
3. Union Executive Ministers
4. State/Region Chief Ministers
5. Ethnic Affairs Ministers
6. State/Region Hluttaw Members
7. The President of the Union
8. Amyotha Hluttaw Members
9. Military Members in Hluttaws
10. State/Region Executive Ministers
11. State/Region High Court Judges

### f-2-f Online Instructions

Participants categorise the roles in the institutions of government according to the 2008 Constitution into elected or appointed/nominated.

### Answers

Elected	Appointed/Nominated
1, 5, 6, 7*, 8,	2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11

\* Under the 2008 Constitution, the President was not elected directly by the people. They were elected by the elected representatives of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw.

## 1.3 | Activity

Use the *Discussion / Reflection* questions in an interactive activity. (They are also on *Slide 1.3.3*.)

- Purpose:** Participants analyse features of the government structures from the 2008 Constitution.
- Practicalities:** Participants work in pairs and groups. Online classes need breakout rooms and a digital whiteboard.
- Preparation:** Flipchart paper and markers, or breakout rooms.

### Questions for Participants

1. What are some features of the 2008 Constitution Myanmar government structure that you believe are federal/democratic? Why?
2. What are some features of the 2008 Constitution Myanmar government structure that you believe are not federal/not democratic? Why?

### f-2-f Instructions

1. Participants work in pairs. Partner A makes a list of features that are federal/democratic and reasons for why each feature is federal/democratic. Partner B makes a list of features that are not federal/not democratic and reasons for why each feature is not federal/not democratic.
2. In turns, they explain their lists of features, and the reasons why each is federal/democratic or not.
3. Pairs join with another pair, and compare their lists and reasons.
4. Groups make combined lists on flipchart paper, and present their lists to the class.

### Online Instructions

1. Put half the class (As) in a breakout room. They list features that are federal/democratic and reasons for why each feature is federal/democratic. Put the other half (Bs) in another breakout room. They list features that are not federal/democratic and reasons for why each feature is not federal/democratic.
2. Form groups with two As and two Bs in breakout rooms. Members discuss their lists of features, and the reasons why each is federal/democratic or not.
3. Groups present their lists to the class.

## Possible Answers

### Federal / Democratic

- Elected representatives in Union and state/region legislatures (elected representatives, typical of democratic systems)
- Upper and lower houses in the Union parliament, with upper house representing the states/regions (bicameral central parliament, upper house representing constituent units is typical of federal systems)
- State/region legislatures (constituent unit parliaments, typical of federal systems)
- Three branches of government – legislature, executive and judiciary (three branches typical of democratic/federal systems)
- States and regions (constituent units, typical of federal systems)
- President elected by elected representatives (typical of some democratic systems)
- A constitution (typical of federal/democratic systems)
- Constitutional Tribunal (an institution to interpret the constitution, and to resolve disputes between federal level and/or units, or between units, typical of federal systems)

### Not Federal / Not Democratic

- Appointed military representatives in all legislatures (not democratic as not elected)
- Role of military in politics (not democratic, military usually under civilian government)
- Military control of some government ministries (not democratic, usually government ministries are under civilian ministers)
- State and regions do not have their own constitutions (this may be mentioned, federal systems often have constitutions for constituent units)
- Centrally (military) controlled GAD (not democratic, civil service usually under civilian control)
- Appointment of some ministers in the executive by the military Commander in Chief (not democratic)
- Appointment of Chief Ministers of states/regions by President (not federal or democratic, as constituent units' executives are being appointed by the centre)

Participants may also have other contributions based on their own knowledge that are not mentioned in the text. For example, a requirement for more than 75% of representatives in parliaments to agree to an amendment of the constitution, as that gives the military with its 25% of appointed seats in all parliaments, a way to block amendments.

# 1.4 Constitutions

## 1.4 | Preview

**Purpose:** Participants activate their prior knowledge of constitutions.

**Practicalities:** Participants work in pairs or groups. Online classes need breakout rooms and a digital whiteboard.

**Preparation:** Write the questions on a board or show *Slide 1.4.1*.

### Questions for Participants

1. What is a constitution?
2. What is in a constitution?

### f-2-f Instructions

1. In pairs, participants discuss the questions.
2. Pairs join with another pair and compare answers.
3. Make class lists of the answers.

### Online Instructions

1. In pairs or groups, participants discuss the questions.
2. Groups write their ideas on a digital whiteboard.
3. As a class, discuss the answers.

Participants read to the end of Section 1.4.

## 1.4 | Exercise

**Purpose:** Participants apply key concepts in Section 1.4 to the 2015 Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually or in pairs or groups. All participants have a handout.

**Preparation:** Make copies of *Handout 1.4* (next page).

### f-2-f Online Instructions

Participants match the excerpts (a - j) from the 2015 Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal that demonstrate common features of federal constitutions (1 - 10).

### Answers

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

## Handout 1.4

Here are some shortened excerpts from the 2015 Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal (a-j). Match these with the common features of federal constitutions (1-10).

- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Fundamental rights of citizens  | 6. Structure of the judiciary           |
| 2. Structure of the federal system | 7. Division of legislative powers       |
| 3. Election processes              | 8. Division of executive powers         |
| 4. Selecting a head of state       | 9. Division of taxation powers          |
| 5. Process for making laws         | 10. How the constitution can be amended |

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| a. An electoral college, consisting of voting members of the Federal Parliament and the members of Provincial Assembly, shall elect the President.   | f. The federation, province and the local level entity shall impose tax on subjects within their fiscal jurisdiction and collect revenue from such sources.   |
| b. If change is sought in the fundamentals of this constitution, such a proposal shall be presented to either house of the federal legislature...if a majority of provincial assemblies inform the Federal Parliament of the rejection of the bill, such bill shall be void. | g. The executive power of Nepal shall rest with the Council of Ministers in accordance with this Constitution... The executive power of each Province shall, pursuant to this Constitution and laws, be vested in the Council of Ministers of the Province. |
| c. Every citizen shall have freedom of opinion and expression; freedom to assemble peacefully; freedom to form a political party; freedom to form unions and associations.   | h. There shall be the following courts in Nepal: Supreme Court, High Court, and District Court.   |
| d. A Bill passed by one House of the Federal Parliament shall be immediately sent to the other House, and after the bill is passed by that House, it shall be sent to the President for certification.   | i. The Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal shall have three main levels: federal, provincial and local.  |
| e. The legislative powers of the Federal Parliament shall be as enumerated in Schedule-5, Schedule-7 and Schedule-9...The legislative powers of the Provincial Legislature shall be as enumerated in Schedule-6, Schedule-7 and Schedule-9.                                  | j. The House of Representatives shall consist of 275 members: 165 members elected through the first past the post electoral system and 110 members elected from proportional representation electoral system.   |

## 1.4 | Activity

Use the *Discussion / Reflection* questions in an interactive activity.

- Purpose:** Participants analyse features of constitutions.
- Practicalities:** Participants work in pairs and groups. Online classes need breakout rooms and a digital whiteboard.
- Preparation:** Flipchart paper and markers, or breakout rooms. Write the questions on a board or show *Slide 1.4.2*.

### Questions for Participants

Why might each of these be included in a constitution?

1. Fundamental rights of citizens
2. Election processes
3. Process for making laws
4. Division of legislative powers between the federal level and constituent units
5. How the constitution can be changed

### f-2-f Instructions

1. Divide the class into five (or ten) groups. Each group has one of the features from the list. They discuss reasons why this would be included in a constitution for a country.
2. They join with another group and explain the reasons their feature might be included. Are each group's reasons similar or different?
3. As a class, discuss the reasons why these features are included in most constitutions.

### Online Instructions

1. Divide the class into five groups in breakout rooms. Each group has one of the features from the list. They discuss reasons why this would be included in a constitution for a country.
2. Groups present their reasons to the class and discuss the reasons why these features are included in most constitutions. Are each groups' reasons similar or different?

### Possible Answers

1. Fundamental rights of citizens: There need to be clear basic rights for people, like the right to freedom of religion or the right to fair legal processes, that cannot be taken away or violated by any government.
2. Election processes: So that there is a consistent and fair process for election of representatives that cannot be overruled or ignored. Conflicts might occur if people do not agree about how elections are carried out, or they do not trust the results from them.
3. Process for making laws: This is important because laws last longer than elected governments, so the process must be agreed upon and rigorous so people will have trust in the law and follow it.
4. Division of legislative powers between the federal level and constituent units: The federal and constituent unit levels need to be clear

about which things they can make laws on, or there could be inconsistencies or clashes between different laws.

5. How the constitution can be changed: If there is not a clear and robust way to make changes to a constitution, there is a danger either that changes will be too easy to make and used to advantage by some political actors, or too difficult to make when changes need to be made. Both situations could lead to conflict.

**Note:** In large workshops, you could include some other typical features of constitutions for pairs to work on:

- Structure of the federal system;
- Selecting a head of state;
- Structure of the judiciary;
- Division of taxation powers.

# 1.5 Division of Powers

## 1.5 | Preview

- Purpose:** Participants consider division of powers in federal systems.
- Practicalities:** All participants can see board. Keep the board until after they have read the text.
- Preparation:** Draw the table on the board or show *Slide 1.5.1*.

### Questions for Participants

1. In a federal system, what sorts of powers are usually allocated to the federal government?
2. What sorts of powers are usually allocated to the constituent units?
3. What sorts of powers are usually shared between the federal government and constituent units?

Federal Government	Shared	Constituent Units

### f-2-f Instructions

1. Participants brainstorm which powers are allocated to the federal government, which to the constituent units, and which are shared. Make class lists in the table.
2. After participants have read the section, check these answers, and see if they want to change anything.

### Online Instructions

1. Participants brainstorm which powers are allocated to the federal government, which to the constituent units, and which are shared. Make class lists in a table in a document or digital whiteboard. Screenshot or save the image.
2. After participants have read the section, check these answers, and see if they want to change anything.

Participants read to the case study.

## 1.5 | Exercise

**Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 1.5.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually.

**Preparation:** Write the statements onto a board or show *Slide 1.5.2*.

### Questions for Participants

Are the following statements true or false? If false, say why.

1. All federal constitutions contain two lists of powers.
2. Residual powers always go to the constituent units.
3. A federal constitution guarantees the powers of the centre and constituent units.
4. Two levels of government may have powers for different parts of the same thing.
5. Concurrent powers belong to one level of government in a federal system.

f-2-f

Online Instructions

1. Participants identify whether the statements are true or false.
2. If false, they explain the reason.

### Answers

1. False – some countries, like US or Pakistan, have one list of powers and leave residual powers to the constituent units, some others, like India, Malaysia etc have three lists – federal, constituent units and shared;
2. False – some countries' constitutions with lists of powers for different levels, like India, leave residual powers (not allocated to either) to the federal level.
3. True
4. True
5. False – concurrent powers are shared between the different levels.

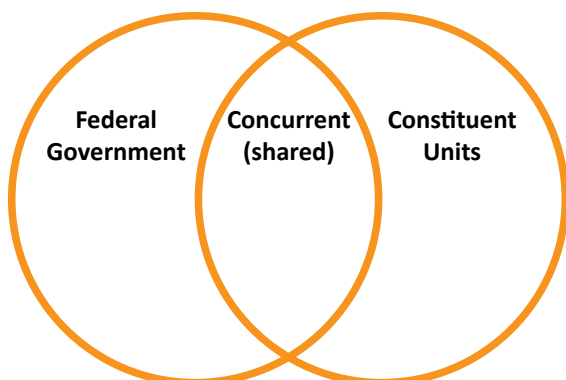
## 1.5 | Activity

- Purpose:** Participants classify powers in federal systems.
- Practicalities:** Participants work individually, then in pairs or groups. Each pair/group has flipchart paper or a digital whiteboard. Online groups need breakout rooms.
- Preparation:** Write the task on a board, or show *Slide 1.5.3*.

### Questions for Participants

Would each of these powers be more likely to go to the federal government or the constituent unit governments, or be shared between them? Provide reasons to support your decision.

1. Basic education
2. Defence
3. Rivers
4. Personal tax
5. Aviation
6. Motor vehicle licensing
7. Universities
8. Tourism
9. Forests
10. Currency



### f-2-f Instructions

1. Individually, for each of the powers listed above, participants decide if that power would be more likely to go to the federal government, to constituent unit governments, or be shared. They provide reasons to support their decision.
2. In pairs, they compare their answers and reasons.
3. Pairs think of at least one more power that could be added to each of the categories: federal, constituent units, shared. For each addition, they provide reasons for why it would be federal, constituent unit or shared.
4. Elicit responses from different pairs about how each of the powers should be allocated and the reasons for that. Add any suggestions they contribute for additional areas (such as land, roads, minerals etc) to allocate powers for.

### Online Instructions

1. Individually, for each of the powers listed above, participants decide if that power would be more likely to go to the federal government, to constituent unit governments, or be shared. They provide reasons to support their decision.
2. In groups, they discuss their answers and reasons.
3. Groups think of at least one more power that could be added to each of the categories: federal, constituent units, shared. For each addition, they provide reasons for why it would be federal, constituent unit or shared.
4. Elicit responses from different groups about how each of the powers should be allocated and the reasons for that. Add any suggestions they contribute for additional areas (such as land, roads, minerals etc) to allocate powers for.

### Answers

There are no set right or wrong answers about allocation of these powers. What is important is that participants can provide reasons for why they allocated them to the federal government or constituent units or shared.

## 1.5 Discussion / Reflection

### Questions for Participants

1. What are some powers you believe should go to the federal level in a federal system? Why?
2. What are some powers you believe should go to the constituent units in a federal system? Why?
3. What are some powers you believe should be shared in a federal system? Why?

### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. In groups or as a class, participants discuss the *Discussion / Reflection* questions (they are also on *Slide 1.5.4*).
2. Or have participants write their responses on an electronic whiteboard or bulletin board.

## Chapter 1 Case Study

**Purpose:** Participants analyse the federal system of Malaysia, and compare this to the system in Myanmar based on the 2008 Constitution.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually or in pairs or groups.

**Preparation:** Write the questions on the board or show *Slide 1.5.5*.

### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. Participants read the case study.
2. They answer the questions.

### Questions for Participants

1. What developments mentioned in the text contributed to the formation of federal Malaysia?
2. What evidence is there in the text that demonstrates Malaysia's system is parliamentary?
3. What types of unelected positions have leading roles in the states?
4. What other level of government is present in Malaysia's federal system?
5. What political development contributed to the Malaysian system being more unitary in practice?
6. What could one large coalition of political parties do that would impact the federal system in Malaysia?
7. What features of the Malaysian federal system are similar to Myanmar?
8. What features of the Malaysian federal system are different to Myanmar?

### Answers

1.
  - Different Malay sultanate states brought together during colonial era
  - Later addition of East Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak
  - Addition, then expulsion, of Singapore
2.
  - The Prime Minister has most executive power.
  - The King is a symbolic/ceremonial head of state/leader.
3.
  - Hereditary leader/sultan
  - Governor
  - Chief minister
4. Local governments
5. One large country-wide coalition of political parties ruling both in the centre and in all the states meant overall the states had less autonomy and made the country more unitary in practice.
6. It could amend the constitution with a two-thirds majority in the federal parliament.
7.
  - First past the post electoral system
8.
  - Malaysia expelled a constituent unit member state – Singapore. This has never happened in Myanmar.
  - Appointed members are only in the upper house of the Malaysian federal parliament, but appointed (military) MPs under 2008 constitution were in lower and upper houses of Myanmar's Union parliament and in all state/region parliaments.
  - State Assemblies in Malaysia elect representatives to the Upper house of the Federal parliament, they are not elected directly by the people, non-military representatives in Myanmar's upper house are elected directly by the people.
  - The largest political party in Myanmar's parliament was not able to significantly amend the 2008 constitution in Myanmar – due to 75% threshold and 25% military appointed MPs.
  - Local level of government in Malaysia below the state governments, only centrally controlled GAD below state/region governments (under 2008 Constitution) in Myanmar.
  - Coalitions of political parties working together to win control of the federal parliament in Malaysia.

### Possible Answers

7.
  - Colonial influence combining different areas together in one country that has a federal/union structure
  - Bicameral federal/union parliament
  - Appointed representatives in federal/union parliament
  - Appointed Governors or Chief Ministers like appointed Chief Ministers of states/regions in Myanmar under 2008 Constitution
  - Dominance of one main country-wide political party

**Note:** There may be other potential similarities and differences between Malaysia and Myanmar's systems that participants may mention in response to questions 7 and 8.

## To Consider

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### Questions for Participants

What do you believe is the most important feature of the relationship between the federal and constituent unit levels of government in a federal system?

**f-2-f**

### Online Instructions

- As a class, participants discuss the question at the end of Chapter 1 (it is also on *Slide 1.5.6*);
- or participants submit a written assignment based around the question;
- or participants post on an electronic whiteboard or bulletin board to see others' opinions on the question.

### Possible Answers

- The division of powers, because they show how much autonomy the constituent units have compared to the federal level.
- The participation of the constituent units in the central federal government, because of the importance of representation at the centre for the people in the constituent units.
- The constitution, because it sets out the division of powers and government structure for the federal system and how much autonomy the constituent units have.

# CHAPTER 2: PATHS TO FEDERALISM

## Before you start the chapter:

- Read the guiding questions, which provide an overview of the main themes of the chapter.
- If you like, have the class think about these guiding questions for a minute.

### Guiding Questions for Participants

1. What factors have led to the development of federal systems?
2. How has history influenced different types of federal systems?

## 2.1 Historical Paths to Federalism

### 2.1 | Preview

**Purpose:** Participants consider the reasons a country adopts a federal system.

**Practicalities:** Participants work as a class.

**Preparation:** Write the question on the board or show *Slide 2.1.1*.

### Questions for Participants

What things do you believe lead to a country developing a federal system of government? Why?

f-2-f

Online

Instructions

1. As a class, brainstorm the reasons countries adopt federal systems. Write participants' ideas on the board.
2. In a large class, have them brainstorm responses to this in groups, and then report back to the workshop/class.

Participants read to the end of Section 2.1.

## 2.1 | Exercise

**Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 2.1.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually.

**Preparation:** Write the exercise on the board, or show *Slide 2.1.2*.

### Questions for Participants

Categorise the features (1 – 8) as being more typical of 'coming together' or 'holding together' federal systems.

1. Groups with strong identities located in different areas
2. Different areas with similar populations joining together
3. Usually more powers with the federal government
4. Possible conflicts over ethnicity, language or religion
5. Benefits for defence or economic growth
6. Risk of a country breaking into separate parts
7. Usually more powers with the constituent units
8. Joining the system provides advantages for constituent units

f-2-f

Online

### Instructions

Participants categorise the features as being more typical of 'coming together' or 'holding together' federal systems.

### Answers

- |                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Holding together | 5. Coming together  |
| 2. Coming together  | 6. Holding together |
| 3. Holding together | 7. Coming together  |
| 4. Holding together | 8. Coming together  |

## 2.1 | Activity

Use the *Discussion / Reflection* questions in an interactive activity.

- Purpose:** Participants consider the basis of federal systems.
- Practicalities:** Participants work in pairs and/or groups. Online classes need breakout rooms.
- Preparation:** Flipchart paper and markers, or breakout rooms. Write the exercise on the board, or show *Slide 2.1.3*.

### Questions for Participants

Two phrases that are often used to describe federalism are:

1. 'unity in diversity', and;
2. 'self-rule and shared-rule.'

How do you believe each of these phrases demonstrate how federalism works?

### f-2-f Instructions

1. Participants work in pairs. Partner A decides how Phrase 1 relates to federalism, and Partner B decides how Phrase 2 relates to federalism.
2. In turns, they explain their ideas.
3. Pairs join with another pair, and compare their ideas.
4. Elicit a few explanations of each phrase from the class.

### Online Instructions

1. Tell half the class (As) to decide how Phrase 1 relates to federalism. Tell the other half (Bs) to decide how Phrase 2 relates to federalism.
2. Form groups with two As and two Bs in breakout rooms. Members compare and discuss their ideas.
3. As a class, elicit a few explanations of each phrase.

### Possible Answers

1. "*Unity in diversity*" describes how different peoples in different areas in a country (diversity) can come together (unity) to form a federal system.
2. "*Self-rule and shared-rule*" describes how people in different areas in a federal system can manage their own affairs with their own governments (self-rule) and also participate at the centre in the government for the whole country (shared-rule).

## 2.2 Self-Determination and Federalism

### 2.2 | Preview

- Purpose:** Participants consider the meaning of 'self-determination'.
- Practicalities:** Participants work as a class. Leave responses on the board until the end of Section 2.2.
- Preparation:** Write the question on the board, or show *Slide 2.2.1*.

#### Questions for Participants

What does self-determination mean to you?

f-2-f

Online Instructions

As a class, brainstorm the meaning of self-determination. Write participants' ideas on the board. Leave their responses on the board. After they have read Section 2.2, review these answers. Were their ideas similar to the text?

Participants read to the case study.

### 2.2 | Exercise

- Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 2.2.
- Practicalities:** Participants work individually.
- Preparation:** Write the exercise on the board, or show *Slide 2.2.2*.

#### Questions for Participants

Identify the parts of the article excerpt (in quotation marks) that best answer each of these questions.

1. How is self-determination related to constituent units in federal systems having their own governments?
2. How is self-determination related to powers allocated to constituent units?

f-2-f

Online Instructions

Participants look through the excerpt from the article from the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. They find the parts of the text that address the questions.

#### Answers

1. 'freely determine their political status'
2. 'freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development' – Relates to resources, education and health, language...etc – things that constituent units may have powers for.

## 2.2 | Discussion / Reflection

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### Questions for Participants

What are some possible connections between the idea of self-determination and federalism?

### f-2-f Online Instructions

In pairs, groups or as a class, participants look back at their 2.2 | *Preview* answers. Do participants still have the same opinions and ideas about federalism and self-determination? (The *Discussion / Reflection* question is also on *Slide 2.2.3*)

## Chapter 2 Case Study

**Purpose:** Participants analyse Sri Lanka's path towards federalism, and compare this to federal developments in Myanmar.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually or in pairs or groups. They can do this in class or for homework.

**Preparation:** Write the questions on the board or show *Slide 2.2.4*.

### Questions for Participants

1. What enabled the changing of the official language in Sri Lanka?
2. What constitutional features in the 1970s contributed to marginalisation for Tamils?
3. Why was the term federalism often not directly used in discussing decentralisation?
4. How were some federal elements introduced in the 1980s?
5. What were they?
6. What limited the effectiveness of the federal elements?
7. What elements typical of federal systems were suggested by the 2016 Constitutional Assembly?
8. Why were suggestions to combine two constituent units resisted?
9. What features in the case of Sri Lanka are similar to federal developments in Myanmar?
10. What features in the case of Sri Lanka are different to federal developments in Myanmar?

### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. Participants read the case study.
2. They answer the questions.

### Answers

1. The dominance of Sinhalese political parties in the parliament
2. Sinhala name for the country; official language was Sinhala; Sri Lanka declared a unitary state; Buddhism was foremost religion
3. Sinhalese associated federalism with Tamil separatism
4. Through amendment of the constitution in 1987
5. Provincial councils; division of powers; law and order powers for provinces
6. Central parliament could override the provincial councils with a two-thirds majority; central government appointed the provincial governors; law and order powers were not implemented.
7. Bicameral central parliament; clear division of powers; third level of government through local authorities
8. Combining the northern and eastern provinces would make the minority groups smaller in a larger Tamil majority state.

### Possible Answers

9. A large political party with support from the largest ethnic group has often dominated politics (e.g. the NLD in Myanmar); three different constitutions since independence; one religion – Buddhism – given priority in constitution; language of majority group used in government institutions; appointment of provincial governors by centre like appointment of chief ministers by president in Myanmar; limited division of powers; federalism seen as a way to end conflicts; support for federalism from smaller ethnic groups; association by the largest ethnic group of federalism with separatism by smaller groups; suggestions for merging some constituent units.
10. only a few different ethnic/linguistic/religious groups compared to many different groups in Myanmar; only one opposition ethnic armed group in the civil war compared to many in Myanmar; local government below provincial governments (or suggestion for) compared to centrally controlled GAD below state/region governments in Myanmar; significant amendments to Sri Lanka constitution compared with little significant amendment of 2008 Constitution in Myanmar up to 2021.

## 2.3 Moving Towards Federalism in Myanmar

### 2.3 | Preview

- Purpose:** Participants activate their prior knowledge of key concepts in Section 2.3.
- Practicalities:** Participants work in pairs or groups. Online groups need breakout rooms.
- Preparation:** Write the words and phrases on the board, or show *Slide 2.3.1*.

#### Questions for Participants

The next text, called 'Moving Towards Federalism in Myanmar' contains these words and phrases. Predict what the text will say about them.

1. Isolation
2. Large kingdoms and empires
3. The Frontier Areas
4. Categorisation of people into different ethnic groups
5. Representatives of the Bamar, Chin, Kachin and Shan ethnic groups
6. Autonomy

#### f-2-f Instructions

1. In pairs or groups, participants discuss the phrases, and predict how they relate to the chapter title.
2. Elicit some ideas about each phrase from the class.
3. Make a class list, and leave in on the board until participants have read the text.
4. After they have read the text, participants check their answers (the meaning is important, not the exact wording).

#### Online Instructions

1. In groups, participants discuss the phrases, and predict how they relate to the chapter title.
2. Elicit some ideas about each phrase from the class.
3. Make a class list. Take a screenshot or save the board.
4. After they have read the text, participants check their answers (the meaning is important, not the exact wording).

#### Possible Answers

1. In the area of present-day Myanmar, some groups have lived in isolation from other groups.
2. There have been many large kingdoms and empires, which have grown and declined over time.
3. The British Empire called the hill areas including Kachin, Shan and Chin the Frontier Areas.
4. The British categorised people into different ethnic groups, which has contributed to ongoing problems.
5. Representatives of the Bamar, Chin, Kachin and Shan ethnic groups signed the Panglong Agreement.
6. The Panglong Agreement promised full autonomy for internal administration for Shan, Kachin and Chin areas.

Participants read to the end of Section 2.3.

## 2.3 | Exercise

**Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 2.3.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually.

**Preparation:** Write the questions on the board, or show *Slide 2.3.2*

### Questions for Participants

1. Identify three factors that contributed to diversity of people in pre-colonial times in the areas that are now present-day Myanmar.
2. What geographical features affected interactions between different groups?
3. What were the two administrative areas the British used in colonial times?
4. Identify two factors from colonial times that increased differences between groups?

f-2-f

Online

Instructions

Participants answer the questions.

### Answers

1. Different origins, languages and religions; geography (river valleys and mountain ranges); isolation or contact between groups; expansion and decline of kingdoms and empires; intermarriage; movement to other areas
2. River valleys and mountain ranges
3. 'Ministerial Burma' and 'Frontier Areas'
4. Answers could include: minimal colonial presence in some areas; racial categorisation of peoples; different administration between Ministerial Burma and Frontier Areas.

## 2.3 | Activity 1

**Purpose:** Participants analyse Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's statements about 'the Spirit of Panglong'.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually, then in pairs or groups. All participants have a handout. Online classes may need breakout rooms.

**Preparation:** Make copies of *Handout 2.3* (next page).

### f-2-f Instructions

1. Individually, participants read the handout and note down their answers.
2. In pairs, they compare their answers.
3. Elicit some responses from the class.

### Online Instructions

1. Individually, participants read the handout and note down their answers.
2. If you like, have participants compare their answers in groups in breakout rooms.
3. Elicit some responses from the class.

### Answers

1. She claims the purpose of the original Panglong Agreement was in order to achieve independence. (Note that there are different interpretations of the Panglong Agreement. While some believe the purpose was to achieve independence for Burma, others see it as ethnic leaders agreeing to become part of the Union of Burma while continuing to maintain autonomy in their areas).
2. 'Unity in Diversity'
3. Representatives of Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) signatory ethnic armed organisations.

### Possible Answers

4. Federalism (at that time) was not yet achieved but it was central to the NCA negotiations. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi refers to the 'Spirit' of Panglong as being important, not the specific agreement itself.
5. Different areas were administered differently by the British in colonial times and that has consequences for different expectations of federalism (for example, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's view compared to some ethnic leaders etc).

## Handout 2.3

### What is the ‘Spirit of Panglong’?

‘People ask what I mean by using the word “Panglong” for the Union Peace Conference? Does it mean it should be based on its original spirit, agreement and promises? What I would like to say is it’s not going to be based on the Panglong Agreement, which was concluded in order to achieve independence. On the contrary, I believe it must be based on the spirit of Panglong, which upholds Unity in Diversity’.

(Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, speaking to representatives of Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) signatory ethnic armed organisations June 28th, 2016).

1. What is presented as the purpose of the original Panglong Agreement?
2. What phrase is used in this quote that suggests a central idea about federalism?
3. Who was this statement made to?
4. What does the context of this speech suggest about the situation of federalism in Myanmar at the time (in 2016)? Why?
5. Refer back to the text about ‘Frontier Areas’ and ‘Ministerial Burma’ and Panglong in 2.3. In what ways does that history relate to issues of federalism in Myanmar and to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s speech?

## Handout 2.3

### What is the ‘Spirit of Panglong’?

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(Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, speaking to representatives of Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) signatory ethnic armed organisations June 28th, 2016).

1. What is presented as the purpose of the original Panglong Agreement?
2. What phrase is used in this quote that suggests a central idea about federalism?
3. Who was this statement made to?
4. What does the context of this speech suggest about the situation of federalism in Myanmar at the time (in 2016)? Why?
5. Refer back to the text about ‘Frontier Areas’ and ‘Ministerial Burma’ and Panglong in 2.3. In what ways does that history relate to issues of federalism in Myanmar and to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s speech?

## 2.3 | Activity 2

Use the *Discussion / Reflection* questions in an interactive activity.

**Purpose:** Participants assess the factors that have influenced Myanmar's path to federalism.

**Practicalities:** Participants work in groups. Online classes need breakout rooms.

**Preparation:** Flipchart paper and markers, or digital whiteboards. Write the question on the board, or show *Slide 2.3.3*.

### Questions for Participants

What do you believe are the most important influences on Myanmar's path towards federalism?

### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. In groups, participants list the important influences on Myanmar's path towards federalism.
2. Make a class list of these influences.

### Possible Answers

- Separation of people due to geography of river valleys and mountains
- Past kingdoms and empires
- Colonial administration between ministerial and frontier areas
- Colonial categorisation of people
- The Panglong Agreement

Participants might also suggest events that have impeded discussion of federalism such as:

- Civil war
- Military coups and dictatorships

Or that encouraged federalism such as:

- Ceasefire periods
- Peace processes
- Limited political liberalisation after 2010

## 2.4 Constitutions and Federal Developments in Myanmar

### 2.4 | Preview

**Purpose:** Participants check their prior knowledge of Myanmar's constitutions.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually.

**Preparation:** Write the questions on the board, or show Slide 2.4.1.

#### Questions for Participants

1. How many constitutions has Myanmar had since independence?
2. In the 1947 Constitution, how many years after were Shan and Kayah given the right to secede?
3. How many ethnic states did the 1961 – 62 'Shan Federal Proposal' propose?
4. How many states and divisions were included in the 1974 constitution?
5. When did people start drafting the 2008 constitution?
6. What did the Federal Constitution Drafting and Coordinating Committee write between 2005 – 2008?

#### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. Participants answer the questions.
2. They read the text and check their answers.

#### Answers

1. Three
2. Ten
3. Eight (including one Bamar state)
4. 14
5. 1993
6. An alternative draft constitution of the 'Federal Republic of the Union of Myanmar'

Participants read to the end of Section 2.4.

## 2.4 | Exercise

- Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 2.4.
- Practicalities:** Participants work individually or in pairs or groups. All participants have a handout.
- Preparation:** Make copies of *Handout 2.4* (next page).

### f-2-f Online Instructions

Participants categorise the features of the constitutions and draft constitutions.

### Answers

- | 1. | Document                      | Feature |
|----|-------------------------------|---------|
|    | 1947 Constitution             | d, h    |
|    | 1961 Shan Federal Proposal    | f, i, k |
|    | 1974 Constitution             | a, j, l |
|    | 2008 Constitution             | c, e    |
|    | 2008 FCDCC Draft Constitution | b, g    |
2. a. 1961 Shan Federal Proposal/FCDCC 2008 Draft Constitution
- b. 1974 Constitution/2008 Constitution
- c. 1961 Shan Federal Proposal/FCDCC 2008 Draft Constitution

## 2.4 Discussion / Reflection

### Questions for Participants

What do you believe are the most important differences between the three 1947, 1974 and 2008 Constitutions of Burma/Myanmar compared to the 1961 proposal and FCDCC 2008 alternative? Why?

### f-2-f Online Instructions

- In groups or as a class, participants discuss the *Discussion / Reflection* question (it is also on *Slide 2.4.2*).
- Or have participants write their responses on an electronic whiteboard or bulletin board.  
**Note:** If participants do the previous exercise, this task may not be necessary as the discussion question is very similar.

## Handout 2.4

1. Based on the information in the text about Myanmar’s past constitutions and proposed draft constitutions, categorise these features.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| a. Seven states and seven divisions with no state/division parliaments                    | g. Ten states including two nationalities states                              |
| b. Constitutions for each of ten states   | h. Government of former Ministerial Burma also acting as the Union government |
| c. Three ministries with military oversight and other ministries under civilian oversight | i. Eight ethnic-based states including one Bamar state                        |
| d. The right of secession, after ten years, for Shan and Kayah state                      | j. State and region chief ministers appointed by the Union President          |
| e. Seven states and seven regions each with their own parliament                          | k. Suggested revisions to an existing constitution                            |
| f. Constitutions for each of eight ethnic states  | l. People’s councils implement central government policies                    |

Document	Feature
1947 Constitution	
1961 Shan Federal Proposal	
1974 Constitution	
2008 Constitution	
2008 FCDCC Draft Constitution	

2. Which constitutions, or proposed draft constitutions, had these features in common?

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <b>a.</b> Constitutions for all the constituent units. | <b>b.</b> Equal number of ethnic-based and territorial-based constituent units. | <b>c.</b> One ethnic state specifically for Bamar. |
|--|---|--|

## 2.5 Different Perspectives on Federalism in Myanmar

### 2.5 | Preview

**Purpose:** Participants compare opinions and perspectives on federalism in Myanmar.

**Practicalities:** Participants work in groups or as a class.

**Preparation:** Write the question on the board, or show *Slide 2.5.1*.

#### Questions for Participants

How might different groups in Myanmar see federalism?

#### f-2-f Instructions

1. Participants work in pairs or groups. They discuss the question, and list some possible answers.
2. Elicit some responses from the class.
3. Make a class list.

#### Online Instructions

1. Participants work in groups. They discuss the question, and list some possible answers.
2. Elicit some responses from the class.
3. Make a class list.

#### Possible Answers

- The military might see federalism as a threat to the Union.
- Some ethnic groups may see federalism as the best political arrangement for equality and representation.
- Some groups may believe establishing genuine democracy in the Union and the constituent units should happen before establishing federalism.
- Some groups may believe there are other more important political or social issues than federalism at present.

Participants read to the end of Section 2.5.

## 2.5 | Activity

- Purpose:** Participants evaluate perspectives on key concepts in Section 2.5.
- Practicalities:** Participants work in pairs, which change during the task. Online pairs need breakout rooms.
- Preparation:** Write the task on the board, or show *Slide 2.5.2*.

### Questions for Participants

For or against?

- a. Establishment of genuine democracy is necessary before federalism is possible.
- b. Establishment of a genuine federal system is necessary first so there is equality between constituent units.
- c. The 2008 Constitution could have been the basis to develop a genuine democratic federal system.

### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. In pairs, participants choose who will be 'for' and who will be 'against' the positions a-c.
2. Individually and without speaking with their partner, they think of reasons to support their positions and write notes to help them recall their reasons.
3. In turns, they explain their reasons for or against each position to each other. They take notes of their partner's positions.
4. They change pairs and perspectives – this time the 'for' people are 'against' and vice versa. They explain their new position – for or against – based on their previous partner's explanation and their own ideas to their new partner, who takes the opposite position from them.

## Discussion / Reflection

### Questions for Participants

What do you believe are potential advantages and potential disadvantages in the case of Myanmar from each of these three scenarios?

1. Maintaining a unitary state
2. Creating a federal system
3. Complete secession of some parts of the country

### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. In groups or as a class, participants discuss the *Discussion / Reflection* questions (they are also on *Slide 2.5.3*).
2. Or have participants write their responses on an electronic whiteboard or bulletin board.

## To Consider

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### Questions for Participants

What do you believe are the most important elements for the development of successful federal systems?

### f-2-f Online Instructions

- As a class, participants discuss the question at the end of Chapter 2 (it is also on *Slide 2.5.4*);
- or participants submit a written assignment based around the question;
- or participants post on an electronic whiteboard or bulletin board to see others' opinions on the question.

# CHAPTER 3: FEDERAL DESIGN ISSUES

## Before you start the chapter:

- Read the guiding questions, which provide an overview of the main themes of the chapter.
- If you like, have the class think about these guiding questions for a minute.

### Guiding Questions for Participants

1. How should decisions about establishing a federal system be decided?
2. What elements are important in the design of a federal system?

## 3.1 Constitution Drafting and Federal Design

### 3.1 | Preview

**Purpose:** Participants activate their prior knowledge of federal design.

**Practicalities:** Participants work in pairs or groups. Online classes need breakout rooms.

**Preparation:** Write the question on the board, or show *Slide 3.1.1*.

### Questions for Participants

What are some possible reasons for why development of a constitution is important for the design of a federal system?

### f-2-f Instructions

1. In pairs, participants discuss reasons for why development of a constitution is important for the design of a federal system.
2. Pairs join with another pair and compare their ideas.
3. As a class, make a list of possible reasons for why development of a constitution is important for the design of a federal system.

### Online Instructions

1. In groups, participants discuss and list reasons why development of the constitution is important for the design of a federal system. Groups list these reasons.
2. Groups present their lists to the class.

### Possible Answers

- It sets out the administrative structure of the federal system and constituent units.
- It sets out the structures and processes of government institutions.
- It sets out the fundamental rights of citizens.
- It sets out the division of powers between the federal level and constituent units.
- It sets out processes for how the constitution can be changed.

Participants read to the end of Section 3.1.

## 3.1 | Exercise

- Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 3.1.
- Practicalities:** Participants work individually. All participants can see board or Slide 3.1.
- Preparation:** Write the questions on the board, or show *Slide 3.1.2*

### Questions for Participants

1. Why is the constitution drafting process important for federalism?
2. Who are likely to be involved in the constitution drafting process?
3. Why should the public be involved in the constitution drafting process?
4. What are two main ways that constitutions may be developed?

### f-2-f Online Instructions

Participants answer the questions.

### Answers

1. Because the constitution is the basis for the federal system's overall structure, institutions of government, division of powers, the rights of citizens.
2. Experts, political parties, ethnic groups, civil society.
3. The public will be affected by the constitution, as it includes the basis for government laws, political system and the rights of citizens.
4. Amendment of an existing constitution or writing a new one.

## 3.1 | Activity

Use the *Discussion / Reflection* questions in an interactive activity.

- Purpose:** Participants assess different groups' inclusion in the constitution drafting process.
- Practicalities:** Participants work in groups and as a class. Online classes need breakout rooms.
- Preparation:** Flipchart paper and markers, or breakout rooms with digital whiteboards. Write the questions on the board, or show *Slide 3.1.3*.

### Questions for Participants

1. What aspects of drafting a constitution do you believe these groups might contribute to?
  - Legal experts
  - Political parties
  - Ethnic groups
  - Civil Society Organisations
2. What other groups might be included and what could they contribute to?

### f-2-f Instructions

1. In groups of four, participants each contribute their reasons for one of the four sets of groups being included in constitution drafting.
2. Groups identify other groups who might be included in constitution drafting, and what they might contribute.
3. Groups join with another group and compare reasons.
4. As a class, discuss these reasons. Make a class list.

### Online Instructions

1. In groups of four, participants each contribute their reasons for one of the four sets of groups being included in constitution drafting.
2. Groups identify other groups who might be included in constitution drafting, and what they might contribute.
3. Groups present their reasons to the class.

### Possible Answers

1.
  - **Legal experts:** To ensure that parts of the constitution and its basic laws do not contradict or clash with each other.
  - **Political parties:** To ensure acceptable electoral systems and legislative processes.
  - **Ethnic groups:** To ensure participation of all ethnic groups and consideration and protection of different languages, religions and cultures.
  - **Civil society organisations:** To ensure protection of minority or marginalised groups, environment, basic rights.
2.
  - **Women's organisations:** Input on issues that affect women and to ensure women's representation.
  - **Academics:** Expert knowledge on history, politics, culture, language etc that could influence the federal system.
  - **International organisations:** Can provide extra input on issues like health, education and how they have been addressed in other countries.
  - **International advisors:** Advice on laws, constitutions, federal systems in other countries.

## 3.2 Identity and Federalism

### 3.2 | Preview

**Purpose:** Participants examine their beliefs about languages spoken and religions practised in Myanmar.

**Practicalities:** Participants work in pairs or groups. Online classes need breakout rooms.

**Preparation:** Write the questions on the board, or show *Slide 3.2.1*

#### Questions for Participants

1. What languages do people speak in Myanmar?
2. What religions do people practise in Myanmar?
3. What percentage of people practise which religions?

#### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. As a class, brainstorm languages spoken in Myanmar. Make a class list on the board. You might want to stop this after three – five minutes, as there are hundreds of possible answers.
2. As a class or in groups, participants list the main religions practised in Myanmar, and what percentage of the population identifies as which. If you like, have groups express this as a pie chart.
3. Negotiate a class answer.
4. Check this with the answer here, or with more up to date information, if you have it.

#### Possible Answers

1. According to the book 'The Languages of East and Southeast Asia' by Professor of Linguistics, Cliff Goddard, there are approximately 100 different languages spoken in Myanmar.
2. This information comes from the Republic of the Union of Myanmar 2014 Myanmar Population and Housing Census – [https://myanmar.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/UNION\\_2C\\_Religion\\_EN.pdf](https://myanmar.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/UNION_2C_Religion_EN.pdf)
  - Buddhist – 89.8%
  - Christian – 6.3%
  - Islam [Muslim] – 2.3%
  - Animist – 0.8%
  - Hindu – 0.5%
  - Other – 0.2%
  - No religion – 0.1%

Participants read to the end of Section 3.2.

## 3.2 | Exercise 1

- Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in the language sub-section of Section 3.2.
- Practicalities:** Participants work individually or in pairs or groups. All participants have a handout.
- Preparation:** Make copies of *Handout 3.2* (next page).

f-2-f

### Online Instructions

1. Participants identify whether the statements in Q1 are true or false. If false, they explain their answer.
2. They categorise the statements in Q2 as supporting Burmese as the single official language in Myanmar or supporting the use of other languages.

### Answers

1.
  - a. True
  - b. False – some countries use an outside or non-majority language, e.g., English in India or Bahasa in Indonesia or allow constituent units to choose other languages as well.
  - c. False – English was the language of the colonial power before independence not the language of the largest ethnic group.
  - d. True
2.
  - a. Burmese as single official language
  - b. Supporting the use of other languages
  - c. Burmese as single official language
  - d. Supporting the use of other languages
  - e. Supporting the use of other languages
  - f. Burmese as single official language
  - g. Burmese as single official language
  - h. Burmese as single official language
  - i. Supporting the use of other languages
  - j. Supporting the use of other languages

## Handout 3.2

1. Are the following statements true or false? If false, say why.
  - a. The common language used in a federal country affects schools, workplaces and politics.
  - b. Federal countries usually make the language that is spoken by the most people the official language.
  - c. India uses English as one of its official languages because it is the language of the largest ethnic group.
  - d. The official language of Sri Lanka is the language spoken by the largest ethnic group.
  
2. Categorise the following statements as supporting Burmese as the single official language in Myanmar or supporting the use of other languages.
  - a. Everyone will learn in the same language at school.
  - b. Services will be provided in relevant languages in ethnic nationality areas.
  - c. Economic development will be faster if people use the same language throughout the Union.
  - d. Education in people's own first language in their early years helps learning later.
  - e. It shows respect in recognising the special features of different ethnic groups.
  - f. Someone can move to another part of the Union and their school or work will use the same language.
  - g. Union government services need to use a consistent language.
  - h. Different ethnic groups will be able to communicate with each other in a common language.
  - i. Learning in a second language can be introduced later in schooling after someone has had a grounding in their first language.
  - j. It will help reduce the resentment of smaller ethnic groups at their languages and cultures being ignored by the majority language/culture.

## 3.2 | Activity 1

Use the *Discussion / Reflection (1)* questions in an interactive activity.

- Purpose:** Participants evaluate the different options for official language policy in a federal Myanmar.
- Practicalities:** Participants work in groups. Online classes need breakout rooms and online polling facilities.
- Preparation:** Flipchart paper and markers, or breakout rooms with digital whiteboards. Write the questions on the board, or show *Slide 3.2.2*.
- Note:** This is a potentially divisive discussion topic. Remind participants about the ground rules for discussions and the importance of listening and considering other perspectives.

### Questions for Participants

How do you believe language should be addressed in a federal system in Myanmar?

### f-2-f Instructions

1. In groups, participants list different approaches to language policy in a federal Myanmar.
2. They discuss the advantages and disadvantages of these approaches.
3. Make a note of the two or three most popular ideas.
4. To conclude the discussions, conduct an anonymous poll. One by one, write the two or three most common policy options on the board. Make it clear that these options were from the group discussions.
5. Participants anonymously write 'for' or 'against' each policy suggestion on pieces of paper.
6. Collect these responses after each idea is presented, and announce the numbers for and against each policy suggestion.

### Online Instructions

1. In groups, participants list different approaches to language policy in a federal Myanmar.
2. They discuss the advantages and disadvantages of these approaches.
3. Go around the breakout rooms, and make a note of the four or five most popular ideas.
4. To conclude the discussions, conduct an online poll. Write the four or five most common policy options into a poll. Make it clear that these options were from the group discussions.
5. Participants vote for or against each policy suggestion.
6. Show the results of the poll, and discuss these as a class.

### Possible Answers

- Maintaining Burmese as the Union language and having ethnic languages taught in their respective constituent units
- Allowing constituent units to choose their own languages
- Having a neutral language at the Union level
- Mother-tongue-based multilingual education

Participants read to end of Section 3.2.

## 3.2 | Exercise 2

**Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in the religion sub-section of Section 3.2.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually.

**Preparation:** Write the questions on the board, or show *slides 3.2.3 a – g*.

### Questions for Participants

Categorise the following examples as being secular or not secular. For each, explain why it is secular or not secular.

- a. All children attending government schools learn about the origin and history of many different religions from around the world.
- b. The government makes a law that everyone, regardless of their beliefs, must observe the religious holiday of the country's largest religious group.
- c. The constitution of the country only mentions religion once when it states that 'people of all religions are free to practise their religions without discrimination.'
- d. The constitution of a country states that the religion practised by the majority of people in that country is a special part of that country's national identity.
- e. Federal government institutions in all constituent units of a country must display a symbol representing a famous temple.
- f. To obtain citizenship in a country all people are required to state their religion in their application to obtain ID cards and passports.
- g. The law says that all people can choose to teach their religions to their children but this may not be done in government-run public schools during school time.

### f-2-f Online Instructions

Participants answer the questions.

### Answers

- a. Secular. They learn about many different religions, not one exclusively.
- b. Not secular. One religion's holiday is applied to all people in the country.
- c. Secular. All religions are considered equally, so it does not favour any one religion in particular.
- d. Not secular. One religion of the majority is considered part of national identity for everyone.
- e. Not secular. The symbol of one religion is being used as a symbol of national identity for all people and for the whole country.
- f. Not secular. Someone's religion would not be considered relevant to their citizenship in a secular country.
- g. Secular. It allows freedom of religion, but it keeps government institutions (schools in the example) separate from religion.

## 3.2 | Activity 2

Use the *Discussion / Reflection (2)* questions in an interactive activity.

- Purpose:** Participants evaluate the different options for religion policy in a federal Myanmar.
- Practicalities:** Participants work in groups. Online classes need breakout rooms and online polling facilities.
- Preparation:** Flipchart paper and markers, or breakout rooms with digital whiteboards. Write the questions on the board, or show *Slide 3.2.4*.
- Note:** This is a potentially divisive discussion topic. Remind participants about the ground rules for discussions and the importance of listening and considering other perspectives.

### Questions for Participants

How do you believe religion should be addressed in a future federal system for Myanmar?

### f-2-f Instructions

1. In groups, participants list different approaches to religion policy in a federal Myanmar.
2. They discuss the advantages and disadvantages of these approaches.
3. Make a note of the two or three most popular ideas.
4. To conclude the discussions, conduct an anonymous poll. One by one, write the two or three most common policy options on the board. Make it clear that these options were from the group discussions.
5. Participants anonymously write 'for' or 'against' each policy suggestion on pieces of paper.
6. Collect these responses after each idea is presented, and announce the numbers for and against each policy suggestion.

### Online Instructions

1. In groups, participants list different approaches to religion policy in a federal Myanmar.
2. They discuss the advantages and disadvantages of these approaches.
3. Make a note of the four or five most popular ideas.
4. To conclude the discussions, conduct an online poll. Write the four or five most common policy options into a poll. Make it clear that these options were from the group discussions.
5. Participants vote for or against each policy suggestion.
6. Show the results of the poll, and discuss these as a class.

### Possible Answers

- Having one official religion
- Acknowledging all commonly practised religions equally
- Only having freedom of religion
- Having a totally secular constitution that does not mention any religion

## 3.3 Citizenship and Federalism

### 3.3 | Preview

**Purpose:** Participants consider the meaning of 'citizen'.

**Practicalities:** Participants work as a class. Online classes need an electronic whiteboard, or Mentimeter. Leave responses on the board until participants have read the text.

**Preparation:** Write the question on the board, or show *Slide 3.3.1*

#### Questions for Participants

What does it mean if someone is a citizen?

#### f-2-f Instructions

1. As a class, participants make a mind-map about 'citizen'. Write participants' ideas on the board. Leave their response on the board.
2. After they have read Section 3.3, review these answers. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Online Instructions

1. As a class or in groups, participants either: make a word cloud about 'citizen' in Mentimeter or make a mind-map on an electronic whiteboard.
2. Save the screen(s).
3. After they have read Section 3.3, review these answers. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible Answers

- Legally recognised
- Can access government services
- Have fundamental rights of citizens
- Can be based on parents' citizenship
- Can be based on being born in a country
- Can be naturalised

Participants read to end of Section 3.3.

## 3.3 | Exercise

- Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 3.3.
- Practicalities:** All participants can see board or *Slide 3.3.2*.
- Preparation:** Write the statements onto a board or show *Slide 3.3.2*.

### Questions for Participants

Are the following statements true or false? If false, say why.

1. Criteria for being a legal citizen are usually presented in constitutions or in laws.
2. Whether or not someone is a legal citizen in a federal system depends on which constituent unit they come from.
3. Constitutions always define who are citizens of a country.
4. Someone is stateless if they no longer live in the same constituent unit in a federal country as the one they were born in.
5. Not being legally recognised as a citizen of a country can negatively affect someone's access to healthcare, education and safety.

### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. Participants identify whether the statements are true or false.
2. If false, they explain the reason.

### Answers

1. True
2. False – if someone is legally a citizen of a federal country, that applies regardless of constituent unit, ethnicity, language or religion.
3. False – some define citizenship and others do this in specific citizenship laws, for example, Pakistan.
4. False – being stateless means a person is not recognised as a citizen of any country and does not have the same rights and protections as legal citizens of a country.
5. True

## Discussion / Reflection

### Questions for Participants

What do you believe is most important about citizenship in federal systems?

### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. In groups or as a class, participants discuss the *Discussion / Reflection* question (it is also on *Slide 3.3.3*).
2. Or have participants write their responses on an electronic whiteboard or bulletin board.

### Possible Answers

- Protection of people's rights
- Prevention of statelessness
- Unity of a federal country between people from different constituent units
- Identity with the federal country as a whole
- Criteria for citizenship: where someone is born as basis of citizenship; whether their parents were citizens as basis of citizenship, etc.

## 3.4 Identity and Citizenship in Myanmar

### 3.4 | Preview

**Purpose:** Participants check their prior knowledge of Myanmar's citizenship laws.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually.

**Preparation:** Write the question on the board, or show *Slide 3.4.1*.

#### Questions for Participants

What is the main requirement to be a citizen of Myanmar?

f-2-f

Online Instructions

1. Participants consider what the criteria is to be a citizen of Myanmar. If they like, they write down their answer.
2. After they have read Section 3.4, they check that they are correct.

#### Answer

- Parents are members of a recognised 'national race' (a group that has lived in Burma/Myanmar since before 1823).
- People who do not meet this requirement for full citizenship can sometimes become associate or naturalised citizens.

\*This answer is correct as of September 2021.

Participants read to end of Section 3.4.

## 3.4 | Exercise

**Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 3.4.

**Practicalities:** All participants can see board or *Slide 3.4.2*.

**Preparation:** Write the statements onto a board or show *Slide 3.4.2*.

### Questions for Participants

1. What two main purposes has the concept of Taingyintha been used for?
2. Did the term Taingyintha feature prominently in the Panglong Agreement and the 1947 Constitution?
3. In what era did Taingyintha first become a central idea related to citizenship?
4. How has the term 'national races' often been used by the government of the Union of Myanmar?
5. What evidence is there that the idea of 'ethnic groups' and 'national races' has been used for political purposes?
6. How has the idea of 'national races' related to government representation and allocation of territorial units in Myanmar?

f-2-f

Online Instructions

Participants answer the questions.

### Answers

1. Purpose 1: To distinguish who are recognised as citizens. Purpose 2: To create a national identity for the country.
2. No, it was not mentioned in the 1947 Panglong Agreement, and only briefly in 1947 constitution.
3. The BSPP era from the 1960s onwards
4. To refer to non-Bamar people
5. Official numbers of 'national races' and 'ethnic groups' have been changed over time; it has been used to try to create a national unity and identity; it has been used to exclude some groups.
6. It has been used as the basis for ethnic states, self-administered areas and ethnic affairs ministries.

## 3.4 | Activity

Use the *Discussion / Reflection* questions in an interactive activity.

**Purpose:** Participants evaluate the different options for citizenship policy in a federal Myanmar.

**Practicalities:** Participants work in groups, individually and as a class. Online classes need breakout rooms.

**Preparation:** Flipchart paper and markers, or breakout rooms with digital whiteboards. Write the words and phrases on the board, or show *Slide 3.4.3*.

**Note:** This is a potentially divisive discussion topic. Remind participants about the ground rules for discussions and the importance of listening and considering other perspectives

### Questions for Participants

How do you believe citizenship should, or should not, be defined in a future federal system in Myanmar?

### f-2-f Instructions

1. In groups, participants list different approaches to citizenship policy in a federal Myanmar.
2. They discuss the advantages and disadvantages of these approaches.
3. Individually, participants prepare a summary of their ideas on citizenship in a future federal Burma.
4. They present these ideas to their group.
5. Groups select one person to present a summary of group members' ideas to the class. They don't need to cover all the ideas, just the most common and widely agreed ones.

### Online Instructions

1. In groups, participants list different approaches to citizenship policy in a federal Myanmar.
2. They discuss the advantages and disadvantages of these approaches.
3. Individually, participants prepare a slide summarising their ideas on citizenship in a future federal Burma.
4. They present their slides to their group.
5. Groups select one person to present a summary of group members' ideas to the class. They don't need to cover all the ideas, just the most common and widely agreed ones.

### Possible Answers

- Citizenship based on people's place of birth
- Citizenship based on citizenship status of parents
- Citizenship based on people residing in the country for a certain period of time
- Citizenship based on combination of different criteria such as citizen status of parents, place of birth, and how long they have been residing in the country.
- Some may also state things that they believe should not be part of citizenship criteria such as religion, ethnicity etc

## 3.5 The Bases and Boundaries of Constituent Units

### 3.5 | Preview

**Purpose:** Participants consider constituent units in a federal system.  
**Practicalities:** Participants work individually.  
**Preparation:** Write the question on the board, or show *Slide 3.5.1*.

#### Questions for Participants

What ways could constituent units be allocated in federal systems?

#### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. Participants contribute ways they believe federal countries allocate constituent units.
2. After they have read Section 3.5, they check that they are correct.

#### Possible Answers

- Territory
- Resources
- Population
- Ethnicity
- Combination of territory and ethnicity

Participants read to the case study.

### 3.5 | Exercise

**Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 3.5.  
**Practicalities:** Participants work individually. All participants have a handout.  
**Preparation:** Make copies of *Handout 3.5* (next page).

#### f-2-f Online Instructions

Participants match the examples and the ideas.

#### Answers

- |      |      |
|------|------|
| 1. b | 4. e |
| 2. d | 5. c |
| 3. a |      |

## Handout 3.5

Match the examples (1-5) with the ideas from the text (a-e) they are most likely to demonstrate.

1. Geographic features like rivers and mountains
2. An area with most people from one ethnic group
3. Geography, economics, linguistic and ethnic composition are all considered
4. A small scattered group has its cultural rights protected in the constitution, its own courts and mandated representative in government
5. A federal country with few constituent units and one unit has most of the territory, population and resources

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| a. Hybrid approach to federal design  | d. A constituent unit in an ethnic-based federal system |
| b. Are often boundaries of constituent units in territorial-based federal systems | e. Examples of non-territorial autonomy                 |
| c. Increased risk of instability or secession by constituent units                |   |

## Handout 3.5

Match the examples (1-5) with the ideas from the text (a-e) they are most likely to demonstrate.

1. Geographic features like rivers and mountains
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4. A small scattered group has its cultural rights protected in the constitution, its own courts and mandated representative in government
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- |   |   |
|---|---|
| a. Hybrid approach to federal design  | d. A constituent unit in an ethnic-based federal system |
| b. Are often boundaries of constituent units in territorial-based federal systems | e. Examples of non-territorial autonomy                 |
| c. Increased risk of instability or secession by constituent units                |   |

## 3.5 | Activity

Use the *Discussion / Reflection* questions in an interactive activity.

- Purpose:** Participants assess the importance of different factors when allocating constituent units in a federal system.
- Practicalities:** Participants work individually, then in pairs and groups, then as a class.
- Preparation:** Write the task on the board or show *Slide 3.5.2*.

### Questions for Participants

How would each of these be important for a constituent unit in a federal system?

- Infrastructure
- Ethnicity
- Resources
- Population size
- Geographic features
- History
- Language
- Culture

### f-2-f Instructions

1. Participants choose one of the criteria from the list (or allocate items from the list to each participant). Based on their knowledge of federalism, they list some reasons why they believe that criteria is important for a constituent unit in a federal system.
2. Participants join with a partner that has looked at different criteria from theirs. They explain their reasons for the importance of their criteria, and also contribute any extra reasons for the importance of each other's criteria.
3. Pairs join with another pair and explain their reasons for the importance of their criteria to each other.
4. Groups present their list to the class.

### Online Instructions

1. Allocate one of the criteria to each participant. Based on their knowledge of federalism, they list some reasons why they believe that criteria is important for a constituent unit in a federal system.
2. Participants form groups with three or more others who have looked at different criteria from theirs. They explain their reasons for the importance of their criteria, and also contribute any extra reasons for the importance of each other's criteria.
3. Groups present their lists to the class.

### Possible Answers

- **Infrastructure:** Electricity, roads, railway, airports, hospitals, schools, etc, are all important examples of infrastructure for a constituent unit. These help the constituent unit to function properly and provide services and a standard of living for its population. Without sufficient infrastructure, its population and businesses will all be at a disadvantage in a federal system. It will need a lot of financial assistance and development to establish its infrastructure. People may leave the constituent unit to seek work or education in other constituent units where infrastructure is better.
- **Ethnicity:** If people have a strong attachment to their ethnic group and it has been present in an area for a very long time, they may want the area to be a constituent unit in a federal system. They may want the ethnic group's language and culture recognised and protected in the constituent unit laws. The ethnic group in the constituent unit may have pre-existing administration and services like health and education to contribute to the constituent unit.
- **Resources:** Natural resources like rivers, forests, minerals, etc, enable a constituent unit to generate electricity, gain revenue from sale and taxation of resources, or use the resources locally for construction or generating electricity. If it has control of much of its own natural resources, the constituent unit can support itself and may need less financial assistance from the centre and other constituent units. If it has control over management of its natural resources, it can better protect local communities that rely on, or have a close connection to, the environment and land.
- **Population size:** If a constituent unit has enough people, then the local economy may grow because there are more people to make and buy goods. However, if there are too many people and not enough space, resources or infrastructure, people may leave the constituent unit to seek employment, education or better living conditions in other constituent units.
- **Geographic features:** Mountains, rivers, coastlines, forests or whether the land is flat, hilly, dry or swampy will all influence people's livelihoods – such as farming, crops, livestock, fishing etc. Geography also affects transportation and where people live. Rivers or mountains might also provide natural boundaries for constituent units.
- **History:** The history of a constituent unit will influence its role in a federal system. Past events like conflicts in the constituent unit may influence its future viability. People may feel that because of history they should have their own constituent unit. But considerations include if new units or boundaries create more unity or divisions, or which languages, religions, or cultures have historically been present. Have the people in the unit historically been dominant or oppressed? Has there been a lot of migration to or from it in the past?
- **Language:** People may feel that the local language should be recognised as the language of the constituent unit. If people share a language in a constituent unit it may be easier for administrations, employment and education.
- **Culture:** People in a constituent unit may share similar culture, traditions, festivals, food, clothing etc. These can contribute to the identity of the constituent unit.

## Chapter 3 Case Study

**Purpose:** Participants analyse the allocation of constituent units in Nepal.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually or in pairs or groups. They can do this in class or for homework.

**Preparation:** Write the questions on the board or show *Slide 3.5.3*.

### Questions for Participants

Based on the information in the text, the map of Nepal, the boundaries of the provinces in 2015, and the key to the map:

1. How was the new federal constitution of Nepal created?
2. How did the number of potential provinces change?
3. What was different about the two constituent assemblies?
4. In relation to the text about territorial and ethnic federal models, what things do you notice about the constituent units (provinces)?
5. What are possible reasons for why the province boundaries were designed in this way?
6. What could be possible reasons for why there were protests and violence in the Terai after the announcement of the new constitution and province boundaries?

f-2-f

Online Instructions

1. Participants read the case study.
2. They answer the questions.

### Answers

1. The new federal constitution was created through two constituent assemblies. New boundaries for provinces were considered by a state restructuring commission.
2. The number of potential constituent units suggested by the first CA was reduced from ten to six, later seven.
3. The first constituent assembly included communities, ethnic groups and civil society, the second constituent assembly mostly involved leaders from political parties negotiating with each other.

### Possible Answers

4. The constituent units often combined areas of more than one ethnic group; the Terai area along the southern side of Nepal bordering India has been broken up, and some parts are included within provinces that extend further north in Nepal.
5.
  - To create ethnically mixed territorial constituent units that were not dominated by only one ethnic or religious group.
  - Viability as some constituent units, for example the Terai area did not have capacity alone to generate hydropower so some parts are extended into areas that have rivers that could do this.
  - 50% of the population of Nepal lived in the Terai so having it as one province would have been unrepresentative or unbalanced.
6.
  - The population in the Terai may have wanted their own single province.
  - They may have felt they were not sufficiently consulted or given enough input into development of the boundaries of the provinces.
  - Tharu and Madhesi groups saw themselves as different to other groups in Nepal that were included in the provinces that included parts of the Terai.

## 3.6 Bases and Boundaries of Constituent Units in Myanmar

### 3.6 | Preview

**Purpose:** Participants check their knowledge of Myanmar's administrative structure.

**Practicalities:** Participants work as a class.

**Preparation:** Write the question on the board, or show *Slide 3.6.1*.

#### Questions for Participants

What criteria do you believe have been used to allocate constituent units in Myanmar?

**f-2-f****Online Instructions**

Participants discuss the question. Elicit a few answers.

#### Possible Answers

- Territory
- Ethnicity
- Resources
- Geography
- History
- Language

Participants read to end of Section 3.6.

## 3.6 | Exercise 1

**Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 3.5.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually.

**Preparation:** Write the questions on the board, or show *Slide 3.6.2*.

f-2-f

Online Instructions

Participants answer the question.

### Answer

Arguments for ethnic federalism: 2, 3, 5, 8, 9

Arguments for territorial federalism: 1, 4, 6, 7, 10

### Questions for Participants

Categorise these statements into arguments for ethnic federalism or arguments for territorial federalism in Myanmar.

1. Smaller groups will be disadvantaged in constituent units of larger groups.
2. Groups' languages and histories will be recognised.
3. Some groups already provide services for their own people.
4. Constituent units made up of one group may want to break away from the country.
5. Constituent units should correspond to historic homelands of groups.
6. Constituent units should have enough people and resources to function properly.
7. Development is most important for demarcation of constituent units.
8. Existing administration by groups will be included in a federal system.
9. States would be equally represented in the upper house of the Union parliament.
10. Adding more states could undermine existing ones.

## 3.6 | Exercise 2

- Purpose:** Participants analyse the map of Myanmar's boundaries and borders.
- Practicalities:** Participants work individually or in pairs or groups.
- Preparation:** Write the questions on the board, or show *Slide 3.6.3*.

### Questions for Participants

Based on the map of Myanmar's most recent administrative structure (as of September 2021):

1. What demarcates most of the boundary between Mandalay Region and Sagaing region and the northeastern boundary of Magway region and Mandalay region?
2. What model of federalism are those boundaries usually an example of?
3. Which constituent unit has the largest number of territorial areas demarcated for different ethnic groups?
4. What are common features of parts of the boundaries of most ethnic states?
5. What federalism-related concern could that aspect of state boundaries have contributed to in the past?
6. In relation to area and population, what could be some potential consequences if all seven Bamar regions were combined into one constituent unit in a future federal system?

f-2-f

Online Instructions

Participants answer the question.

### Answers

1. Ayeyarwaddy River
2. Territorial
3. Shan State

### Possible Answers

4. Ethnic states usually have borders with other countries; concentrated areas of ethnic groups do not correspond exactly with ethnic state boundaries.
5. Secession, or parts of the country joining other countries
6. It would be the largest constituent unit and have the majority of the population; it might economically and politically dominate the rest of the federal constituent units.

## Discussion / Reflection

### Questions for Participants

Based on the map, what are some features you notice about the boundaries of constituent units in Myanmar?

f-2-f Online Instructions

1. In groups or as a class, participants discuss the *Discussion / Reflection* question (it is also on *Slide 3.6.4*).
- Or have participants write their responses on an electronic whiteboard or bulletin board.

### Possible Answers

- Some regions use rivers for boundaries, like Mandalay and Magway.
- Most ethnic states have borders with other countries.
- The boundaries of states and regions do not follow the exact concentrations of different ethnic groups.
- Most states and regions have a mix of different ethnic groups in them.
- Shan State has most of the special administrative areas.

# 3.7 Division of Powers in Federal Design

## 3.7 | Preview

**Purpose:** Participants activate their prior knowledge of division of powers in federal systems.  
**Practicalities:** Participants work as a class.  
**Preparation:** Write the question on the board, or show *Slide 3.7.1*.

### Questions for Participants

In federal systems, which level usually has powers for:

1. currency?
2. natural resource management?
3. international relations?

### f-2-f Online Instructions

Elicit answers from the class

### Possible Answers

1. The federal level
2. Both
3. The federal level

Participants read to end of Section 3.7.

## 3.7 | Exercise

**Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 3.7.  
**Practicalities:** All participants have a handout.  
**Preparation:** Make copies of *Handout 3.7* (next page).

### f-2-f Online Instructions

Participants choose the best answers.

### Answers

- |      |      |
|------|------|
| 1. c | 4. d |
| 2. b | 5. b |
| 3. c |      |

## Handout 3.7

Choose the best answers.

1. Which one of the following describes the division of powers in a federal system?

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>a. The central government can intervene in a constituent unit if it disagrees with the laws made by the constituent unit.</p> <p>b. The central government can make and implement laws that all constituent units must follow and implement.</p> | <p>c. The central and constituent unit governments are each allocated the matters they can make and implement laws on.</p> <p>d. The constituent unit governments can make and implement laws on matters they have allocated to the central government.</p> |
|---|---|

2. In a federal system, which one of the following is something no level of government should do?

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>a. making laws that raise taxes from resources</p> <p>b. making laws that contradict the constitution</p> | <p>c. making laws on something in the concurrent list</p> <p>d. making laws on something in the constitution</p> |
|--|--|

3. Which of the following are all powers usually retained by the central government in most federal systems?

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>a. relations with other countries, health, resources</p> <p>b. relations with other countries, international trade, education</p> | <p>c. relations with other countries, international trade, defence</p> <p>d. relations with other countries, health, education</p> |
|--|--|

4. Powers relating to education, language and culture are more often allocated to constituent units in...:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>a. federal systems focused on development.</p> <p>b. federal systems with few constituent units.</p> | <p>c. federal systems with many constituent units.</p> <p>d. federal systems focused on ethnic diversity</p> |
|---|--|

5. Which of the following is an example of subsidiarity in a federal system?

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>a. Elected representatives in a constituent unit government make and implement education policy based on advice from the central government.</p> <p>b. Elected representatives in a constituent unit government consult with and explain their decisions about health services to the local people in their area who elected them.</p> | <p>c. Elected representatives from a constituent unit government explain their decisions about building roads in their constituent unit to the central government.</p> <p>d. Elected representatives from the central government explain their changes to tax policy to the people who elected a constituent unit government.</p> |
|---|---|

## 3.7 | Activity

- Purpose:** Participants interpret the table outlining divisions of powers in federal countries in Asia.
- Practicalities:** Participants work individually, then in groups, then as a class. Online groups need breakout rooms. All participants can see board or *Slide 3.7.2*.
- Preparation:** Write the question on the board, or show *Slide 3.7.2*.

### Questions for Participants

Based on the information in the table:

1. Which two countries allocate the most powers (of those listed in the table) to the constituent units?
2. Of the powers that are allocated to the constituent units, which power is often kept most at the centre?
3. Why might this be the case?
4. Which power allocated to the constituent units sometimes has exceptions to what is included? What are the exceptions?
5. Why might this be the case?

### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. Participants answer the questions.
2. In three (or six) groups, participants discuss their answers.
3. Groups present one of their possible answers to question 3 or 5 to the class
4. As a class, discuss the answers.

### Answers

1. Pakistan and Sri Lanka
2. Taxation and revenue are the powers most often kept at the centre.

### Possible Answers

3.
  - Individual taxes need to be collected by the centre because people move and work between different constituent units.
  - Some constituent units might collect a lot more tax and revenue than others.
  - If the centre collects most taxes and revenue, it can redistribute them equally between the constituent units.
  - If individual constituent units collect and keep most taxes and revenue, some may become more powerful than others creating inequality between the units.

### Answer

4. Key natural resources have some exceptions to them. Exceptions are oil, minerals and mines.

### Possible Answers

5.
  - Oil and minerals are valuable resources that can produce a lot of revenue.
  - The centre can manage their extraction and the impacts on people and environment.
  - The centre can share the wealth from the natural resources more equally between the constituent units.

## Discussion / Reflection

### Questions for Participants

What do you believe are the most important things to consider about division of powers in the design of a federal system?

**f-2-f****Online**

### Instructions

1. In groups or as a class, participants discuss the *Discussion / Reflection* question (it is also on *Slide 3.7.3*).
- Or have participants write their responses on an electronic whiteboard or bulletin board.

### Possible Answers

- Decision-making powers should be held by the level of government that represents those affected by those decisions. Representatives should only make decisions that affect the people they are accountable to, and higher levels of government should not be making decisions that can be better made at a local level.
- Units should only have the powers that they can use most effectively.
- Some powers are more important like police, law and order, education and health, so these should be allocated carefully.
- How unified the federal country is as a whole will affect how much power can be allocated to the constituent units.
- Powers that need to be consistent across a country or that involve relations with other countries need to be with the centre.

# 3.8 Division of Powers in a Federal Myanmar

## 3.8 | Preview

---

**Purpose:** Participants debate the options for education in a federal Myanmar.  
**Practicalities:** Participants work as a class.  
**Preparation:** Write the question on the board, or show *Slide 3.8.1*.

### Questions for Participants

In a federal Myanmar, should education be allocated to constituent units, the central government or should they have concurrent powers?

### f-2-f Online Instructions

As a class, discuss the question. Elicit answers from the class.

Participants read to end of Section 3.8.

## 3.8 | Exercise

**Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 3.8.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually.

**Preparation:** Write the statements onto a board or show Slide 3.8.2.

### Questions for Participants

Categorise these statements into *those supporting most powers staying with the Union* and *those supporting more powers going to the states/regions*.

1. Governments and people affected by their decisions will be closer to each other.
2. A of lack of trained and experienced people or sufficient resources.
3. It will hold the country together.
4. The people in some areas have a history of controlling their own resources.
5. It will encourage armed groups to seek greater autonomy.
6. States/regions do not use all the powers they currently have.
7. Some areas and peoples have had autonomy in the past.
8. There are existing independent administrations in some areas.

### f-2-f Online Instructions

Participants categorise the roles into *those supporting most powers staying with the Union* and *those supporting more powers going to the states/regions*.

### Answer

Arguments for most powers staying with the centre: 2, 3, 5, 6

Arguments for more powers going to states/regions: 1, 4, 7, 8

## 3.8 | Activity

Use the *Discussion / Reflection* questions in an interactive activity.

- Purpose:** Participants evaluate the importance of different factors in division of powers in a federal system.
- Practicalities:** Participants work in pairs, groups or as a class. Online groups need breakout rooms and a digital whiteboard.
- Preparation:** Write the question on the board, or show *Slide 3.8.3*.

### Questions for Participants

In Myanmar, should each of these powers go to the centre, to the constituent units, or be shared between them? Why?

- Law and order
- Natural resources
- Taxation
- Education
- Health
- Language
- Culture
- Environment

### f-2-f Instructions

1. In pairs, participants choose two of the powers from the list. For each, they decide whether the power should be with the centre, with the constituent units or be shared.
2. They join with another pair, and explain their choices.
3. Groups consider one power that is not on this list. They decide whether the power should be with the centre, with the constituent units, or be shared.
4. Groups present their powers from the list and their chosen power to the class with their reasons for allocation to the centre, constituent units or being shared.
5. If you like, follow each presentation with a class discussion.

### Online Instructions

1. In groups, participants choose two of the powers from the list. For each, they decide whether the power should be with the centre, with the constituent units or be shared.
2. Groups consider one power that is not on this list. They decide whether the power should be with the centre, with the constituent units, or be shared. They make notes of their ideas on a digital whiteboard.
3. Groups present one of their powers from the list, and their chosen power to the class with their reasons for allocation to the centre, constituent units or being shared.

## 3.9 Electoral Systems and Federal Design

### 3.9 | Preview

**Purpose:** Participants activate their prior knowledge of electoral systems.

**Practicalities:** Participants work as a class.

**Preparation:** Write the question on the board, or show *Slide 3.9.1*.

#### Questions for Participants

Why are electoral systems important for democratic federal systems?

#### f-2-f Online Instructions

Participants brainstorm reasons for the importance of elections. Prompt participants by asking them about Myanmar's 2020 elections, and/or other elections they have participated in.

#### Possible Answers

- Elections choose the representatives in parliament.
- Elections decide who has the most seats in parliament and becomes the government.
- In a federal system elections happen at different levels of government – at the centre and constituent units.
- Electoral systems need to be seen as reliable so people accept and trust the results and the government.

Participants read to end of Section 3.9.

### 3.9 | Exercise

**Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 3.9.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually. All participants have a handout.

**Preparation:** Make copies of *Handout 3.9* (next page).

#### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. Participants match the concepts and the descriptions.
2. They choose the best answers.

#### Answers

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

## Handout 3.9

1. Match the concepts (a-f) to their descriptions (i-vi).

- a. Electoral systems
- b. Elections
- c. “Plurality” and “Proportional”
- d. First past the post
- e. Proportional representation
- f. Mixed member proportional

- i. Seats for political parties distributed based on their share of votes
- ii. A vote for a candidate and a vote for a political party
- iii. An important part of the design of federal systems
- iv. Decide how many representatives of different political parties are in a legislature
- v. One successful candidate with the largest number of votes in a constituency
- vi. Main categories of electoral systems

2. Complete the sentences with the most appropriate statement.

- a. A disadvantage of first past the post systems is that..
  - i. many smaller political parties may have too much influence.
  - ii. votes that are not cast for the winning candidate do not count.
  - iii. people split their two votes between their constituency and a party.
  - iv. party lists only include elected representatives from constituencies.
- b. A disadvantage of proportional systems is that..
  - i. it restricts representation to the elected candidates from each constituency.
  - ii. only large political parties are able to get enough votes to be in government.
  - iii. too many votes do not count because it is a ‘winner takes all’ electoral system.
  - iv. a coalition may form that gives a small party too much influence in government.

## 3.9 | Activity

Use the *Discussion / Reflection* questions in an interactive activity.

- Purpose:** Participants evaluate different electoral systems.
- Practicalities:** Participants work in groups and individually. Online classes need breakout rooms and online polling facilities.
- Preparation:** Set up an online poll where participants vote between the three electoral systems. Write the question on the board, or show *Slide 3.9.2*.

### Questions for Participants

Which electoral system outlined here do you prefer? Why?

### f-2-f Instructions

1. In groups, participants discuss the three systems, and reasons they support each system or not.
2. Elicit responses from participants that include reasons for support of the three electoral systems.
3. Have a 'first past the post' poll where participants vote for the system they most prefer.
4. Count and show the results of the poll, and discuss these as a class.

### Online Instructions

1. In groups, participants discuss the three systems, and reasons they support each system or not.
2. Elicit responses from participants that include reasons for support of the three electoral systems.
3. Have a 'first past the post' poll, where participants vote for the system they most prefer.
4. Show the results of the poll, and discuss these as a class.

## 3.10 Electoral Systems in Myanmar

### 3.10 | Preview

- Purpose:** Participants consider the cause and effect of Myanmar's electoral system.
- Practicalities:** Participants work as a class. Leave responses on the board until participants have read the text.
- Preparation:** Write the question on the board, or show *Slide 3.10.1*.

#### Questions for Participants

What consequences has Myanmar's first-past-the-post electoral system had for:

- large, nationwide political parties?
- ethnic political parties?

#### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. As a class, participants discuss the effects of Myanmar's electoral systems. Write participants' ideas on the board.
2. After they have read Section 3.10, review these answers. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible Answers

- The large nation-wide political parties, like USDP in 2010, and NLD in 2015 and 2020 have dominated the Union parliament.
- Because there are seven Bamar regions and seven ethnic states with many smaller ethnic parties, the large political parties have also dominated the upper house.
- Ethnic political parties have struggled to gain seats with the first past the post system.

Participants read to end of Section 3.10.

### 3.10 | Exercise

- Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 3.10.
- Practicalities:** Participants work individually. All participants have a handout.
- Preparation:** Make copies of *Handout 3.10* (next page).

#### f-2-f Online Instructions

Participants choose the best answers.

#### Answers

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

## Handout 3.10

1. Which of the following has been the electoral system in the past in Myanmar?

- |                                |                                   |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. Proportional Representation | c. Mixed Member Proportional      |
| b. First Past the Post         | d. Appointment of Chief Ministers |

2. Which of these population-based factors may have produced unequal election results in the past in Myanmar?

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a. Myanmar's population size of approximately 53 million people | c. Large differences in the population size between constituencies |
| b. The number of townships in the different states and regions  | d. The number of MPs in different houses of the Union Parliament.  |

3. Which of these has been a factor that disadvantaged ethnic-based political parties in the past?

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a. Two seats in state and region parliaments for each township in the state or region | c. Many small ethnic-based parties competing with each other for the same ethnic voters  |
| b. Proposals for introducing a proportional representation system by the USDP in 2014 | d. Elections for the Union, state and region parliaments being all held at the same time |

4. Which of these is an argument in favour of a PR electoral system in Myanmar?

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| a. More support in parliaments for military-based political parties and military MPs   | c. More seats created in Union, state and region parliaments for new representatives |
| b. More representation of smaller political parties and ethnic-based political parties | d. More new constituencies created for each township across all states and regions   |

5. Which of these has been an argument against a PR electoral system in Myanmar?

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| a. Less incentive for smaller political parties to merge, work together or form coalitions | c. Less incentive to vote for smaller or ethnic-based parties in all states and regions     |
| b. Less incentive for large country-wide political parties to contest all constituencies   | d. Less incentive to vote for military-backed political parties or support for military MPs |

6. Which of these could make a PR system in Myanmar more representative?

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a. No role for smaller political parties or ethnic-based parties in parliaments         | c. No role for military-backed political parties or military MPs in parliaments      |
| b. No role for large country-wide political parties in all state and region parliaments | d. No role for PR in election of representatives to the state and region parliaments |

## Discussion / Reflection

---

### Questions for Participants

What type of electoral system FPTP, PR or MMP (or other) do you prefer for a federal Myanmar? Why?

f-2-f

Online

### Instructions

1. In groups or as a class, participants discuss the *Discussion / Reflection* question (it is also on *Slide 3.10.2*).
  - Or have participants write their responses on an electronic whiteboard or bulletin board.

## 3.11 Fiscal Powers in Federal Design

### 3.11 | Preview

---

**Purpose:** Participants activate their prior knowledge of fiscal powers.  
**Practicalities:** Participants work as a class. Leave responses on the board until participants have read the text.  
**Preparation:** Write the question on the board, or show Slide 3.11.1.

f-2-f

Online

### Instructions

1. As a class, participants discuss what they believe fiscal powers are. Write participants' ideas on the board.
2. After they have read Section 3.11, review these answers. Were their ideas similar to the text?

### Questions for Participants

What are fiscal powers? What do they involve?

### Possible Answers

- Taxes
- Spending
- Being able to raise taxes
- Being able to spend money raised from taxes

Participants read to end of Section 3.11.

## 3.11 | Exercise

**Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 3.11.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually.

**Preparation:** Write the statements onto a board or show *Slides 3.11.2 a – g*.

### Questions for Participants

Are the following statements true or false? If false, say why.

- a. Revenue describes the services provided by governments.
- b. Taxes, fees and royalties from extraction of natural resources are some ways that governments raise funds.
- c. Only central federal governments have revenue-raising powers in federal systems.
- d. Population, geography and resources influence the amount of revenue collected by different constituent units.
- e. Fiscal equalisation means the central government keeps most of the revenue.
- f. Representatives from federal and constituent unit governments and finance specialists are usually included in finance commissions in federal systems.
- g. Each constituent unit in a federal system usually keeps all of the revenue it raises from its natural resources.

### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. Participants identify whether the statements are true or false.
2. If false, they explain the reason.

### Answers

- a. False – revenue describes the funds (money) that is raised.
- b. True
- c. False – constituent unit governments also have revenue-raising powers in federal systems.
- d. True
- e. False – ‘fiscal equalisation’ is about redistribution of funds through the central federal government to the constituent units.
- f. True
- g. False – revenue raised from natural resources is usually shared between central and constituent unit governments, or taken as a share of taxes by both levels.

## 3.11 | Activity

---

**Purpose:** Participants assess the importance of different factors in fiscal design.

**Practicalities:** Participants work in groups. Online classes need breakout rooms.

**Preparation:** Write the statements onto a board or show *Slide 3.11.3*.

### Questions for Participants

What do you believe are reasons for why fiscal powers are important in federal design?

### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. In groups, participants discuss what they believe are most important about fiscal powers in federal design.
2. Groups present their ideas. Make a class list of the most important ideas.

### Possible Answers

- Fiscal powers for the constituent units relate to how much they can spend on infrastructure and services for their populations.
- Fiscal powers relate to how much autonomy the constituent units have from the centre or not.
- Fiscal powers relate to natural resources in constituent units and how much they keep or share with the centre or other units.
- Fiscal powers over resources or taxation are also important for the central federal level so it can balance differences in wealth between constituent units because they will not all have the same wealth and resources.

## 3.12 Fiscal Powers in Myanmar

### 3.12 | Preview

**Purpose:** Participants activate their prior knowledge of fiscal powers in Myanmar.

**Practicalities:** Participants work as a class. Leave responses on the board until participants have read the text.

**Preparation:** Write the question on the board, or show Slide 3.12.1.

#### Questions for Participants

How were fiscal powers divided under Myanmar's 2008 constitution?

#### f-2-f Online Instructions

1. As a class, participants discuss what they believe fiscal powers are. Write participants' ideas on the board.
2. After they have read Section 3.12, review these answers. Were their ideas similar to the text?

#### Possible Answers

- Most fiscal powers for taxation and expenditure were held at the Union government level.
- States and regions could collect taxes on some things like roads but not on oil, gas or timber.
- States and regions relied on transfers from the Union for most of their funds.
- States and regions needed to submit budgets to a central finance commission for their proposed expenditure.

Participants read to end of Section 3.12.

### 3.12 | Exercise

**Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in Section 3.12.

**Practicalities:** All participants have a handout.

**Preparation:** Make copies of *Handout 3.12* (next page).

#### f-2-f Online Instructions

Participants follow the instructions on the handout.

#### Answers

1. **Union** – c, d, f, j  
**State/region** – a, b, e, g, h, i
2. Taxes, license fees and shares of the sale of resources extracted by foreign businesses.
3. Road building and electricity infrastructure
4. b, d, g, c, e, a, f

## Handout 3.12

1. Categorise the sources of revenue as being mostly with Union or State/Region governments.

- |                       |          |          |           |
|-----------------------|----------|----------|-----------|
| a. Forest products    | d. Oil   | g. Sand  | j. Mining |
| b. Small-scale mining | e. Stone | h. Land  |           |
| c. Timber             | f. Gas   | i. Water |           |

2. What are the ways that revenue is generated from these resources?

3. What have been the two main areas of expenditure for states and regions?

4. Put these steps in the process of the Union Budget into the most appropriate order

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| a. The Union Parliament reviews the Union Budget   | e. The Financial Commission integrates the State/Region budgets into the Union budget       |
| b. State/region ministries and departments make requests for funds to state/region parliaments | f. The President approves the Union Budget  |
| c. The Financial Commission reviews the State/Region budgets                                   | g. State/region parliaments submit their budget proposals to the Union Financial Commission |
| d. State/region parliaments discuss and amend their budget proposals                           |   |

## Handout 3.12

1. Categorise the sources of revenue as being mostly with Union or State/Region governments.

- |                       |          |          |           |
|-----------------------|----------|----------|-----------|
| a. Forest products    | d. Oil   | g. Sand  | j. Mining |
| b. Small-scale mining | e. Stone | h. Land  |           |
| c. Timber             | f. Gas   | i. Water |           |

2. What are the ways that revenue is generated from these resources?

3. What have been the two main areas of expenditure for states and regions?

4. Put these steps in the process of the Union Budget into the most appropriate order

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| a. The Union Parliament reviews the Union Budget   | e. The Financial Commission integrates the State/Region budgets into the Union budget       |
| b. State/region ministries and departments make requests for funds to state/region parliaments | f. The President approves the Union Budget  |
| c. The Financial Commission reviews the State/Region budgets                                   | g. State/region parliaments submit their budget proposals to the Union Financial Commission |
| d. State/region parliaments discuss and amend their budget proposals                           |   |

## 3.12 | Activity

Use the *Discussion / Reflection* questions in an interactive activity.

- Purpose:** Participants decide on revenue allocation in a federal Myanmar.
- Practicalities:** Participants work individually and in groups. Online classes need breakout rooms and an electronic whiteboard.
- Preparation:** Write the question on the board, or show Slide 3.12.2.

### Questions for Participants

What sources of revenue (specific natural resources, taxes, rents, tolls, fees, licenses etc) in Myanmar do you believe should go to central or constituent unit governments, or be shared in some way?

### f-2-f Instructions

1. Individually, participants write a list of sources of revenue for governments (e.g. specific natural resources, taxes, rents, tolls, fees, licenses etc.).
2. For each, they decide if they believe it should go to central or constituent unit governments, or be shared in some way. They provide their reasons why.
3. In groups, participants create tables with columns for sources of revenue, where it should go and the reasons why.
4. In groups, they compare their tables.

### Online Instructions

1. Individually, participants write a list of sources of revenue for governments (e.g. specific natural resources, taxes, rents, tolls, fees, licenses etc.).
2. For each, they decide if they believe it should go to central or constituent unit governments, or be shared in some way. They provide their reasons why.
3. In groups, participants create tables with columns for sources of revenue, where it should go and the reasons why.
4. Groups present their tables to the class.

## To Consider

### Questions for Participants

1. What process would you prefer or recommend for developing a new federal system?
2. Which people or types of organisations do you believe should be involved in the process? Why? How?

### f-2-f Online Instructions

- As a class, participants discuss the question at the end of Chapter 3 (it is also on *Slide 3.12.3*);
- or participants submit a written assignment based around the question;
- or participants post on an electronic whiteboard or bulletin board to see others' opinions on the question.

# Appendix A: Extra Questions for Discussion or Assignment

**Purpose:** Participants discuss or write about key concepts in federalism.

**Practicalities:** All participants work individually or in pairs or groups (written assignment) or in groups or as a class (discussion).

**Preparation:** None.

f-2-f

Online Instructions

Use any or all of these open questions:

- to allocate to groups to discuss. They then present their ideas to the class, who can give further input;
- as an informal class discussion;
- as an essay or paragraph writing assignment.

Some further questions about federalism generally to consider:

- What are some ways you can think of that democracy and federalism are related?
- What are some ways that federal systems could protect the rights of non-majority groups?
- Do you think constituent units in a federal system should have one group as a majority group, or have a more balanced mix of different groups? Why?

Some further questions to consider about federalism and Myanmar:

- What do you believe would be the most important historical impacts on Myanmar's path towards federalism? Why?
- What would be some potential advantages of a genuine federal system for Myanmar?
- What could be some potential disadvantages of a genuine federal system for Myanmar?
- Do you believe Myanmar should maintain its current constituent unit structure, or have more (or less) constituent units in a federal system in the future? Why?
- Should all the present or potential constituent units in the Union of Myanmar remain within a federal system or not? What could be possible alternatives?
- What would be the biggest challenges to developing a genuine federal system in Myanmar? Why?

# Appendix B: Multiple Choice Questions

**Purpose:** Participants check their understanding of key concepts in federalism.

**Practicalities:** Participants work individually.

**Preparation:** Make the questions into a handout, or online quiz.

## Main Ideas in Federalism

1. Which one of the following are essential features of federal systems?

- a. parliaments, separation of powers, unitary systems
- b. constitutions, constituent units, division of powers
- c. local authorities administer central government laws
- d. ethnic identity, religion, languages, self-determination

2. Which institution of government has permanent staff that administer government laws, services, and policies?

- a. judiciary
- b. legislature
- c. executive
- d. civil service

3. Which of the following are all typical features included in most federal constitutions?

- a. preamble, citizenship laws, electoral system, presidential salary
- b. preamble, rights of citizens, division of powers, amendment
- c. preamble, rights of citizens, division of powers, election dates
- d. preamble, rights of citizens, individual taxes, amendment

4. The division of powers in federal systems describes:

- a. the different commanders in charge of army, navy, air, and police forces in a country
- b. the abilities of central and constituent unit governments to make laws or raise taxes
- c. how the boundaries of territorial constituent units in a federal system are organised
- d. the resource capacity of central and constituent unit governments to generate electricity

5. Residual powers in a federal constitution are:

- a. powers that go to the federal government
- b. powers that go to the constituent units
- c. powers that are not specifically allocated
- d. powers that must be shared between levels

## Paths to Federalism

6. Which of the following are typical features of 'holding together' federalism?

- a. A country with a large territory, large population and many natural resources
- b. A country with concentrations of different ethnic, linguistic or religious groups
- c. Constituent units choosing to become part of a federal system for mutual benefit
- d. Constituent unit boundaries largely based on geographic and economic factors

7. Which of the following terms is often used to describe holding together federal systems?

- a. Greater autonomy?
- b. Self-determination
- c. Unity in diversity
- d. Hybrid federalism

8. Which of the following are typical features of 'coming together' federalism?

- a. Imagined political communities of shared culture, history and territory
- b. More risks of secession from different ethnic or linguistic groups
- c. More powers, economic and security benefits for constituent units
- d. Collective rights of groups of people to autonomy and political participation

9. Which of the following best describes the idea of self-determination?

- a. a group of people in a country with a shared culture, history and territory
- b. a country that consists of mostly one main national ethnic group
- c. a federal system of government with many different constituent units
- d. a group's right to decide their own political status and development

## Federal Design

10. Which of the following lists are all reasons for public participation in the constitution drafting process?

- a. The constitution is the basis of government system, political system, and military's role in politics
- b. The constitution is the basis of government system and institutions, laws and citizens' rights
- c. The constitution is the basis of government system, political system, subjects in education system
- d. The constitution is the basis of government system, political parties, religion and civil society

11. Which of the following lists are all reasons for why language is important in federal design?

- a. education, geography, identity, political participation
- b. education, identity, employment, natural resources
- c. education, employment, identity, political participation
- d. education, identity, national flag, political participation

12. Which of the following best describes the idea of secularism?

- a. Religion should be a central part of a national identity
- b. Religion should be a central part of a federal government
- c. Religion should be separate from government institutions
- d. Religion should be included in a country's constitution

13. Legal access to healthcare, education, employment, and freedom of movement can be most affected by:

- a. Religion
- b. Identity
- c. Nationalism
- d. Citizenship

14. Which of the following are all factors that would influence decisions about creating constituent units in territorially-based federal systems?

- a. ethnicity, population size, geography, economic viability
- b. religion, population size, geography, economic viability
- c. infrastructure, population size, geography, economic viability
- d. language, population size, risk of secession, economic viability

15. Constituent units in a hybrid federal structure

- a. are based on a combination of ethnic and linguistic factors
- b. are based on a combination of ethnic and territorial factors
- c. are based on a combination of economic and resource factors
- d. are based on a combination of cultural and ethnic factors

16. Which of the following are all powers typically held by the federal level?

- a. Trade, health care, language education
- b. Trade, international relations, forestry
- c. Trade, international relations, road taxes
- d. Trade, international relations, defence

17. In federalism, subsidiarity is the idea that:

- a. decisions are made at the government level closest to the people affected by the decisions
- b. decisions about revenue from natural resources are made at the central government level
- c. decisions at the constituent unit level are made after consulting the federal government
- d. decisions at the federal level are made after consulting the constituent unit governments

18. Which of the following is a disadvantage of first past the post electoral systems?

- a. Votes cast by citizens are translated into seats held by political parties in parliament
- b. The winning candidate in a constituency is the one who receives the most votes
- c. Votes cast for candidates other than the winning one in a constituency do not count
- d. First past the post electoral systems choose representatives in many federal countries

19. Which of the following is a potential disadvantage of proportional representation electoral systems?

- a. Votes cast translate more closely to the number of seats held by different parties in parliament
- b. Some countries combine first past the post with proportional representation electoral systems
- c. The proportion of seats in parliament corresponds to the proportion of votes cast for parties
- d. A small party in a coalition with a larger one may have a lot of influence compared to its size

20. Which of the following is the best description of fiscal powers?

- a. a system to redistribute revenue from the central level to the constituent units
- b. ability of central government and constituent units to raise revenue and spend it
- c. use of formulas to calculate the distribution of revenue back to constituent units
- d. transfers of revenue raised from natural resources between levels of government

21. What is the main rationale for 'fiscal equalisation' where funds are distributed back through the central government to the constituent units?

- a. constituent units will all need the same amount of funds to pay for services
- b. constituent units can all raise the same amount of funds to pay for services
- c. constituent units differ in how much revenue they can raise to pay for services
- d. constituent units will all have their representatives in the finance commission

### Answers

- |      |       |        |
|------|-------|--------|
| 1. b | 8. c  | 15. b  |
| 2. d | 9. d  | 16. d  |
| 3. b | 10. b | 17. a  |
| 4. b | 11. c | 18. c  |
| 5. c | 12. c | 19. d  |
| 6. b | 13. d | 20. b  |
| 7. c | 14. c | 21. c. |

# Appendix C: Draft Federal Constitution Workshop

**Purpose:** Participants apply the ideas and elements of federalism they have looked at throughout the course, as well as their own ideas and perspectives to create a draft federal constitution.

**Practicalities:** Participants work in groups. Online classes need breakout rooms with digital whiteboards and/or a collaborative document. Allow as much time as possible for this activity – several hours or a full day.

**Preparation:** Write each federal design topic and related subtopics (see next page) on flipchart paper and hang these up around the room, or show or *Slides Appendix C 1 – 11*.

## Notes

- During Step 2 and Step 4 especially, check in with each group that they are also considering their topic's connections to other areas of federal design. They can refer to relevant sections of the book if they are not certain about the focus of their topic.
- Encourage groups to keep their lists of suggestions for their federal topics short and clear.
- The workshop 'constitution draft' is likely to be inconsistent and incomplete, but it can help participants to think further about federal design, and issues and difficulties involved.

## f-2-f Instructions

1. Participants go around the room looking at the federal topic charts. They can add any extra suggestions for how a topic should be addressed to the flipcharts.
2. Assign each group one of the specific topic sheets. In small classes, reduce or combine topics if necessary. Groups look at their topic and discuss how that part of the federal system should be organised. They write their ideas onto fresh flipcharts to present to the class.
3. Groups present their draft suggestions for their federal topic to the workshop. Other participants give feedback.
4. Based on the feedback, groups do a second round of drafting to refine their ideas and write out their updated proposals on fresh flipcharts.
5. Groups present their updated ideas for their federal design issue to the workshop. Other groups give feedback.
6. As a class, write a draft constitution, incorporating each group's ideas.
7. As a class, discuss the kinds of difficulties and complexities they noticed in trying to design a federal constitution.

## Online Instructions

1. Participants look through the slides of federal design topics. They can suggest any extra ideas for how a topic should be addressed.
2. Assign each group one of the specific topic slides. In small classes, reduce or combine topics if necessary. Groups look at their topic and discuss how that part of the federal system should be organised. They write their ideas onto a digital whiteboards or document to present to the class.
3. Groups present their draft suggestions for their federal topic to the workshop. Other participants give feedback.
4. Based on the feedback, groups do a second round of drafting to refine their ideas and write out their updated proposals on a digital whiteboard or document
5. Groups present their updated ideas for their federal design issue to the workshop. Other groups give feedback.
6. As a class, write a draft constitution, incorporating each group's ideas on a collaborative document visible to the class.
7. As a class, discuss the kinds of difficulties and complexities they noticed in trying to design a federal constitution.

## Federal Design Topics

### Constitution drafting process:

- Who to involve or consult?
- Public participation?
- New constitution or amendment of old one?
- Constituent unit constitutions?
- Who would draft them?
- When – before or after the federal constitution?

### Federal structure:

- Constituent units – states/ regions/ special administrative areas/ some other type?
- Number of constituent units?
- Bases of units – ethnic/ territorial/ hybrid?
- Criteria for viability of constituent units?

### Identity issues:

- Language(s)? One or many?
- Religion – state religion?
- Special recognition of one religion?
- Secular?

### Citizenship:

- Included in constitution or not?
- Citizen's rights and duties?
- What rights/duties to include?

### Federal Government Institutions:

- Legislature, Executive, Judiciary?
- Structure of Parliaments – unicameral/bicameral parliament?
- Composition/proportion of representatives?
- How are members of executive/ ministers selected?
- Criteria for ministers?
- How are members of judiciary selected?
- Check with constituent unit government institution drafters to check consistency of centre and constituent units.

### Constituent Unit Government Institutions:

- Legislature, Executive?
- Judiciary, Civil Service (or provided or administered at federal level)?
- Local government level below the constituent unit government level?
- Structure of Parliaments? Composition/ proportion of representatives?

- How are members of executive/ ministers selected?
- Criteria for ministers?
- If the judiciary within the constituent units is controlled by the constituent units, how are members of the judiciary selected?
- Consult with federal government institution drafters to check consistency of centre and constituent units.

### Protection of rights/ interests of smaller ethnic or minority groups within constituent units:

- Special autonomy in own territorial areas?
- Non-territorial rights?
- Allocated/elected representation within constituent unit institutions?

### Division of powers:

- Who makes laws? (Remember that legislative powers for something usually have corresponding executive powers.)
- Which go to the centre?
- Which to the constituent units?
- Which may be shared?
- Residual powers – to the centre or constituent units?

### Electoral system:

- How is the head of government executive (President or Prime minister) elected?
- How are representatives in parliaments elected? First Past The Post/Proportional Representation /Mixed Member Proportional?
- How are heads/chiefs of constituent units and of the federal system elected/ selected?

### Constitution Amendment:

- How?
- Who by?
- Process/numbers/proportions of representatives supporting needed for amendments?

### Fiscal Powers:

- Which things can the federal level tax?
- Which things can constituent units tax?
- Revenue sharing?
- How?
- Revenue sharing System?
- Finance commission?
- Members?

# Appendix D: Supplementary Reading/ Viewing, General

To support your teaching/training/facilitation and general background knowledge of federalism, this is a short list of organisations that have useful resources on the subject of federalism and links to their websites. Some have resources in both English and Burmese. Most of these sites have a search function if you wish to locate further resources on specific topics within federalism.

## General sources on federalism

### 50 Shades of Federalism

A collection of articles on federalism topics by federalism scholars(English)

<http://50shadesoffederalism.com/>

### Asia Foundation: Fiscal Federalism in Myanmar

Curriculum and resources on fiscal federalism in Myanmar (Burmese, Shan, Kachin, Karen, English)

<https://asiafoundation.org/tag/fiscal-federalism-myanmar/>

### Constitute

A collection of constitutions from countries around the world(English)

<https://www.constituteproject.org/>

### Centre for Development and Ethnic Studies

Myanmar/Burma think tank with resources on ethnic issues and federalism (Burmese& English)

<https://cdes.org.mm/>

### Forum of Federations

An international organisation promoting learning about democracy and federalism(English)

<http://www.forumfed.org/publications/>

### Hanns Siedel Foundation Myanmar

A German foundation promoting education about democracy and federalism(Burmese& English)

<https://southeastasia.hss.de/myanmar/publications/>

### International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)

International organisation promoting education about democracy and federalism(English)

<https://www.idea.int/publications/catalogue/federalism?lang=my>

### International IDEA: My Constitution Myanmar

Resources on democracy and federalism (Burmese & English)

<http://constitutionnet.org/myanmar-publications>

### Pyidaungsu Institute

A Myanmar/Burma institute founded by ethnic and civil society groups (Burmese& English)

<https://pyidaungsuinstitute.org/index.php/en/component/search/?searchword=federalism&searchphrase=all&Itemid=752>

### Salween Institute

Myanmar/Burmaresearch and training institute with resources on federalism (Burmese& English)

<https://www.salweeninstitute.org/>

### Williams, D.&Sakhong, L. (Eds) (2005). Peaceful Coexistence: Designing Federalism in Burma

A book including essays on federalism and the origins of federalism in Myanmar/Burma(English)

<https://www.burmalibrary.org/sites/burmalibrary.org/files/obl/docs09/Series10-ENC.pdf>

# Appendix E: Supplementary Reading/ Viewing, by Chapter

The online resources listed here relate to specific topics within the chapters of Federalism Basics. You can consult these for further in-depth knowledge on certain federalism topics for your own teaching/training/facilitation.

If you believe some of these resources would also be suitable for your participants/students, you could share them or recommend them as extra reading or viewing. However, it is important to note that some of these resources are lengthy and some contain complex language. Resources are in English unless otherwise noted.

## Chapter One

### Introduction to Federalism (video)

IDEA International (2020)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T3ywDYoD-QY>

### Government Institutions and Separation of powers in South Africa (video)

Civics Academy SA (2020)

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_882Xztbh5Q](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_882Xztbh5Q)

### Constitutions (video)

International IDEA (2014)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0UzKD8rZC-c0&t=95s>

### Malaysia Federal Structure

Forum of Federations (nd)

<http://www.forumfed.org/countries/malaysia/>

## Chapter Two

### Self-determination

Amanda Cats-Baril (2018)(Burmese& English)

<https://www.idea.int/publications/catalogue/self-determination>

### Federalism in Sri Lanka

Rochel Canagasabay (2021)

<http://50shadesoffederalism.com/case-studies/federalism-in-sri-lanka-one-concept-two-conceptions/>

### Federalism in Myanmar (video)

Lian Sakhong (2016)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D3RT9P-5CaC0&t=7s>

### In search of Panglong Spirit: The role of Federalism in Myanmar's peace discourse

Michael Signeur(2019)(Burmese & English)

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## Chapter 3

### Constitutional Beginnings: Making and amending constitutions

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### Citizenship in Myanmar

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### Creation of constituent units in federal systems

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<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fhkW7P5LXnc>

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**Natural Resource Federalism: Considerations for Myanmar**

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<https://resourcegovernance.org/sites/default/files/documents/federalism-considerations-for-myanmar-summary.pdf>

**Resource Federalism: A roadmap for decentralised governance of Burma's natural heritage**

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*Federalism Basics* provides a short introduction to the main elements of federalism. It introduces the structure and institutions, historical influences, and important design issues related to federal systems, with a focus on Myanmar, and relevant examples from South and Southeast Asia.

Topics in federalism covered in this book include:

- unitary and federal systems;
- levels of government and government institutions;
- constitutions and the process of constitution drafting;
- division of powers;
- citizenship;
- constituent units;
- electoral systems;
- fiscal powers.

This Trainer's Guide is designed so that trainers can use *Federalism Basics* in groups, workshops or classes, in face to face or online teaching contexts.

It includes a range of tasks based on each of the topics covered in *Federalism Basics*:

- Previews, to activate prior knowledge for each topic.
- Exercises, to check understanding of key concepts explained in the text.
- Interactive pair and group activities, so participants can further explore key ideas in federalism through discussion, analysis, problem-solving or planning.
- Discussion/reflection questions that encourage participants to further consider their own perspectives on issues in federalism.

There are instructions for conducting these tasks in both face to face and online contexts and guidelines for managing group and class discussions. Where appropriate, task answers or possible answers are provided.

This guide includes a revision task, a group federal constitution drafting activity, and links to resources that can be consulted for further background on the federalism topics covered in the book.