

2015

# Hate Speech:

A Study of Print, Movies, Songs and Social Media in Myanmar

PEN MYANMAR



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## Introduction

When the society is threatened by violent conflicts, both sides might try to seek to control the media by all means, resulting in greater harm to the society. Although activities of physical violence might be easily identified, cultural violence and structural violence mechanisms such as hate speech, Xenophobia, myths and legends of war heroes and religious justifications for wars and physical violence, institutionalized racism and structural segregation, could be emerged through print media and social media.

In fact, media is a significant social institution that helps develop interaction models between people. The media shapes concepts of cultural diversity of the world with various groups interacting within it. Non-tolerant media can even contribute to the negative image of a person or an ethnic group, thus fostering violence and discrimination. These calls can be either overt or covert hate speech.

Hate speech lies in a complex nexus with freedom of expression, advocacy of hatred, and incitement to violence; and has to be understood in the historical, social and political context in which it occurs. It tends to be bold and confrontational, and may be communicated in a number of ways: via the media, on placards, or increasingly on web chat-rooms and social media sites such as twitter and facebook. The climate for hate speech is likely to become more conducive in situations where the political stakes are high, such as during elections or when undergoing regime change; or often when faltering economic growth, high levels of poverty and unemployment leads to hostility towards particular groups.

In Myanmar, communities have been disrupted, traumatized and displaced due to the armed conflicts between ethnic minorities armed groups and the military governments as well as the political tensions between pro-democratic groups and the oppressed military society leading to the incitement of violence for several decades. In 2012, intra-communal violence

occurred due to the deeply-seated mistrust, the rooted authoritarian culture of administrative structures and unclear policies of immigration and escalated until 2014. Since then, the dissemination of hate speech through various forms of media coverage had emerged.

To systematically monitor the use of hate speech through media, PEN Myanmar has conducted conflict sensitive media monitoring project by specifically focusing on broadcast media (primarily songs and movies), social media (Facebook) and print media (newspapers, journals and magazines) for the period of January, 2015 to December, 2015.

### **Defining Hate Speech**

Hate speech is a broad term that refers to a range of negative discourse that incites hostility. This term traditionally covers expressions in any form deemed humiliating to any race, religious, ethnic or national group. This phenomenon can be expressed in a form of racism, xenophobia, interethnic hostility or intolerance, instigating violence, hatred or discrimination.<sup>1</sup> The 80s of the twentieth century cleared up the concept of hate speech, and it started to include homophobia and sexism, gender discrimination and other forms of hatred.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the term "hate speech" shall be understood as covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin

### **Hate Speech and Social Media**

On social media, hate speech online (cyber hate) can be occurred. Hate speech online can be understood as "...antisocial oratory that is intended to encourage persecution against people because of their race, color, religion, ethnic group, or nationality, and has a

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<sup>1</sup>Coliver, S. (1992) Striking a balance: Hate Speech, Freedom of Expression, and Non-Discrimination,

<sup>2</sup>Walker, S. (1994) Hate Speech: The History of An American Controversy 8. University of Nebraska Press. Nebraska.

substantial likelihood of causing harm”.<sup>3</sup> According to Anti-Defamation League, cyber hate can be defined as any use of electronic communications technology to spread anti-Semitic, racist, bigoted, extremist or terrorist messages or information. These electronic communications technologies include the Internet (i.e., Web-sites, social networking sites, “Web 2.0” user-generated content, dating sites, blogs, on-line games, instant messages, and E-mail) as well as other computer- and cell phone-based information technologies (such as text messages and mobile phones).<sup>4</sup>

### **Hate Speech and Print Media**

The print media display the greatest diversity of all, in both ownership and content. They range from daily to weekly newspapers, from news magazines to a range of special interest publications. The ideal of the 'Fourth Estate' - the media keeping a check over government - is perhaps more effective in the print media than broadcasting. At least some newspapers in any country are likely to conduct serious news investigations and comment in a reasonably sophisticated manner on country affairs. If print media is being used for hate speech dissemination by the state or any organization, the consequences are bigger.

### **Hate Speech and Videos and Music**

Hate music and videos are also used to attract supporters to incite violence. Radicals introduce hate speech to mainstream discourse, both in politics and media by using movies, videos and songs. Despite its powerful sound, lyrics and visuals, hate music would not survive without an efficient network of record companies and organizations. It seems many listeners are shocked or at least made uneasy by violence and hatred in music. Whether in rap, reggae or hardcore, explicitly misogynistic, homophobic, and racist lyrics and

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<sup>3</sup>Tsesis, A (2002) Destructive Messages: How Hate Speech Paves the Way for Harmful Social Movements. NYU Press

<sup>4</sup> [http://www.adl.org/internet/Binder\\_final.pdf](http://www.adl.org/internet/Binder_final.pdf)

performances repel as much as they fascinate. Keith Kahn-Harris suggests that the origin of such uneasiness is because violent music seems to undermine the perfection that music is supposed to represent, and that people do not consider hate music as music, but simply as hate. So people consequently wonder to what extent violent music leads to real life violence<sup>5</sup>. Similarly, hate videos are created and survived with the support of state media and armed organizations.

## **Hate Speech in Myanmar: Historical Context**

Myanmar is the largest independent state in mainland Southeast Asia and its land boundary touches five different countries. Burma's coastline is 1,930 km long, 852 islands that lie within its waters. Burmese government declared a territorial sea of 12 nautical miles (22 kilometers) and a zone of 24 nautical miles (44 kilometers).

For more than half-a-century, ethnic nationality-populated, rural areas of Myanmar have been affected by armed conflicts and for generations, communities have been disrupted, traumatized and displaced. There have been various forms of hate speech that took place in Myanmar, namely, hate speech based on political beliefs, hate speech based on ethnicity, hate speech based on religion and hate speech based on gender.

### **(1) Hate speech based on political beliefs**

In terms of historical context, by holding the reins of all organs of the state, and in full control of the press, radio, and television, the successive ruling Burmese regime branded political oppositions as destructive elements. Likewise, the armed struggle organizations were accused as warmongers, a handful of border smugglers, black-marketeers and stooges. The

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<sup>5</sup>KAHN-HARRIS, Keith, "The Aesthetics of 'Hate Music'", Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2003, <http://www.axt.org.uk/HateMusic/KahnHarris.htm>

successive regimes, not only branded and accused the people holding anti-authoritarian beliefs, but also mobilized state sponsored rallies against political opposition groups and armed struggle organizations.

## **(2) Hate speech based on ethnicity**

Ethnic minorities make up about a third of Burma's population of roughly 50 million. For over six decades, the army battled diverse ethnic groups who sought to gain greater autonomy. The Government justified its security measures as necessary to maintain order and national unity.

## **(3) Hate speech based on religion**

Historically, anti-religious tool was used by the authorities to divert people's attention from the economic mismanagement outcomes, failure of national reconciliation, and oppression to political activists, human rights abuses to ethnic peoples, religious discrimination and persecution, and other injustice affairs.

## **(4) Hate speech based on gender**

Women in Burma were effectively excluded from participating in local and national decision-making processes since the military takeover, despite the country having ratified the CEDAW. Article 352 of Burmese constitution states that "...nothing... shall prevent appointment of men to the positions that are suitable for men only." The constitution also requires that the president must be well acquainted with military affairs, which could be used to disqualify women.

## Research Methodology

Quantitative and qualitative analysis of print, online media and social networks and was made to detect the hate speech. The articles selected for this analysis were classified by a few headings, main of which were objects of hate speech and attitude of writers to exceptionable remarks. The methodology developed by the SOVA Centre for Information and Analysis was used in the report. This approach is the most acceptable since it has been developed to analyze hate speech in former USSR states and is being used by several think tanks. The data collectors explored the frequency of articles, which were identified by the following indicators:

1. The number of articles, poems, short stories in print media or the number of facebook page on social media based on the frequency in the reporting period; the genre of articles: news, analysis, opinions, interviews; poems; short stories in print media and the number of articles using the news focus in their stories covering the issues.

2. The content of articles was analyzed in terms of hate speech based on politics, hate speech based on ethnicity or hate speech based on religion.

### 3. Textual Analysis (Words and Meanings)

- of positive or negative comments;
- of the presence in the text of the source of information, the balance of opinions, illustrations, which can cause negative perceptions;
- of the number of articles containing emotional overtones; their sources;
- amount of balanced articles;
- of the number of articles where authors provide their comments;
- type of hate speech (degrees of radicalism of speech)



#### **4. Classification**

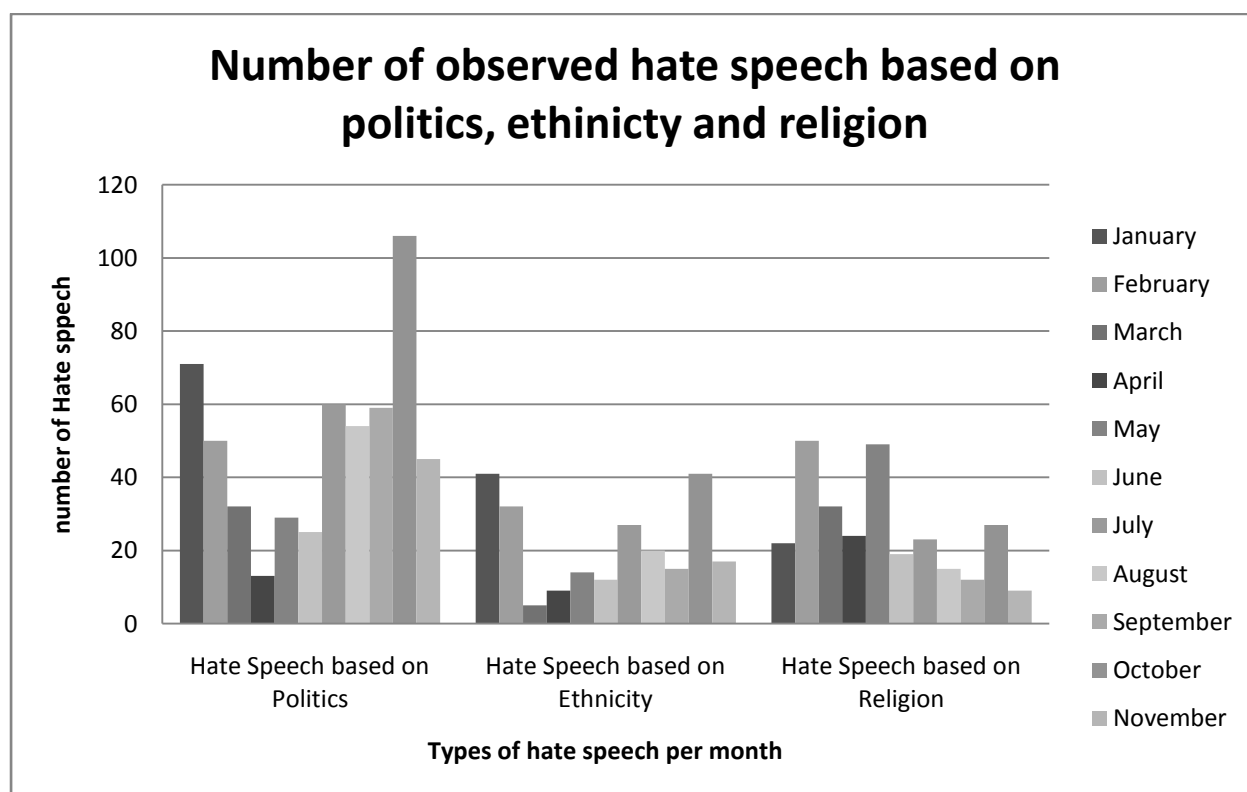
Articles containing hate speech were classified by politics, ethnicity, religion and divided into forms by the level of threat posed to the society – harsh, moderate and soft. Harsh forms of hate speech include calls for violence, calls for discrimination, implicit calls for violence and discrimination, calls for no consolidation in the region. Moderate forms of hate speech include justification of historical cases of violence and discrimination, articles and statements casting doubt on admitted historical facts of violence and discrimination, statements on historical crimes of one or another ethnic or religious group, statements on the criminality of one or another ethnic or religious group, thoughts about the disproportionate superiority of one or another ethnic or religious group, accusations of negative impact of one or another ethnic or religious group on the society, state, accusations of a group of attempted seizure of power or territorial expansion, denial of citizenship. Soft forms of hate speech creating negative image of an ethnic or religious group, statements on inadequacy of one or another ethnic or religious group, statements on moral infirmities of one or another ethnic group or religious group, references to ethnic or religious group or their representatives as such in a humiliating or insulting context, quotes of explicit hate speech and texts without comments.

#### **Key Findings on Social Media**

Overall, about 153 facebook pages were monitored on daily basis. During the observed period of January to Nov, 2015; the number of accounts had to be increased depending on the political context of the country. At least 60 % of the pages were active regularly by writing notes, putting photos on the wall and sharing news and photos of other pages.

Months	Number of Accounts
January	50
February	73
March	85
April	96
May	110
June	125
July	130
August	135
September	135
October	146
November	153
Total	153

It was noted that some hate speech disseminated pages based on religion were disappeared in July, 2015; while hate speech disseminated pages based on politics was heightened since then. Hate speech based on ethnicity was not too obvious during the observed period, except in October, whereas, election campaigns for 2015 Nov election were occurred.



## **(1) Hate Speech based on Politics**

Observing from 153 facebook pages for 11 months, about 473 political hate speeches were identified. The targets of these hate speeches and its forms were varied. The targets include political opposition leaders, political activists, political parties, armed struggle organizations, government leaders, government members and the general public.

### **(1.1) Political Hate speech targeting political opposition party**

Case (1): In January, the following cartoon was spread on facebook accusing that members of opposition party, NLD, are opposing against the religious monks and only supporting the monks who praised the work of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.



Share

👍 71 people like this.

➦ 14 shares

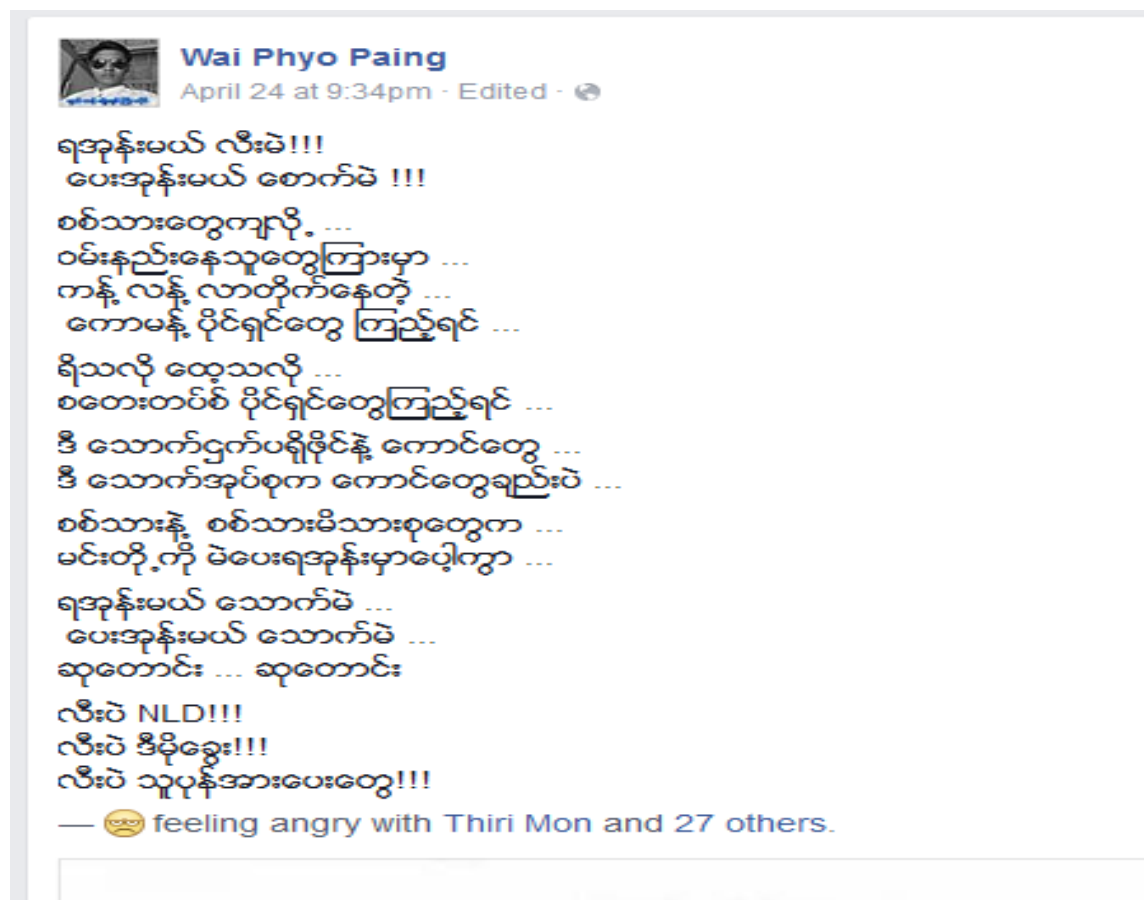


**Golden Myanmar** သတိထားကျရှေ့ရှေ့ကသင်ခန့်ပေးထားခဲ့တယ်

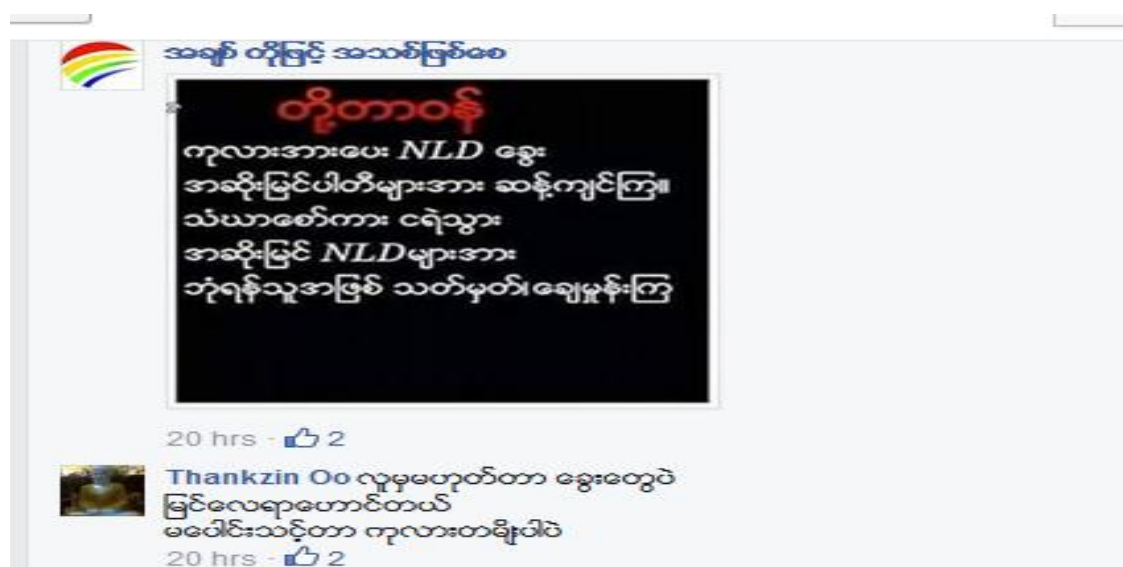
ဖဆပလ နှစ်ခြစ်ကွဲအောင်လုပ်ပြီး  
နိုင်ငံကိုအာဏာသိမ်းခွဲနည်းမျိုးစုံကိုသုံးနေကျ... [See More](#)

December 12, 2014 at 11:47am · 👍 1

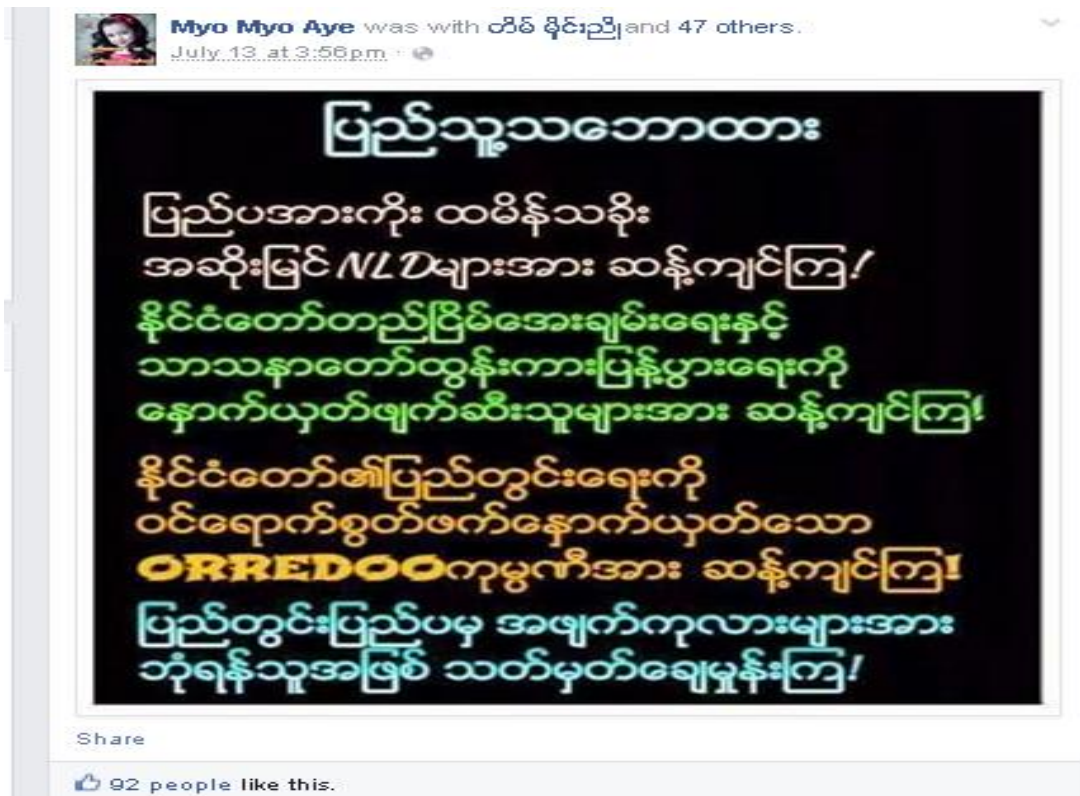
**Case (2): Hate speech against NLD members in March calling for not to vote**



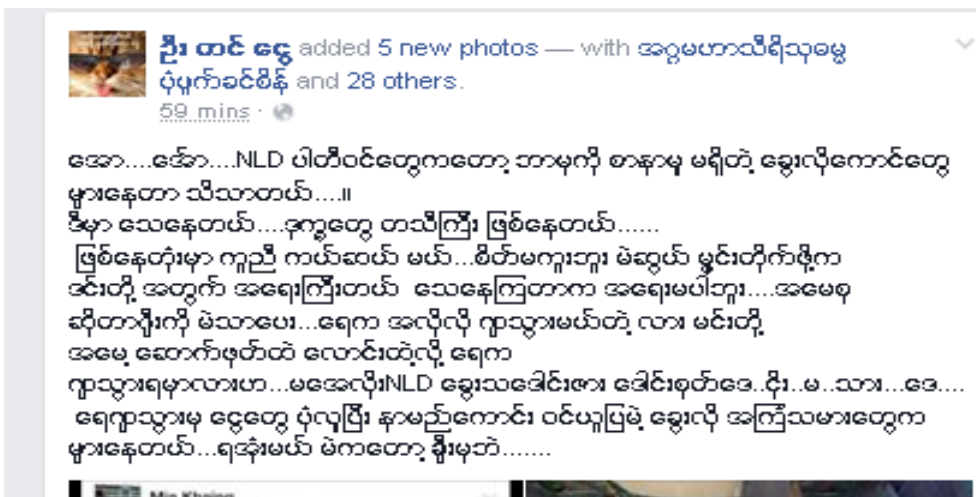
**Case (3) Calling on Duty to destroy destruct elements, especially NLD in March**



#### Case (4) Attacking NLD for the sake of People's Desire



#### Case (5) Resembling NLD members as dogs

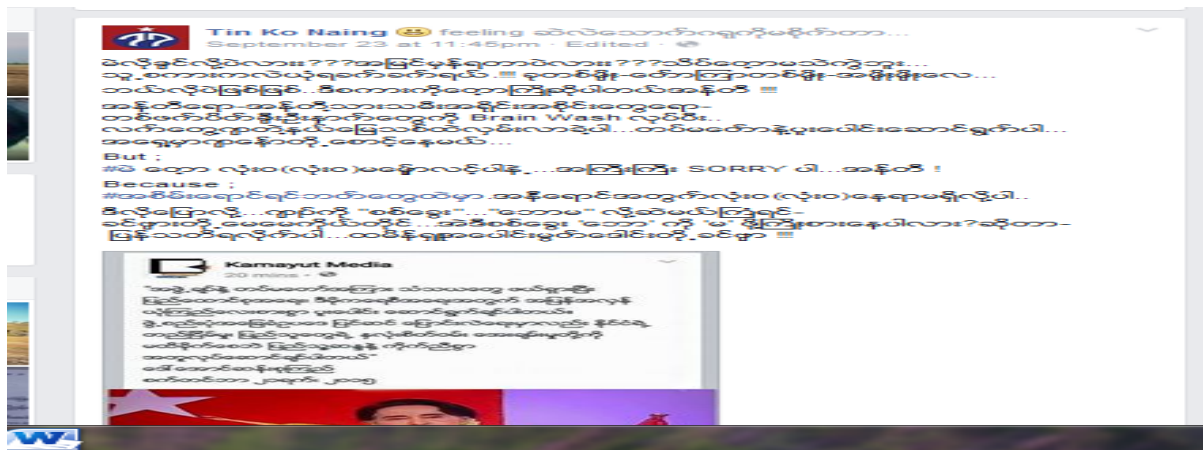




### Case (6) Hate speech mocking NLD supporters



### Case (7) Hate speech against NLD members by military personnel



## (1.2) Protest Movements contributing to the outbreak of political hate speech

Case (1): In one protest movement, Myanmar Flag was set on fire that led to the outbreak of political hate speeches calling for revenge.





## Case (2): Protest movements with Myanmar Flag putting under feet contributing to counter hate speeches



Share · Translate

86 people like this.

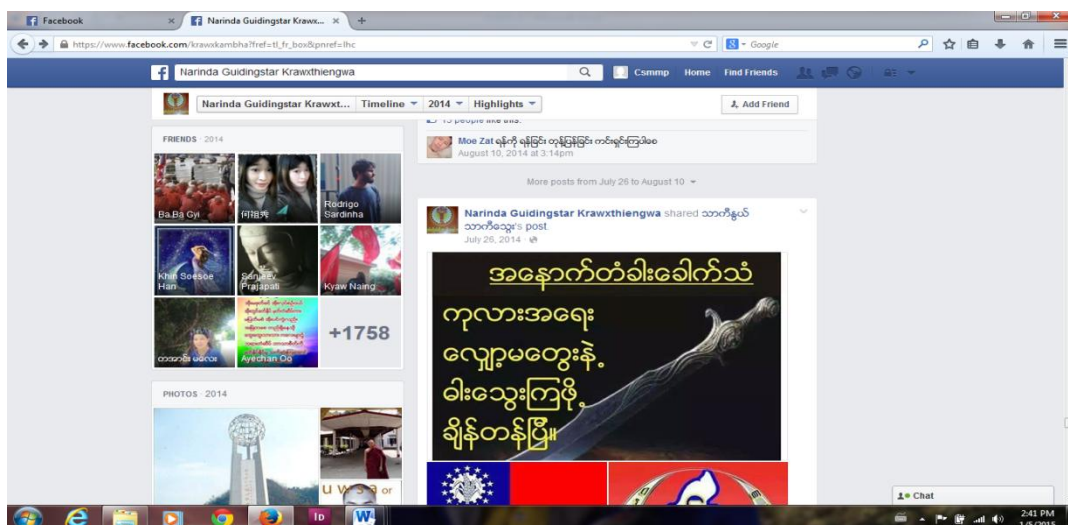
78 shares



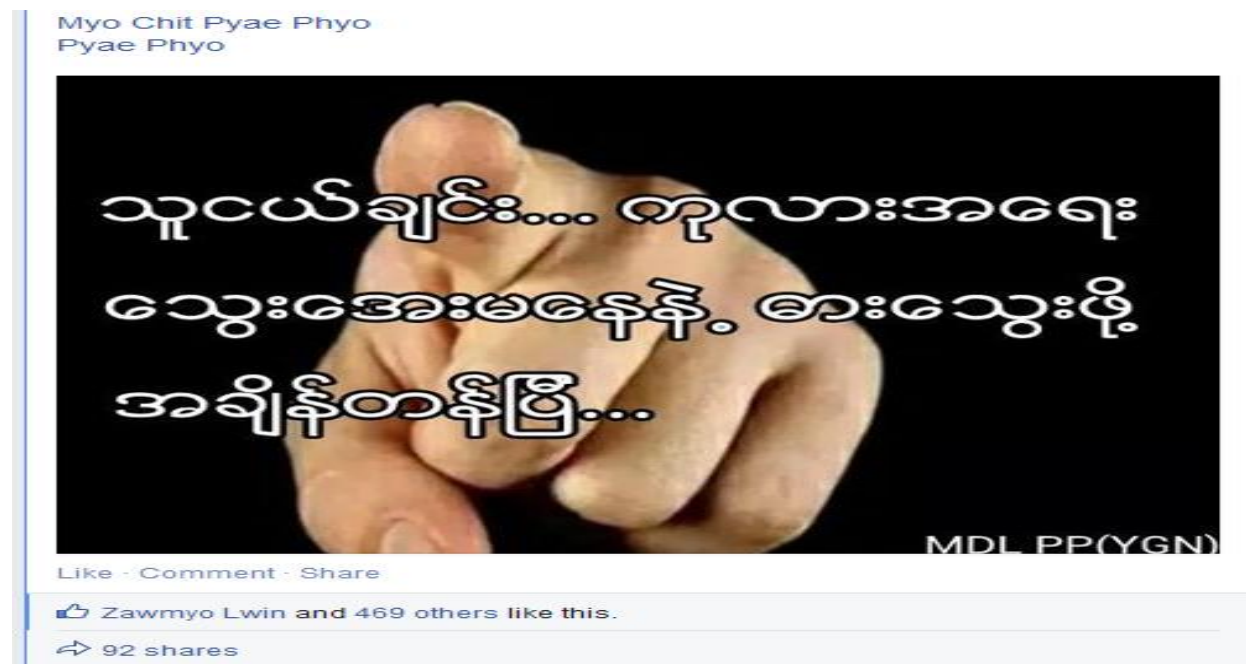
**Sky Drgon** ပြည်တွင်းပြည်ပတစ်ဆင့် ထိခိုက်သိသာကြပါ။  
May 14 at 8:34am

## (1.3) Political Hate speech based on geopolitics

Case (1): For Western Myanmar Security, people should think seriously and edging swords to prepare for wars



Case (2): people should think seriously about Kalars (Muslim people) and edging swords to prepare for wars



#### (1.4) Political Hate Speech targeting political leaders

Case (1): In January, 2015, the photo of Myanmar Democratic leader, Daw Aung San Su Kyi was cropped in photoshop and amended as follows with the message of marching for democratic transition with Allah.



Case (2): By putting political leaders with hate speech messages. Likes and shared messages have been going to a considerable extent.

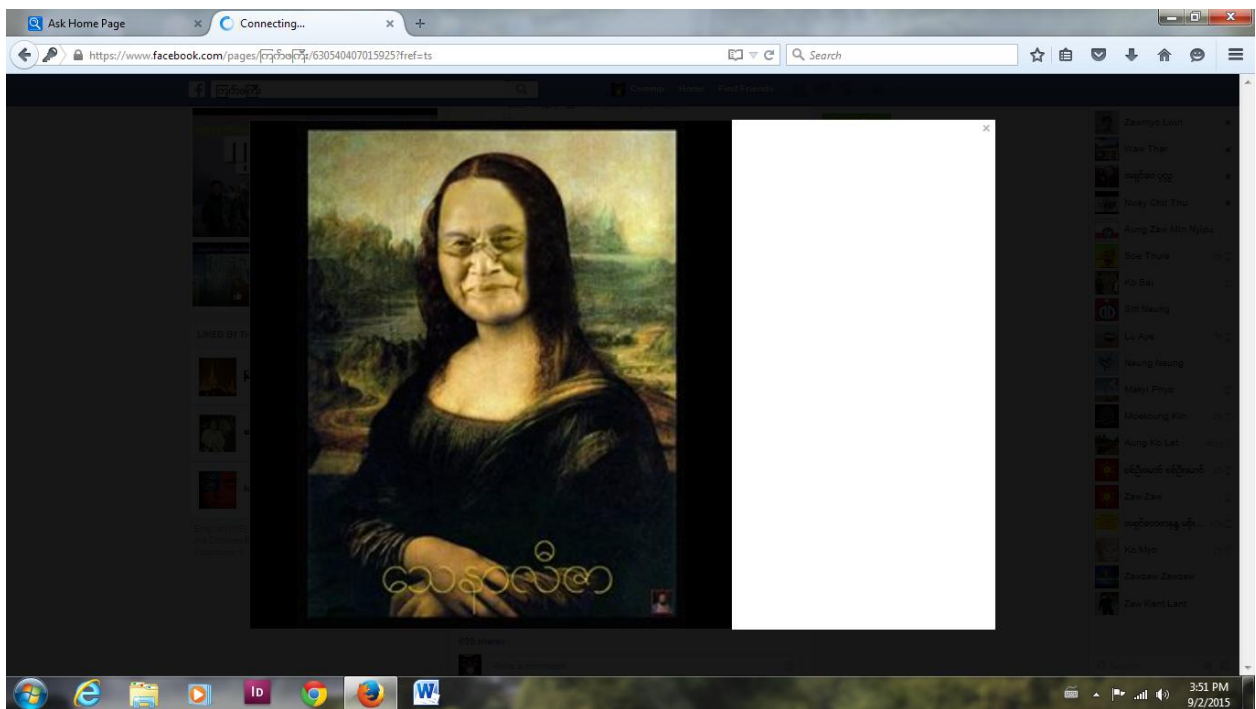


Case (3) Hate speech against the ex-military officers who are in good dialogue with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi



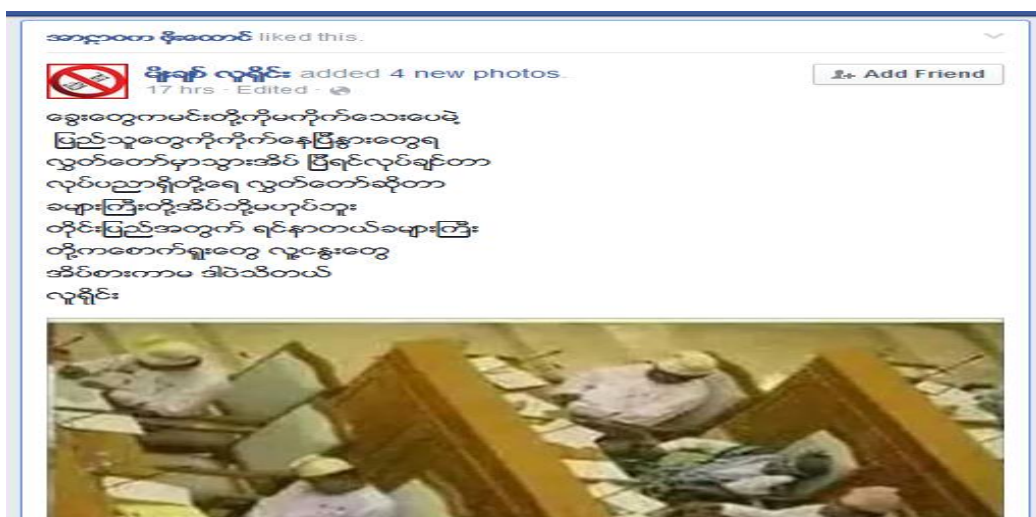


## Case (4) hate speech against the President



### (1.5) Political Hate speech against the ruling party

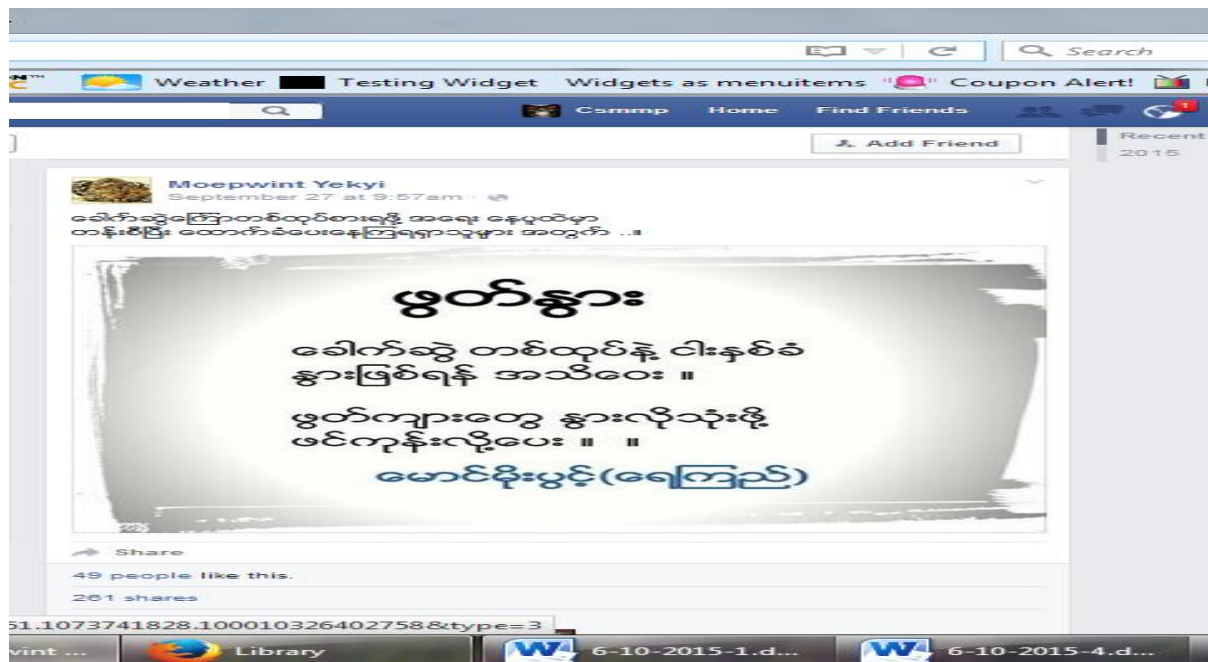
Case (1): Members of Parliament who were sleeping inside the Parliament were resembled as cows and dogs



## Case (2) Mocking the leader of ruling party with hate speech



## Case (3) Hate speech poem against the ruling party

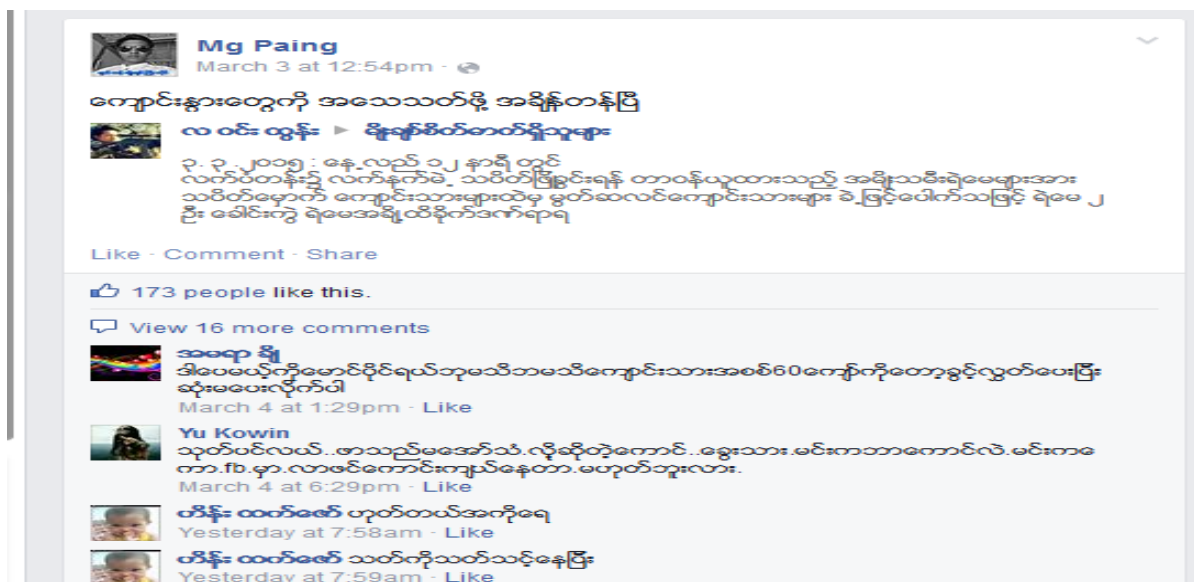


## (1.6) Political Hate Speech against political activists

Case (1): Student Union leader PhyoPhyo Aung was attacked with hate speech messages.



Case (2): On 3rd of March, the following post appeared on facebook to kill the students who were on strike. On 10th of March, there was a police riot against the students in letpadan township



## (1.7) Political Hate Speech against Military

Case study (1): In the following cartoon messages, the military personnel were regarded as the military dogs that sparked hate speech against each other.



## Case (2): Resembling the soldiers as Monkeys



## (1.8) Hate Speech against the armed struggle organizations

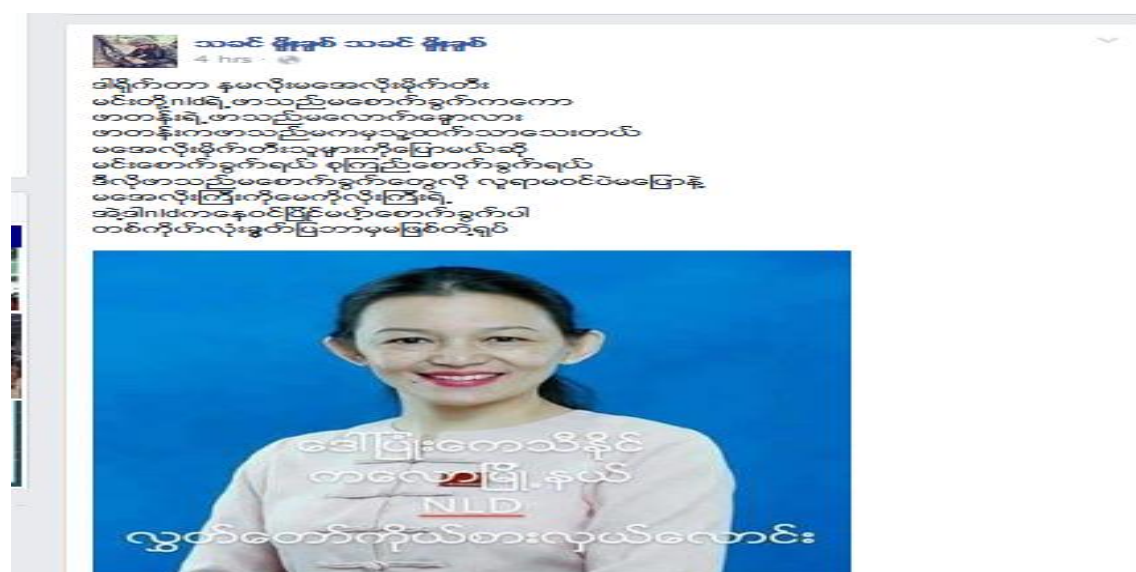
Case (1): Hate speech against the rebels and called for the military to take over the country in May, 2015.





### (1.9) Hate speech during election campaigns

Case (1) Hate Speech against Women candidates as similar to prostitutes





## Hate Speech Monitoring in Myanmar



### (3) Military Officers from Parliament were resembled as the cows

Weather Testing Widget Widgets as menuitems Coupon Alert!

Csmmp Home Find Friends

Add Friend

Recent  
2015  
1986

Mr. Ever Green shared Nld ကိုထောက်ခံကြသူများ's photo — with Aung Aung and 49 others.  
October 20 at 8:14pm · Edited ·

မိုက်ရိုင်းမူအတွက် ကာကွယ်ကြီးသိစေရန်

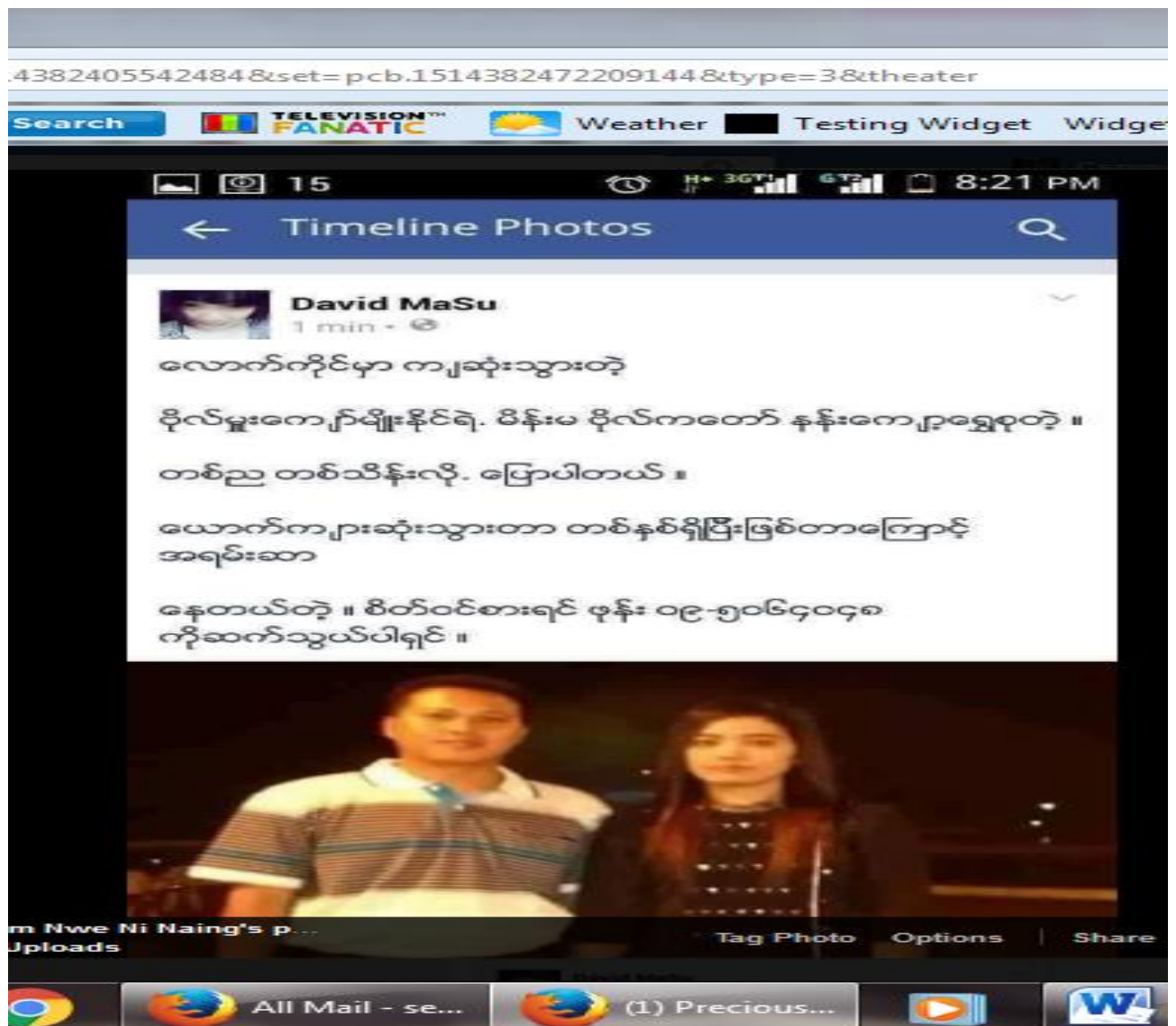


Nld ကိုထောက်ခံကြသူများ  
October 19 at 8:03pm · Edited · Like Page

A နဲ့ B မှာ ဘယ်အရာကလေးကို ဝိုင်းရံပြီးပြီလဲလို့လဲ???? တစ်ခုခုပြောပေးခဲ့ရော ...  
(ဒီPostက စစ်အာဏာ ရှင်တွေနဲ့ သူတို့ရဲ့ နောက်လိုက် မကောင်းတာအကုန်လုံးနဲ့  
စစ်တွေတွေကိုချစ်သူနဲ့တာပဲ...နာပေးတဲ့သူတွေကတော့  
စစ်အာဏာရှင်တွေရဲ့ နောက်လိုက်တွေတွေဖြစ်လို့ပဲ ယူဆပါတယ် )

41 Likes 30 Comments

**Case (4): Putting the wife of the soldier who lost his life in shan state as a prostitute that can be called with 100 dollars per night**



## (2) Hate Speech based on Religion

Observing from 153 facebook pages for 11 months, about 260 religious hate speeches were identified. The targets of these hate speeches and its forms were varied. The targets include pagodas, god, religious leaders and countries. Forms of hate speeches can be classified as harsh, moderate and soft forms.

### (2.1) Religious hate speech based on past events

Case 1: Previously, one Buddhist monk was killed by setting fire on his body by a group of Muslim people in Miektila in 2013. The photos of these events were put again in January alerting for the influence of Islamic religion and its consequences.





Case (2): Photographic images of historical events and events from other countries were used to alert the dangers of Islamic religion

 အရှင်တေဇာနန္ဒ မစိုးရိမ်တိုက်သစ် shared ယထာ ဘူတ ဝှဏကြီး's post.

January 9 at 11:12am · 🌐

**THOUSANDS OF SIKHS CAPTURED THROUGHOUT PUNJAB REGION & BROUGHT IN A PROCESSION BOUND IN IRONS. ALL CAPTURED SIKHS WERE ASKED TO ACCEPT ISLAM & BE RELEASED OR ELSE BE SLAUGHTERED IN PUBLIC. ONE BY ONE EACH ONE OF THEM CHOSE DEATH BUT REMAINED A SIKH TO THE END.**


**1748-1753, LAHORE HORSE MARKET, PUNJAB**  
*Mannu Sadi Datri, Ashin Mannu De Soye.  
Jlon Jlon Mannu Vadhda, Ashin Doone Chaune Hoya.  
Mannu Is Our Sickel And We [Sikhs] Are His Crop,  
The More He Slaughters Us, The More We Grow.*




ယထာ ဘူတ ဝှဏကြီး added 4 new photos — with Guzu Yarmarmoto and 18 others.

တစ်ကဘာ လုံးတွင် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လျက်ရှိသော ပဋိပက္ခ အဓိကရုဏ်းများ၏ ၉၀% မှာ မွတ်ဆလင်များ နှင့် မွတ်ဆလင်မဟုတ်သော တခြားဘာသာဝင်များကြားဖြစ်ပွားလျက်ရှိခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။  
ဒီဂရီကောင် နိုင်ငံအသီးသီးတွင် တကြီးသောဘာသာဝင်ပေး အခေါ် ဝတ်တားဝင်စု ဝါဒီ


VIDEOS



132 26




239 9



102 15

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Facebook © 2015

Like · Comment · Share

340 29 444

Create Page

Recent

2015

2014

2013

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## (2.2) Religious hate speech as visual clothes contributing to counter hate speeches

Case (1): One lady wore a dress with Buddhist images that sparked counter hate speeches on facebook accounts and comments occurred in January, 2015. In the following picture, one facebook user resembled her as a dog.





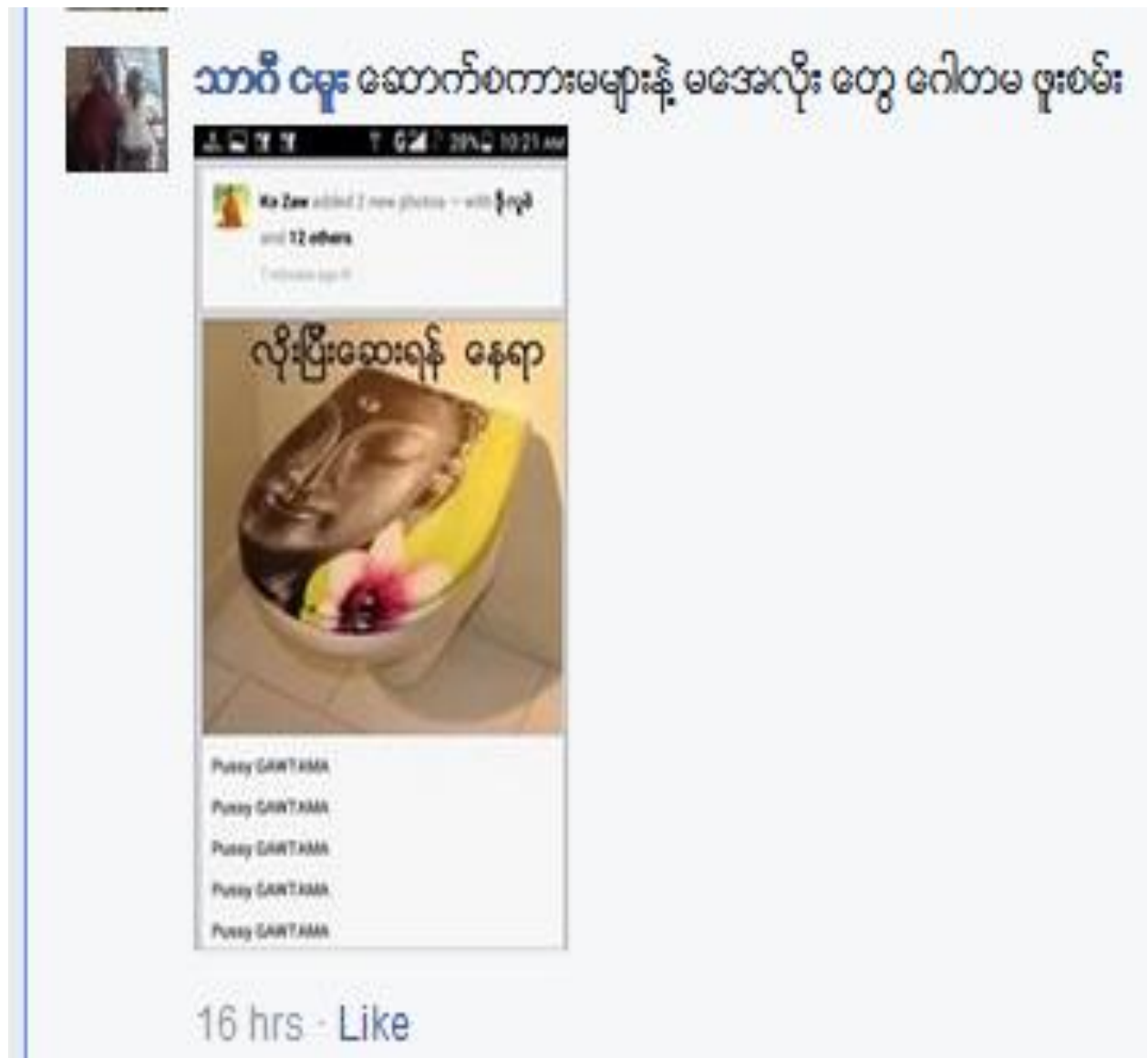
### (2.3) Unreasonable Photo images contributing to religious hate speeches

Case 1: The original photos that showed unreasonable behavior on Buddhist statues were uploaded and shared in December, 2014, leading to a number of religious hate speeches consequently.





Case (2) Buddha image was put on the toilet cover and claimed that it is for washing penis after having sex that sparked violent messages responses



### Case (3) Uploading unreasonable images of women and Buddha



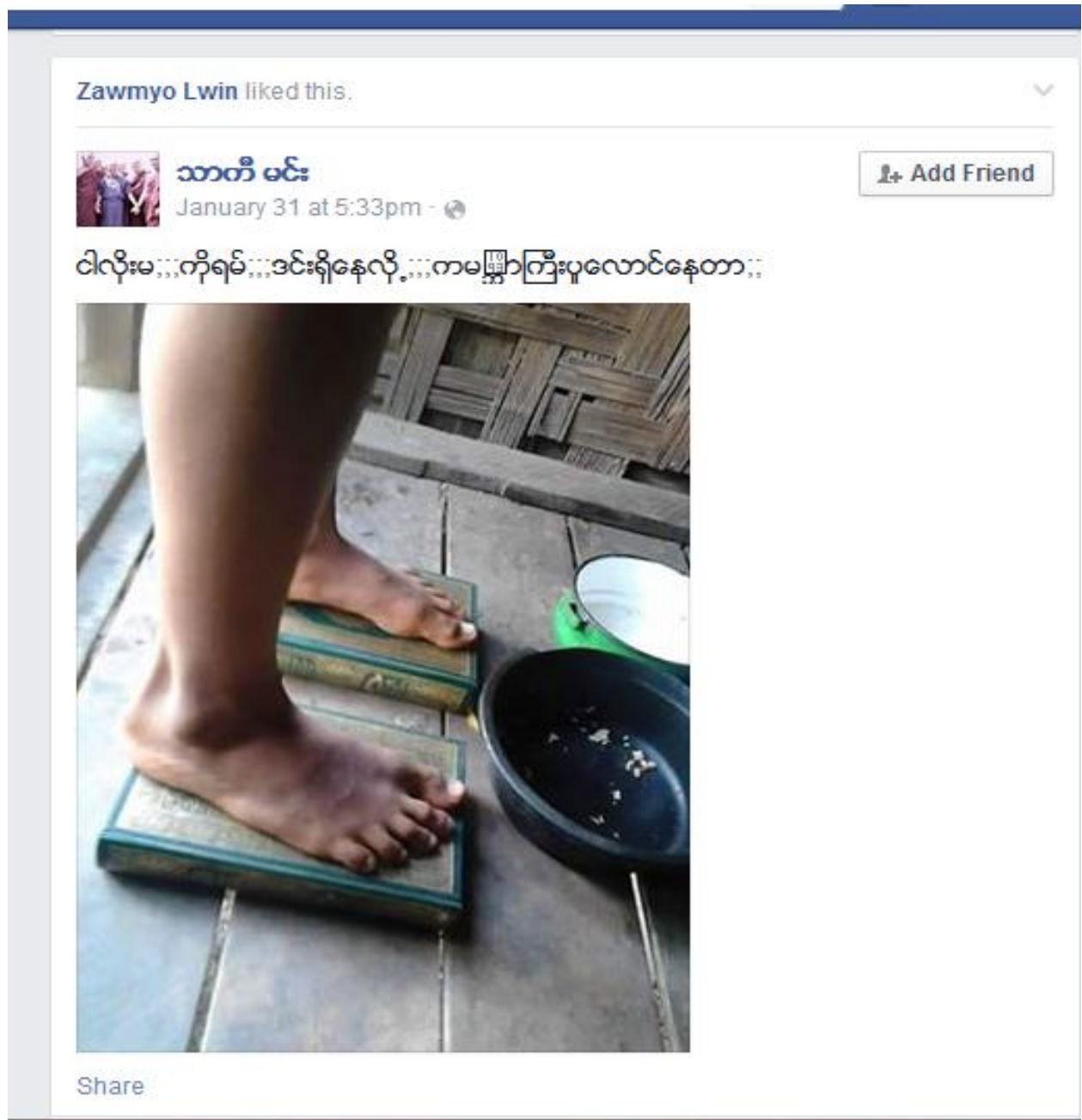
### (2.4) Religious hate speeches against Buddha and Buddhist Monks

Case 1: The photos were uploaded in December, 2013, however, disseminated widely in 2015 calling for killing Buddhist Monks and mocked that why Buddha had not given power to Buddhist monks



## (2.5) Hate Speech against Islamic Religion

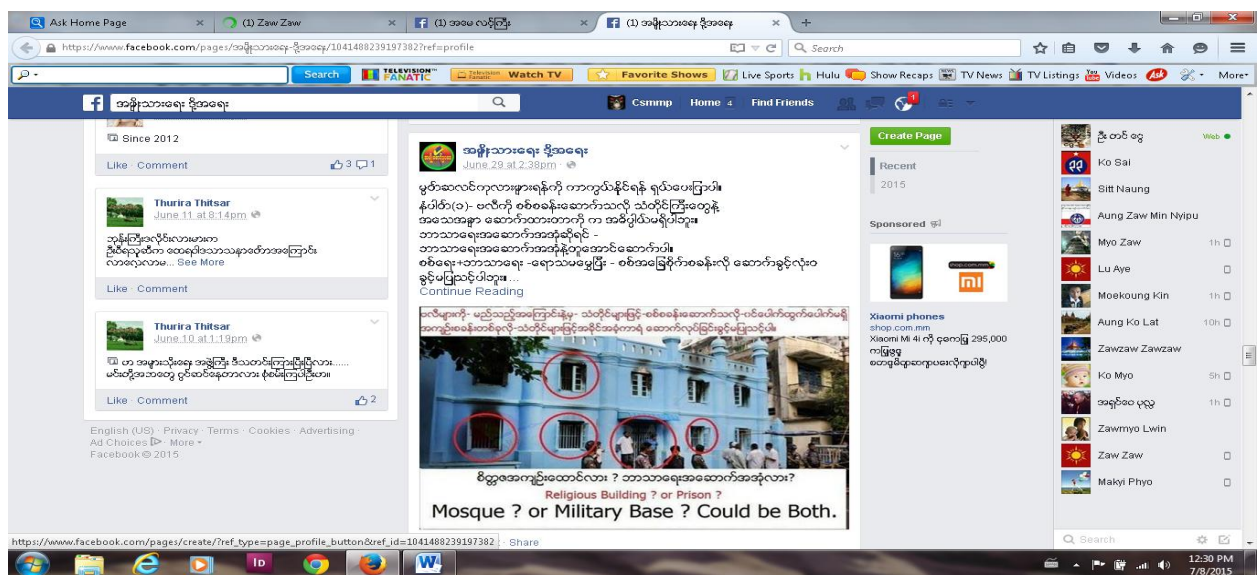
Case (1): Someone put Islamic Religious text under his feet and claimed that the world has been concerned due to this text.



Case (2): Sampling religious time as the dogs hounding time and it was widely disseminated.



Case (3): Putting questions on religious buildings as military space or etc...



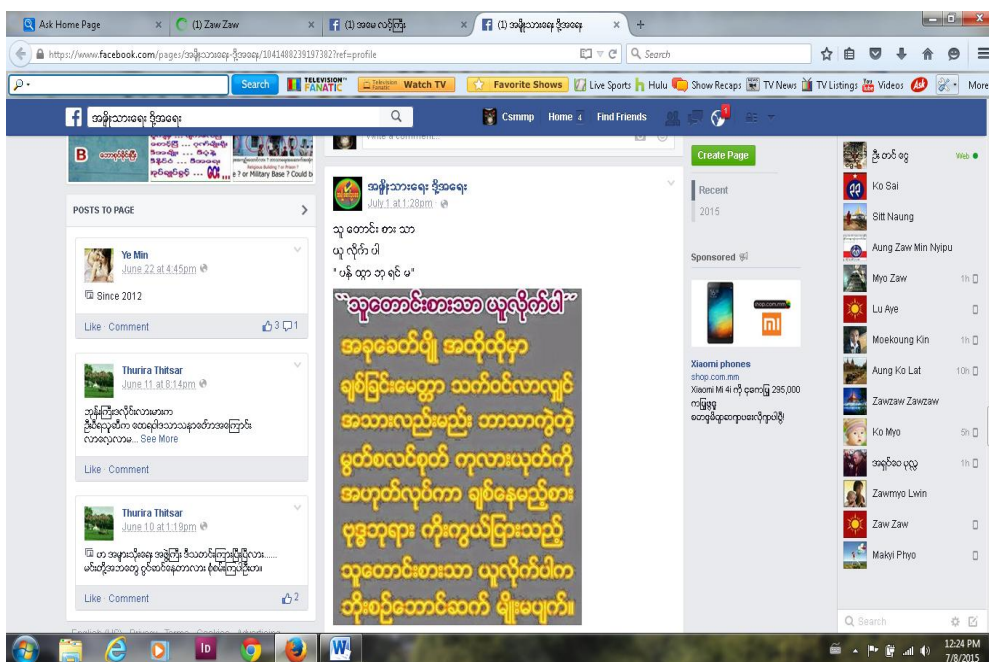


#### Case (4) Asking the Muslims to get out



#### (2.6) Hate speech based on interfaith marriage

##### Case (1): To marry a beggar instead of having marriage with Kalar




### (3) Hate Speech based on Ethnicity

Observing from 153 facebook pages for 11 months, about 192 ethnic hate speeches were identified. The targets of these hate speeches and its forms were varied. The targets include ethnic leaders, ethnic minorities and ethnic majority as well.

#### (3.1) Hate Speech based on ethnicity against Kokhant ethnic

Case (1): Calling to take out Kokant ethnic from 135 ethnic people lists



**Mg Paing**  
11 hrs · Edited · 🌐


တိုင်းရင်းသား ဘုရားရှိခိုးမှာ ပါတဲ့  
ကိုးကန့်ဆိုတဲ့ ခွေးတရုတ်စပ်တွေကို  
ဖြတ်ပစ်ပြီး ဘုရားရှိခိုး  
ခန့်ဖို့ အချိန်တန်ပြီ...  
ခွေးသူတောင်းစားကိုးကန့်တွေ!!!


Like · Comment · Share


👍 Zawmyo Lwin and 278 others like this.


➦ 4 shares

💬 View 10 more comments

 သတို့ ဦး တိုင်းရင်းသားမျိုးနွယ်စုကများတယ်ဘုရားထက်လျော့လောက်တယ်ကိုပိုင်  
3 hrs · Like

 သတို့ ဦး သစ္စာဖောက်တွေကတော့ဗျာမြန်မြန်သေပါစေ  
3 hrs · Like

 Soe Min Naing ထောက်ခံတယ် ဆရာပိုင်  
2 hrs · Like

 Chit Hninsi ကိုပိုင်ပြောတာ အပြည့်ဝထောက်ခံပါတယ် ဗျာ မထောက်ခံတဲ့သူဒါဘဲ

### (3.2) Hate speech against Bamar ethnic

Case (1):

Hate speech against Bamar ethnic by claiming that Bamar had destroyed ethnicity, religion, resources and put lives of ethnic people at risk

~~~~ဘုံရန်သူ ~~~~

ကချင် ကယား ညီနောင်များနှင့်  
ကရင်နှင့်ချင်း အစုံဆင်းသည်  
မွန် ရှမ်း ရခိုင် သားသွေးချင်းများတို့  
တို့တွေ ကျွန်သက်ကုန်သင့်ပြီ။  
မွန်တို့ဌာနေ ညက်ညက်ကြေ၍  
သာသနာကွယ်တာ အနော်ရထာကြောင့်  
ရခိုင်ပြည်လုံး ပြုတ်ပြုတ်ပြုန်း၍  
သာသနာပျောက်ခြင်း ပဒုမင်းကြောင့်  
ကယားနှင့်ချင်း တိုးပွားကင်း၍  
စုန်နှစ်စေတာ ဤ ဗမာပဲ။  
ကရင်မျိုးပြုတ် စုန်းစုန်းမြုပ်စေ  
ရှမ်းကိုသတ်ထု အာဏာလု၍  
ကချင်မြေလုန် မျိုးမချန်တာ ထိုဗမာပါ။  
တို့သွေးသားတို့ သာသနာမှောက်  
ထီးနန်းပျောက်ပြီး  
လူမျိုးပျောက်တာ ဒီဗမာကြောင့်  
မြေအောက်ဥစ္စာ လူသိက္ခာနှင့်  
လူမျိုးပျက်သုန်း ဆိတ်ငြိမ်သုန်းတာ  
သူကြောင့်ပါပဲ  
တရားနှင့်ကင်း ဒေါသတင်းပြီး  
သားစဉ်မြေးဆက် ဘဝပျက်တာ  
ဒင်းတို့ တာကြောင့်။



**Khine Thazin**  
April 5 · 🌐

သနားစရာ ပါလား  
ဘုံရန်သူဗဟုတ်မျိုးရယ်

Like

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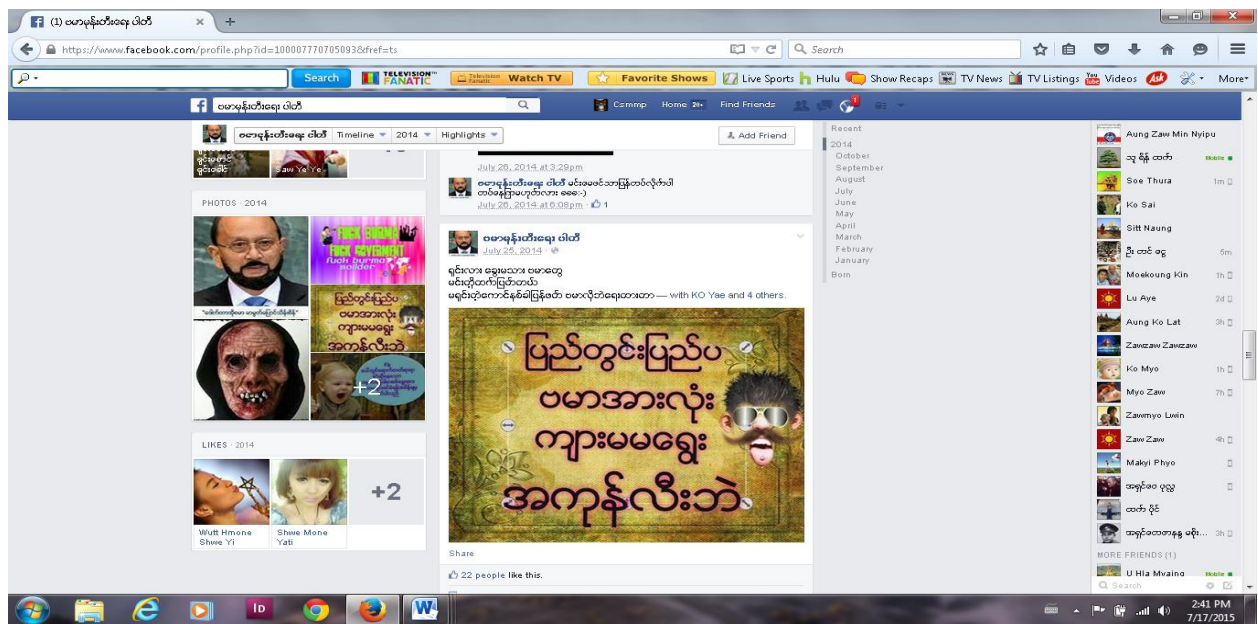
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ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာ စောင့်ရှောက်ရေး နှင့်  
ဝန်ပွားရေး  
4,918 members  

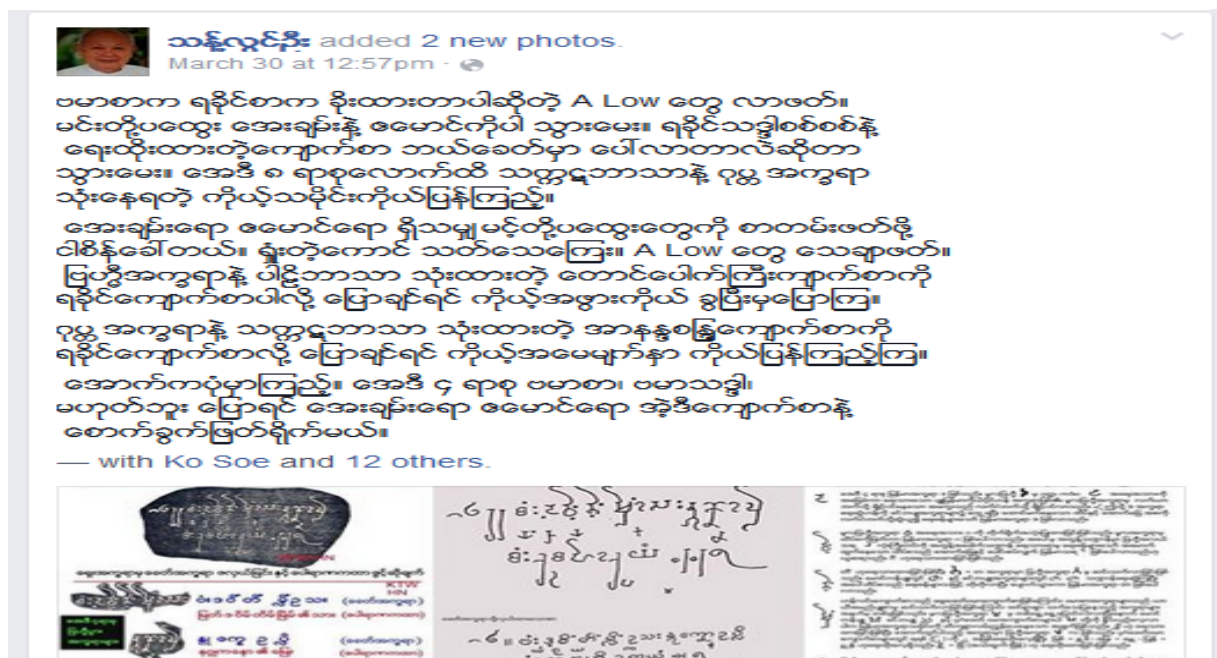
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## Case (2) Hate speech on the existence of Bamar ethnic



## (3.4) Hate speech against Rakhine ethnic

Case (1): Challenging Rakhine to discuss on literature issues, however, a lot of hate speech messages are used (like self directed violence)





### (3.5) Hate speech against Mon ethnic

Case (1): Insulting Mon people as animals



**Tun Ngwe**

September 4, 2014 · 🌐

မွန်လူမျိုးတွေရဲ့ အမျိုးသား  
အမှတ်သင်္ကေတဟာ ဟင်္သာ  
ငှက်ပါ။သူတို့ကိုယ်သူတို့လည်း  
ဟင်္သာငှက်က လူဖြစ်လာခြင်း  
လို့လက်ခံယုံကြည်ထားကြတယ်။  
ဒါဆိုရင် မွန်လူမျိုးဆိုတာ  
လူမှမဟုတ်တာ။တိရစ္ဆာန်အမျိုးအနွယ်ပဲပေါ့။လင်းထက်ပြောတာ  
ဟုတ်တယ်မလား ။

နောက်တစ်ခု ဖင်ပြချင်တာက  
မွန်တိရစ္ဆာန်တွေဟာ ကဋ္ဌောဒီးယား ခွေးမာတွေနဲ့  
အနွယ်တစ်ခုတည်းပဲ။  
သူတို့ရဲ့ ပင်ရင်းစစ်မြစ်က  
ကဋ္ဌောဒီးယားနိုင်ငံပဲဖြစ်တယ်။  
ဒီတော့ ခွေးနဲ့ ငှက်တိရစ္ဆာန်  
မျိုးနွယ်က လာတဲ့ မွန်တိရစ္ဆာန်တွေကို သူတို့ရဲ့  
မူလနိုင်ငံကဋ္ဌောဒီးယား သူ့အမျိုးတွေရှိရာ ခွေးမာအနွယ်  
တွေဆီ အမြန်ဆုံးမောင်းထုတ်ပေး  
ကြပါ။

လင်းထက်(D.S.A)

(ဗမာ့သွေး)

— with ဒီပဲလင်းသေး ဒီပဲလင်းသေး ဒီပဲလင်းသေး ဒီပဲလင်းသေး and 24 others

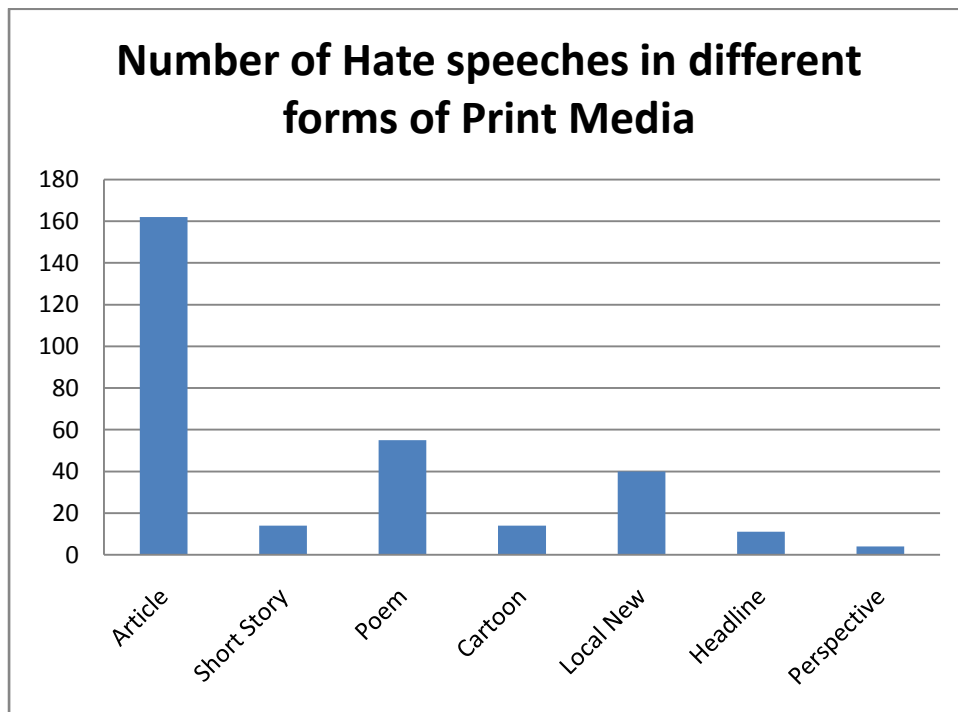
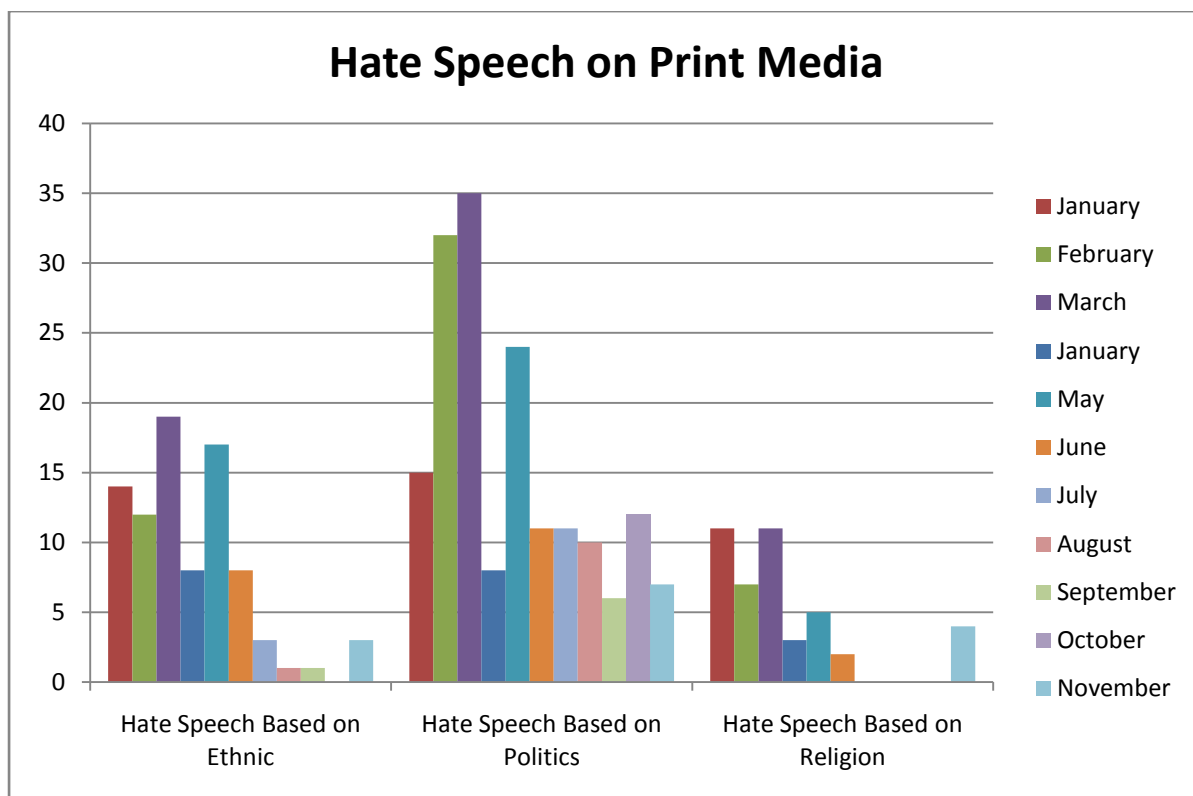
Key summarized classifications in terms of harsh, moderate and soft forms of hate speech can be concluded that about 40 percentages of hate speech are soft and moderate, while about 60 percent of these hate speech might lead to incitement of violence that can divide the society as a whole.

## Key Findings on Print Media

Overall, about 1613 newspapers, magazines and journals were monitored in total. During the observed period of January to Nov, 2015; 4 newspapers, namely, the Mirror, 7 Day Daily, Standard Times daily and Myawaddy were observed daily. Weekly journals, namely, The Sun Rays, Myanmar Post, People Age, News Watch and Union journals were observed weekly and one biweekly magazine was observed. The number of journals and newspapers observed were shown in the following figure.

| Month     | Monitoring of Print Media(Newspaper, Journal and Magazine) | Total       |
|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| January   | 210,23, 3                                                  | 236         |
| February  | 210, 6,2                                                   | 218         |
| March     | 120,21                                                     | 141         |
| April     | 120, 8                                                     | 128         |
| May       | 120, 22                                                    | 142         |
| June      | 120, 21                                                    | 141         |
| July      | 120, 18                                                    | 138         |
| August    | 120, 21                                                    | 141         |
| September | 120, 19                                                    | 139         |
| October   | 120, 20                                                    | 140         |
| November  | 40, 8, 1                                                   | 49          |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                               | <b>1613</b> |

It was noted that most magazines were highly sensitive to conflict and met the standards of conflict sensitive journalism practices after monitoring for two months. Thus, resources were diverted to focus on journals and newspapers. It was also observed that hate speech based on politics are higher than hate speech based on religion for print media, contrary to the results found on social media.

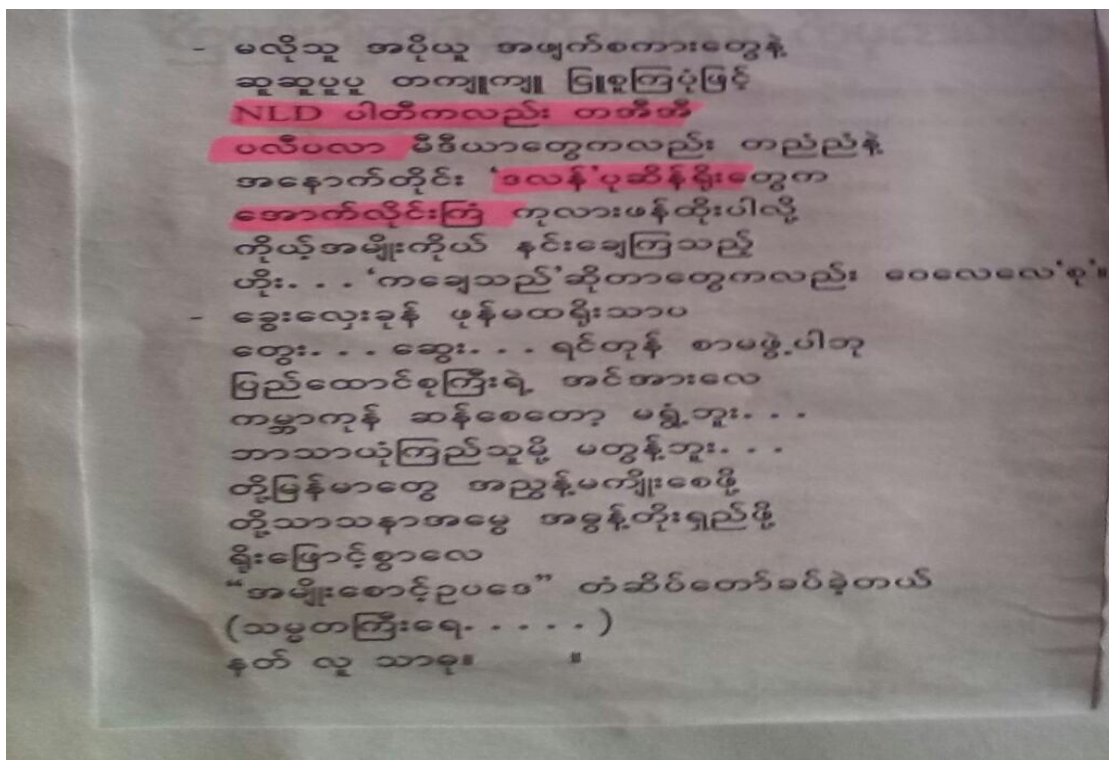


## (1) Hate Speech based on Politics

Observing from 1613 newspapers and journals for 11 months, about 171 political hate speeches were identified. The targets of these hate speeches and its forms were varied. The targets include political opposition leaders, political activists, political parties, armed struggle organizations, government leaders, government members and the general public. Forms of hate speeches can be classified as harsh, moderate and soft forms. Forms of speeches took place in articles, poems and short stories.

### (1.1) Hate Speech against political parties

Case (1) Political poem was written in a journal claiming NLD party as the party that destroyed own Myanmar people to give favor to people from outside



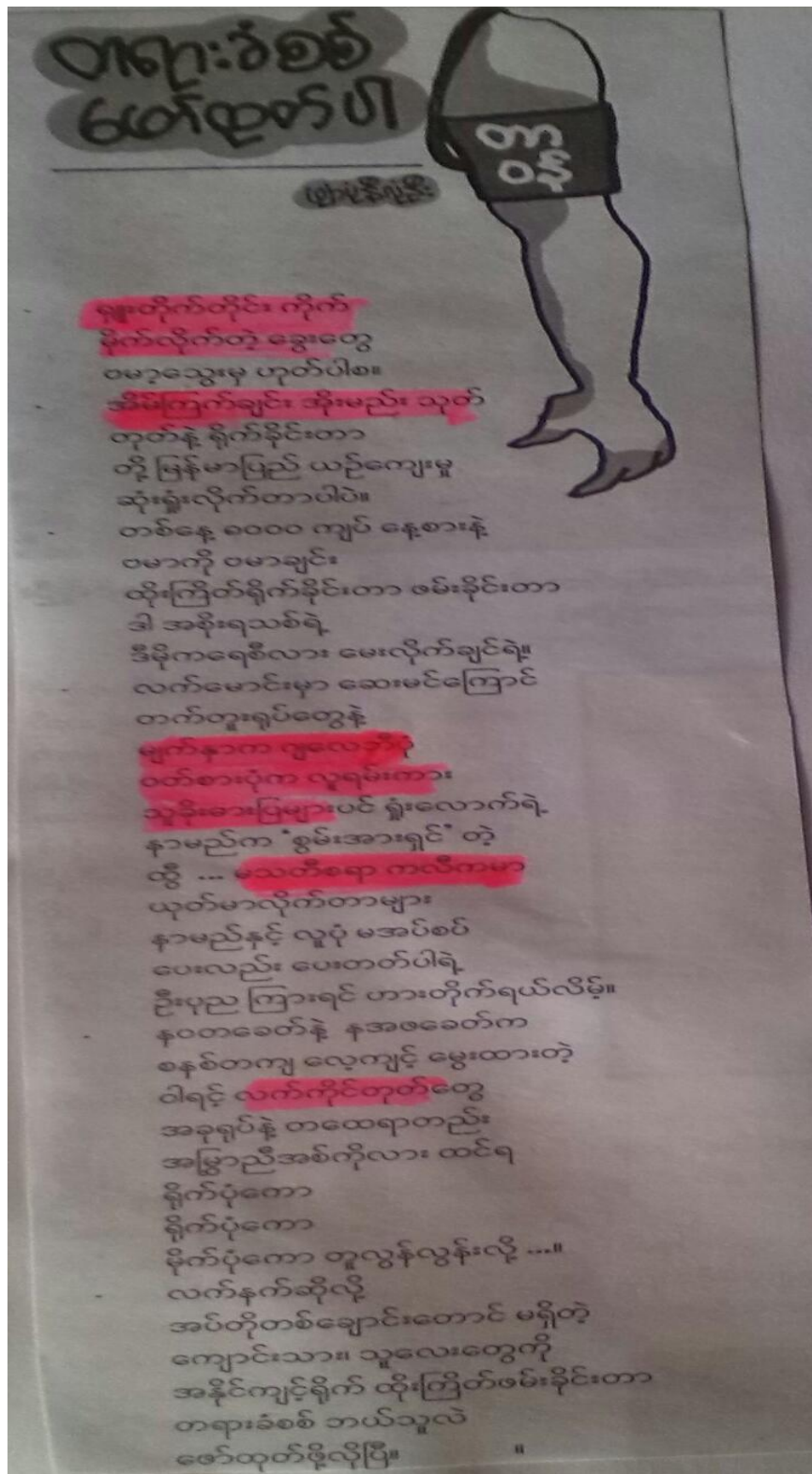


Case (2) Comparing the political parties as animal parties as an article

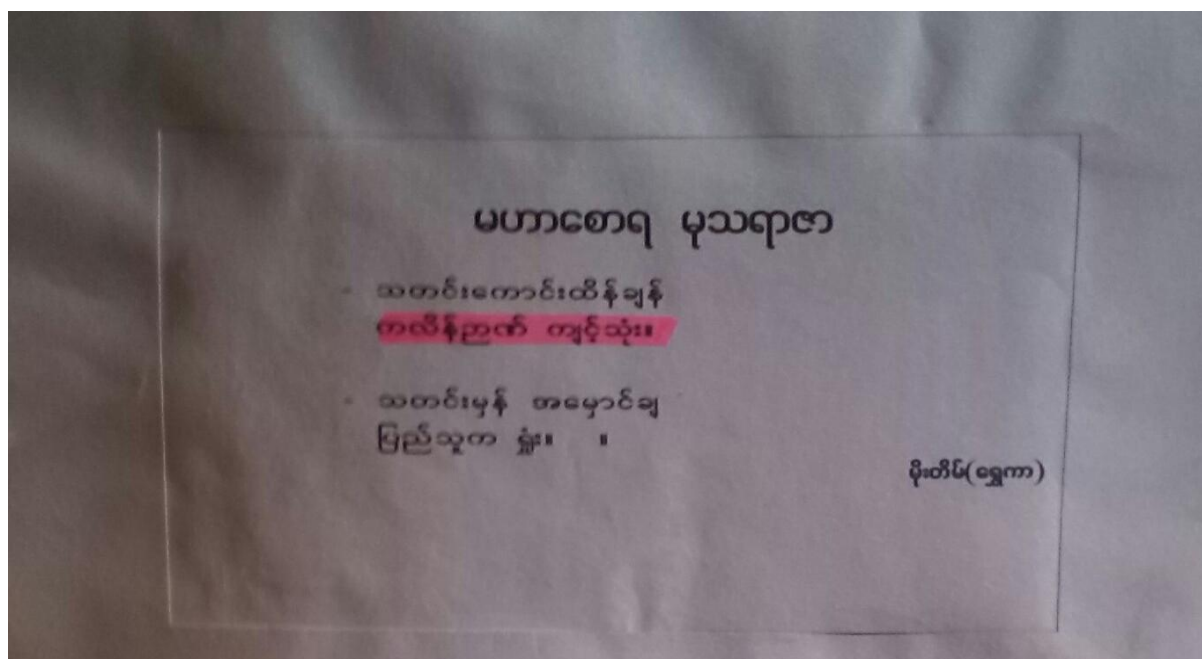


## (1.2) Hate Speech against the authorities

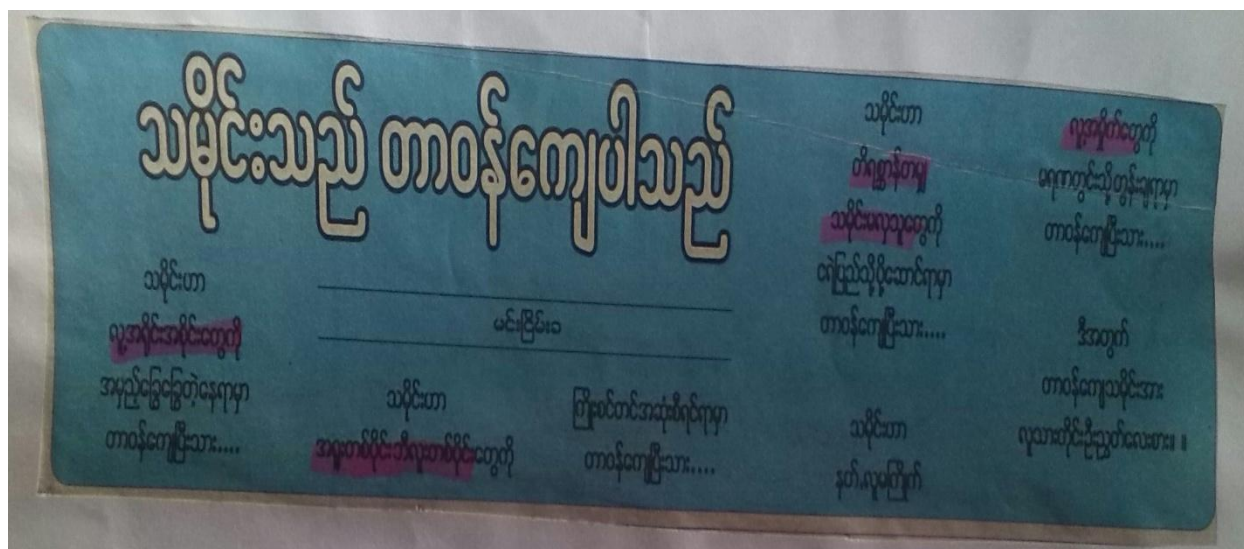
Case (1) Political Hate Speech against the pro government people who arrested the workers on strike



**Case (2): Hate speech as a poem that accused the government leaders as thieves**

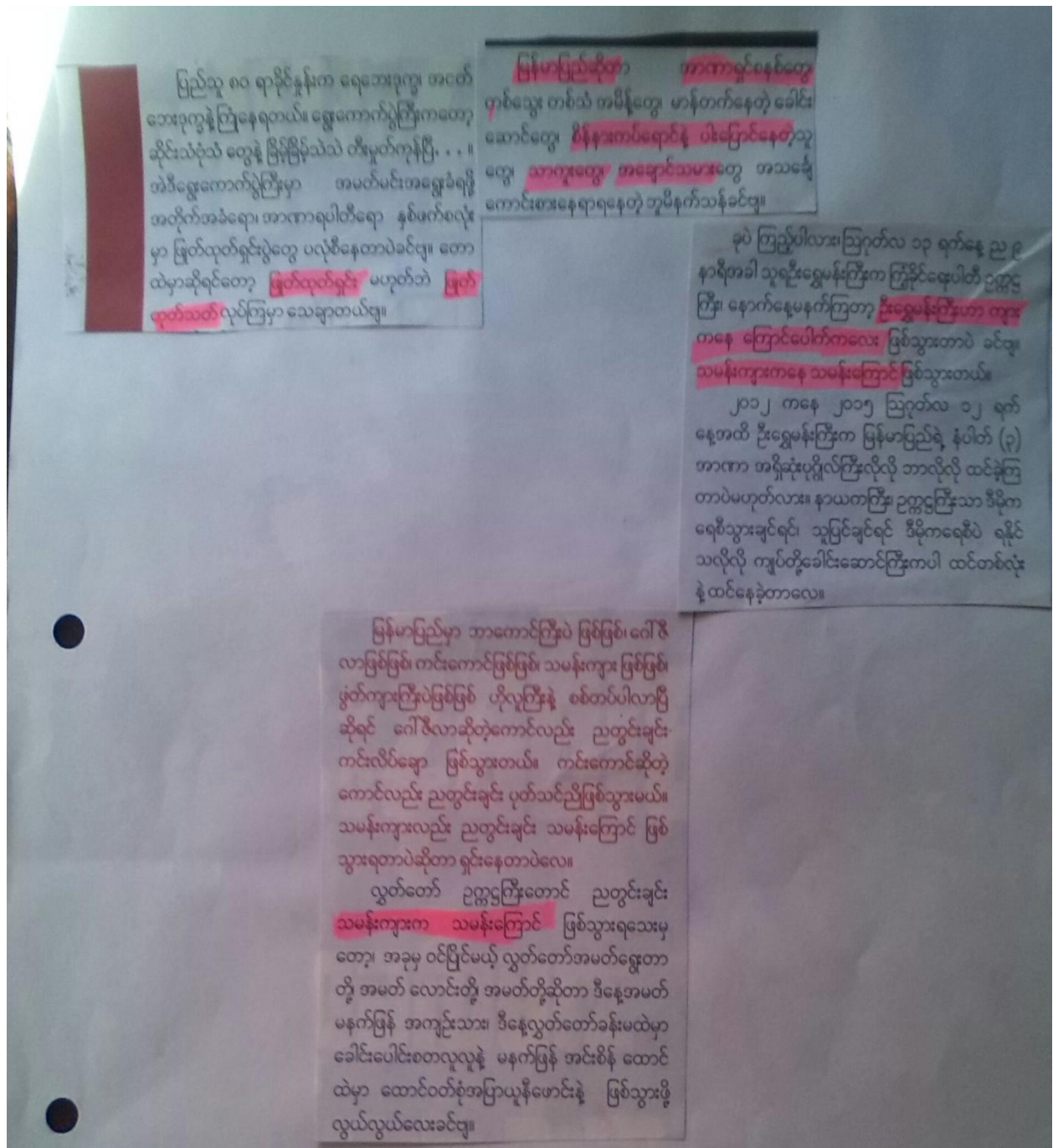


### Case (3) Hate speech written as a poem that used the government personnel as animals





Case (4) In the following article, hate speech languages were used against the chairman of Parliament





Case (5) It was claimed that the flood in Myanmar was happened due to the mad administrative person

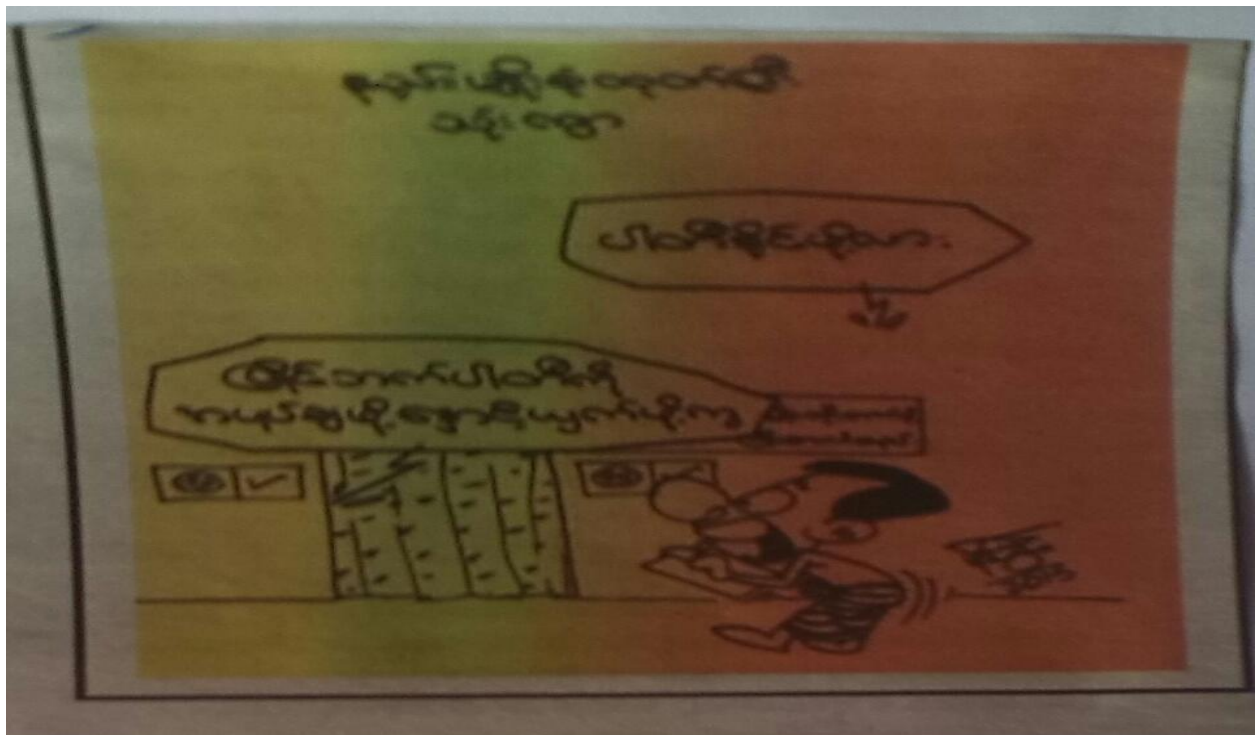


### (1.3) Hate speech against elections and candidates

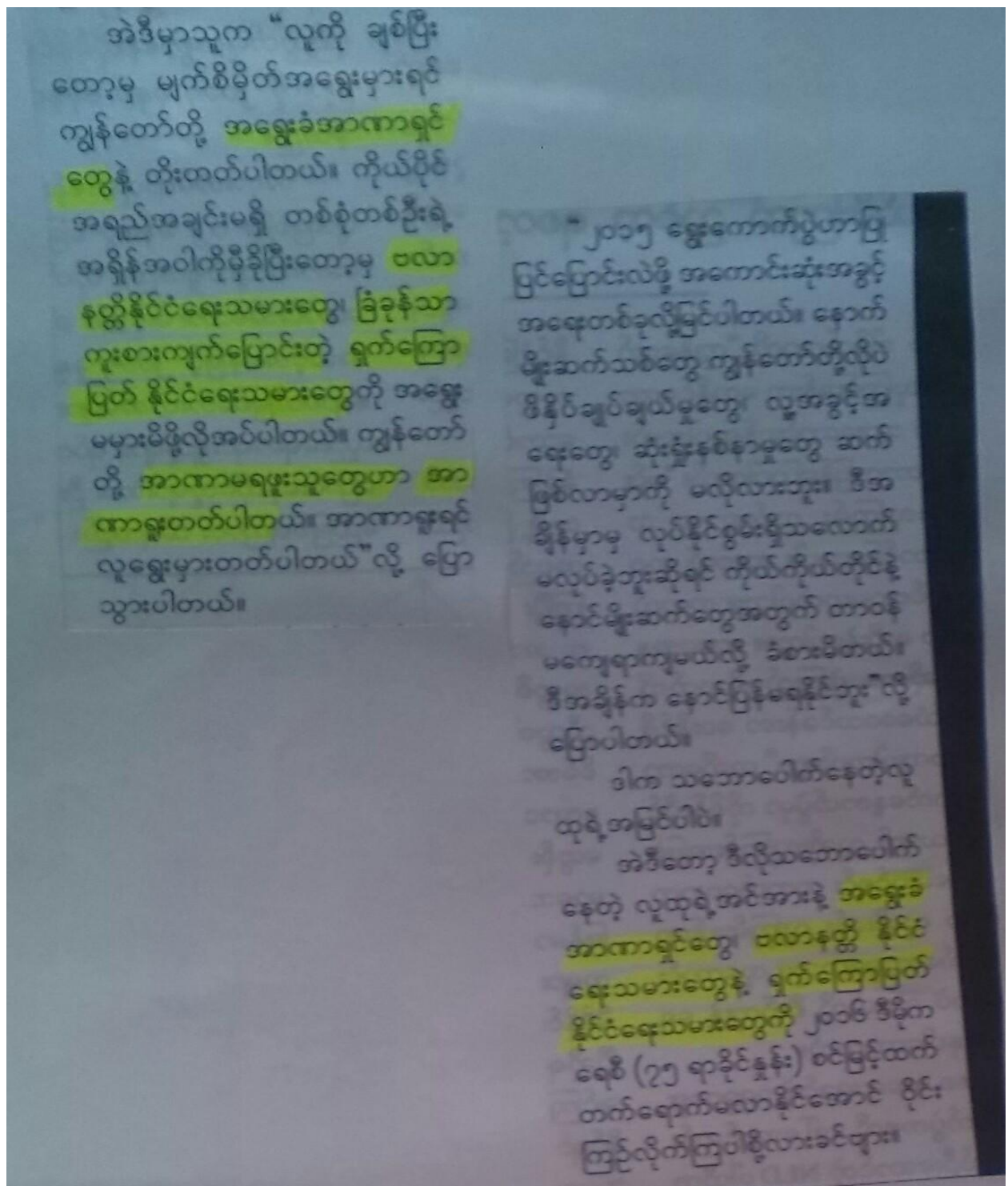
Case (1) The following cartoon contains hate speech languages against the candidate



Case (2) Cartoon messages that displayed incitement to violence for party winning campaigns

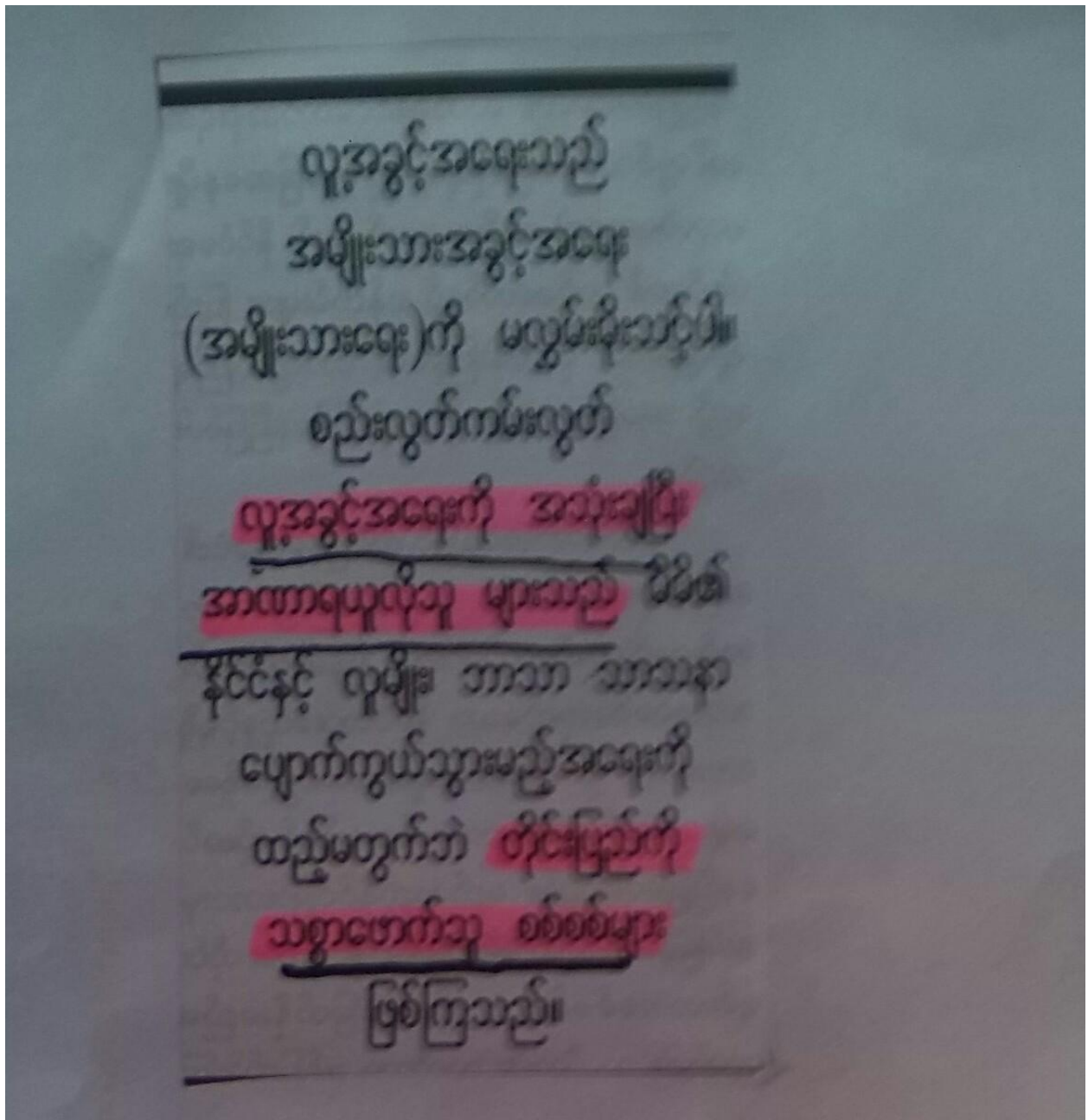


Case (3) Hate speech languages that attacked politicians who don't hold any beliefs





Case (4): Accusing politicians who campaigned for human rights to get power as national destroyers



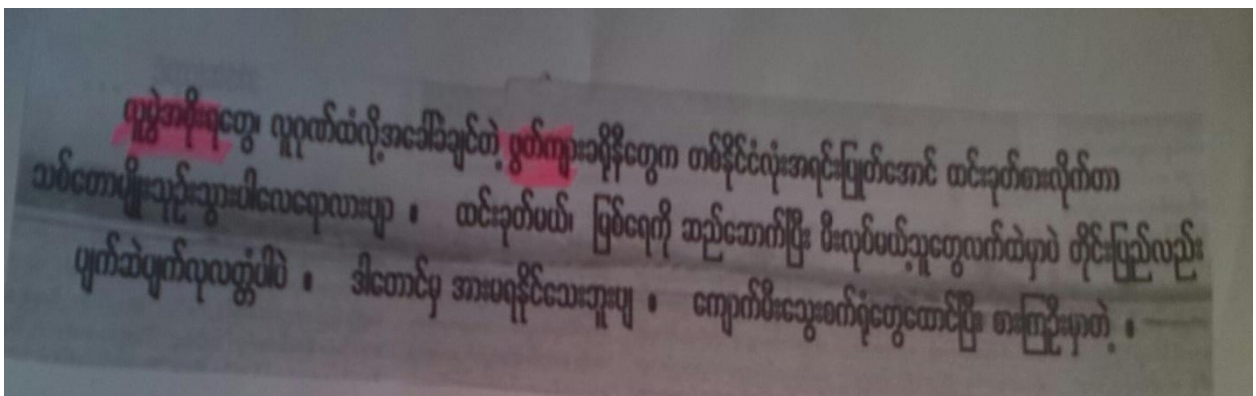


Case (6) Hate speech languages of the vote



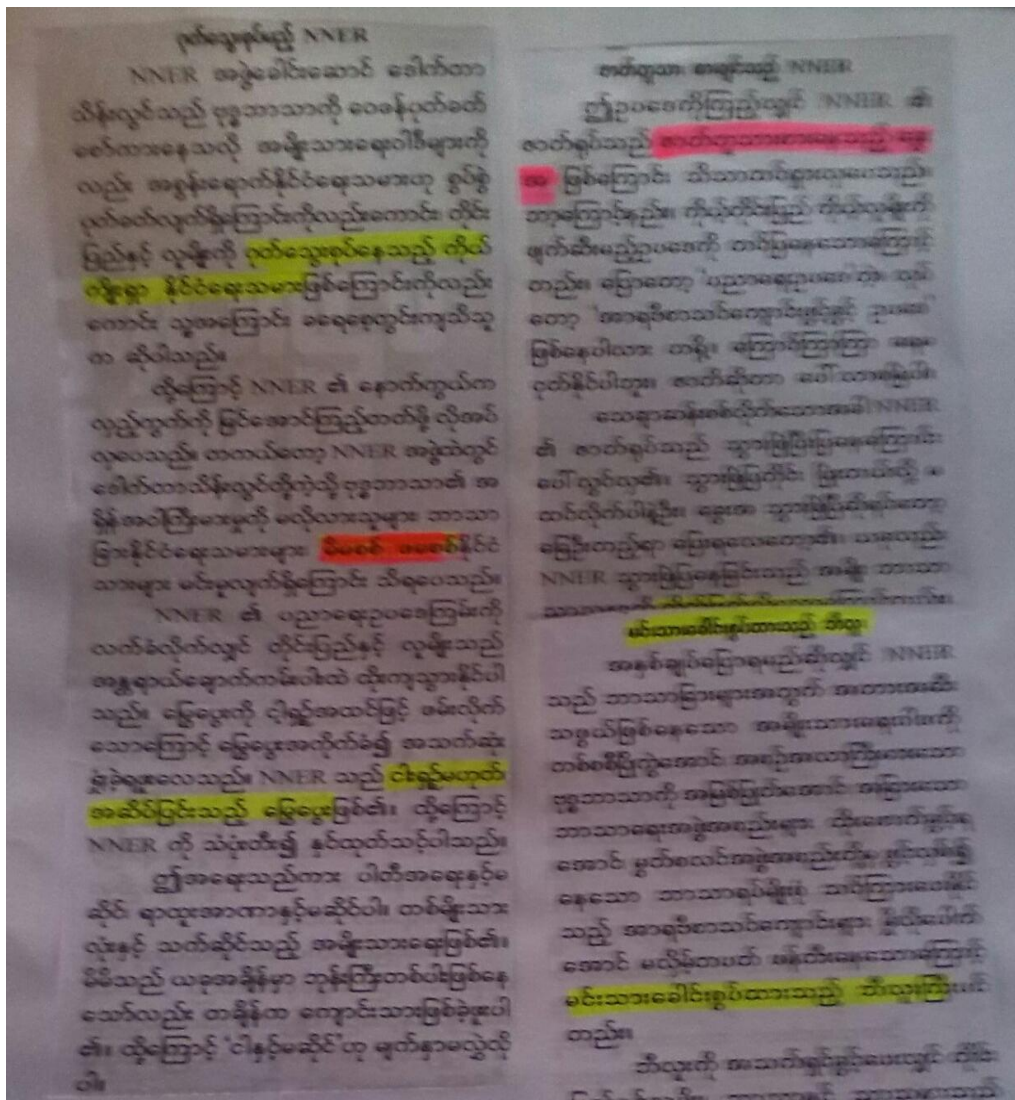
(1.4) Hate Speech against Businessmen

Case (1) Comparing the businessmen and cronies as animals



### (1.7) Hate Speech against political activists and armed struggle organizations

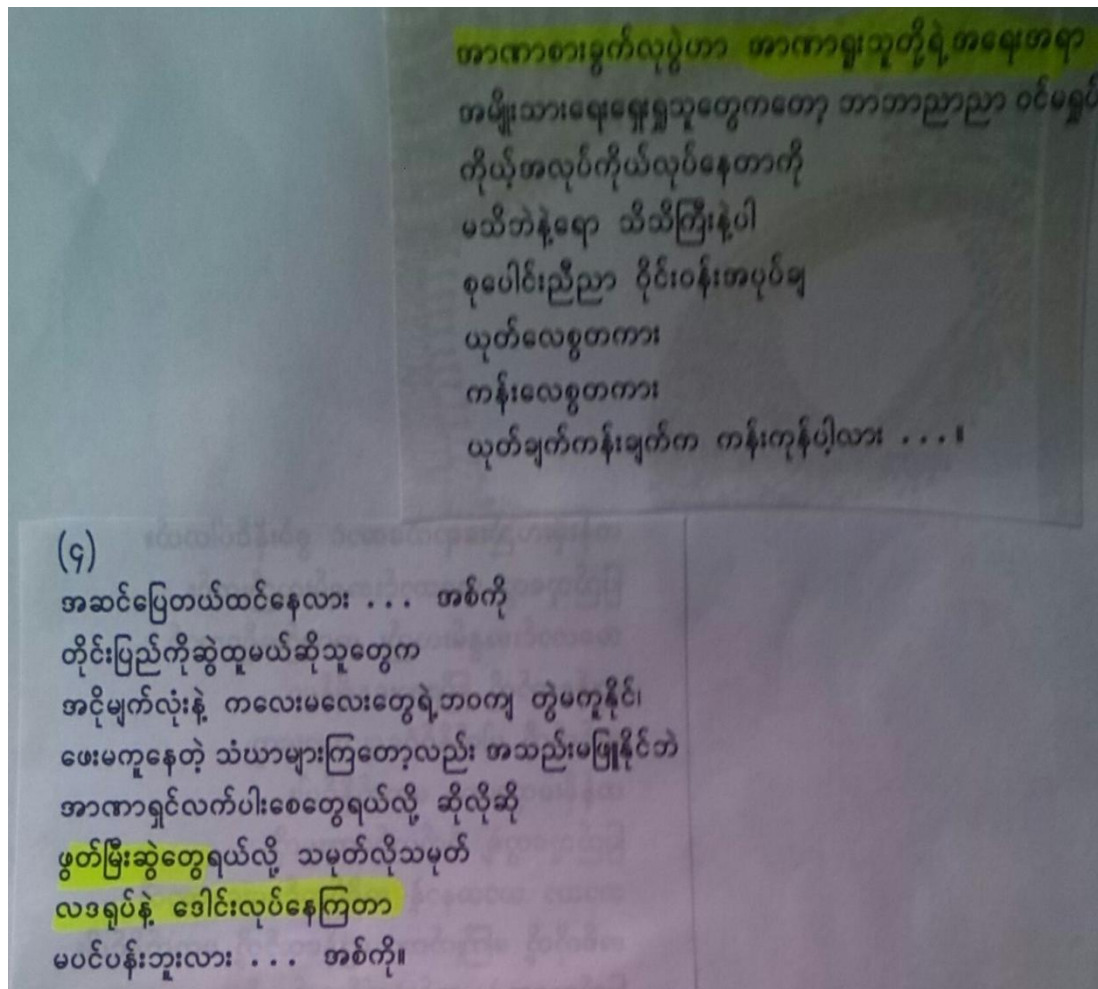
Case (1) Naming members of NNER (Network for National Education Reform) as the vampire people and evils



Case (2) Naming the armed struggle organizations as the colorful rebels that can incite anger among the revolution organizations in the historic article

တပ်နီတွေ တိုက်ထုတ်လိုက်တဲ့  
တရုတ်မြို့တပ်တွေသောင်းနဲ့၊ ဒီပြီး  
မြန်မာပြည်ထဲ ကျွေးကျော်ဝင်ရောက်  
လာကြပါတယ်။ အဆပလ အစိုးရ  
ဟာ ရန်ကုန်အစိုးရအဆင့်ကိုကျော်  
လွှားနိုင်တာနဲ့ **ရောင်စုံသူပုန်တွေ**  
ပတ်လယ်ဝိုင်းခံနေရဆဲ။ စစ်အေးပွဲ  
ကြီးကလည်းအချိန်အတက်ဆုံးအချိန်  
ပါ။ တခက်မှာမော်စီတုံးဟာ အကပ  
တွေကိုမြှောက်ပေးပြီး ဆိုဗီယက်က  
အရှေ့ဥရောပ (၈)နိုင်ငံကိုသူ့ဩဇာ  
အောက်သိမ်းသွင်းသလို မြန်မာပြည်  
ကိုသိမ်းသွင်းတော့မှာလားဆိုတဲ့မေး  
ခွန်းကလည်းမြန်မာနိုင်ငံအပေါ် ယုံတာ  
ဝံ့တာနေတဲ့တာလပါပဲ။ မော်စီတုံး  
အစိုးရဟာမြန်မာအစိုးရကိုမယ်ရှားမယ့်  
ဆူးပြောလိုယူဆပါတယ်။

Case (3) Political activists were compared as the worse animals in this poem

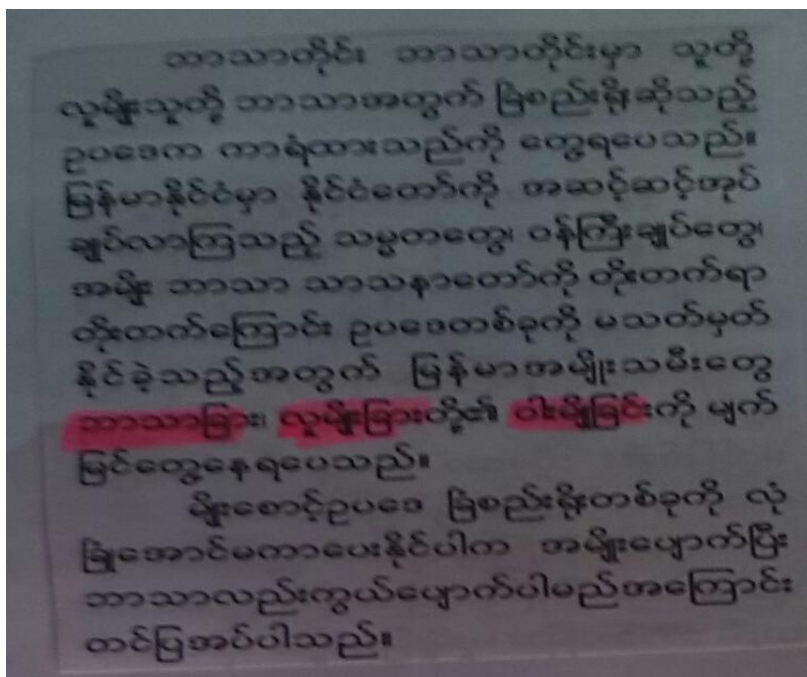
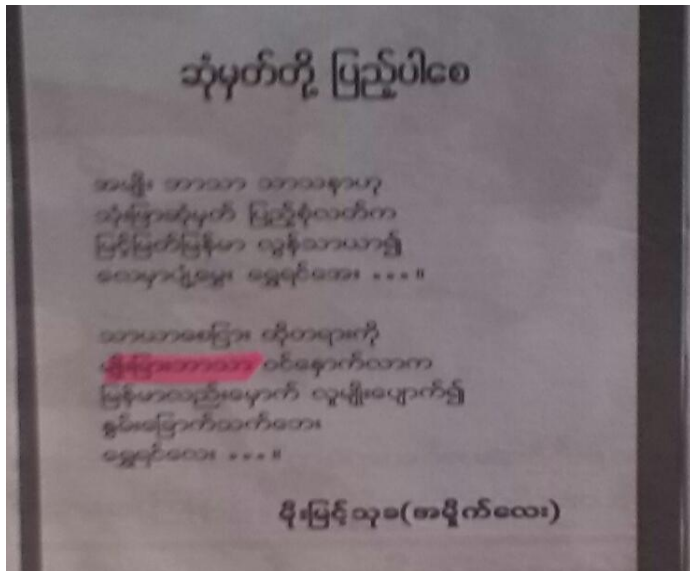


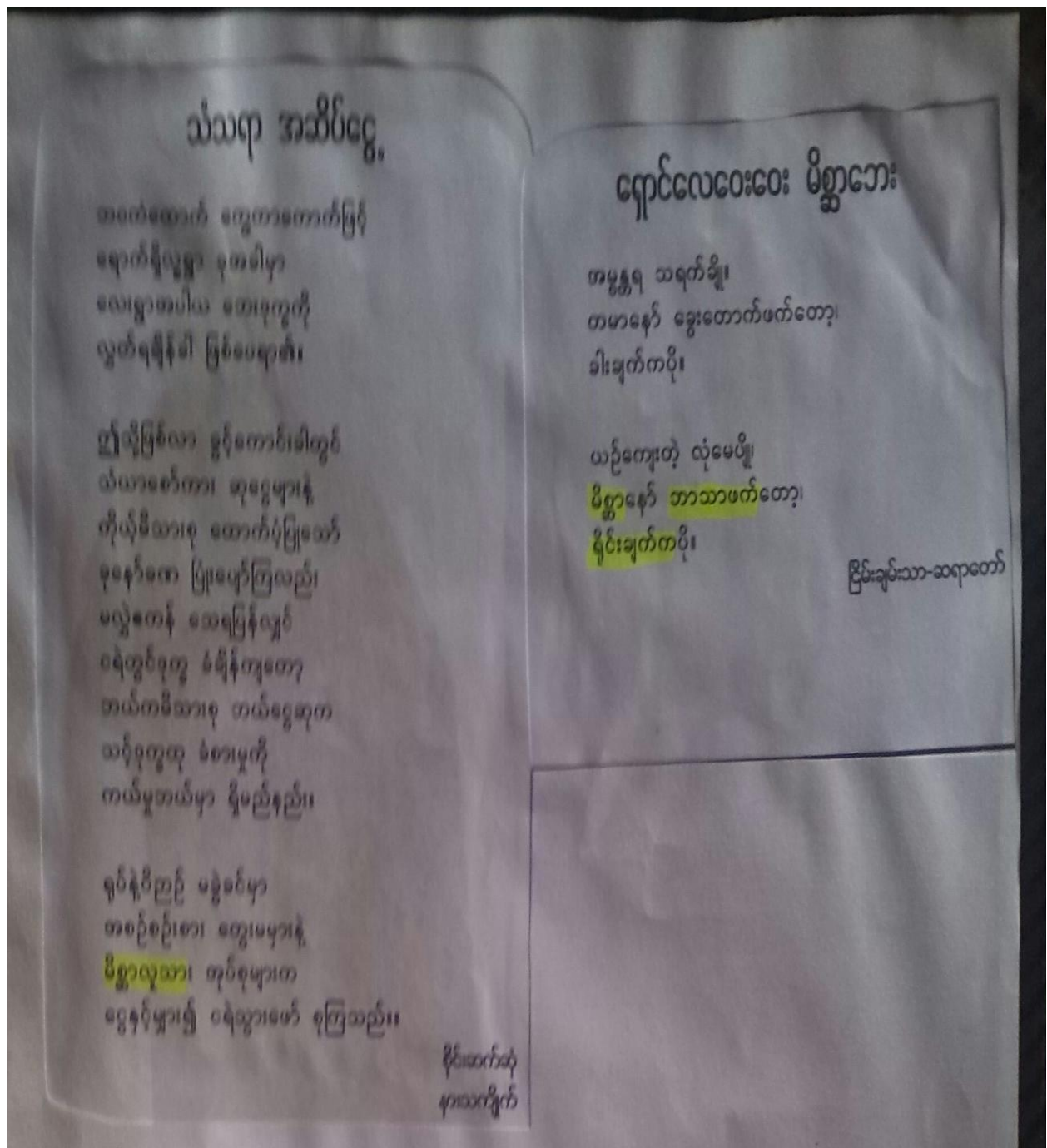


## (2) Hate Speech based on Religion

### (2.1) Hate speech against other religion rather than Buddhist

Case (1): Alerting that other religion might be taking over the country by using hate speech languages





အရာရာပျက်စီးနေတဲ့ ခေတ်ကြီးမှာ ဘာ  
သာတရားမပျက်စီးမှ အရာရာမပျက်စီးမှာဖြစ်  
ပါတယ်။ ဘာသာတရားဟာ အရာအားလုံးကို  
ကြီးစိုးခြယ်လှယ်မင်းမူနိုင်စေသော စွမ်းအားရှင်  
သာဖြစ်ပါတယ်။ အထူးသဖြင့် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံမှာ  
စစ်မှန်တဲ့ထေရဝါဒ ဗုဒ္ဓသာသနာ နှစ်ပေါင်း  
များစွာ အရှည်တည်တံ့ဖို့ ကျွန်မတို့ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာ  
ဝင်အားလုံးမှာ တာဝန်ရှိပါတယ်။ နိုင်ငံတော်  
ကို အုပ်ချုပ်တဲ့သမ္မတဟာ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဝင်မှလွဲ  
ပြီး တစ်ခြားဘာသာဝင်မဖြစ်ဖို့ များစွာအရေး  
ကြီးပါတယ်။ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာ အယောင်ဆောင်ပြီး  
သမ္မတရာထူးလုယူချင်သူများကိုလည်း သတိပြု  
ဖို့လိုပါတယ်။ မိစ္ဆာတွေလက်ထဲ ရောက်သွားပါ  
လျှင် ကိုယ်ပါမိစ္ဆာဖြစ်ပြီး ဘယ်သူကမှ ကန်ချ  
စရာမလိုဘဲ အဝီစိငရဲကို အလိုလိုရောက်ရှိ  
သွားရမှာမို့ အဝီစိငရဲထဲ ဆွဲသွင်းသူမှန်သမျှ  
တွန့်လှန့်ဖယ်ရှားကြဖို့ ကျွန်မတို့ရဲ့တာဝန်သာ  
ဖြစ်ပါတယ်။

၂၃

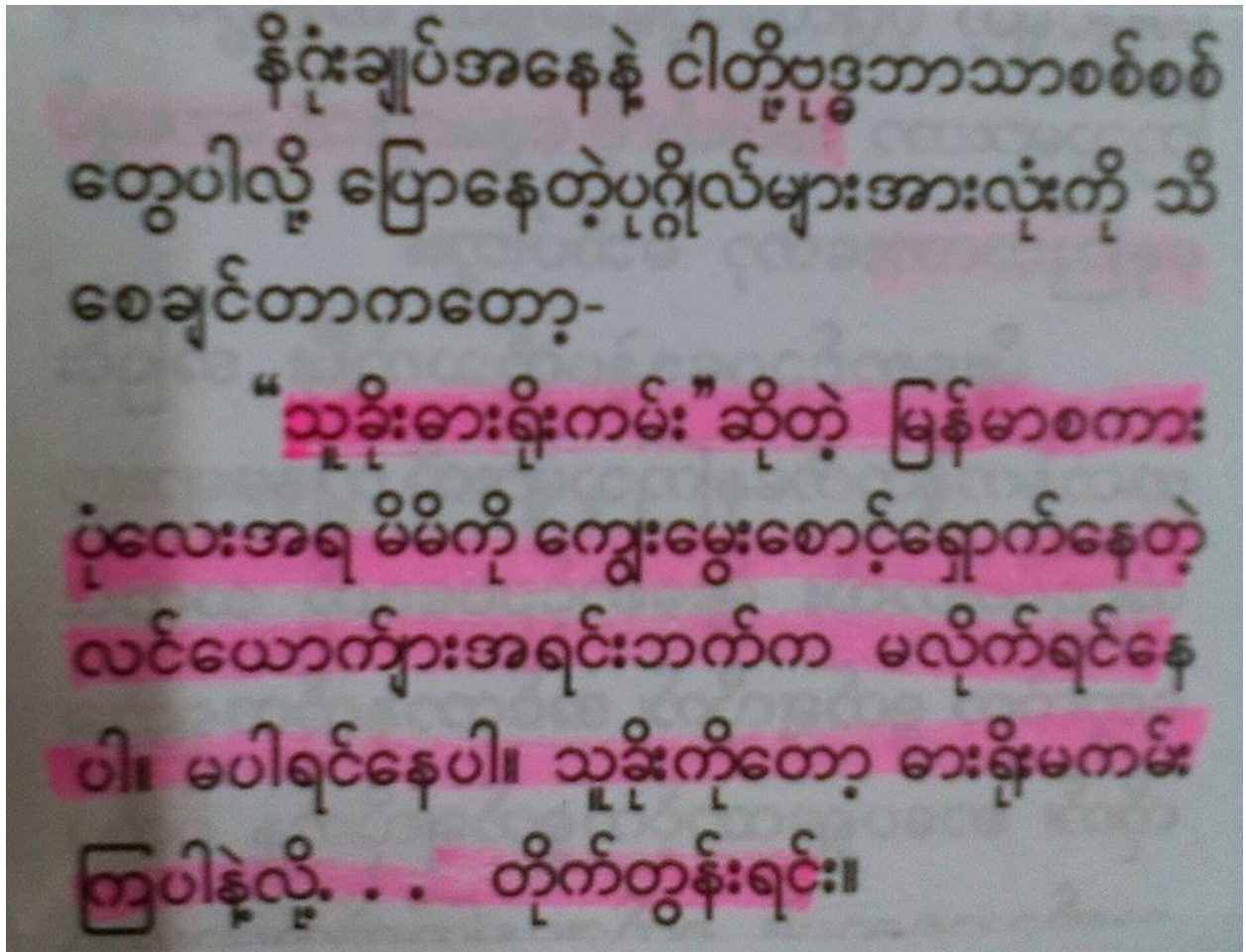
Case 3: Defining other religion as evil religion

မိမိအသက်ကိုပင် စွန့်ပြီး ပါဏာ  
တိပါတက ရှောင်ရမယ်ဆိုတဲ့ အပိုင်းအ  
ခြားမရှိတဲ့ အပရိယန္တသီလမျိုးဆိုတာ  
သောတာပန်အစရှိတဲ့ အရိယာသူတော်  
ကောင်းကြီးတွေမှ စောင့်ထိန်းနိုင်တာပါ။  
နိုင်ငံအမျိုးကို ကာကွယ်တဲ့ နေရာမှာ  
တော့ ပုထုဇဉ်တွေရဲ့ ပါဏာတိပါတကို  
စောင့်ထိန်းပျံ့ပယ်ဆိုတဲ့ ပရိယန္တသီလနဲ့  
တင် လုံလောက်ပါတယ်။ ယခု **အ**  
**ကြမ်းဖက်သမားတွေဟာ** ဘာသာခြား  
ကိုရော ဘာသာတူတွေကိုပါ သတ်  
ဖြတ်နေကြတာဟာ ဖားကလေးတွေ  
ပုဇဉ်လေးတွေကို ကလေးတွေ အပျော်  
တမ်းရှိက်သတ်နေသလို အပျော်သ  
ဘော မဟုတ်ပါဘူး။ ကုသိုလ်ရတယ်ဆို  
တဲ့ ယုံကြည်ချက်နဲ့ အစီအစဉ်တကျ  
လုပ်ဆောင်နေကြတာပါ။ ဒီလိုမှားယွင်း  
တဲ့ **မိစ္ဆာအယူကို** တစ်ကမ္ဘာလုံး လွှမ်း  
ခြုံပသွားနိုင်အောင် တားဆီးနိုင်မှ ကမ္ဘာ  
ကြီးမှာ သွေးချောင်းစီးမှုတွေနဲ့ ကင်းဝေး  
မှာပါ။



## (2.2) Alert Messages for the danger of other religion

Case (1) Asking not to give the sword to the thieves than the husband





# ယခင်နှင့်ယခု သာသနာပြု ကွဲလွဲချက်များ

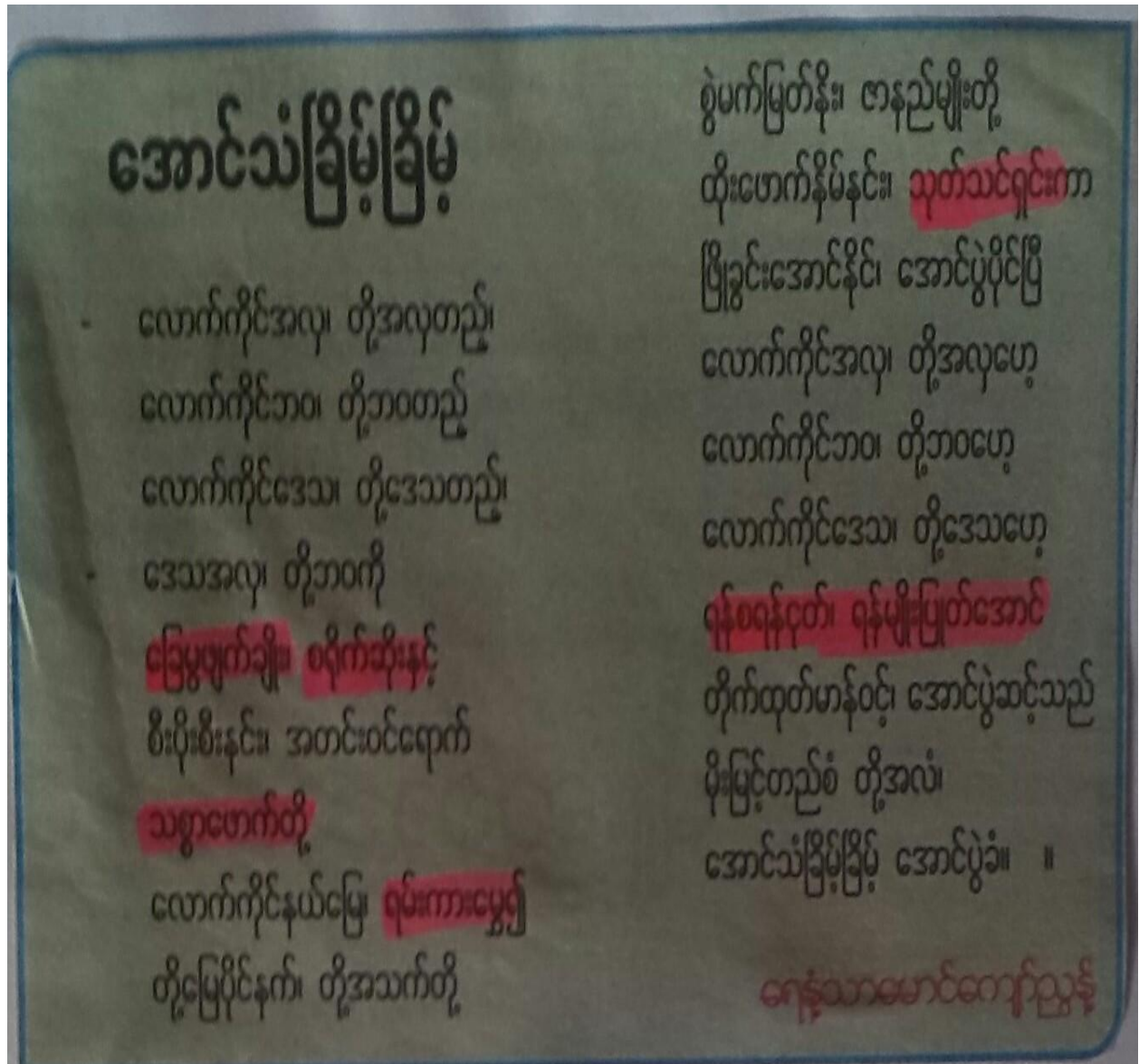
- ရန်ကိုဖယ်ရှား ရန်သူအားလျှင်  
ပွားများမေတ္တာ ကရုဏာသုံး  
ကြင်နာထုံးဖြင့်  
အားလုံးချမ်းသာ စေဖို့ရာပင်။

- သို့ပါသော်လည်း  
ကိုယ်ချည်းဘာသာ မဟုတ်ပါဘဲ  
ရာရာမွေ့နှောက် အမေ့ကောက်ဖြင့်  
ဖောက်ဖျက်စည်းချိုး ဘာသာတိုးတို့  
မျိုးကိုလည်းမျိုး၊ ဘာသာကိုဝါး  
တိုင်းကိုစားလျက်  
ပြည်ဖျားရာတိ လှိမ့်ဖိဖိရာ  
ယခုခါ၌. . . ။

### (3) Hate Speech based on ethnicity

#### (3.1) Hate speech against Kokhant

Case (1) During the offensive war of Myanmar military against Kokhant revolution organization, the following poem emerged and encourage to attack.



# အောင်သံခြံမြံ

လောက်ကိုင်အလှ၊ တို့အလှတည်း၊  
လောက်ကိုင်ဘဝ၊ တို့ဘဝတည်း၊  
လောက်ကိုင်ဒေသ၊ တို့ဒေသတည်း၊

ဒေသအလှ၊ တို့ဘဝကို  
ပြောပြတဲ့သူ၊ စရိုက်ဆုံးနှင့်  
စီးပွားစီးနင်း၊ အတင်းဝင်ရောက်

သစ်စောက်တို့

လောက်ကိုင်နယ်မြေ၊ ရမ်းကားမြို့

တို့ပြုပိုင်နက်၊ တို့အသက်တို့

စွဲမက်ပြတ်နိုး၊ အနည်မျိုးတို့  
ထိုးဖောက်နှိပ်နင်း၊ သုတ်သင်ရှင်းကာ

ပြောင်းအောင်နိုင်၊ အောင်ပွဲပိုင်ပြီ

လောက်ကိုင်အလှ၊ တို့အလှဟေ့

လောက်ကိုင်ဘဝ၊ တို့ဘဝဟေ့

လောက်ကိုင်ဒေသ၊ တို့ဒေသဟေ့

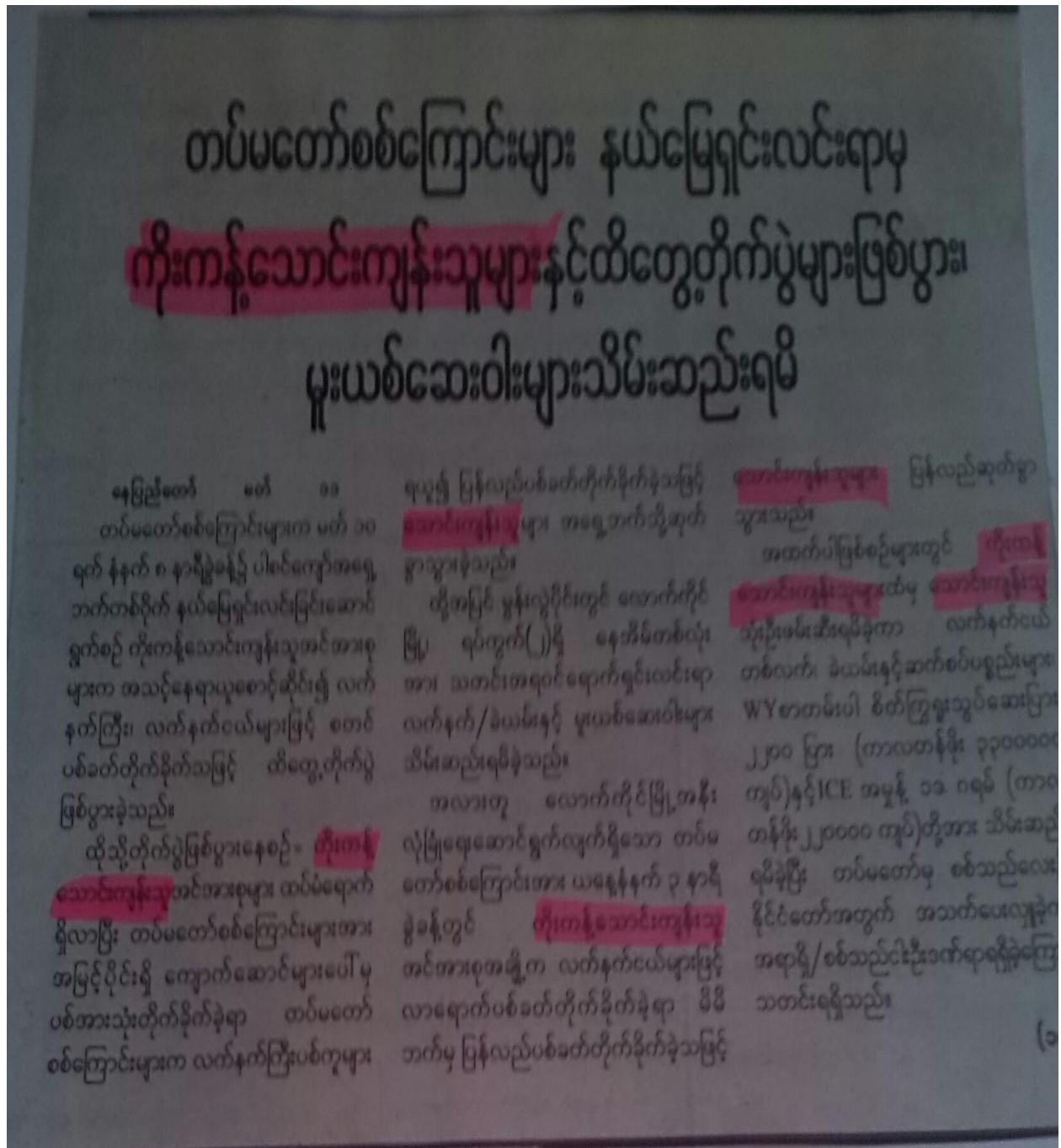
ရန်စရန်ငုတ်၊ ရန်ပျိုပြုတ်အောင်

တိုက်ထုတ်မာန်ဝင့်၊ အောင်ပွဲဆင့်သည်

မိုးမြင့်တည်စံ တို့အလံ၊

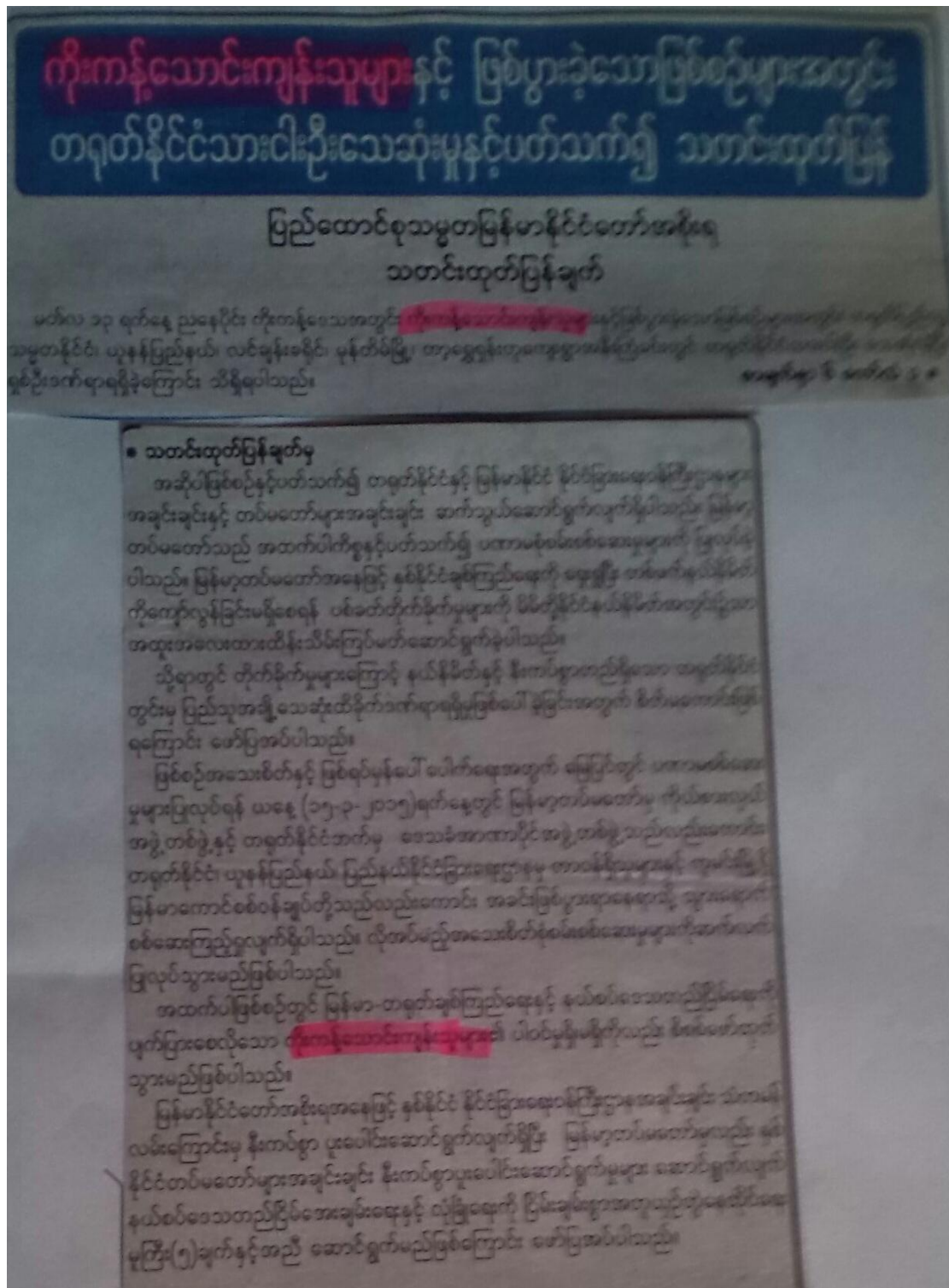
အောင်သံခြံ၊အောင်ပွဲခံ။ ။



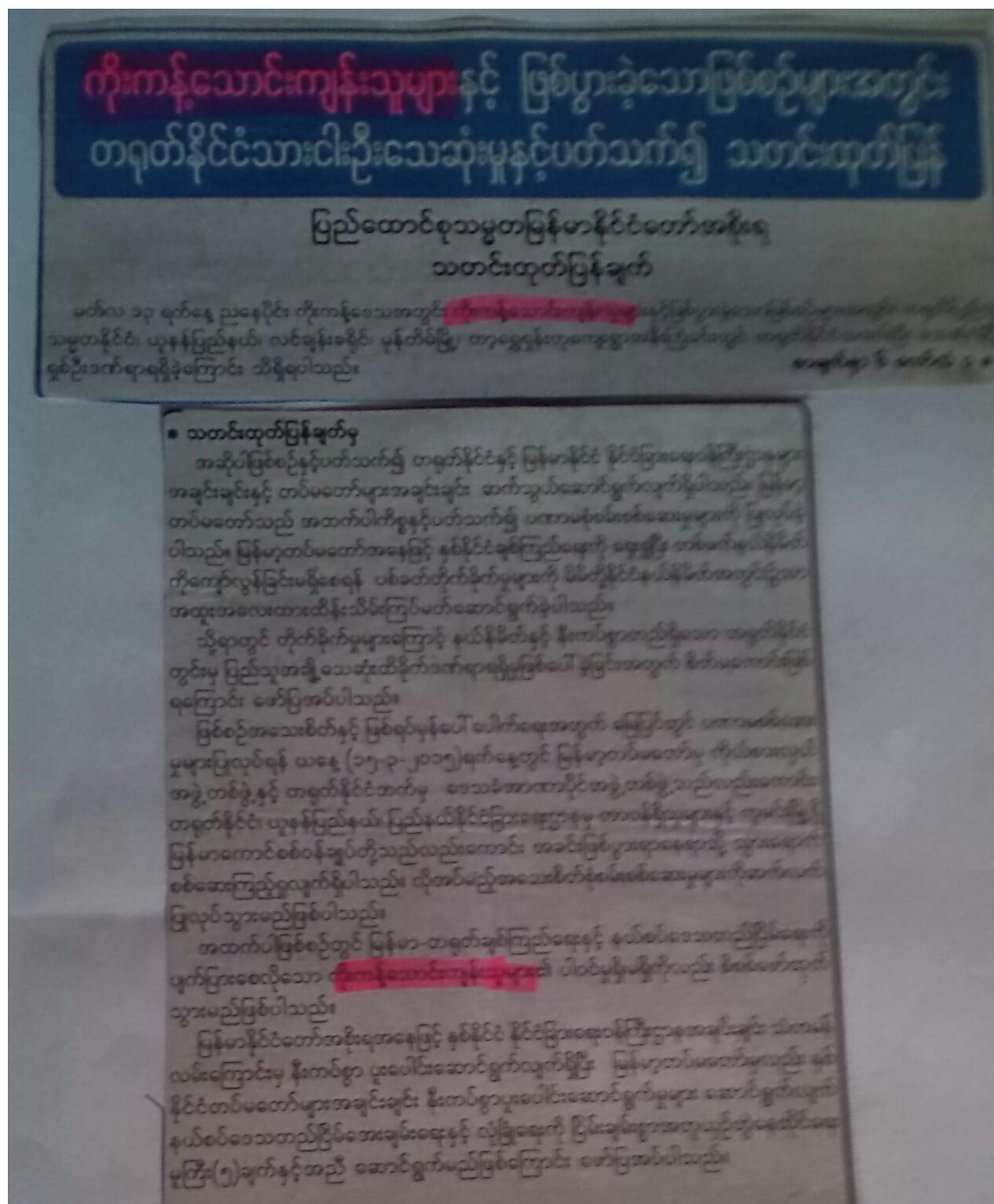




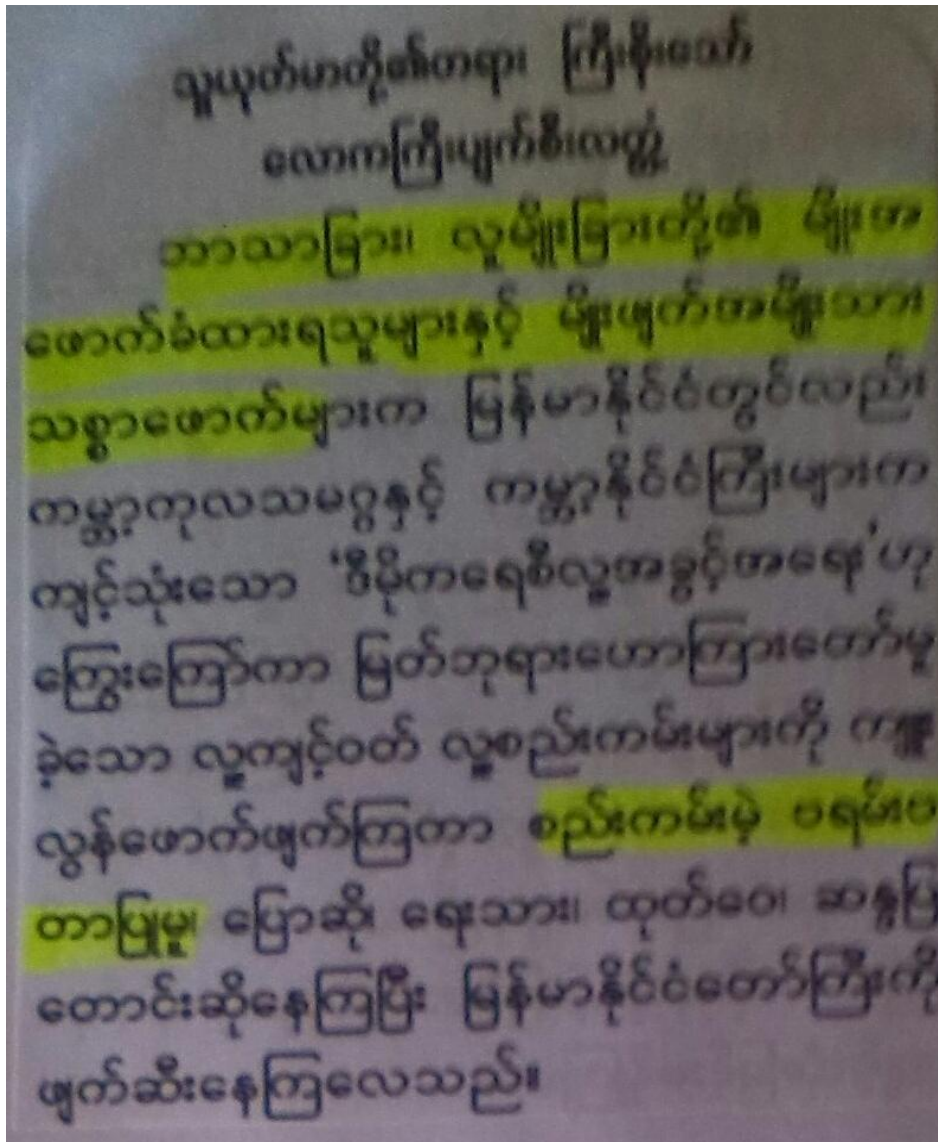
Case 4: Even in the newspaper, the revolution organization was claimed as national destroyer organization (These words were repeatedly used several times)



### Case 1: Foreign people have destroyed the nation



Case (2):



In comparing with the hate speech on social media, print media have only less amount of religious hate speeches. However, political hate speeches were too obvious on Print media than other types of media. Some messages are harsh messages that spark incitement to violence. However, most of the messages are moderate messages on Print Media in comparison with social media.

The key message words used for political hate speech include destroyers, rubbish people, thieves, prostitutes, mad people, evils, animals such as dogs, monkeys, killing field, evil religion, separate religion, evil spirits, dangers of bloody wars, terrorists, dollar earned spies, colorful rebels, slaves and kalars. These messages were repeatedly found in both print media as well as social media.

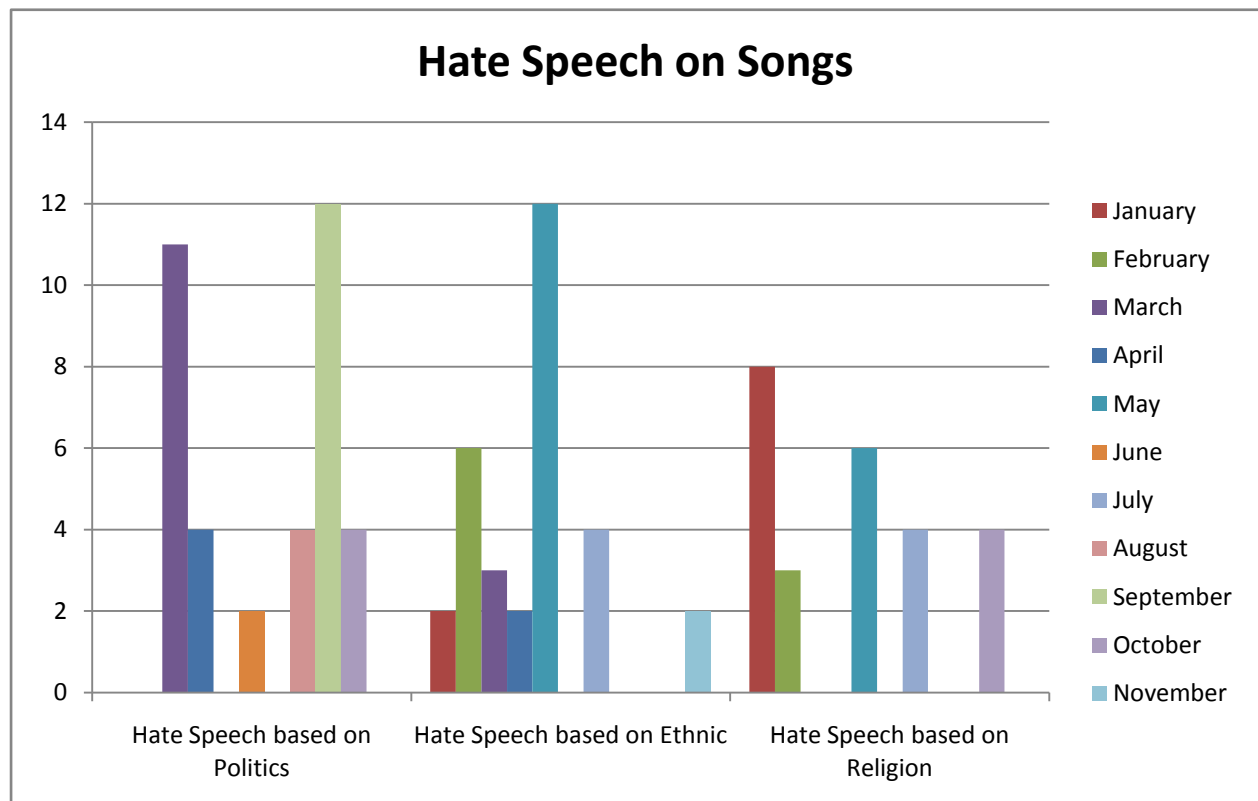
### Key Findings on Songs

Overall, about 269 songs were monitored in total during the observed period of January to Nov, 2015. The number of songs observed was shown in the following figures. Among the observed data, about 93 hate speeches were found.

| Months    | Number of observed songs |
|-----------|--------------------------|
| January   | 25                       |
| February  | 26                       |
| March     | 25                       |
| April     | 20                       |
| May       | 26                       |
| June      | 27                       |
| July      | 25                       |
| August    | 26                       |
| September | 27                       |
| October   | 26                       |
| November  | 16                       |
| Total     | 269                      |



It was noted that songs disseminated through Youtube were included hate speech messages than songs on Broadcast media. However, some songs were put on you tube only after on the Broadcase media. Among the observed songs, hate speech based on politics and ethnic can be found along with hate speech based on religion.



## (1) Hate speech based on religion

### (1.1) To protect religion

In a song named 'Blood Shouldn't be cold and relaxed', the key message was that people should not be stayed without any concerns as they need to protect their own religion. For religious developments of other religion, their religious people will do by themselves.

Otherwise, the survival of ethnicity will have uncertainty.

## **(1.2) Identifying enemy**

In a song named '969 New song', the key message was that there was one enemy that might destroy the nation. They have been staying on land, using the economy as well as the daughters of the nation. To avoid the nation to be felled down into their hands, people should only food in the shops, whereas, the shop owners should be same religious practices.

Another song, 'New 969' called for incitement to violence to prepare wars to attack.

## **(1.3) Alert Messages against Atheist people**

In a song named 'Buddhist song', the key message was that the atheist people are destroying the nation. Thus, people should be alerted to avoid the evil administration.

## **(1.4) Naming the monks as religious evil**

In a song named 'Wirathu', the key message was that people who have manipulated the general public with religious ideals should be named as religious evils.

## **(2) Hate Speech based on Ethnicity**

### **(2.1) To protect ethnicity**

In a song named '969 song', one of the key messages was to protect ethnicity by sacrificing lives if it is required.

### **(2.2) Xenophobia**

In a song named 'Death of Mandalay city', there were several messages like the presence of white people, different languages, new strangers, different facial expressions, non-kindness people leading to the death of the city, once

### **(2.3) Use of languages resembling animals, especially dogs**

In a song named 'Behaving dogs', there were several messages inciting to violence such as challenging fighting, naming others as behaving as dogs.

#### **(2.4) Blaming people who married to non-Myanmar as destroyers of ethnicity**

In some radical religious songs, there were messages blaming who married to non-Myanmar as destroyers of ethnicity.

### **(3) Hate Speech based on Politics**

#### **(3.1) Use of languages resembling animals, especially dogs**

In a song named 'Behaving dogs', there were several messages inciting to violence such as challenging fighting, naming others as behaving as dogs

#### **(3.2) Using hate speech against the political leaders**

In a song named 'Mummy Sein', there were several messages using the languages of 'thieves' mocking the President related to the voter list registration for 2015 elections

## **Impact Analysis**

Most of the messages are disseminated through youtube links on internet, DVDs and mp3 sticks for communities and official sale at the supermarkets. These have been communicated to the hands of the communities at the ground levels to open songs thoroughly.

As these songs include incitement to violence, challenges and discrimination against other diverse people, it can create feelings of hatred towards other people and sometimes create unreasonable responses by diverse people as well. One song was contributing to the immediate cause of riots in Thandwe township in Rakhine State in 2013.

Emotional matters cannot be observed with this content analysis. It can be done with key informant interviews and focused group discussions on the ground level as the next research agenda. However, the trends of likes and shares on internet were to be to considerable

extent and opening of these songs inside the community by using loud speakers should be concerned to avoid unnecessary hatred and violence riots.



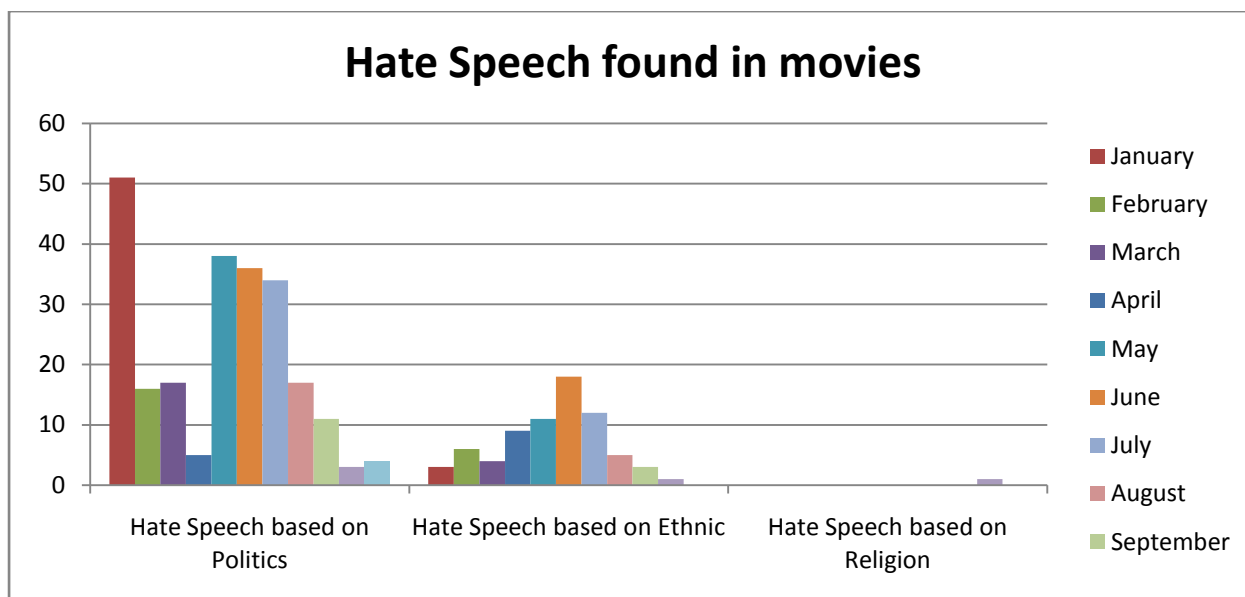


### Key Findings on Movies

Overall, about 304 were monitored in total during the observed period of January to Nov, 2015. The number of songs observed was shown in the following figures. Among the observed data, about 262 hate speeches were found.

| Months    | Number of<br>observed movies | Number of hate<br>speech inclusive<br>movies | Total Hate<br>Speech |
|-----------|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| January   | 30                           | 1                                            | 51                   |
| February  | 29                           | 2                                            | 16                   |
| March     | 28                           | 4                                            | 19                   |
| April     | 23                           | 2                                            | 16                   |
| May       | 30                           | 7                                            | 44                   |
| June      | 30                           | 6                                            | 38                   |
| July      | 30                           | 4                                            | 38                   |
| August    | 29                           | 4                                            | 17                   |
| September | 29                           | 2                                            | 14                   |
| October   | 30                           | 3                                            | 4                    |
| November  | 16                           | 2                                            | 5                    |
| Total     | 304                          | 37                                           | 262                  |

It was noted that movies, especially the action movies included several hate speech messages against foreigners and people with diverse political ideologies. Among the observed movies, hate speech based on politics and ethnicity can be found, however, it was very rare for hate speech based on religion.



## (1) Hate speech based on Politics

### (1.1) Resembling people or group as animals

In a movie named 'Anyone Oo Mar Puthi Kya', several messages were used against the army, historical political parties by naming them as different types of animals. In a movie named 'Attaswe Wutnyin', messages such as evil, dog animals were used against the foreigners who occupied the nation. In a movie named 'Montai tthan kyaik pyai la Pyan', messages such as dog animals were used. Nearly all movies that featured the histories of colonialism included similar messages. Accordingly, the military movies that featured civil wars included similar messages against the armed struggle organizations

### (1.2) Identifying enemy

Among the observed movies, most military movies identified the political opposition groups as enemies of the state who are pro-foreign occupation as axes of the foreigners

### **(1.3) Using Messages as Militias and terrorists for rebels**

In several movies, produced by the state, rebels and revolutionaries were named as militias and terrorists.

### **(1.4) Incitement to violence**

Most action movies have hatred words that contribute incitement to violence and justified on the grounds of protecting the nation, liberation from foreign occupation and fighting against the national destroyers.

## **(2) Hate Speech based on Ethnicity**

### **(2.1) To protect nation**

Among the observed movies, about 20 movies were produced by the army as propaganda movies. Mostly, the ethnic armed organizations were being named as the enemies of the state and the army had to attack them to protect the nation and national interests. A vast amount of hate speeches based on ethnicity were found in these movies.

### **(2.2) Use of languages resembling animals, especially dogs and snakes**

Among the observed movies, using languages resembling people and animals were found. Karen rebels were noted as cobras and vipers.

### **(2.3) Using the images of ethnic diverse people in negative sense**

Among the observed movies, people who wore Shan ethnic trousers were put as thieves, rape perpetrators and robbers. People with Indian ethnic origins were put as rape perpetrators, land owners and loaners, being subject to be victims of hatred speeches later. People with British origins were put as colonial masters, being subject to be verbal abused. Most ethnic people were imaged as the dull people and the followers of gangsters, being subject to be victims of hate speech in the movie settings.

## **(3) Hate Speech based on Religion**

It was very rare to be found in the movies as direct speeches. However, indirect speech acts were found like naughty girls in the movies were mostly from Christian religion, the rape perpetrators as Muslims, etc.

## **Impact Analysis**

Most of the movies were on Broadcast media on daily basis. As these songs include incitement to violence, challenges and discrimination against other diverse people, it can create feelings of hatred towards other people and sometimes create unreasonable responses by diverse people as well. For example, the use of Muslims in rape cases in the movies created the images among the society members in the real world settings. The plots against ethnic revolutionaries in the movies had a negative impact as dividers in the society, and sometimes leading to counter hatred from particular ethnic people. Emotional matters cannot be observed with this content analysis. It can be done with key informant interviews and focused group discussions on the ground level as the next research agenda.



## **Recommendations**

Conflict insensitive media and the inclusion of hate speeches on media can do greater harm to the society by glorifying violent physical violence in religious and political conflicts. The use of social media makes the public far more well-informed about the conflict beneath the violence, and can assist in resolving it. In contrast, it can also makes the public to be alarmed, to have fear or increase hatred towards diverse groups. To prevent conflicts that are violent, PEN Myanmar would like to make the following recommendations for conflict sensitive media practices.

### **To the government and legislators:**

- (a) promote public awareness of the nature of conflicts and conflict resolution measures;
- (b) set up obligations of government officials, journalists and citizens to report and distribute the news which are true, reliable and not making the society in a panic manner;
- (c) strengthen the legal rules and regulations of the use of social media in a peaceful manner by avoiding offensive and abusive languages.

### **To the social media users:**

- (a) Take conflict sensitive responsibility for putting news, notes and photos on the social media;
- (b) Avoid words like devastated, tragedy and terrorized to describe what has been done to one group;
- (c) Avoid making an opinion to the fact;
- (d) Avoid emotional and imprecise words which can make conflicts more worse;

**To CSOs and CBOs:**

- (a) design training programs on media literacy, conflict analysis and conflict sensitivity of media practices and countering hate speech programs
- (b) raise public awareness on how media practices can affect the escalation or de-escalation of conflicts;
- (c) avoid active participation in promoting culture of violence that glorify direct physical violence.

**To producers and directors of movies and song writers:**

- (a) produce songs and movies that promote culture of peace rather than culture of violence
- (b) raise public awareness on the consequences of hate speech in terms of movies and songs
- (c) participate in anti-hate speech campaigns

**To publishers and editors of print media:**

- (a) publish that promote culture of peace rather than culture of violence
- (b) raise public awareness on the consequences of hate speech through print media
- (c) practice conflict sensitive journalism
- (c) participate in anti-hate speech campaigns