

Women's Political Participation in Myanmar Parliaments under the 2010 Election and 2015 Election

Khin Mar Aye*

Abstract

The USDP (Union Solidarity and Development Party) government began to reform social, economic and political affairs as its transition from military government to civilian government. Women's participation in Myanmar politics is a fundamental role for gender equality and democracy. According to 2018 gender inequality index, Myanmar was ranked as 148 of the 189 countries. The National Strategic Plan for females recognized a main priority as ensuring females' political participation and leadership role in the government and civil societies. The role of Myanmar women in parliaments is more limited than that of other ASEAN countries. But the number of elected female representatives in the 2015 election (13.7percent) are more increased than in the 2010 election (6 percent). However, Myanmar females still have faced with challenges and difficulties to their representation and equal participation in political and public sectors. This paper explores the situation of women's participation in Myanmar parliaments by the result of 2010 and 2015 general elections.

Key words: women, election, civilian government, political participation, parliament

Introduction

In Myanmar, the first elected woman in the legislative branch was Daw Hnin Mya, under the British administration. Women's political participation is a fundamental role for gender equality and democracy. According to the results of 2010 election, only 6 percent or 28 seats out of 466 elected national parliamentarians were women. Women took seats 3.8% in state and region parliaments. In 2015 general election, 67 females (13.7 percent) were elected in the national parliament. Women took seats 12.7 percent in state and region parliaments. The military only appointed 2 women. After the 2015 election, women's participation in parliament more increased. Myanmar women more interested in politics and more competed for 2015 election than 2010 election. Moreover, women were more recognized by the government. But when compare with the ASEAN countries' parliament, women parliamentarians remain low level in parliament. Myanmar females faced difficulties and challenges to attain equal participation in parliaments and political sphere. Actually, women's abilities were limited to participate in Myanmar's political field. The aims of women's participation in national parliament are to implement the genuine and disciplined democracy, to represent all women and to serve the the people's socio-economic life.

* Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Yadanabon University

Parliaments are the main actors for Myanmar's democratization process and democracy. They serve the formal interconnection between the people and government. According to 2018 gender inequality index, Myanmar was ranked as 148 of the 189 countries.

Objectives of the Research

The aim of this research paper is to explore the situation of women's political participation in Myanmar parliaments in 2010 general election to compare with the 2015 general election. The objectives are to study the role of women in parliaments and to investigate challenges and limitations for women representatives.

Research Question

The research paper tries to answer the following questions:

How many women are there in Myanmar parliaments by the result of 2010 and 2015 general elections?

What are the challenges and limitations for women's participation in Myanmar politics?

Research Finding

This research argues that Myanmar women's political participation in parliaments according to the result of 2015 general election is larger than according to the result of 2010 general election. However, the women's political participation in Myanmar parliaments is smaller than ASEAN countries.

Research Methodology

This paper tries to explain the situation of women's political participation in 2010 election and 2015 election. To explain this paper, both reliable references and secondary sources have been downloaded from the official websites. The paper is conducted through qualitative research method.

Historical Background

Myanmar is known as ethnically one of the most diverse nations in Asia. There are 135 national races, according to official statistic. There has no law gender discrimination between male and female in Myanmar culturally, anthropologically, and religiously. All Myanmar ethnic nationalities give equal status and treatment to men and women. Women are treated not as weaker sex but only as fairer gender. Thus, some work, some matter, some position, are marked only for men not because of discrimination, but out of respect and regard for fairer gender.¹ Under British administration, the first Women's Association was formed in 1919. The "Wunthanu Konmayi Athin" was established by female members.² In 1929, the first and only one woman was

¹ Khin Mg Nyunt, dr. "The status of women in Myanmar history and culture" March 2018, accessed 15 October 2020, www.globalnewlightmyanmar.com.

² Aye Lei Tun: "Feminism in Myanmar", August 2019, accessed 15 October 2020, Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation, <https://www.fes.asia.org/news>

elected to the first legislative body.¹ Moreover, in 1936, one female among the 132 members of parliament was elected. After the 1948 independence, women focused more on nationalism than Buddhism. The 1947 Constitution give equal rights for all citizens, but the traditional practice of gender-appropriate economic fields remained unchanged. The first “new” parliament was based on this Constitution.² The state always faced conflicts by ethnic violence, armed insurgencies against the state.³ Therefore, the state has never peaceful and challenges. Nevertheless, women’s involvement in politics was more recognized and their numbers more increased in the Parliamentary era. Since the independence, Daw Khin Kyi, Daw Khin Nyunt and Daw Khin Khin were placed as members of Parliament, for seven female members of Parliament.⁴ The first women minister, Mrs. Bamaung Chein, was appointed as the Minister for Karen’s Affairs.⁵ Women’s involvement in politics was neglected under the Caretaker government in 1962. In 1974, 9 females were elected among 449 members of the People’s Assembly.⁶ There are 449 members in the People’s Assembly of Socialist Government. Among them only 13 were women in 1978. Under Myanmar Socialist Programme Party, the government limited women from political life by various orders and proclamations.⁷ The State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) seized power on 18 September 1988. And then, the military government ruled between 1988 and 2011 in Myanmar. The State Peace and Development Council government adopted a seven-step road map in 2003 to transfer power to an elected civilian government.⁸ Women participated in the protests against the military government aimed at establishing a democratic government. There were only eighty-four women among 2296 candidates for 485 parliamentary seats in 1990 general election. However, the military government did not recognize the results of the 1990

¹“The gender gap and women’s political power in Myanmar”, May 2013, accessed 15 October 2020, www.globaljusticecenter.net

²Aye Lei Tun: “Feminism in Myanmar”, August 2019, accessed 15 October 2020, Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation, <https://www.fes.asia.org/news>

³ Steinberg, David (1997), “A void in Myanmar: Civil Society in Myanmar”, accessed 15 October 2020, [https://www.biblio.org/Steinberg paper](https://www.biblio.org/Steinberg%20paper)

⁴ Khin Mg Nyunt, dr. “The status of women in Myanmar history and culture” March 2018, accessed 15 October 2020, www.globalnewlightmyanmar.com.

⁵“The gender gap and women’s political power in Myanmar”, May 2013, accessed 15 October 2020, www.globaljusticecenter.net

⁶ Aye Lei Tun: “Feminism in Myanmar”, August 2019, accessed 15 October 2020, Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation, <https://www.fes.asia.org/new>

⁷ “The gender gap and women’s political power in Myanmar”, May 2013, accessed 15 October 2020, www.globaljusticecenter.net.

⁸ “Gender Equality and Women’s Rights in Myanmar”, 2016, accessed October 15, 2020, <https://www.undp.org/docs>

election and retained power.¹ The military government systematically organized women associations.² In May 2008, the Constitution of Myanmar was adopted by referendum, it came into force in March 2011.³ Although Myanmar women actively participated in politics and served in legislative body until 1988, the number of elected women representatives was very low. Table 1 shows the condition of women's representation in parliaments before 2010 general election.

Table 1: Women's political representation before 2010 general election

Year	Total parliament members	Women in parliament	%
1929	79	1	1.27%
1936	132	1	0.07%
1947	225	7	3.11%
1958-1960	Care taker government		
1962-1974	Military government		
1974	449	9	2.00 %
1978	449	13	2.90%
1990	489	15	3.07%
Between 1988 and 2010	Military government		

Source: www.globaljusticecenter.net

Myanmar Government's Gender Policy

Myanmar government has pledged to a variety of global policy initiatives aimed at ending gender discrimination and promoting women to inclusive in public sphere.⁴ The civilian government empowered females fully to enjoy their rights with the support of the Government.⁵ Daw Myat Myat Ohn Khin is the government's only one female minister of 36 union ministerial positions under USDP government.⁶ The Ministry of Social Welfare, Relief and Resettlement of the Government of Myanmar served social welfare services through preventive,

¹ "The gender gap and women's political power in Myanmar", May 2013, accessed 15 October 2020, www.globaljusticecenter.net

² Aye Lei Tun: "Feminism in Myanmar", August 2019, accessed 15 October 2020, Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation, <https://www.fes.asia.org/news>

³ "Gender Equality and Women's Rights in Myanmar", 2016, accessed 15 October 2020, <https://www.undp.org/docs>

⁴ Minoletti, Paul: "Women's participation in Myanmar in the subnational governance of Myanmar" 2014, accessed 15 October 2020, <https://asiafoundation.org/gender>

⁵ "Gender Equality and Women's Rights in Myanmar", 2016, accessed 15 October 2020, <https://www.undp.org/docs>.

⁶ "Myanmar's government to appoint a second women minister", 2014, accessed October 15, 2020, www.irrawaddy.com/myanmar

protective and rehabilitative measures, with special attention to children, youth, female, persons with disabilities, and old persons.¹In October 2013, Myanmar government began the National Strategic Plan for the Advancement of Women, in Nay Pyi Taw. The plan is a 10-year action plan to promote the status of women. This plan is based on the 12 main areas of the Beijing Platform for Action and Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. The NSPAW highlighted to acquire a quota of 30 percent for women in national parliament. The priority areas laid out in the plan are education, health; livelihoods and poverty reduction; violence against women; emergencies; economy; decision making; institutional mechanisms; human rights; environment; media; and the girl child.² There are many organizations under USDP government and NLD government, for example, the National Committee for Women's Affairs, civil society organizations etc. They supported partly the implementation for the Strategic Plan. Their goals are women and peace, women and representation, and to solve the violence issues against women.³ The National Strategic Plan called for the improvement of "structures, systems, and practices to guarantee female's equal participation in leadership and decision-making at all levels of society.

Women's Political Participation in Myanmar Parliaments in 2010 Election

According to the 2008 constitution, Pyidaungsu Hluttaw at the national parliament comprised of two chambers Pyithu Hluttaw, which has 440 seats, and Amyotha Hluttaw, which has 224 seats. Generally, Pyithu Hluttaw and Amyotha Hluttaw are equal status. The constitution formulates for the direct election of 75% of the members of both chambers, with the remaining 25% appointed by the Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services. The ratio of military representatives is also one quarter at the region and state levels.⁴ And then legislative authority is vested in a bicameral assembly of the Union Parliament. All parliament members serve five-year terms.⁵ Under the 2008 constitution, the first general election was held in Myanmar on 7 November 2010. Myanmar government's president is elected by parliament, not by popular vote. The NLD party did not take part in this election. The USDP party won landslide victory. In this election, 3069 candidates of 36 political parties including 82 independent candidates were

¹ "Myanmar National Strategic Plan for women advancement", 2013, accessed 15 October 2020, <https://www.mm>.

² "Gender Equality and Women's Rights in Myanmar", 2016, accessed 15 October 2020, <https://www.undp.org/docs>

³ Aye Lei Tun: "Feminism in Myanmar", August 2019, accessed 15 October 2020, Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation, <https://www.fes.asia.org/news>

⁴ *Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar*, September 2008, Printing & Publishing Enterprise, Ministry of Information, Myanmar

⁵ "Myanmar – government and society/Britannica", accessed 15 October 2020, www.britannica.com

competed. Only 6 percent or 28 seats out of 466 elected national parliamentarians were women. They won four seats in the upper house and twenty-four in the lower house. But the women's representation in parliament was little¹. In 2012, the Union Election Commission requested by-elections to fill 46 vacant positions. Among 157 candidates, 24 were women. The NLD party won 43 for 44 seats in April 2012 by –election.² 24 women held elected seats in the Pyithu Hluttaw, 4 women held elected seats in the Amyotha Hluttaw and 25 women held elected seats in the region and state parliaments after the April 2012 by –election.³ Table 2 shows women's participation in parliaments according to the result of 2010 election.

Table: 2 women 's political representation in parliaments under the result of 2010 election

Parliaments	Elected Members of parliament		Military – appointed MPs		Women as % of elected members	Women as % of all MPs
	Women	Men	Women	men		
(Pyidaungsu Hluttaw) National Parliament	28	438	2	164	6.0	4.8
Amyotha Hluttaw	4	155	0	56	2.5	1.8
Pyithu Hluttaw	24	283	2	108	7.8	6.2
State/region Parliaments	25	634	1	221	3.8	2.9

Source: <https://asiafoundation.org/gender>

Myanmar government allowed to apply the first -past - the post electoral system for election. The number of eligible voters were 29 million people ,but nearly 22.4 million voted in 2010 election, it was only held in 1154 constituencies because the Union Election Commission made a decision not to hold elections for security reasons in some regions.⁴

¹ Minoletti, Paul: "Gender (in)Equality in the Governance of Myanmar: Past, Present, and Potential Strategies for Change", 2016, accessed 15 October 2020, <https://asiafoundation.org/gender>

² "The gender gap and women's political power in Myanmar", May 2013 accessed 15 October 2020, www.globaljusticecenter.net

³ "GenderEquality and Women's Rights in Myanmar", 2016, accessed 15 October 2020 <https://www.undp.org/docs>

⁴ Kudo Toshihiro : "Results of the 2010 elections in Myanmar :Analysis" January 2011, accessed 15 October 2020 <https://www.ide.go.jp/Region/Asia>

Women's Political Participation in Myanmar Parliaments in 2015 Election

The civilian government led the democratic state since April 2016 in Myanmar. General elections were held on 8 November 2015 under USDP government, excluding seats appointed by the military.¹ A total of 6,038 runners from 91 political parties and 310 independent candidates competed for more than 1,000 seats at all parliaments in Myanmar's 2015 election. Of the 1733 candidates are running for seats of the Lower house, 886 for the Upper house, and 3419 for region or state parliaments. The general election excluded seven townships in Shan state and 454 village tracts in other seats for security reasons.² The November 2015 elections resulted in landslide wins for the NLD.³ These elections supplied women for their second major opportunity to participate in parliaments. 23 females were elected to the Amyotha Hluttaw and 44 females to Pyithu Hluttaw. The military appointed two women to serve in the national parliament. Only 40 women contested for reelection in 2015. Re-elected representatives were only 12 women. Table 3 shows the conditions of women's participation in parliaments according to the result of 2015 election.

Table: 3 women's political representation in parliaments under the result of 2015 election

Parliaments	Elected members of parliament		Military appointed MPs		Women as % of elected MPs	Women as % of elected All MPs
	Women	Men	Women	men		
Pyidaungsu Hluttaw) National parliament	67	424	2	164	13.7%	10.5%
Amyotha Hluttaw	23	145	0	56	13.7%	10.3%
Pyithu Hluttaw	44	279	2	108	13.6%	10.6%
State and region parliaments	84	575	2	219	12.7%	9.7%

Source: <https://asiafoundation.org/gender>

In 2015 election, 79 females were elected in the state and region parliaments. 5 of the 29 elected ethnic affairs ministers were women. Thus, 84 or 12.7 percent women were elected parliamentarians in the state and region levels. The military only appointed 2 women (one woman in Yangon Region and one woman in Shan State) in the states and regions. So, the

¹Shwe Shwe Sein Latt, March 2017, accessed 15 October 2020 mizzima.com

²"Myanmar announces 106 parliament representatives -elect in 1st -day election", November 2015, accessed 15 November 2020 www.china.org.cn

³Minoletti Paul, "Gender (in)Equality in the Governance of Myanmar: Past, Present, and Potential Strategies for Change", 2016, accessed 15 October 2020, <https://asiafoundation.org/gender>

women of all Members of Parliament were considered 9.7 percent. In March 2016, there are two female chief ministers in Kayah State and Tanintharyi Region. At the national parliament, about 13.7% of elected representatives were females. Women representatives percentage including the Military MPs was 10.5 percent at the national parliament. Myanmar ranked in the front of Thailand (6 percent) and Malaysia (10.4 percent), but behind the Philippines (27.2 percent), Lao PDR (25 percent), Vietnam (25.3 percent), Indonesia (17.1 percent), Cambodia (20.3 percent) Singapore (23.9 percent). The international average is 22.9% female parliamentarians in nationally elected bodies.¹ The members of parliament women in Myanmar were less than those of other ASEAN states. However, women's political representation in parliaments in 2015 election more increased than in 2010 election in Myanmar.

The Challenges and Limitation for Women's Participation in Myanmar Politics

Myanmar successive governments have tried to take provisional unique measures, for example, a quota system in parliaments and the role of women in Myanmar politics. Women candidates faced with obstacles and challenges to participate in Myanmar parliaments.² Major challenges for Women's participation are included traditional cultural beliefs, traditional perceptions of women, security, weakness of the supporting of family, capacity needs and skill and finance, lack of confidence, weakness of political parties and role model etc.³ These factors discourage women from engaging in political and public sphere.

Traditional Cultural Beliefs: The Buddhist culture has a strong influence in Myanmar society. Buddhism is a flexible religion and it coexists with other religions. Whatever, many people believe that male is more superior than women. Thus, traditional Buddhist culture also indirectly restricts women from participating in some ceremonies and entering certain parts of temple.⁴ Some believed that Myanmar women are as the protectors of culture. These limitations can partly affect female's capacities to obtain the leadership role of decision-making and other political fields.⁵ Traditional Myanmar proverbs say that "The sun does not rise with a hen's crow.", that

¹ Minoletti, Paul: "Gender (in)Equality in the Governance of Myanmar: Past, Present, and Potential Strategies for Change", 2016, accessed 15 October 2020, <https://asiafoundation.org/gender>

² "The Voices of Myanmar", Women Research Report in support of CEDAW Alternative Report (2016) Women's Organization Network (WON) Singapore | 5 October 2018, accessed 15 October 2020 <https://tbinternet.ohchr.org>

³ Minoletti, Paul: "Gender (in)Equality in the Governance of Myanmar: Past, Present, and Potential Strategies for Change", 2016, accessed 15 October 2020, <https://asiafoundation.org/gender>

⁴ "The Voices of Myanmar", Women Research Report in support of CEDAW Alternative Report (2016) Women's Organization Network (WON) Singapore | 5 October 2018, accessed 15 October 2020 <https://tbinternet.ohchr.org>

⁵ "Social roles and gender stereotypes", November 2019, accessed 15 October 2020 www.burmalibrary.org/docs

means “men are superior than women” in leadership role.¹ So, this cultural assumption may affect women’s own self-perception and ambition.

Traditional Perceptions of Women: Most of the women believe that sons are more valuable than daughters, for example, “Husband is god, and son is master”. Traditionally, to be an ideal woman, woman has to stay at home with her parents, and work, cook, wash the clothes, and do all works. Women should always speak in a soft voice. The leader of the household is the father, but the mother who plays the special role in rearing children.² According to traditional views, men’s positions are leaders and women’s positions are subordinate roles.

Security: The security sector is also important for females to assurance on the security and safety concerns. Traditionally, women do not go outside from resident alone, especially at night, because of security concerns. Females may face physical threats, even death threats, when travelling to campaign alone. Females have no safety from any hidden attacks.

Weakness of the Supporting of Family: Women candidates faced to obtain the approval from their husband or family. If a married women decides to run for office or party, firstly she needs to ask for approval from her husband to contest in elections or to engage in politics. If such approval is not granted, females are most likely to drop out of the race. Men can contribute in politics or the activities of society freely. However, for females, the house work is the first, the second is political participation.³ Therefore, some women politicians and female candidates normally need not only their family’s support but also their husband’s approval and help.

Finance, Capacity Needs and Skill: Financial matter is one of the challenges. Women representatives want to spend the costs of campaigning and travelling when she goes to the constituencies, especially during the raining season. There were additional expenses such as, medicine, accommodation and food if a member of parliament was forced to be accompanied by another person during such travel. Women representatives need capacity, responsibility, sufficient research skills and computer skills.

Lack of Confidence: Women’s lack of confidence is the important barrier to their actively participate in politics. According to Esther Duflo, most of women perceived that they are unable to lead the leadership role and policy- making.⁴ Generally, Women are excluded from leadership

¹“Gender and politics”, August 2017, accessed 15 October 2020, www.genmyanmar.org, Gen

² “Social roles and gender stereotypes”, November 2019, accessed 15 October 2020, www.burmalibrary.org/docs

³“The Voices of Myanmar”, Women Research Report in support of CEDAW Alternative Report (2016) Women’s Organization Network (WON) Singapore 5 October 2018, accessed 15 October 2020, <https://tbinternet.ohchr.org>

⁴ Minoletti, Paul: “Women’s participation in Myanmar in the subnational governance of Myanmar” 2014, accessed October 15, 2020, <https://asiafoundation.org>>gender

roles in Myanmar because some women believe that they have no confidence like male.¹ This assumption limits their confidence to obtain in the position of parliamentary.

Weakness of the Political Parties and Role Model : Political parties are source of crucial support for women's political participation. Women representatives often limited by their own party guide lines and their individual opinions were often refused in dealing with party's important strategy, and leadership position. Women parliamentarians are also interested how to address women issues, to respect party policy, and to have responsibility to their constituent.² Voters' preference for male politicians was higher than for women. Male leaders have influenced the discussions and decisions on political matters and party policy, while women have been mostly excluded from party meetings or informal gatherings.³ Women who are already in leadership positions can help to raise the participation of other women.⁴ If females took the role of leadership positions efficiently, they will serve a powerful affect for the interests of party, all females and the country. Daw Hnin Mya, Daw Mya Sein, Mrs.Ba Maung Chein and Dr.Daw Saw Hsa were the most prominent women in Myanmar politics. They were ideal persons for young females in Myanmar politics.

Conclusion

Until 2020, male's participation in legislative branch remains more influence, from the national level to local level. Myanmar females enjoy equality and high status, and they are able to participate in public fields as man do. Males and females are official and legal equal status under 2008 constitution. But, traditionally, Myanmar women were given a supportive role in social and political life to help with the implementation of man leaders' agendas. Most of the Myanmar women believed that "Husband is god,and son is master" Thus, men obtained the rights and power of the leadership role indirectly. The male-dominated national parliament may create negative affect the decision-making, may facilitate corruption, affect the females' attitudes on the parliaments, and limit females'confidence and ambition to actively participate in parliaments. Actually, Myanmar women's political participation is essential to analyze conflict, violence and human insecurity, that is shaped by gender inequality. Women parliamentarians could serve to raise the citizens' welfare and promoting economic growth. Women are important to the achievement of peace and democracy. Additionally, the duties of a member of parliament are to

¹ "Gender and politics", August 2017, accessed October 15, 2020, www.genmyanmar.org,Gen

² Ibid.

³ "Social roles and gender stereotypes", November2019, accessed October 15, 2020, www.burma.library/docs

⁴ Minoletti, Paul: "Women 's participation in Myanmar in the subnational governance of Myanmar" 2014, accessed October 15, 2020, <https://asiafoundation.org>>gender

vote in legislation and to serve the functions of committees concerns. Women's political representation in Myanmar parliament is higher in 2015 election than in 2010 election but remains low. Women includes only one-tenth members of parliament. For the gender equality of parliamentary representation, Myanmar was ranked the twenty percent of countries around the world.

Acknowledgements

I am very much indebted to Dr.Tint Moe Thu Zar (Rector, Yadanabon University), Dr.Khin Myot (Pro-rector, Yadanabon University) Dr.Khin Maw Maw Soe (Pro-rector, Yadanabon University) and Dr.Myint Myint Oo(Pro-rector, Yadanabon University) for their permission to do this research. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Thin Thin Aye (Professor and Head), Dr. Moe Yin Yin (Professor), from International Relations Department, Yadanabon University for their invaluable scholarly, professional and technical advice, well-educated discussion and the Departmental Ethical Research Committee. I am also indebted to Daw Aye Aye Myint (librarian,Yadanabon University) and Department of English. I would like to also thank to all those who were involved in preparing this paper.

References

- Aye Lei Tun: "Feminism in Myanmar", August2019, Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation, <https://www.fes.asia.org/news> [accessed 15 October 2020]
- Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar* ,September 2008, Printing & Publishing Enterprise, Ministry of Information,Myanmar
- Dr.Khin Mg Nyunt, "The status of women in Myanmar history and culture" March 2018,.www.globalnewlightmyanmar.com. [accessed 15October 15,2020]
- "Gender Equality and Women's Rights in Myanmar", 2016,<https://www.undp.org/docs>[accessed15 October 2020]
- "Gender and politics", August 2017, www.genmyanmar.org,Gen [accessed15 October 2020]
- Minoletti, Paul: "Gender (in)Equality in the Governance of Myanmar: Past, Present, and Potential strategies for Change",2016, <https://asiafoundation.org/gender>[accessed 15October 2020]
- Minoletti, Paul: "Women 's participation in Myanmar in the subnational governance of Myanmar" 2014, 2020,<https://asiafoundation.org/gender>[accessed15 October 2020]
- "Myanmar's government to appoint a second women minister",2014, www.irrawaddy.com> Myanmar [accessed 15October 2020]
- "Myanmar –government and society"/Britannica, www.britannica.com>[accessed 15October 2020]
- "Myanmar announces 106 parliament representatives–elect in 1st –day election", www.china.org.cn [accessed 15November 2020]
- "Myanmar national strategic plan for women advancement",2013,<https://www.mm>[accessed 15October 2020]
- "Social roles and gender stereotypes", November2019, www.burma.library/docs[accessed October 2020]

Shwe Shwe Sein Latt and Suan Lee: "Women 's political participation in Myanmar: experiences of women parliamentarians", the Asia Foundation, April 2017,<https://asiafoundation.org>[accessed 15 October 2020]

Shwe Shwe Sein Latt, March 2017, Mizzima.www.burmalibrary.net [accessed 15 October 2020]

Steinberg, David (1997), "A void in Myanmar: Civil Society in Myanmar", <https://www.biblio.org/steinbergpaper>

"The gender gap and women's political power in Myanmar", May 2013, www.globaljusticecenter.net [accessed 15 October 2020]

Toshihiro Kudo: "Results of the 2010 elections in Myanmar :Analysis" January 2011, <https://www.idea.go.jp/Region/Asia> [accessed 15 October 2020]

"The Voices of Myanmar", Women Research Report in support of CEDAW Alternative Report (2016) Women's Organization Network (WON) Singapore 5 October 2018,<https://tbinternet.ohchr.org> [accessed 15 October 2020]