



# A study of ethnic media following the 2021 coup

December - 2022

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## Introduction

Media, the fourth pillar of democracy, play a crucial role in Myanmar's political transition. Not only do mainstream media organizations in Myanmar have to struggle for their survival amid the political crisis, ethnic media organizations have to likewise undergo the same. Ethnic media outlets have been struggling for their survival due to the difficulties arising from the successive military governments' oppression and discrimination, ban on news coverage in ethnic minority languages, and the restrictions on education access in ethnic minority areas since 1988 till present day.

On February 1, 2021, the military suddenly cut off communications and internet lines, and restricted the use of social media in an attempt to prevent information flow. The military also raised mobile internet bills. In addition, the military arbitrarily arrested reporters and carried out sudden raids on media offices. It revoked licenses of mainstream media organizations which were providing real-time news and ethnic media outlets which were covering the news in ethnic minority areas and border regions. The military prevented

journalists in cities and other areas from gathering news freely. Journalists experienced arbitrary arrests, oppression, torture at the interrogation camps, with some even being victims of extrajudicial killings. Despite the risk, ethnic media continue to report on regional news in Myanmar which the mainstream media are unable to do. Ethnic media are covering the news in their respective own languages to avoid causing misunderstandings due to language differences. Ethnic media can also reflect the voices and views of the people in ethnic minority areas who face oppression and discrimination. As a result of covering the news about mass killings and human rights violations, ethnic media have been subjected to the military council's targeted attacks.

This paper aims to explore the aforementioned cases. The research question is "How has the coup impacted ethnic media?". For this paper, we interviewed eight editors and reporters from six ethnic media organizations which are members of Burma News International (BNI). The main contents included in this paper are: the history of ethnic media in Myanmar, the findings about the coup's impact on ethnic media, and a review of these findings.

## Paper Review

### Emergence of ethnic media

Myanmar's first-ever ethnic newspaper, namely Tavoy's Hsa-tu-gaw (the Morning Star), was established by the Baptist Convention in 1842 and published in S' gaw Karen language. In 1935-1945, more than 60 newspapers including Japanese language newspapers and ethnic minority language newspapers emerged across the country. In 1935, Arakan language Rakhine State newspapers were published in Sittwe for four years. In 1937, Arakan language newspapers named Doelatyone were published in Arakan State. In 1943-1945, Kanbawza newspaper, Kachin language newspaper Shi Laika Ningnan, Rangoon Liberator, Shwemann Aung Si newspaper, Tai-4, Tavoyan (Dawei), Guideline Daily, Morning Star, Burma Economic, People's Voice, and Guide Daily were produced (Ko Htwe, 2017).

Although the civil war following independence did pose some threats to the freedom of the newspaper industry, there were no records of severe threats like that of the military era.

After General Ne Win took over control of Myanmar in 1958 for the first time, the country saw a complex political situation, the destruction of media houses, and the arrests and killings of journalists. The military detained and sent journalists and writers,



along with politicians, to the Coco Islands. The military sealed off the newspaper houses, such as Ludu newspaper and Kyemon newspaper, which criticized the military government. Following the seizure of power by General Ne Win in 1962, there were further arrests of journalists and restrictions on media freedom. As a result, the private newspapers came to an end and the pro-military news media emerged. Journalists who opposed the dictator fled into the forests or to other countries. The media industry was overwhelmed by military officers. The newspapers published in Kachin, Karen, and Chin languages ceased during the tenure of General Ne Win. Only a few Burmese and English languages newspapers were left. According to UPI U Ba Than's Myanmar newspaper history, there were 40 private newspapers in Myanmar in 1962. In 1972, only seven government-owned newspapers were left.

Following the third coup in 1988, many writers and journalists linked to politics were arrested. Journalists fled to other countries and continued to cover the news while in exile. Among them are those from ethnic media organizations. There is no generation gap in the news industry despite the military treating reporters as enemies, and controlling and oppressing them for around 50 years. The media adapted to the situation be it the military government's tightening control or the easing restrictions (Bo Bo, 2021).

On February 11, 2003, Burma News International (BNI) was established in Kolkata, India, with four Burmese news organizations based in the western border of Myanmar, India, and Bangladesh. The first founding news organizations are Mizzima News, Narinjara News, Kaladan Press Network, and Khonumthung News. It was later expanded, with other news organizations based in Thailand, the Thai-Myanmar border, and Myanmar, joining in. At present, there are 16 local and ethnic media organizations under BNI.

Due to the government's reforms after 2011, the mainstream media and ethnic media scene saw significant changes which led to the emergence of many new media outlets. Former president U Thein Sein made a lot of reforms benefiting media freedom and abolished the direct censorship of the media. He then gave the green-light to the exiled media organizations to carry out their operations back in Myanmar. During the tenure of the U Thein Sein-led government, more than 885 ethnic minority language publications were allowed. The number of registered publications increased from 300 in 2014. Among them are three Chin language daily newspapers, 40 ethnic minority language journals, and seven ethnic minority language magazines (The Irrawaddy, 2016).

The journalists from the media outlets left the country in the

times of the previous military governments. They subsequently returned to Myanmar during the tenures of U Thein Sein and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to run the mainstream media. However, mainstream media organizations, unlike ethnic media outlets, have limited knowledge about ethnic minority states although they are covering news about these states. Ethnic media have a thorough understanding about conflict and violence in ethnic minority areas and thus play a crucial role for both the ethnic minority areas as well as the Myanmar media industry (Brooten, 2016).

The major difference between ethnic media and mainstream media is that the latter have limits as they have to cover the news of the whole country. Ethnic media can cover the news about their respective ethnic minority states and communities more independently than mainstream media. Ethnic minorities want accurate and real-time information about their regions because they place emphasis on accuracy, transparency, and freshness of the news (IMS, 2020).



## Research Methodology

For this paper, we interviewed journalists from the Than Lwin Times (Mon news)<sup>1</sup>, Khonumthung Media Group (KMG) (Chin news)<sup>2</sup>, Network Media Group (NMG)<sup>3</sup>, Narinjara News (Arakan news)<sup>4</sup>, Karen Information Center (KIC)<sup>5</sup>, and Kantarawaddy Times (KT) (Karenni news)<sup>6</sup>. We also examined news articles and academic journals. This paper describes the findings from these studies.

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1 Than Lwin Times (Mon news agency)

It was set up in May, 2012. The Than Lwin Times was the first-ever news agency in Mon State as there was no media at the time of its establishment in this state.

2 Khonumthung Media Group (KMG) (Chin news agency)

The KMG was set up in March, 2002. The KMG is broadcasting radio programs in three Chin languages, namely Chin Mizo, Hakha, and Falam.

3 Network Media Group (NMG)

The NMG was established by youths in 2001 in resistance to the military government. It covers the daily news in Burmese and English languages. The NMG also produces podcasts, radio programs, TV news, and exclusive programs.

4 Narinjara News (Arakan news agency)

Narinjara News was established in September, 2001 in Dhaka, Bangladesh. Following the coup, the agency could not produce its journal when it moved its headquarters to Thailand. It covers the news in Burmese and English, and also produces radio programs and TV programs.

5 Karen Information Center (KIC)

Established in 1997, the KIC is an independent news agency. It covers accurate ethnic-based news to enable local and international people to have more understanding about daily events based on human rights, ethnic minority rights, and democratic rights.

6 Kantarawaddy Times (KT) (Karenni news agency)

In 2004, the KT was set up by seven youths from a Karenni refugee camp to share information about refugees with the public. The KT covered the news till 2021 from Karenni (Kayah) State. Currently, it covers the news from the Thai-Myanmar border.

## Findings

### Situation of ethnic media following the coup

Following the 2021 coup, the military council revoked the licenses of Myanmar Now, the 7 Day Daily, the Mizzima News, Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB), and Yangon Khit Thit Media. The military council issued arrest warrants for some news agencies and journalists, and opened cases against them under Section 505 (a) of the Penal Code. Some journalists were arrested while covering the anti-coup protests (VOA Burmese, 2021). In addition, the military council revoked the licenses of the ethnic minority area-based Myitkyina News Journal, The 74 Media, and the Tachileik News Agency, as well as many other media outlets (BNI-MPM, 2021).

According to the statement by the Reporters Without Borders (RSF) organization, 110 reporters from Myanmar were arrested in 2021 and 32 in 2022. Due to the military council's human rights violations such as the arrest of journalists and ban on news gathering, Myanmar's position in the World Press Freedom Index has dropped to 176 out of 180 countries, according to the RSF, 2022. Mainstream media and ethnic media outlets have fled to the ethnic minority areas not under the control of the military council,

and continue to cover the news despite them facing a lot of human rights violations such as the arrests of journalists and ban on news coverage by the military. Amid these difficulties, media organizations are covering real-time news from the liberated areas.

From the liberated areas, they moved to neighboring countries. They continue to report on news about the current situation and daily events. Ethnic media organizations are making efforts to provide accurate news about the ethnic minority areas despite a decline in the number of staff, a lack of technical equipment, and other difficulties related to safety and finances.

In addition, freelance journalists are covering

the news while hiding in-country and citizen journalists report on the daily events, armed conflicts, and human rights violations even as they face the military council's oppression and life-threatening situations.

Under such circumstances, the ethnic media in ethnic minority areas which have already been facing oppression and discrimination from successive military dictatorships, are experiencing even more challenges related to the survival of their organization, news gathering, and the safety and mental health of journalists. While it is found that most of the ethnic media organizations have designated the rule that at least two news sources, which experienced the incidents, are required for the accuracy of news, the ethnic media outlets responded that they are unable to follow this rule during the current revolutionary period. Only one person can be used as a confirmed source sometimes although the news is correct, the respondents said. However, ethnic media outlets have to broadcast the news even if they are not fully satisfied with it. The reason is it is a revolution period and the news is difficult to be confirmed.

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As ethnic media outlets are located in ethnic minority areas and are collecting and gathering the news there, while mainstream media outlets are gathering the news while being in cities such as Yangon and Mandalay, the major difference is that the news coverage by ethnic media tend to be more accurate and valid. Ethnic media have the capacity to know the local news round the clock. For instance, mainstream media have asked for photographs and news sources from ethnic media outlets when they wanted to cover important developments like the military council's new project which involves seizure of land in the region, members of ethnic media said.

## Oppression of ethnic media following the coup

The genuine media organizations, especially ethnic media outlets, found it difficult to survive during the time of successive military governments. Although the civilian government did not favor ethnic media too much, it did not exert pressures. Now, the military council returns to oppressing ethnic media, similar to during the reigns of former junta leaders. The reason is because ethnic media have closer relations with the public and expose the military council's oppressions. As a result, ethnic media became an eyesore to the regime.

Following the 2021 coup, the military council is closely monitoring ethnic media. It is found that the ethnic media face difficulties in news production as the junta banned the coverage of news about human rights violations, opened cases against those which covered such news, forcefully shut down their offices, and restricted public access to the internet. Many ethnic media organizations had to close their offices and many media staff went into hiding.

“Following the coup, there were not too many clashes in Arakan State. The reason is the Arakan Army (AA) had a good relationship with the military council. There were no human rights violations as there were no battles. However, the military council has opened



the cases against the media which covered the news about the renewed clashes with the AA. At that time, the police raided the old office of Narinjara News in Magyimyaing in Sittwe as it covered the news about the arrest of Muslim villagers and extortion of money, the soldiers' extortion of money at Ann checkpoint, and psychological tortures against the people. We temporarily closed the new office as we got the news that the police would storm it. The news team members moved to other places," said U Khaing Mrat Kyaw, Chief Editor of Narinjara News.

In addition, Than Lwin Times, a Mon news agency, could produce news properly only until February 2021, when the military coup took place. News production became increasingly difficult from the first week of March after the military council targeted the ethnic news agency, which among the regional Mon media outlets mainly covers public grievances.

"In early March, we had to close the office and move to another place to work. Starting in April, the military council began searching the homes of our journalists. They tried to arrest us but couldn't arrest any of us at that time. We all moved to the liberated area. We officially announced that some editors and reporters were dismissed to ensure their safety," said Ko Than Lwin Aye, editor of Than Lwin Times.

Since then, Than Lwin Times has been unable to open its office and operate regularly. Although it hopes to operate normally like other news outlets in the liberated areas, it was only able to produce news intermittently due to the lack of a working internet connection. In July, when the military regime demanded that the regional group which it had taken refuge under to hand over Than Lwin Times editors to them, the organization was forced to flee to another

**For more than a year, it has become difficult to obtain truthful information because journalists have been chased and warrants have been issued for their arrest.**

Ethnic Armed Organization (EAO) area and ran into difficulties. In September, some reporters and editors fled to the Thai border, while others stayed in the country and continued to work in news production.

Similarly, the military regime placed other ethnic media outlets in ethnic minority areas on its watch list, such as the KMG, KIC, KT, and NMG. Faced with surveillance and the possibility of arrest at any time, reporters and editors had to leave their homes and work in safer places.

Access to factual information is hampered by the fact that journalists are on the run and no sources are available on the ground. Especially in ethnic minority areas, there is no way for journalists to travel around. For more than a year, it has become difficult to obtain reliable information on the ground due to the risk of arrests by the regime. Moreover, after the military coup, journalists were forced to write news quoting the statements of local organizations. This is the situation of local ethnic media. Ethnic media abroad also have difficulties in reaching out to local sources, thus affecting the accuracy of information. Incomplete news reports are increasing due to the security situation.

Since news outlets can no longer assign their reporters to gather information, and journalists can no longer be on the ground to obtain information, they have to ask local acquaintances and residents for information. The public's lack of understanding of journalism and the biased reporting have led to poor quality news. Additionally, biased reporting has led to a split in the online audience, severely damaging regional unity. Due to the misinformation, certain ethnic minority groups that were once united now find themselves making divisive statements within their communities.

Although ethnic media organizations continue to adhere to the policy of their own, they find it difficult to avoid biased reporting.


- Ethnic media's efforts to produce news despite difficulties

Most ethnic media initially tried to produce news in areas controlled by EAOs, but had to move to the Thai border due to lack of space and the disruption to regular electricity supply and internet connection. They reopened their offices in the border areas and resumed producing news at great cost in cooperation with local and foreign organizations. With military council troops often stationed in urban areas under the pretext of protecting the public, ethnic media journalists lived and breathed with Local Defense Forces (LDFs) in EAO areas, gathering news on the front lines.

In areas where there is no internet connection, some reporters have to go back to the border and send news with a foreign SIM card. After the coup, reporters no longer used their real names, only code numbers. They have to use other SIM cards when conducting an interview, and to avoid attending events for news. Since the coup, most journalists have been advised not to conduct interviews with junta police and authorities. As an exception, there are cases where some reporters in liberated areas contact them for interviews.

In the first days of the coup, it was difficult for reporters to send photographs and audio files because there was no working internet connection in ethnic minority areas, but now they cannot send them at all. They can only reach the recipients if they have a working cellular connection. "Having to live in the middle of the jungle without an internet connection, I had to rely on memory sticks to transfer files such as photos and videos when collecting news," said the editor of Khonumthung News.

Due to the outbreak of Covid-19 along with the military coup, ethnic media faced challenges for daily and monthly editorial management. The staff also experienced emotional trauma. In terms of media freedom, some ethnic media outlets continue to be independent without restrictions on their news production, although they seek refuge in EAO areas.



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Some citizen journalists and reporters have to live in internally displaced people (IDP) camps. Some ethnic media try to report on the needs of IDPs in a timely manner. In addition, there were times when the military council police came to the border areas and tried to arrest them. In such cases, they have to produce news reports while being on the run.

Because reporters had to flee the war and could not stay on the ground to find news sources, access to factual information has deteriorated. Especially in ethnic minority areas, there is no way for journalists to travel about. For more than a year, it has become difficult to obtain truthful information because journalists have been chased and warrants have been issued for their arrest.

- **Difference between ethnic media and mainstream media after 2021**

Since the military coup, the military council has tried to suppress not only ethnic media but all media across Myanmar's states and regions to the point that they can never rise again. Among them, the ethnic media working in ethnic minority states have been in an even worse situation. There were news agencies based in Kachin State, but the military council created such a terrible situation that none of the news agencies could work in the state. This is also true for the ethnic news agencies in Karenni (Kayah), Karen, Chin, Mon, Arakan, and Shan States.

Of importance, ethnic media can provide information to mainstream media and to jointly contribute to the revolution, regardless of race or religion. In the current revolution, ethnic media have proven that they have the power to facilitate the connection between the Bamar and ethnic minorities.

Likewise, indigenous voices can be heard more directly through ethnic media. Although Myanmar is predominantly Bamar, there are many other ethnic minority groups in the country. In order for their voices to be heard, it is important to cover their affairs through

the establishment of news and radio programs, Ahmee, a reporter at Network Media Group, believes.

“The role of ethnic media has been relatively small, but I think they can serve as a bridge between ethnic media and mainland media in the federal sector. Ethnic news outlets should be supported as much as mainland-based ones,” said Ahmee.

The smaller number of news agencies in ethnic minority areas is a factor that hinders the regular flow of news for ethnic minorities. However, several news agencies have emerged in the respective areas of Chin State where many different tribal groups live.



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- Challenges to ethnic media's ability to support their reporters and their long-term sustainability

Currently, ethnic media outlets can only pay their staff reporters a basic salary and provide them with a computer, and pay freelance journalists according to the number of reports or articles they write. Ethnic media cannot pay as much as mainstream media. The fee for each news item varies from one news agency to another, starting at MMK 5,000 for short articles, MMK 7,000 for longer ones, and up to MMK 10,000 for more extensive articles.

In Myanmar, ethnic media have been subject to repression by successive governments. As ethnic minority areas in the country lag behind other parts of Myanmar such as the cities of Yangon and Mandalay, it is important to support ethnic media for the important role they play in supporting ethnic minority communities. Problematically, since the military coup, reporters who chose to be based locally have been forced to sneak around like criminals and to work clandestinely to produce news. Moreover, Myanmar's media workers are paid poorly compared to journalists in other

countries and work for meagre wages.

The ethnic media receive funds from international organizations, but they do not reach the lower levels who actually work, said U Khaing Myat Kyaw, the editor-in-chief of the Sittwe-based Narinjara News.

"Although we are a news agency that actually works, we don't receive funds just because we are Arakanese. Most Arakanese media don't receive support because they do not have a friendly relationship with the Rohingya Muslim people. They have covered a lot on Muslim Rohingya issues, but the international NGOs stick to their own policies. No one can afford to spend their own money on media production. I work in the media and I don't always get paid.

But I keep going because I don't want it to collapse," he said.



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The military council charged U Khaing Myat Kyaw, editor-in-chief of Narinjara News, on October 5 at No. 1 Myoma Police Station in Sittwe under Section 66 (d) of the Communications Law and Section 505 (a) of the Penal Code. The regime initiated the case against him after he produced a report about an explosion in Mrauk-U that resulted in deaths, which he attributed to a mine planted by military council soldiers (BBC Burmese, 2022).

In addition, the military council has also filed lawsuits against editors and reporters at most news outlets based in Arakan State, including the editors-in-chief and editors-in-charge of Development Media Group and Western News (RFA Burmese, 2022).

- Difficulties with reporters' personal safety

Not only do reporters have to change locations frequently, they also have to often change SIM cards. It is still difficult to obtain information on the ground, and reporters must always be careful about their safety. Since the junta occasionally checks the guest lists of residences, they need to be reminded not to save the information on their cellphones or computers after it is transferred. Ma Maw, who works as a reporter at Than Lwin Times, described the difficulties she faces.


"When I lived in a women's dormitory in Yangon, I had to give a fake name to the military council. I didn't talk much to people outside and when asked about my job, I simply said I was a "company employee". When I heard that the regime's soldiers were coming to check the lists of the dormitory's residents, I informed the management of Than Lwin Times about my worrying security situation. Then I moved to Mae Sot in May," she said.

She said that while she was not allowed to take photographs or videos with a camera when she was working locally, she managed to take news photographs with her cellphone camera. She said she came to Mae Sot at her own expenses. She had to sell her laptop to pay a facilitation fee of THB 4,000 to get her safely from Yangon

to Myawaddy along with two others who had been charged under Section 505 (a).

In addition, Pu Tuidim, a veteran news editor, was arrested on January 6, 2022 by military council troops along with 11 other civilians while travelling on Matupi-Hakha Road. He was taken to the front line by regime troops to be used as a human shield and later executed on January 8. Pu Tuidim was a founding member of BNI, representing the KMG. He worked as the editor-in-chief of the Chin news agency for several years and led the way for news media in Chin State. Also, freelance journalist Ko Soe Naing, who photographed the "Silent Strike" in Yangon, died three days after being arrested by the military council on December 10, 2021.

On December 25, 2021, Sai Win Aung, also known as A Sai K, editor of Federal Journal, was shot and killed by the regime in Lay Kay Kaw area south of Myawaddy in Karen State (BNI, 2022).



**I informed the management of Than Lwin Times about my worrying security situation. Then I moved to Mae Sot in May.**

- **The future of ethnic media**

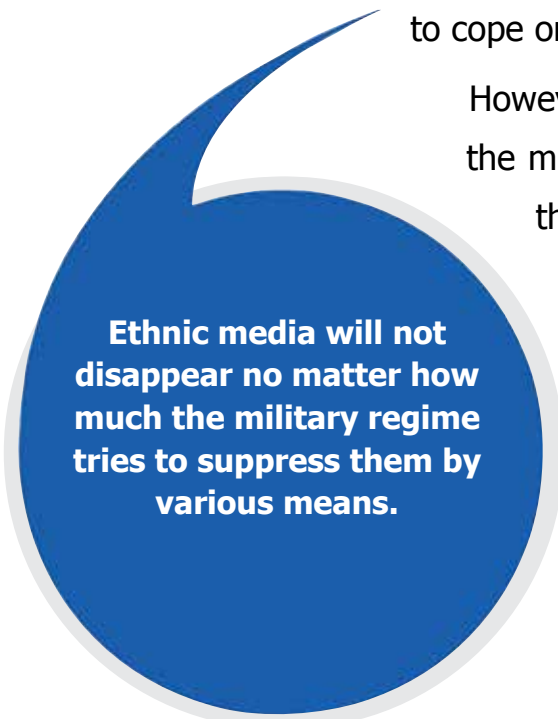
The existence of ethnic media has become relatively difficult after the military coup in Myanmar, and most of the total 16 media outlets in Chin State cannot operate after the coup. Some news agencies that used to issue publications three to five times a week had to stop operating because they risked being sued or sustain financial losses. Most Chin news agencies are self-funded, with only a few supported by donors. About 10 Chin news agencies have since ceased operations. Some of them continue to operate online, but many are facing financial difficulties. Ethnic media in other regions are also in a similar situation.

For a news agency to survive in the long run, reporters must be supported. News production comes to a halt once funding runs out. News outlets were scattered after the military coup and had to report from different locations without being organized into a newsroom as they were before. If the situation continues as it is, it could become even more difficult for ethnic media organizations. It would not be easy for ethnic media to develop without the help of international NGOs. The ethnic media have no marketing capacity; they cannot sell news or place ads. Ethnic news outlets will not be able to stand on their own feet until a strong democracy

is achieved, which thereafter can facilitate them in selling news and placing advertisements in various ways. In the current situation, when the overall conditions of the country deteriorate, advertisers no longer advertise and ethnic media can no longer sell stories either. Therefore, now is the most difficult time for the ethnic media to cope or survive.

However, ethnic media will not disappear no matter how much the military regime tries to suppress them by various means; they will continue to operate even in the midst of the crisis.

The media must provide information to the public and the public must have access to information. The media will continue to exist as long as there are people. Ethnic media representatives are confident that ethnic media will not disappear, but will fight and survive by all means.



**Ethnic media will not disappear no matter how much the military regime tries to suppress them by various means.**



- **Review**

Since the military coup, the military council has been violently cracking down on the news media and has arrested more than 140 journalists so far. Among them, according to RSF, are at least 32 journalists who remain imprisoned, while four have been murdered. The impact of the coup has made it difficult for ethnic media to survive. Media workers in Myanmar are poor compared to journalists in other countries and work with meagre salaries.

With news outlets unable to even pay the basic salary, some journalists had to quit their jobs and change professions because they can no longer make ends meet. In addition, some ethnic news agencies were in such dire straits after the coup that they eventually had to stop operating. Most people tend to think that the country's indigenous people received a favor once an ethnic minority language media outlet was established, whether it was during the National League for Democracy (NLD) government or before the coup. In fact, the previous governments should have done this, but they did it only superficially.

**Because of the effectiveness of the media in uncovering truths, successive Myanmar governments have always treated the media as the enemy.**

Therefore, ethnic media organizations are more likely than mainstream media organizations to

disappear from the news media scene because of their relatively weaker financial and human resources. If ethnic media disappear, there is a greater possibility for ethnic people's human rights to be violated, for them to be subjected to oppression, and their languages and culture to fade into obscurity. Therefore, not only the international organizations but also the National Unity Government (NUG) must join in and work together to ensure that the media and journalists do not disappear.

If a federal democracy is to be established in Myanmar, there must also be media freedom. The news media can advance federal democracy. It is a good sign that the public is learning about the recent events in Kachin, Karenni (Kayah), Karen, Chin, Mon, and Arakan states because of the efforts of the ethnic media. The role of ethnic media is especially important for the current situation in Myanmar and they need to take a more active role. Because of the effectiveness of the media in uncovering truths, successive Myanmar governments have always treated the media as the enemy.

In comparison, the civilian NLD government provided better media freedom, which unfortunately has deteriorated significantly under the current military rule. The fact that media professionals are arrested, detained, and treated as the enemy has made it almost impossible for them to work on the ground. Despite all the repression, arrests, and violence against the ethnic media, as well as the mainstream media, by the military council, some news outlets continue to work to produce news wherever they are, despite financial crisis and difficulties in accessing information. The role of the ethnic media will not diminish either, and ethnic media practitioners are determined to participate in the creation of a future federal democratic union as long as the situation allows.

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The role of ethnic media is especially important for the current situation in Myanmar and they need to take a more active role. Because of the effectiveness of the media in uncovering truths, successive Myanmar governments have always treated the media as the enemy.