

# ချစ်စကိုရှည်စေ၊ မုန်းစကိုတိုစေ<sup>1</sup>:

## Structures and vocabularies of counter-speech on Facebook in Myanmar

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### Contents

1. Introduction.....	3
2. Research process.....	5
Limitations .....	7
3. Some structures of counter-speech on Facebook.....	7
3.1 – Links between anchoring posts and comment threads.....	7
3.2 – Engagement with comment threads .....	9
3.3 – Trajectories of comment thread conversations .....	11
3.4 – Views on how to manage hate speech online .....	12
4. Some vocabularies of counter speech.....	14
4.1 – Human Quality.....	14
4.2 – Positivity and Positive Human Qualities .....	17
4.3 – There is Good and Bad in Everything.....	18
4.4 – Criticizing extremism.....	19
4.5 – The concept of Karma.....	19
4.6 – Pity vs. Compassion by counter-speakers.....	20
4.7 – Whataboutism .....	21
4.8 – Criticism of “Human Rights” and “Democracy” .....	22
5. Annexes.....	23
Annex 1: List of Interview Participants .....	23
Annex 2: List of Posts from the Facebook Study .....	25
Annex 3: Examples of well-development counter arguments .....	28

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<sup>1</sup> “ချစ်စကို ရှည်စေ၊ မုန်းစကို တိုစေ” (chit-za-go-shey-ce; muon-za-go-to-ce), which translates directly as “Let love be long; let hate be short,” is a common Burmese saying advising an individual to not perpetuate hatred but instead focus on the good side of someone in order to have harmonious relationship.

Annex 4: Examples of positive reflection comments under positive posts .....	31
Annex 5: Hate-speech and discrimination in real-life .....	34
Annex 6: Negative impacts of online negative comments.....	34
Annex 7: Positive Reference Support .....	35
Annex 8: Animal analogies.....	36
Annex 9: Being Human / လူသားဆန်ခြင်း.....	38
Annex 10: There is good and bad in everything .....	41
Annex 11: Criticizing extremism.....	41
Annex 12: The concept of Karma .....	43
Annex 13: Pity .....	43
Annex 14: Whataboutism .....	44
Annex 15: Criticism of “human rights” and “democracy” .....	47
Annex 16: Corpus of positive counter speech from the data sample.....	49

# 1. Introduction

“Hate speech” or “dangerous speech,” as labeled by observers, has received much attention and concern in Myanmar over the last eight years. This research began from the axiom that approaches to such phenomena need to be informed by the ways people in Myanmar are already working to manage them. Identifying the strategies that people are using to avoid, reduce, or contest “hate speech” may suggest areas to support or build upon with campaigns and other activities, for example. These strategies are sometimes referred to as “counter-speech.” At the same time, better understanding counter-speech may also highlight obstacles that such efforts to offer support should account for, but which may currently not be noticed.

But research with an interest in counter-speech involves three major risks. The first is practical: asking how people manage “hate speech” can require first making assumptions about the nature of such speech and why it is problematic. To formulate research in this way is to generate findings shaped by what “hate speech” has been assumed to be. But not everyone shares the same assumptions. “Hate speech” is a moral category, created to condemn certain forms of speech and, sometimes, to back this condemnation with the force of law. Even in western countries, where the term was developed, there are intense disagreements about its meaning and legal status. This is also true in Myanmar, where a Burmese-language version of the term (အမုန်းစကား) was only recently coined as a direct translation from English. Its usage is not widespread beyond civil society spaces in Myanmar; to the extent that it is in use, the forms of speech it condemns may not match those people in Myanmar find objectionable on other grounds.

The second risk is social and political: beginning with a focus on “hate speech,” for research questions and for programming, is to rely on a semantic formula that makes all speech that fits the formula equivalent. If the definition includes dehumanizing language, for example, then all speech that says some humans are like animals can be classified as hate speech. But when a member of the military refers to a member of a marginalized community as a “dog” it is not the same as when a member of that marginalized community uses the same term for the military; these two examples involve radical differences in the power of the speaker and the vulnerability of the person labeled, “dog.” Classifying them as the same for research purposes imposes an equivalence that erases social and political differences.

Because “hate speech” is a moral category, research that imposes an equivalence between examples necessarily also condemns them as equally problematic. This constructed equivalence and resulting condemnation does not exist only at the level of research: it can become social and political insofar as the research has influence or is used by people in ongoing struggles. Those seeking to punish criticisms of the military, for example, can bolster their position by citing research which defines some of this criticism as hate speech. Or, those seeking to position

themselves as victims in order to justify their domination of marginalized groups can point to research as evidence that they, too, are oppressed. Similarly, those seeking to say everyone is equally oppressed can use the equivalence constructed by hate speech definitions to prove their point. Indeed the phrase “military dogs” has been used in precisely this way, to present the military as a victim, unfairly criticized and in need of support.<sup>2</sup>

The third problem is conceptual: To look for “counter-speech” can suggest that one must look for an antecedent trigger, to which the speech is a directly countering response. This is itself a kind of semantic formula that lends itself to a research process: find speech defined as “hate-speech” and then seek out responses, which can be, as a result, defined as counter-speech. But this formula is too limiting; the research process would be likely to miss too much. In Myanmar there is a broad awareness that there is much speech targeting certain marginalized groups, whether or not people name this fact as “hate speech” or rude language, insults, verbal abuse, harassment, etc. There is also much speech that is motivated by awareness of this context, even if it does not openly highlight such a motivation. Calls for inter-faith coexistence, for example, appear for a reason: they are a response to a situation in which such coexistence seems fragile and there are groups known to be working against it. For this reason, we sought to study counter-speech as something that includes both direct responses to instances of hate speech and also speech that takes stances on behalf of marginalized groups, even where it was not linked in any direct way to an instance of hate speech.

To be clear, consideration of these three risks does not mean that “hate speech” and “counter speech” are not useful categories for researchers; this paper will discuss both. The point is only that we sought to be aware of the way that the categories with which we began our research could shape our findings. Rather than begin by defining categories of speech and then seeking examples of speech that fit the criteria of the categories, we instead decided to begin by focusing on groups that are often targeted by this speech. In this paper we thus discuss some of the ways that members of marginalized religious, ethnic, and LGBTQ communities manage the fact that they live in a world where speech that they find concerning or objectionable is widespread, whether or not they call this “hate speech” or respond directly. Our aim thus is to bring within the same frame, on the one hand, examples that would obviously meet the semantic criteria for

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<sup>2</sup> For example, in a recent music video and song produced by the celebrity Yone Lay, the singer laments those who say “military dogs,” equating them with bringing the downfall of the nation. This is a small part of a song that works to present business figures, the USDP, and military as unfairly maligned and harassed by the NLD; the effect is to claim “both sides” are equally victims and equally at fault and the military is a neutral and necessary savior. In order to accomplish this, the insult “military dogs” must be understood as equal to insults directed at the NLD. This construction of equivalence mirrors the one produced by “hate speech” definitions. For a discussion of the song and reactions by audiences in Myanmar, which roundly mocked the film and prompted some of the musicians involved to disavow their knowledge of its overall message, see “Singers in Myanmar and Vietnam Pay Price For Hitting Sour Notes With Political Views,” Radio Free Asia, 11th August 2020  
<<https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/singers-08112020203701.html>>

“hate speech” and “counter speech” and, on the other, speech that might not but which was still salient for these groups.

Section 2 of this paper describes our research process, including disruptions by COVID-19 that prompted us to focus on case studies of speech as it unfolds on Facebook. Section 3 then discusses findings related to the structure of interactions on Facebook and how these may influence counter-speech on the platform. Section 4 presents some vocabularies of counter-speech that the research encountered. The paper then concludes with an Annex of examples drawn from the research material, in order to support further research and concrete reflection on the analysis discussed in sections two and three.

The findings in this paper should be taken as a starting point rather than definitive conclusions. To highlight this fact our analysis is organized in three levels, presenting: 1) observations about the research material; 2) the multiple, sometimes conflicting, plausible interpretations that could explain these observations; and 3) their possible implications for the activities of practitioners and researchers. While the distinctions between these three levels of analysis can blur at times, we hope this presentation is useful for the reader. In order to support further research and encourage concrete reflection on the findings, the paper also concludes with a series of annexes of examples drawn from the research materials that illustrate the observations discussed in Sections 3 and 4.

## 2. Research process

In developing this study, we sought to avoid some problems with orienting research towards the category “hate speech” by instead focusing on the experiences of people who are often targeted by such speech. This could encompass many social categories, which are often intersecting. To give the research a manageable scope we decided to focus on people targeted for their status as members of religious, ethnic, or LGBTQ communities. Our initial research plan involved two phases of research. First: conducting one-on-one interviews and focus group discussions, with no more than three to four people, in Yangon and three other cities, as a means to understand a broader set of perspectives on: 1) the nature of speech that people from these communities find concerning or objectionable, including aspects that may not normally be included within definitions of “hate speech;” and 2) how they manage the fact that such speech is common in general and what they do when they encounter it directly in their everyday lives. Second: gathering texts in which members of marginalized communities utilized counter-speech in some way, such as Burmese-language media coverage of events and social media posts and comment threads.

We had completed work in two cities when COVID-19 disrupted our plan: a total of ten one-on-one interviews in Yangon and eight focus-group discussions in Lashio<sup>3</sup>. The interviews and focus-group discussions used a set of question prompts to structure the conversations while striving to allow a fairly free flow discussion. Firstly, the interviews commenced by asking the participants about their experiences with situations in which they encountered verbal acts that they would consider abusive, discriminatory, or hate speech. After that, questions encouraged participants to discuss the ways they managed such situations, including whether or not they sought to counter the speech directly and how. The interview then concluded with questions about their general perceptions of “hate-speech” as a category and how people can, do, or should respond.

In response to disruptions from COVID-19, we decided to re-allocate our time to gathering cases of counter-speech on Facebook. Cases consisted of posts on Facebook and the trailing comment threads that they anchored. In total, we analyzed 17 case studies of Facebook posts with comment threads ranging from 118 to 7,000 comments, with an average of approximately 1,800.<sup>4</sup> These cases were chosen from over a hundred posts that were considered over a period of three months (April-June 2020). In general, we sought out posts that included both speech directed at one of the marginalized groups we had decided to focus on, and responses of some kind. As a result, we made studies of comments on, broadly, three kinds of original anchoring posts: 1) Anchor posts that would easily meet the criteria of “hate speech”; 2) Anchor posts that were themselves a kind of counter-speech, that is, posts that seemed motivated in some way by the situation of the marginalized population, and attempted to address this marginalization; 3) Anchor posts from news organizations, with news articles related to the marginalized population in some way.

Selecting cases to focus on was an iterative process, in which ideas and questions prompted by analysis of initial cases also suggested other kinds of cases to seek out. It was this approach, for example, that clarified for us the third risk that research on counter-speech can encounter and prompted us to expand our study from a standard type, in which the original post is hate speech and responses appear in the comments, to other kinds of anchor posts that would not meet any possible definition of “hate speech” but included counter-speech in the comments.

In analyzing the cases, we looked at the setting of the comments (i.e. the nature of the anchoring post and the identity of the posting account); the sequencing of comments (i.e. the ways in which a comment responded to other comments, to the original post, and/ or to other potential audiences); and the cultural resources involved in the comments (i.e., the assumptions and beliefs that the comments relied upon to make sense or might otherwise link to).

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<sup>3</sup> See annex 1 for complete list of interviewees’ identities

<sup>4</sup> See Annex 2 for list of posts that were selected

## Limitations

Two limitations need to be highlighted. First, due to COVID-19 disruptions, we were only able to conduct limited interviews and this material could only give us suggestions for approaching online data collection and analysis. Some observations from the interviews informed our analysis of the online data, but this is not meant to be statistically representative.

Second, cases on Facebook were selected via convenience sampling. As such, each of the three groups we aimed to focus on could not be equally represented, nor could we consider every potential member of these groups. For example, in the case of targeting of religious minorities, we were able to find examples of anti-Muslim speech on Facebook, given it is the most prominent form of hate-speech in Myanmar. But we were not able to analyze posts relating to Christian, Hindu, or any other religious groups. Similarly, as for ethnicity, the study was only able to look at case studies relating to three groups: anti-Rakhine, anti-Kachin and anti-Shan speech. On the study of anti-LGBTQ speech, we were able to find only anti-gay and anti-same sex marriage conversations among others.

## 3. Some structures of counter-speech on Facebook

### 3.1 – Links between anchoring posts and comment threads

#### Observations

In analyzing posts and comment threads, we could loosely divide the anchoring posts into three groups: those containing speech that was attacking or took a negative stance regarding the groups we focused the research on, which we referred to informally as negative; those containing speech which took a generally positive or inclusive stance regarding those groups, which we referred to as positive; and those about the marginalized group but containing neither clear negative or positive stances about the groups, which we referred to as neutral. In the posts we analyzed, there was a clear correspondence between the nature of the original post and the comments that followed it. Negative posts were followed by comments that seemed to reverberate the negativity of the original posts. On the other hand, there were examples of positive posts talking about interfaith relationship and harmony, where the comments reverberated the positive aspect of such harmony. Positive comments ranged from short messages, GIFs, and stickers to long written messages.

Nevertheless, this is not a rule. For example, on a post by a religious page which blames gay marriage for the Australian wildfires, the majority of the comments were counter to the post's absurd claim rather than echoing the general homophobia expressed in the post. Posts carrying the same theme of interfaith harmony also sometimes met overwhelming negative comments, depending on the account that originally posted them. This leads to a second observation: posts

by some accounts appear to have more hate speech in the comments than others, even when the content of the posts is the same or carries positive content. For example: We examined posts with news coverage about the same event, the “White Rose campaign” which sought to promote religious freedom and inter-faith coexistence, posted by BBC and Myanmar Now. Posts from BBC had relatively higher comments with negative views against the campaign, while posts Myanmar Now had an approximately equal weight of positive and negative comments.

### Interpretations

There are at least three ways to interpret the correlation between the nature of the original anchoring post and the nature of the comments that attach to it. One is that the original anchoring post may serve as an inspiration; especially with the case in which the anchoring post included heartwarming content, it may have encouraged and provided space for people of marginalized identities to echo more confidently in similar voices or views. Under such posts with a high volume of positive comments, threads of hate-speech comments attacking a positive comment were relatively fewer; and even when that happened, many more positive comments stepped in to counter them.

A second possibility is that the relation between the original post and the kinds of comments that follow it are influenced by the Facebook algorithm, which determines what posts people see. It may be that posts are mostly seen by those likely to agree with their message. This could explain why comments seem to reverberate the original sentiment. A person who disagrees with the original post, and thus might be likely to comment under it with some expression of disagreement, may be less likely to ever see the post at all. This might also explain why anchor posts from news outlets included both hate speech and counter-speech: posts from such outlets might be seen by a wider array of people.

Comparison of comment threads under posts about the same news story by two different media organizations raises a third possible interpretation: that there are ongoing efforts to target some accounts and some kinds of posts. In comparing comment threads under news stories about the “White Rose” campaign from the BBC and Myanmar Now, we noted a much higher volume and proportion of hate speech in comments on the BBC post. Thus the appearance of patterns may also be created by deliberate efforts, i.e. high volume of negative trolls, that might not otherwise be there.

### Implications

The presence of deliberate targeting, coupled by the way the Facebook algorithm works, can make certain accounts or pages susceptible to receiving high volume of negative comments, pushing aside positive counter speech or a diversity of views. When the anchor posts set a negative tone to open discussion in the comments, counter speech, even though it exists under such posts, may also find it challenging in the sea of negative comments to find solidarity or

others echoing their countering view. This was seen, for example, under the posts such as the “Don’t call me kalar” campaign and same-sex marriage editorials, when high volumes of negative comments seemed to crowd out positive comments.

Interviewees also offered a perspective on how high volumes of hate-speech comments may deter people in already marginalized positions from pushing back. They noted that the emotional cost to responding can be high when the negativity of news/events is amplified by hate speech comments. They also mentioned the likelihood that they would be retaliated against if they responded in places with large volumes of hate speech comments. These two factors are related: for many, the cost of trauma from likely escalation is not worth it. This was especially a concern for women who reported that comments with sexually abusive words commonly target them<sup>5</sup>.

If Facebook algorithms and deliberate targeting are indeed creating a higher visibility of hate-speech comments, positive content may miss key audiences or be overwhelmed. This suggests that certain campaigns can be easily undermined online. None of this, however, is mutually exclusive with the potential for positive anchor posts to act as an inspiration. The important implication of this observation is that even as such posts can act as an inspiration they may also gain less visibility than they should, or their effects may be drowned out. As mentioned above, this condition will further create many obstacles for marginalized communities to speak back.

### 3.2 – Engagement with comment threads

#### Observations

There were many comments under posts that carefully grappled with all the arguments made in the original post or comments containing hate speech, responding to each point with their own logical reasoning. This suggests that some people are reading comment-threads carefully<sup>6</sup>. Interviewees also mentioned that they have the tendency to quickly read through comment threads, even among the negative comments, to find counter messages which reflect their opinions, though they do not write things themselves.

#### Interpretations

While people face obstacles to express their counter views under negative posts, the lack of comments by people who are affected by negative speech does not mean that readers are ignoring the comment threads altogether. Some interviewees lightly suggested that they are consulting comment threads in order to learn new things; this could be interpreted as a search for confirmation. It could also be a source of enjoyment; or it could also mean that participants want

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<sup>5</sup> It is very common for hate-speech speakers to use vulgar sexual slurs often embedded in sexist concepts of sexual dominance. They were not analyzed as our focus is on counter-speech and there was very little positive speech countering sexual slurs.

<sup>6</sup> Annex 3

to be aware of public opinions or discussion happening under controversial content. Careful engagement with comment threads by a few individuals may indicate a way that people act on the self-perception that they are rational thinkers, knowledgeable, and have effective approaches to interpreting posts on social media.

### Implications

If the interpretation of Observation 1 that positive posts inspire positive comments and provide space to amplify the sentiments is correct, then positive anchor posts, amplified by their reverberating comments, may have valuable and healing effects for marginalized communities. This may be the case even where they do not directly respond with their own posts counter to hate speech. Supporting this, participants from the interviews particularly mentioned how positive portrayals make them feel good; and examples of comments are also found under positive posts that reflects such good sentiments<sup>7</sup>.

We should thus not down-play the comment threads, as some people are paying attention to them, and those people appear to invest a lot of emotion in them. While more positive content would mean more positive ripple effects despite obstacles mentioned in Observation 1, it also suggests that people who are marginalized are acutely aware of the things that are being said about them and have to live or deal with them on an everyday basis. Interviewees said they are also aware of many instances where online hate-speech can transform into consequences for other aspects of their lives.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, the already grim situations for them can be amplified by hate speech comments online and have a negative influence on their emotional well-being. For example, a Kachin participant mentioned how news about the ongoing war in Kachin state and discussions online combine to impact her negatively, even though she lives in Yangon<sup>9</sup>.

Finally, if references to the way they read comment threads suggest that people believe that they are *already* effective at managing information on Facebook, this may suggest in turn that there is already an established value: that people should engage with online sources critically. This is no small thing. If such a value is well-established already, that would have implications for efforts to promote digital and media literacy. For example: Efforts to promote a norm like “think before you post” could backfire if people believe they are already doing this. Emphasis on the general importance of such a norm might just make them feel good about their existing practices—which might not actually be effective. If that is the case, it would suggest that efforts need to aim not only at the general normative level but the personal level as well: they need to help people discover whether or not they actually need to reconsider their opinion of their own existing habits and skills at evaluating information, and whether these are a good fit for current media environments. This implication does not apply only to Facebook comment threads.

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<sup>7</sup> Annex 4

<sup>8</sup> Annex 5

<sup>9</sup> Annex 6

### 3.3 – Trajectories of comment thread conversations

#### Observations

In analyzing sections of comment threads where two or more people engaged in a back and forth, we did not find a single example exhibiting a positive resolution. Such interactions ended when one poster stopped posting; we did not see any interactions where one poster acknowledged that their opinions had changed. Instead, the interaction often escalated. Similar to Observation 1, there also appeared to be a pattern in which counter speech comments under positive anchor posts were more likely to receive positive support from other commenters even when there was a hate-speech attack on them. Whereas counter-speech under posts with overwhelming negative comments was more often directly and personally targeted by more hate-speech comments. This sometimes turned into a form of bullying, more so if the speaker was a woman.

When positive comments were attacked by hate-speech under positive anchor posts, users sometimes made reference to positivity either by referring to the anchor's content or a plea to look with positive perspective<sup>10</sup>. In a few cases, counter speech under hate-speech posts also emphasized positive aspects of life by saying things such as 'isn't people loving each other better than hating each other?'. This happened when the comment had something to refer to in the original post; we noted it under posts about interfaith relationships and same-sex marriage.

Finally, it was common to see comment threads that escalated when the counter-speaker argued with the original hate-speech speaker, and vice versa, and where the counter-speech often included abusive language. Stand-alone counter speech also sometimes contained strong language and there was no pattern as to when a speaker decided to speak in strong language, abusive language, or neutral language.

#### Interpretations

Trajectories of comment thread conversations that lack positive resolution suggest at least two possible interpretations. One possibility is that no-one is positively affected by counter-speech in comment threads; the counter-speaker may just get provoked in the process to use hate speech and people's views can become entrenched. The second possibility is that the original hate-speech poster, the one posting the counter-speech, or other observers could be affected by the counter-speech. This effect could result from the individual comment thread interaction, or it could be the aggregate result of multiple such interactions; it could happen immediately or later on, but the effect is not acknowledged via a post in the comment thread.

Thus while we did not find clear evidence for the positive effects of comment thread interactions in those same threads, the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. It may be that positive

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<sup>10</sup> Annex 7

change results from comment thread interactions, but this is only a possible interpretation that can be neither ruled out nor proven. Evidence for such change cannot be found within individual comment threads.

Again similar to Observation 1, if the Facebook algorithm creates a bubble effect where hate speech anchor posts are more visible to people who agree with them, then anyone who attempts counter-speech under such posts is more likely to be swamped by attacks. This may make people reluctant to engage. Hate speech anchors posts may be less likely to be visible to people who might respond in the comments due to the Facebook algorithm. However, neutral anchors, such as news stories about controversial topics, may be more likely to be posts encountered by people of differing views, i.e. both the people who like to post hate speech and the people who respond with counter-speech.

### Implications

The effect of counter-speech in comment threads needs to be carefully evaluated, for its impacts on people including both the person who originally uttered the hate speech, members of the target population, and others who see the hate speech and the counter speech. On the other hand, if the interpretation of Observation 2 is true that there are people reading the comment threads closely, different people could be affected by the counter-speech, such as: members of the target population, feeling good because someone opposed abuse on their behalf; and members of the majority, who could feel emboldened to speak out later, if they see counter-speech, or more afraid to speak out, if they do not see any counter-speech. But these effects cannot be confirmed by this study from online data alone.

What the material we analyzed did show is that the arguments online have a tendency to escalate, sometimes with the counter-speech becoming hate-speech itself. This underlines that any attempt to do direct response to hate-speech with counter-speech should be done carefully. It could also have side effects for the counter-speaker, who may end up traumatized by the hate-speech they are dealing with. It may also inadvertently promote the visibility of negative contents by increasing engagement with the original post and driving up its value in the calculations of Facebook's algorithm.

## 3.4 – Views on how to manage hate speech online

### Observations

Interview and focus-group discussions provided some insight into how people regard the fact that speech targeting them is common and how they manage this fact. Almost all of the interviewees said such speech is best handled by not responding at all. Four reasons were identified by different interviewees. Some believed that the persistence of hate speech on social media means their response would not make any significant change and thus it is pointless to

respond and not worth the potential negative consequences. Others believed that responding would only escalate things and make it worse rather than resolve it. Some mentioned that they feel powerless to speak up in situations where their marginalized status is highlighted or reinforced and therefore prefer to avoid confrontation. Finally, some interviewees mentioned that they have worked to develop techniques to self-control because they believe this is the best strategy, especially as a way to handle hate speech when they encounter it face-to-face.

### Interpretations

Many interviewees believed that hate-speech is driven by temporary emotions such as anger. This supported the view that it is most appropriate not to aggravate the situation by practicing self-control, even if the hate speech is directed to them. This could also be due to a preference for avoiding conflict and disagreement in general, which could be the case for both majority and marginalized group members. It is also interesting to note interviewees' perceptions that the burden of effective response should come from themselves instead of the original speaker; participants named “patience” and “self-control” as more preferable behaviors. Both Buddhist and Muslim participants quoted Buddhist values to say that, if the hate-speech is a result of individual anger, responding to anger with anger is not a good idea.

Some participants also said that, because hate speech online has been intractable for so long without an effective method to counter it, it is better to distance oneself rather than think about it. While a few believed that hate speech will go away by itself when there are fewer social problems offline, this relationship between offline dynamics and online speech made others feel powerless to say anything. Hate-speech online as a reflection of deeper social issues and systems of inequality emphasized their feeling of powerlessness online. This could also relate to potential consequences, and emotional repercussions, especially when this belief is held by members of the minority group. Many participants mentioned many real-life situations when they “would not dare” to speak up in response to verbal abuse, especially when the speaker was someone in a position of authority, such as a teacher, an elder, or a religious leader.

Most of the interviewees mentioned that they still look at the comment threads and feel angry at what people are saying, even though they chose not to respond. To cope with this, many developed their own techniques to either repress their feelings, like “swallowing anger or humiliation”, or practice self-calming, such as through listening to music, praying, or going to sleep. A few participants also mentioned that they stopped reading comments when the negativity became too much to bear.

### Implications

Members of the majority group should consider constraints faced by marginalized group members; if they are not observed to speak out, it does not mean they agree or accept the hate

speech. If there is a general preference for avoiding conflict, this also needs to be taken into account by campaigns that seek to promote counter-speech.

## 4. Some vocabularies of counter speech on Facebook

### 4.1 – Human Quality

#### Observations

Denigrating peoples' qualities and status as humans was a central theme in both hate-speech and counter-speech. Analogies to animals that are regarded as dangerous, dirty, or undesirable were common in hate speech comments; analogies to dogs occurred the most and to cows relatively less. Some counter speech also used the same form of rhetoric but only to target hate-speech speakers. The most common way to denigrate via analogy to an animal analogy was to imply an individual or a group thinks or lives like dog<sup>11</sup>. But not all analogies between humans and animals are negative or likely to generate negative effects. For example, many proverbs operate by using animals as an analogy for humans. Animals are also used as images to make reference to political parties, such as the lion (USDP) and peacock (NLD)<sup>12</sup>.

At the same time, speech that dehumanizes individuals or groups does not always need to use animal comparisons to set standards as less than human or inferior. The same effect was achieved through calling people mindless/heartless, or not eating “rice” (thus not eating human food). Such comments were used by both the hate-speech speakers and counter speakers in the same way. This form of rhetoric can be dangerous because the hate-speech speaker implies that “if you live like a human, you will be treated as human”<sup>13</sup>, which can set a standard with the implication that it is okay to deprive such individuals of basic human rights. Counter-speaker are also very likely to use the same rhetoric to denigrate hate speakers by saying they do not have a human mind or heart for lacking human qualities such as sympathy. In a few cases of counter speech, hate-speech speakers were insulted by being called uneducated, in cases when counter speaker tried to debunk false claims made by hate-speech speaker<sup>14</sup>.

Another way that human qualities were emphasized was when counter speakers used “being human” as a plea to see people as humans in response to hate speech<sup>15</sup>. We observed this more commonly in responses to anti-Muslim and anti-LGBTQ hate-speech, especially by those

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<sup>11</sup> See Annex 8.1 for examples

<sup>12</sup> Annex 8.2

<sup>13</sup> Annex 8.3

<sup>14</sup> Annex 8.4

<sup>15</sup> Annex 8.5

speaking on behalf of a specific person rather than the group in general. This approach can be inclusive, without blaming anyone, while also countering to animal analogies made by hate-speech speakers. Expressions such as “လူကိုလူလိုမြင်ပေးပါ” (please see human as a human) or “လူသားအချင်းချင်း / လူလူချင်း” (between humans) were common among counter speakers. They were also less often involved in conversations that escalated and more often involved a plea for moral consideration on the part of the hate-speech speaker.

### Interpretations

The harmfulness of dehumanizing language is usually understood in two ways. Firstly, the dehumanizing language is understood as harmful because it is insulting because it says a person or group should be seen as equal to a low-status thing, such as a dog, even though they are actually persons. In this interpretation the negative consequences of hate speech are limited to the psychological effects on the target person or group. Secondly, dehumanizing language is understood as harmful because it establishes a standard for how the target person or group should be treated; it says that they should be treated like animals, not people. In this interpretation the negative consequences relate to later acts towards members of the target group. This relies on establishing a causal connection between acts of hate speech and these later acts.

But in analyzing comment threads we noted a third way that dehumanizing language may be harmful. In contrast to the above two standard views, which focus on the effect such speech has on the target group, this interpretation highlights the effect it has on the *speaker* and others who identify with them: uttering hate speech says that the speaker can say whatever they want about the other person or group. It is verbal proof that there is no accountability, which can be contrasted against the consequences if such speech were aimed at another, more powerful, group. Every successful act of hate speech is thus also a form of social impunity; the more extreme the hate speech the clearer the demonstration of impunity.

For example: We observed the way hate speech acts as verbal proof of impunity in comment threads under posts relating to the recent “Don’t call me ‘kalar’ campaign.” The campaign was a request (“don’t call me ‘kalar’”), which was then rejected by many people. In addition to various excuses for why the word is acceptable, some campaigners’ posts making the request were responded to by people simply calling them “kalar,” over and over. These comments highlighted the way uttering hate speech is also a demonstration that the target of the speech can do nothing to stop the speaker; that the one who utters hate speech can treat members of marginalized groups however they please. The marginalized group can request or demand that they stop (“don’t call me kalar”), but the continuation of the hate speech confirms to everyone that such requests or demands can be ignored without any social, legal, or other consequences.

Additionally, in a slight departure from using being human as a moral plea, when a counter speaker says the original speaker of the hate speech violated a cultural norm that all humans

require a basic standard of treatment, the counter speaker implies to the hate-speech speaker that ‘you do not treat weaker people as human, and therefore, you are actually the one who deserves to be not treated like a human’. Affirming the human status of the target of hate speech may thus also be a way to say something about the one who posted the hate speech. At the same time, just as hate speech may have effects that relate more to the speaker (impunity), posting counter-speech may suggest that the counter-speaker is more humane, moral, etc., while the original poster is an uncivilized or lesser human. There is thus a risk that the counter-speech can be drawn into a further legitimizing the idea that some people do not deserve to be treated as human, and thus it could be less conducive to discussions on genuine inclusion.

### Implications

Our research began from the perspective that an approach to hate speech that begins by establishing definitional criterion via semantic formulas, such as “all speech that equates humans to animals is dehumanizing,” is likely to generate false positives. This observation in turn suggests that this problem may be avoided if researchers focus attention on the effect speech has on both the various audiences (target, victim, etc.) *and* the speaker. For example, “Military dog” and “Muslim dog” both satisfy the same definitional criterion, because they are both an insult and a suggestion of how the standard of treatment should be low. However, consideration for the effect on a speaker would help specify the difference between these two examples. To accomplish the former is to show that the military does not have dominant power; to accomplish the latter is to show that a religious minority does not have power.

It is important to consider the multiple effects of hate speech in addition to the psychological harm it may cause targets. If hate speech has the effect of affirming or demonstrating the impunity of speakers, it may also contribute to increasing discrimination and violence against the target group over time. In addition to causing mental harm on the targets and setting low standards of treatment, in other words, hate speech may thus also be a trial run and testing of boundaries that assists with violence later. Importantly, this impunity is not just legal but also social. Even where hate speech does not violate a law, instances of hate speech that result in no social consequences—whether they take the form of direct counter-speech or other effects such as reputational damage to the speaker—can serve to confirm impunity.

Affirming status as human is also a way to propose a better standard of treatment and open up discussions for equality. If the existence of this discourse in the comment threads we analyzed means that the value of being human is already established in Myanmar, it may be a worthwhile message to promote, or to link other messaging. But further research would be needed to decide how established this value is. Our research does suggest that messages related to being human do not necessarily need to be connected to international human rights. And indeed, connecting such counter-speech to international human rights may assist those who seek to redefine such claims as foreign, as not ‘naturally’ Myanmar, etc. (See 4.8 below). It may be better to emphasize that

being human is a traditional Burmese concept, with which international human rights norms happen to have caught up. For example, as seen from the comments, there are expressions and concepts from Myanmar culture that can be elaborated upon. Expressions such as လူလူချင်း/လူသားချင်း are a widely accepted form of starting a discussion on how others should be treated as equal, with kindness, and without discrimination<sup>16</sup>. Efforts to bolster the idea that a good person is one who treats humans with basic respect and dignity might bear additional indirect benefits, as the more this concept is strengthened, the stronger a basis there is for criticizing those who dehumanize others. But care must be taken, because in some cases counter-speech devolved into attacks on hate speech posters, calling them less than human.

## 4.2 – Positivity and Positive Human Qualities

### Observation

Under interfaith posts with positive comments, many users praised different qualities that they regarded are part of being human (လူသားဆန်ခြင်း). In particular, comments under positive anchor posts about interfaith relationships reverberated the positivity of the original post by emphasizing qualities such as generosity, kindness, compassion, and sympathy<sup>17</sup>. In many comments, these were stated to be good values shared by both Muslims and Buddhists. Comments also urged people to look beyond labels such as religious or ethnic status, as actions and values are the ones by which individuals should be judged rather than defined based upon the whole group. As mentioned in Observation 1, the positive anchor posts also provided space for users to share their positive experience of interfaith interaction<sup>18</sup>. Sometimes, speakers suggested that treating other people with kindness in recognition of others as human is a desired outcome for building a peaceful society<sup>19</sup>.

### Interpretation

Positivity is a theme that can be used to respond to hate speech, without having to directly reject the claims made in the hate speech. Interviews also suggested that Myanmar Facebook users are growing fed up with the general negativity on the platform and they welcome any form of positive feeling; this could be a basis for countering without directly engaging hate speech. It could also be that people are emphasizing being human (လူသားဆန်ခြင်း) as an indirect reference to counter the common dehumanization language found on social media (as mentioned in 4.1).

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<sup>16</sup> See Annex 8.5 for example expressions

<sup>17</sup> Annex 9.1

<sup>18</sup> Annex 9.2

<sup>19</sup> Annex 9.3

### 4.3 – There is Good and Bad in Everything

#### Observations

Under the same positive anchor posts of interfaith relationships, many users also implied that humanness should be judged by an individual's own conduct of good values, rather than decided based upon the group they share an identity with. Being human was often linked to an emphasis on individual conduct over group membership regardless of identity category. For example: a human is one who is good-hearted. Users mentioned this by saying that in anything there are both good and bad (အဆိုးနှင့် အကောင်းဒွန်တွဲ); just as there are bad persons in their own groups (i.e. Buddhists) there are good people in the other (i.e. Muslims)<sup>20</sup>.

#### Interpretations

Such claims could be based upon Burmese Buddhist concepts that there is both good and bad in everything. As this may be based on Buddhist values of individual virtue, where one's status is determined by one's own actions, this concept needs to be understood as potentially distinct from notions of universal human rights. The former involves a notion of “every person for themselves” that is not necessarily part of notions of international human rights which say that everyone is equal. While human rights talk about fundamental rights of everyone to be treated with dignity and equality regardless of what they do, their origin, or their background, claims like ‘we are all humans’ are more likely based on the Buddhist values of virtue, where it is up to one's actions to make oneself a good or a bad person. Thus, the assumption behind such comments could be interpreted as “you do good things and you are to be worthy of being treated as a human”. Many comments reflected this notion: ကောင်းတဲ့ အလုပ်လုပ်ရင် လူကောင်းလို့ မြင်ခံရမှာပဲ (If you do good thing you'll be seen as a good person) or လူဆိုတာ ကောင်းတဲ့သူနဲ့ ဆိုးတဲ့လူပဲ ခွဲခြားသင့်ပါတယ် (for everyone, they should be judged as good or a bad person).

#### Implications

This form of speech may be a promising message to build on when it comes to countering group stereotypes. When it is applied as a basis for contesting the interpretation of facts, it may be powerful as a rejection of the logic by which some groups are “proven” to be bad through reference to examples of actions by group members. However, it does not work as a response to claims that something is inherently bad about a group, such as claims about LGBTQ people are unnatural or that Islam is a violent ideology. It can be beneficial, as a challenge to the idea that group membership is the central way of defining a person. However, it may be less beneficial, where certain forms of conduct are made a requirement for treatment with respect.

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<sup>20</sup> Annex 10

## 4.4 – Criticizing extremism

### Observation

In closely related speech, when people mentioned that there are good and bad people in every group under interfaith posts, some users used this space as an opportunity to express criticism of extremism and nationalism. Thus, anchor posts relating to positive inter-religious interactions became spaces for anti-extremist comments. Such comments expressed their disbelief as well as expressed disgust. In this case, many criticisms were directed towards MaBaTha or Buddhist nationalism in general.<sup>21</sup>

### Interpretations

Positive interfaith contents may give people real life evidence that serves as a counter to ideas promoted by groups like MaBaTha. Such anchors offer a site for confirming an anti-extremist stance, and that this stance is shared by others.

### Implications

This highlights an additional potential benefit to promoting Facebook content that emphasizes positive messages. Not only does it counter hate speech it can also create a site in which people can confirm an anti-extremist stance and a shared position within a group who share similar stances against extremism

## 4.5 – The concept of Karma

### Observations

Counter speech also used the Buddhist concept of karma when it made a moral plea for speakers of hate-speech to be more sympathetic. This occurred in two ways in the comments: 1) to intimidate the hate-speech speakers, by pointing to the possible karmic consequences of being abusive; 2) to blame the hate-speech speakers, for being unsympathetic towards someone else's difficult situation and thus threaten that they could face the same fate as the people they are abusing. This latter response was most common in counter-speech to anti-LGBT speech and to a lesser degree under posts related to ethnicity<sup>22</sup>.

### Implications

Counter speech using the concept of karma is closely related to the value of sympathy and speakers may be speaking up genuinely for people who are targeted. But care should be taken because such comments can also indirectly confirm the hate-speech. For example, counter speech under anti-LGBTQ posts that said, 'do you want your children to be like them too?' may request the hate-speech speaker to stop, but it confirms the ideas that being LGBTQ is bad.

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<sup>21</sup> Annex 11

<sup>22</sup> Annex 12

However, it can be very different when the counter speakers say karma will punish those who mock wars and conflicts, as the fundamental condition they are referring to as bad is not a type of person but a class of event.

#### 4.6 – Pity vs. Compassion by counter-speakers

##### Observations

Another closely related form of speech that is based upon the concept of sympathy is directing pity toward a group targeted by hate speech. This occurred in counter messages and as stand-alone comments. Again the speakers may have thought that they are genuinely siding with the targeted group, but pitying (သနားပါတယ်) can carry the implication of weakness and inferiority.

This is seen in everyday expressions like ‘be kind/pity the other person who is weaker than you’ (ကိုယ့်ထက် အားငယ်တဲ့သူ၊ ကိုယ့်ထက်နိမ့်ကျတဲ့သူ အပေါ်သနားပါ၊ ကြင်နာပါ). This in turn can confirm a sense that the speaker is normal and the subject of the speech is not. During interviews both LGBTQ and ethnic people were particularly sensitive about this sense of pity linked to an assumption of inferiority. For example, a Rakhine participant said he is sensitive about the word တိုင်းရင်းသား (ethnic) because it implies something below (to Bamar/Myanmar) or “impaired”, and thus politically he prefers (ရခိုင်)လူမျိုး as Bamar/Myanmar likes to call themselves လူမျိုး. Similarly, a woman interviewee said she always feels angry when the words of acceptance from her friends simultaneously imply that her status as LGBTQ means she is disabled or weak<sup>23</sup>.

##### Interpretations

There is a clear distinction between compassion (စာနာနားလည် or မေတ္တာကရုဏာ) and pity (သနား(စာနာ)); compassion is more based on understanding someone’s situation without judgment and with recognition of dignity. Compassion is more aligned with inclusion and compatible with the notions of human rights, while pitying can take many forms of pre-judged beliefs of inferiority, such as implying that the other identity is bad, or that it is the result of bad karma, even though the speaker may be thinking that they are wishing well. In a worse sense, some speakers may downright dismiss the life or the situation as undesirable by writing a comment calling for pity<sup>24</sup>.

Emphasis on pity can reinforce negative views of the targeted group. Emphasis on pity can prevent focus on addressing fundamental social and systematic issues, and rather bring unnecessary attention on identity in dismissal sense. For example, in posts related to the high-profile suicide of a gay librarian, comments expressing pity defined the issue as sad because his

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<sup>23</sup> See Annex 13 for examples

<sup>24</sup> See Annex 13 for examples

status as gay was unfortunate rather than, for example, an example of bullying or systemic anti-LGBTQ discrimination. Thus pity reinforced the assumption that being LGBTQ is bad, saying “nobody wants a life like this” (ဟုတ်ပါတယ် ဘယ်သူမှ ဒီလို ဘဝမျိုး လိုချင်မှာ မဟုတ်ဘူး) and thus helped to justify the death and distract focus from addressing more systematic causes. We also noted a distinct lack of comments asking for justice in terms of protection from bullying or protection of marginalized identities in contrast to the overwhelming number of comments expressing pity for the victim and his surviving family.

### Implications

In designing campaigns for diversity and inclusion, word choices and translation should take care to avoid vocabularies of pity. If the discourse of pity such as သနားပါတယ်, which is common in Myanmar language and can superficially seem a first step to building a positive vocabulary by showing sympathy to difference, is taken wrongly, it can assume the position of superiority of the speaker. This may also be relevant for NGOs where they translate English words like “vulnerable” or “protected”: if not done with care, translations may also convey the presumed position of superiority and pity.

## 4.7 – Whataboutism

### Observation

Sometimes there were also types of negative speech that do not constitute hate-speech but could derail counter-speech by bringing in other issues not in question. We found such examples commonly under positive posts and news reports about marginalized people . Such comments did not criticize the desired positivity in the original speech directly but blamed a different group else for lacking such qualities or not behaving similarly. This was found in three common ways: the first was to distort the request for positive things for someone by saying “what about the others?”; the second was to distort the issue by saying there are other worse things when someone points out a bad thing; and the third was to distort the issue or sometimes a positive thing at hand by blaming someone else<sup>25</sup>.

### Interpretation

Even though this type of speech may not constitute hate-speech, this mechanism of saying “what about...” can weaken any counter speech or potential positive campaign messages or distract from speaking about the actual experiences of marginalised populations.

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<sup>25</sup> See Annex 14 for examples

## 4.8 – Criticism of “Human Rights” and “Democracy”

### Observation

Hate speech commonly included criticism of “human rights,” sometimes also alongside “democracy,” as the cause of current problems and/ or foreign to and inappropriate for Myanmar. Inclusive messages that use human rights to argue for non-discrimination were attacked by comments criticizing human rights. For example, many users stated the perception that certain rights are more of a priority than others; this was the single most dominant message undermining the call for equality under posts about LGBTQ people. Other messages argued that recognizing the human rights of LGBTQ people is inappropriate for Myanmar or incompatible with Burmese Buddhist values. Under anti-Muslim posts, human rights was also said to be a weakness that prevented protecting one’s own race. Others blamed “democracy” as the cause of social conflicts, implying that it was safer under military rule. Under posts about ethnic groups, users suggested that some kinds of people do not deserve human rights by saying, for example, “rebels don’t deserve human rights.” Counter message also made references to human rights; without blaming human rights, they used the logic of karma, such as saying “if you don’t respect the rights of others, you’ll never get your own human rights.”<sup>26</sup>

### Interpretations

In Burmese “Human rights” is translated as လူ့အခွင့်အရေး, which can also mean “human opportunities.” This has been pointed out by many; the problem is said to be that rights/opportunities are thought to be disconnected from responsibility and conduct, and thus unearned. But observations related to the theme of “being human” (4.1 and 4.2 above) in counter-speech suggests that critiques of human rights do not necessarily mean there is no other basis in Myanmar culture for claiming there are standards of treatment and conduct that attach to status as a human being. While this may not provide a basis for claiming something like *rights*, it may still have an important social effect: failure to recognize the human status of another person may reflect badly on the speaker and is thus undesirable.

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<sup>26</sup> Annex 15

## 5. Annexes

### Annex 1: List of Interview Participants

Yangon Interviews				
No.	Participants	Age Group	Gender	Religion
1.	Muslim	Adult	Male	Islam
2.	Muslim	Adult	Female	Islam
3.	Muslim	Youth	Male	Islam
4.	Kachin	Youth	Female	Christian
5.	Kachin	Youth	Female	Christian
6.	Atheist	Adult	Male	-
7.	Arakanese	Youth	Male	Buddhist
8.	Maramagyi	Youth	Male	Buddhist
9.	LGBTQ	Youth	Male	Christian
10.	Muslim	Adult	Female	Islam
11.	Tamil	Youth	Male	Hindu

Lashio Interviews					
No.	Identity	Age Group	Gender	Religion	Focus Group Discussions
12.	Muslim	Adult	Female	Islam	FGD 1
13.	Muslim	Adult	Female	Islam	
14.	Muslim	Adult	Male	Islam	

15.	LGBTQ	Adult	Trans-man	Buddhist	FGD 2
16.	LGBTQ	Adult	Lesbian	Buddhist	
17.	LGBTQ	Adult	Bi Woman	Buddhist	
18.	Kachin	Adult	Female	Christian	FGD 3
19.	Kachin	Adult	Female	Christian	
20.	Kachin	Adult	Female	Christian	
21.	Ta-ang	Youth	Male	Buddhist	FGD 4
22.	Ta-ang	Youth	Female	Buddhist	
23.	Ta-ang	Youth	Female	Buddhist	
24.	Ta-ang	Youth	Female	Buddhist	
25.	Hindu	Adult	Male	Hindu	FGD 5
26.	Hindu	Adult	Female	Hindu	
27.	Hindu	Youth	Female	Hindu	
28.	Hindu	Youth	Female	Hindu	
29.	LGBTQ	Adult	Transgender Man	Buddhist	1-1 Interview
30.	LGBTQ	Adult	Man	Buddhist	1-1 Interview

## Annex 2: List of Posts from the Facebook Study

Case Study A (Anti-Muslim Speech)								
No.	Title	Post Type	Date	Reaction	Share	Comment	View	Account Owner
1.	Shwe Eain Si's video for Miss Grand International Pageant competition	Text and Video	09/24/2017	10100	6400	772	100300	<a href="#">Shwe Eain Si</a>
2.	A Muslim betal shop seller helped an injured monk	Text and Photos	03/15/2019	4700	10000	2800	N/A	Link removed
3.	Muslims donate during COVID - 19	Text and Video	04/13/2020	30800	30900	5000	800500	<a href="#">May Thu</a>
4.	Muslim shop owner lady donates to Buddhist nuns	Text and Photos	06/03/2020	1300	858	183	N/A	<a href="#">Ei Shwe Zin</a>
5.	Don't call me kalar campaign	Text and Photos	06/09/2020	6900	3000	4400	N/A	<a href="#">Thinzar Shunlei Yi - သဗ္ဗရွှန်းလဲ့ရည်</a>
6.	White Rose Campaign (BBC Burmese)	Text and Photos	11/17/2019	4300	173	424	N/A	<a href="#">BBC Burmese</a>
7.	White Rose Campaign (Myanmar Now)	Text and Photos	05/30/2019	1600	148	159	N/A	<a href="#">Myanmar Now</a>
<b>Total</b>				<b>59700</b>	<b>51479</b>	<b>13738</b>	<b>900800</b>	

Case Study B (Anti-LGBT Speech)								
No.	Title	Post Type	Date	Reaction	Share	Comment	View	Account Owner
1.	Kyaw Zin Win's funeral	Text and Video	06/26/2019	100700	10300	3000	7000500	<a href="#">7Day TV</a>
2.	Australia forest fire is because of same-sex marriage	Text and Photos	01/05/2020	8100	2200	5600	N/A	<a href="#">Christ Life</a>
3.	Celebrity coming out post	Text and Video	06/27/2018	40400	10900	7000	1000300	<a href="#">Myanmar Celebrity</a>
4.	Local media "YoYarLay" views on same-sex marriage as a sin	Text and Photos	03/04/2014	2000	830	532	N/A	<a href="#">Yoyarlay</a>
5.	7Day News Editorial comment on same-sex marriage	Text and Photos	03/05/2014	1500	587	986	N/A	<a href="#">7Day News Journal</a>
6.	Local same-sex marriage news in BBC Burmese News	Text and Photos	03/08/2020	3900	336	283	N/A	<a href="#">BBC Burmese</a>
<b>Total</b>				<b>156600</b>	<b>25153</b>	<b>17401</b>	<b>8000800</b>	

Case Study C (Anti Ethnic Hate Speech)								
No.	Title	Post Type	Date	Reaction	Share	Comment	View	Account Owner
1.	Activists and MP demand for stop Internet Shut down in Rakhine state	Text and Video	06/21/2020	20600	3100	1100	300800	<a href="#">RFA Burmese</a>

2.	Kachin CSOs support ICJ	Text and Video	12/04/2019	40800	6900	1500	900100	<a href="#">RFA Burmese</a>
3.	Two Shan Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs) fought each other. (News in DVB)	Text and Photos	03/20/2019	3800	965	213	N/A	<a href="#">DVB TV News</a>
4.	Two Shan Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs) fought each other. (News in RFA)	Text and Photos	03/25/2019	1700	184	166	N/A	<a href="#">RFA Burmese</a>
5.	Two Shan Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs) made join statements for the ceasefire agreement. (News in RFA)	Text and Photos	05/11/2019	1300	208	118	N/A	<a href="#">RFA Burmese</a>
<b>Total</b>				<b>68200</b>	<b>11357</b>	<b>3097</b>	<b>1200900</b>	

<b>Total Number of Post for Case Study A, B, and C</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>Total Number of Comment for Case Study A, B, and C</b>	<b>34236</b>

## Annex 3: Examples of well-development counter arguments

These two examples responded to many of the arguments made by the hate-speech comments under the same-sex marriage post.

### Example 1



“စာထဲမှာ ပြောပြီးသားပါ။ လိင်တူချစ်သူဆိုတာ လိင်တူချင်းပဲ ချစ်ပါတယ်။ လိင်ကွဲကို မချစ်ပါဘူး။ လိင်ကွဲကို မချစ်တဲ့အတွက် လိင်ကွဲကို မယူပဲ လိင်တူကိုပဲ ယူပါတယ်။ ဒါအပြစ်မဟုတ်ပါဘူး။ ဘာသာရေးတွေ၊ ယဉ်ကျေးမှုတွေကို သိပ်စောင့်ထိန်းတတ်ကျတဲ့သူတွေ ဒီကိစ္စမှာ လူသားတစ်ယောက်နဲ့ တစ်ယောက် ချစ်ခင်လို့ လက်ထပ်ထိမ်းမြားတာ ဘယ်လောက်များ ထိခိုက်နစ်နာသွားသလဲ။ ဒီလိုလုပ်တာကို ခွေးမျိုးတွေ၊ အမျိုးယုတ်တယ်လို့ ပြောတဲ့သူတွေကော ခိုးဆိုးလုယက် မုဒိမ်းသမားတွေထပ်စာရင် သူတို့က သူများပစ္စည်းဥစ္စာ အသက်အိုးအိမ်စည်းစိမ်ကို ဘာများထိခိုက်နစ်နာအောင် လုပ်နေကြလို့လဲ။ လူငယ်တွေ အတုယူမှားမှားဆိုးတယ်လို့ ပြောတဲ့သူတွေလည်း ဒီပုံကို ဒီသတင်းကိုကြည့်ပြီး ဘယ်လူငယ်ကများ ဖင်ခံချင်စိတ်ပေါက်လာသလဲ။ (ရိုင်းသွားရင် ခွင့်လွှတ်ပါ။) ဘယ်နှယ့် ကိုယ်ထမင်းကိုယ်စားပြီး သူတစ်ပါးကို ဒီလောက် ပြောဆိုနေကြတာ မလွန်လွန်းဘူးလား။ ခင်ဗျားတို့ ပါးစပ်က ပြောဆိုနေတာတွေ ကံယကာရှင်တွေ မသိဘူး၊ မတွေ့ဘူးများ ထင်နေသလား။ သူတို့ခမျာ ချစ်ခြင်းမေတ္တာဆိုတဲ့ အရာတစ်ခုတည်းနဲ့ အရာအားလုံးကို စွန့်လွှတ်ခဲ့ရပြီးပြီ။ ခင်ဗျားတို့ ပါးစပ်ဖျားမှာ သူတို့ဘဝဟာလည်း ရစရာမရှိအောင်

စုတ်ပြတ်သွားပြီ။ ဒီလောက်ပြောနေရုံနဲ့ မကျေနပ်တဲ့သူတွေ။ ကဲ... ဘာလုပ်ချင်သေးလဲ။ ဘာလုပ်ကြဦးမှာလဲ။ ...  
 ပြောကြ... သူတို့နှစ်ယောက်ကို သတ်ပစ်မှာလား။ သူတို့တစ်ယောက်နဲ့ တစ်ယောက်ချစ်တာ အဲ့လောက်အပြစ်ကြီး  
 ဖြစ်နေလား။ ရာဇဝတ်မှုကြီးလား... နိုင်ငံတော်ပုန်ကန်မှုကြီးလား... ပြောကြ... လိင်တူချစ်သူဆိုတာ ကုသလို့မရဘူး။  
 ရောဂါမဟုတ်ဘူး။ ဒါလိင်စိတ်ဟော်မုန်းကြောင့်ဖြစ်တဲ့ မတူကွဲပြားမှုပါလို့ ရေးထားတာလည်း မျက်လုံးတွေ  
 မမြင်ကြဘူးလား။ ကန်းနေလား... ဆဲလို့အားမရသေးဘူးလား။ သူများ ၃၇၇ ဆိုတာနဲ့ ၃၇၇ ဆိုတာ ဘာမှန်းမသိပဲ  
 လိုက်ယောင်နေတာ။ မရှက်ကြဘူးလား။ လူလူချင်းအတူတူ ဒီလောက်ခွဲခြားနေဖို့လိုသလား။ သူတို့လည်း ဒီမြေမှာကြီး၊  
 ဒီရေကိုသောက်၊ ဒီလေကိုရှူပြီး ကြီးလာကြတဲ့ မြန်မာတွေပဲ။ မြန်မာတွေအချင်းချင်းအဲ့လောက် အမုန်းပွားနေစရာ  
 လိုသလား... ဒီကိစ္စကြောင့် မြန်မာပြည်သိက္ခာကျတယ်လို့ ပြောရအောင် ဒီလိင်တူချစ်ခြင်းကို ခွင့်ပြုထားတဲ့  
 ကျန်တဲ့နိုင်ငံတွေက သိက္ခာမရှိတော့ဘူးတဲ့လား။ ဘာမှမဆိုင်တာကို လျှောက်ပြောနေကြတယ်။  
 ထမင်းစားပြီးကြီးတဲ့သူတွေမှ ဟုတ်ကြသေးရဲ့လား။”

## Example 2



Thiha Htay

အနောက်ကိုတွေနဲ့ ဟုတ်လား။ နှင်တို့ မနက်အိပ်ရာထကနေ အိပ်ရာဝင်တဲ့  
 အထိ အနောက်က ပစ္စည်းတွေနဲ့လွတ်လတ်လို့လား။ တင်တို့သစ်တို့  
 မျက်နှာသစ်သစ်ဖြူ၊ နှင်တို့တိုက်တဲ့သွားတိုက်ဆေး၊ နှင်တို့ဝတ်တဲ့တံရှပ်၊  
 ဘာလောက်စိအကျိုး...၊ နှင်တို့ရေးတဲ့ဘောပင်၊ နှင်တို့စားတဲ့ခွန်းခရိုင်၊  
 နှင်တို့ဝေ  
 သာကံတို့အချို့ရည်၊ နှင်တို့စီး စက်ဘီးအစ လေယာဉ်အဆုံး၊  
 နှင်တို့သင်နေတဲ့စာတွေ၊ နှင်တို့ ကြည့်တဲ့ တီဗီ ရုပ်ရှင်၊ ကုန်ကုန်ပြေးမယ်  
 နှင်တို့ကြည့်တဲ့ အပြားကားတွေကအစ၊ နှင်တို့တက်တဲ့ ကလပ်တွေ အကုန်  
 ဖြန့်မာယဉ်ကျေးမှုတွေလား။ စဉ်းစားလေ သိပ်ဖြန့်မာဆန်ချင်ရင်  
 အဲဒါတွေနဲ့လွတ်လိုက်လေ။ အပေါ်ယံရုပ်ပိုင်း တိုးတက်တာတွေတော့ နှင်တို့  
 အတွန်းကြတယ်။ အဲဒါ သူဆိုစည်ကမ်းကျတာ၊ လူကိုလူလို့မြင်တာ၊  
 လူအခွင့်ရေးလေးစားတာတွေတော့ အတုမယူဘူး။ အဲဒါတွေက  
 ပိုက်ဆံနဲ့ဝယ်လို့မရတဲ့ဟာတွေဆိုတော့။ ကိုယ့်  
 ဉာဏ်ဉာဏ်သွေးဖြင့်မလုပ်နိုင်တာဆိုတော့လေ။ နှင်တို့သိထားဖို့က  
 စိတ်ပိုင်းတိုက်မရပဲပိုင်းတိုက်တာ။ နှင်တို့က သူတို့ရုပ်ပိုင်းတိုက်တာ  
 မြင်ပြီး စိတ်ပိုင်းတိုက်တာ မမြင်ဘူး။ ပြောလိုက်ရင်တော့ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဝင်တွေ  
 မေတ္တာတရားကြီးမားပါတယ်တဲ့။ ခုတော့ နှင်တို့ကြောင့် လူနှစ်ယောက်ဘဝ  
 ဖျက်စီးတော့မယ်။ သူတို့ကြောင့်နှင်တို့ဘဝတွေ ထိခိုက်ပြောင်းလဲ သွားလား။  
 အေးအဲလို အခြေခံပေးတာတွေက နှင်တို့ ကြောက်နေတဲ့ ဘာသာမှာပဲရှိတယ်။  
 ပြောလိုက်ရင် ဘာသာတရားနဲ့ကိုင်ပေါက်လို့ကိသေ။ အေး အခြေခံဆိုတာ  
 ယောကျ်ားချင်းကြိုက်မှ အခြေခံမဟုတ်ဘူး နှင်တို့  
 အပြားကားတွေကြည့်ပြီး အာသာဖြေတာလဲ ခြောက်တာပဲ။ ဘုရားဟောတဲ့  
 ပဏ္ဍိတ်ငါးမျိုးမှာ ပါတယ်။ ရှာဖတ်ကြည့်ကြ။ မြတ်စွာဘုရားက နှင်တို့လို  
 လူအခွင့်ရေးနားမလည်တဲ့သူ မဟုတ်ဘူး။ သူတရားတွေက ယောကျ်ားစစ်စစ်  
 မိန်းမစစ်စစ်တွေအတွက်လို့ ယူဆရင်တော့ ရှိချင်စရာကောင်းနေပြီ။  
 အနောက်တိုင်း အနောက်တိုင်းလုပ်မနေနဲ့ အရှေ့တိုင်းတွေပဲ  
 လူအခွင့်ရေးမျိုးဖောက်နေတာလေ။ အရှေ့တိုင်းတွေပဲ အနောက်က  
 အကူညီတွေယူနေတာလေ။ အရှေ့တိုင်းတွေပဲ  
 အနောက်ကိုမင်းမင်းတက်သွားချင်လို့ဒုက္ခသဟန့်ဆောင်ကြတာလေ။  
 ဟိုသွားပြီး လူအခွင့်ရေးတွေစားချင်ကြတာလေ။ အေးမှတ်ထားဖို့က  
 ကိုယ်ကိုတိုင် လူအခွင့်ရေးကို နားလည်မှုမပေးနိုင်ပဲနဲ့တော့ နှင်တို့ ငါတို့တွေလဲ  
 လူကိုလူလိုဆက်ဆံတဲ့ အစိုးရအောက် မနေရဘူးမှတ်ထား။

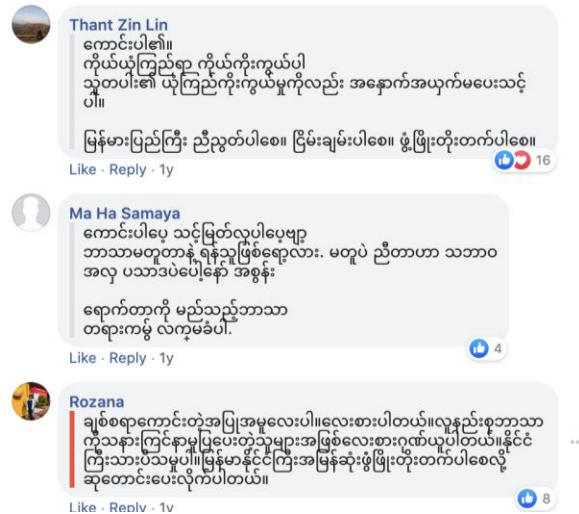
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“အနောက်ကိုမတုနဲ့ ဟုတ်လား။ နင်တို့ အနက်အိပ်ရာထကနေ အိပ်ရာဝင်တဲ့အထိ အနောက်က ပစ္စည်းတွေနဲ့ လွတ်လပ်လို့လား။ တင်တို့သစ်တဲ့ မျက်နှာသသံဆပ်ပြာ၊ နင်တို့တိုက်တဲ့သွားတိုက်ဆေး၊ နင်တို့ဝတ်တဲ့တီရှပ်၊ ဘလောက်စ်အင်္ကျီ၊ နင်တို့ရေးတဲ့ဘောပင်၊ နင်တို့စားတဲ့ဇွန်းခရင်း၊ နင်တို့သောက်တဲ့အချိုရည်၊ နင်တို့စီး စက်ဘီးအစ လေယာဉ်အဆုံး၊ နင်တို့သင်နေတဲ့စာတွေ၊ နင်တို့ကြည့်တဲ့ တီဗီရုပ်ရှင်၊ ကုန်ကုန်ပြောမယ် နင်တို့ကြည့်တဲ့ အပြာကားတွေက အစ၊ နင်တို့တက်တဲ့ ကလပ်တွေအကုန် မြန်မာ့ယဉ်ကျေးမှုတွေလား။ စဉ်းစားလေ။ သိပ်မြန်မာဆန်ချင်ရင် အဲ့ဒါတွေ စွန့်လိုက်လေ။ အပေါ်ယံရုပ်ပိုင်းတိုးတက်တာတွေတော့ နင်တို့အတုခိုးကြတယ်။ အေ သူ့ဆို စည်းကမ်းကျတာ၊ လူကိုလူလိုမြင်တာ၊ လူ့အခွင့်အရေးလေးစားတာတွေတော့ အတုမယူဘူး။ အေးပေါ့လေ။ အဲ့ဒါတွေက ပိုက်ဆံနဲ့ ဝယ်လို့မရတဲ့ ဟာတွေဆိုတော့။ ကိုယ်ဉာဏ်သွေးမြင့်မှ လိုက်မှီမှာဆိုတော့လေ။ နင်တို့သိထားဖို့က စိတ်ပိုင်းတိုးတက်မှ ရုပ်ပိုင်းတိုးတက်တာ။ နင်တို့က သူတို့ရုပ်ပိုင်းတိုးတက်တာမြင်ပြီး စိတ်ပိုင်းတိုးတက်တာမမြင်ဘူး။ ပြောလိုက်ရင်တော့ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဝင်တွေ မေတ္တာတရားကြီးမားပါတယ်တဲ့။ ခုတော့ နင်တို့ကြောင့် လူနှစ်ယောက်ဘဝပျက်စီးတော့မယ်။ သူတို့ကြောင့် နင်တို့ဘဝတွေ ထိခိုက်ပြောင်းလဲသွားလား။ အေးအဲ့လို အပြစ်ပေးတာတွေက နင်တို့ကြောက်နေတဲ့ ဘာသာမှာပဲ ရှိတယ်။ ပြောလိုက်ရင် ဘာသာတရားနဲ့ ကိုင်ပေါက်လိုက်သေး။ အေး အခြောက်ဆိုတာ ယောက်ျားချင်းကြိုက်မှ အခြောက်မဟုတ်ဘူး။ နင်တို့ အပြာကားတွေကြည့်ပြီး အာသာဖြေတာလည်း ခြောက်တာပဲ။ ဘုရားဟောတဲ့ ပဏ္ဏူတ်ငါးမျိုးမှာ ပါတယ်။ ရှာဖွေကြည့်ကြ။ မြတ်စွာဘုရားကို နင်တို့လို လူ့အခွင့်အရေးနားမလည်တဲ့သူ မဟုတ်ဘူး။ သူ့တရားတွေက ယောက်ျားစစ်စစ်၊ မိန်းမစစ်စစ်တွေအတွက်လို့ ယူဆရင် ရီချင်စရာကောင်းနေပြီ။ အနောက်တိုင်း အနောက်တိုင်းလုပ်မနေနဲ့။ အရှေ့တိုင်းတွေပဲ လူ့အခွင့်အရေးချိုးဖောက်နေတာလေ။ အရှေ့တိုင်းတွေပဲ အနောက်ကအကူအညီယူနေတာလေ။ အရှေ့တိုင်းတွေပဲ အနောက်ကို ငမ်းငမ်းတက်သွားချင်လို့ ဒုက္ခသည်ဟန်ဆောင်ကြတာလေ။ ဟိုသွားပြီး လူ့အခွင့်အရေးတွေ ခံစားချင်ကြတာလေ။ အေးမှတ်ထားဖို့က ကိုယ်ကိုတိုင် လူ့အခွင့်အရေးကို နားလည်မှုမပေးနိုင်ပဲနဲ့တော့ နင်တို့ငါတို့တွေလဲ လူကိုလူလိုဆက်ဆံတဲ့ အစိုးရအောက် မနေရဘူးမှတ်ထား။”

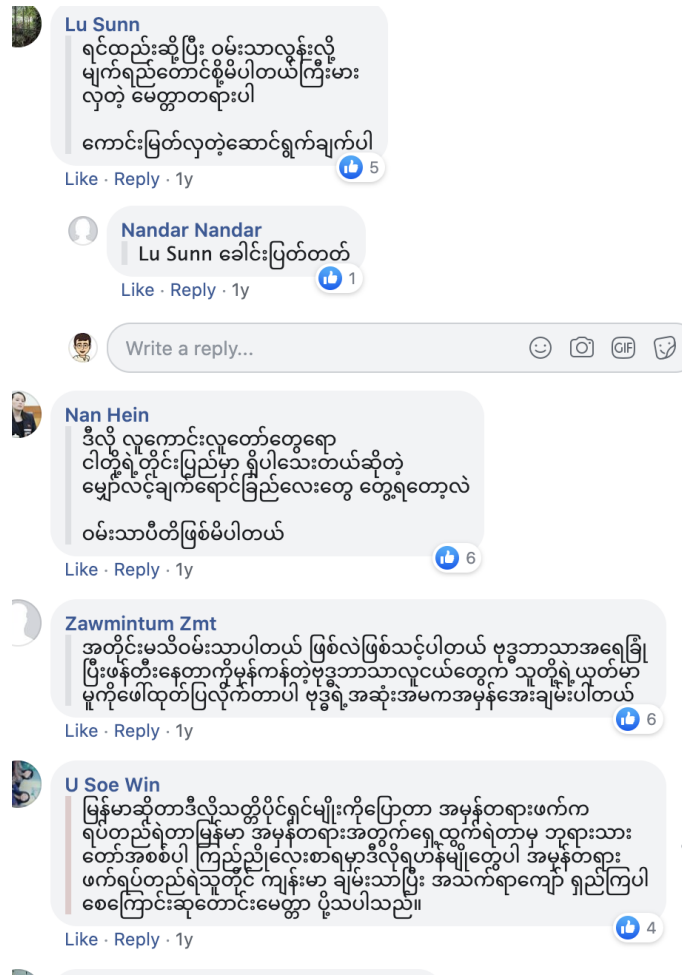
## Annex 4: Examples of positive reflection comments under positive posts

### Example 1



- “ကောင်းပါ၏။ ကိုယ်ယုံကြည်ရာ ကိုးကွယ်ပါ။ သူတစ်ပါး၏ ယုံကြည်ကိုးကွယ်မှုကိုလည်း အနှောက်အယှက်မပေးသင့်ပါ။ မြန်မာပြည်ကြီး ညီညွတ်ပါစေ။ ငြိမ်းချမ်းပါစေ။ ဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတက်ပါစေ။”
- “ကောင်းပါပေ။ သင့်မြတ်လှပါပေဗျာ။ ဘာသာမတူတာနဲ့ ရန်သူဖြစ်ရောလား။ မတူပဲ ညီတာဟာ သဘာဝအလှ၊ ပသာဒပဲပေါ့နော်။ အစွန်းရောက်တာကို မည်သည့်ဘာသာတရားကမှ လက်မခံပါ။”
- “ချစ်စရာကောင်းတဲ့ အပြုအမူလေးပါ။ လူနည်းစု ဘာသာကို သနားကြင်နာမှု ပြပေးတဲ့ သူများအဖြစ် လေးစားဂုဏ်ယူပါတယ်။ နိုင်ငံကြီးသားပီသမှုပါ။ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံကြီး အမြန်ဆုံးဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတက်ပါစေလို့ ဆုတောင်းပေးလိုက်ပါတယ်။”

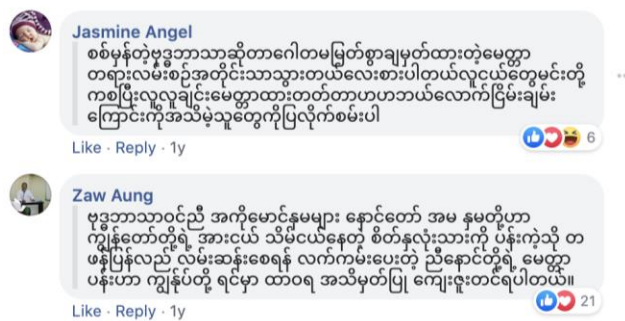
### Example 2



- “ရင်ထဲစို့ပြီး ဝမ်းသာလွန်းလို့ မျက်ရည်တောင် စို့မိပါတယ်။ ကြီးမားလှတဲ့ မေတ္တာတရားပါ။ ကောင်းမြတ်လှတဲ့ ဆောင်ရွက်ချက်ပါ။”
- “ဒီလို လူတော်လူကောင်းတွေရာ ငါတို့ရဲ့တိုင်းပြည်မှာ ရှိပါသေးတယ်ဆိုတဲ့ မျှော်လင့်ချက်ရောင်ခြည်လေးတွေ တွေ့ရတော့လဲ ဝမ်းသာပီတိဖြစ်မိပါတယ်။”

- “အတိုင်းမသိ ဝမ်းသာပါတယ်။ ဖြစ်လည်း ဖြစ်သင့်ပါတယ်။ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာအရေခြုံပြီး ဖန်တီးနေတာကို မှန်ကန်တဲ့ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာလူငယ်တွေက သူတို့ရဲ့ ယုတ်မာမှုကို ဖော်ပြလိုက်တာပါ။ ဗုဒ္ဓရဲ့ အဆုံးအမက အမှန်အေးချမ်းပါတယ်။”
- “မြန်မာဆိုတာ ဒီလိုသတ္တိပိုင်ရှင်မျိုးကို ပြောတာ။ အမှန်တရားဘက်က ရပ်တည်ရဲတာ မြန်မာ။ အမှန်တရားအတွက် ရှေ့ထွက်ရဲတာမှ ဘုရားသားတော်အစစ်ပါ။ ကြည်ညိုလေးစားရမှာ ဒီလိုရဟန်းမျိုးတွေပါ။ အမှန်တရားဘက် ရပ်တည်ရဲသူတိုင်း ကျန်းမာချမ်းသာပြီး အသက်ရာကျော်ရှည်ကြပါစေကြောင်း ဆုတောင်းမေတ္တာပို့ပါသည်။”

### Example 3



- “စစ်မှန်တဲ့ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဆိုတာ ဂေါတမမြတ်စွာ ချမှတ်ထားတဲ့ မေတ္တာတရားလမ်းစဉ်အတိုင်းသာ သွားတယ်။ လေးစားပါတယ်။ လူငယ်တွေ မင်းတို့က စပြီး လူလူချင်းမေတ္တာထားတတ်တာဟာ ဘယ်လောက်ငြိမ်းချမ်းကြောင်း အသိမဲ့သူတွေကို ပြလိုက်စမ်းပါ။”
- “ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဝင် ညီအကိုမောင်နှမများ နောင်တော် အမ နှမတို့ဟာ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ရဲ့ အားငယ် သိမ်ငယ်နေတဲ့ စိတ်နှလုံးသားကို ပန်းကဲ့သို့ တဖန်ပြန်လည်လန်းဆန်းစေရန် လက်ကမ်းပေးတဲ့ ညီနောင်တို့ရဲ့ မေတ္တာပန်းဟာ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ရင်မှာ ထာဝရ အသိမှတ်ပြု ကျေးဇူးတင်ရပါတယ်။”

## Annex 5: Hate-speech and discrimination in real-life

Interviewees believed that hate speech was less said out but more acted in deep rooted cultural stereotypes in everyday settings. Some examples mentioned by them include:

- using Muslims as a reference to scare children by Burmese families (e.g. ကုလားကြီးလာနေပြီ။ ဟိုမှာ မုတ်ဆိတ်နဲ့ နင့်ကိုဖမ်းလိမ့်မယ်)
- suggesting their misconceptions on Muslims as stubborn and inflexible to integration within different social settings, for example Muslims not eating in the same shop when different religions hangout
- parents asking their children to not make friends with Muslims at school
- pitying on LGBT among social circles
- Rakhine participant reporting that he was refused of his opportunity for job because of his ethnicity
- adults allowing children to believe that it is okay to humiliate transgender people
- believing and acting on the misconception that LGBT are lazy at work, and thus kicking them out or discriminating them from promotion
- and many other cultural stereotypes of ethnic people (for example Ta'ang are dirty and uncivilized).

## Annex 6: Negative impacts of online negative comments

Interviewees said that negative offline events and online discussions, which reverberated negative sentiments, influence their emotional well-being. They pointed out some examples:

- Kachin interviewee said broader negative discussion of Kachin civil wars online affected her - “ကချင်ပြည်မှာ ဖြစ်နေတာတွေက ညီမကို လာသက်ရောက်မှုရှိတယ်။” (What’s happening in Kachin state has impact me)
- People being blamed online for what happened somewhere “နင်တို့လူမျိုးက အရမ်း sensitive ဖြစ်” (Your people are just too sensitive); “သည်းခံလိုက်လေ” (Tolerate it / get over it)

- Maramagyi interviewee said even though the words are not abusive, criticizing their identity hurt them - “မဆဲပေမယ့် အပြောအဆို identity ကို ထိတာမျိုးက ပိုခံရတယ်။”  
(Even though they don’t swear, attacking my identity hurts); “ဖြစ်တည်မှုတစ်ခုလုံးကို စော်ကား” (it’s the insult on my whole existence)
- Muslim interviewee talked about hate-speech that echoed traumatic news  
“လူသေနေတဲ့ ပိုစ့်တွေတွေ့ရင် အောက်မှာ ကုလားတွေ သေတာကောင်းတယ်လို့ ပြောရင် ဝမ်းနည်းတယ်”
- Kachin interviewee talked about hate-speech that echoed traumatic news  
“ဆရာမနှစ်ယောက်ဆုံးတာ စိတ်မကောင်း ဖြစ်နေတဲ့ အချိန်မှာ ပိုစိတ်ခံစားရအောင် ရေးတာ။  
ပြည်တွင်းစစ်ပြန်ဖြစ်တဲ့ ပိုစ့်မှာ ပြောနေကြတာတွေ၊ သတင်းတွေရဲ့ comment တွေအောက်မှာ ဆဲပြီးရေး၊ သူပုန်တွေပဲ သေတာကောင်းတယ်။” (When I was sad about news of the death of the two Kachin teachers, the comments made me worse. When they are swearing and abusing in the comments under the civil war news and said it’s good that the rebels die)

## Annex 7: Positive Reference Support

When the posts have a positive anchor, more people are likely to use positive reference to counter or attack hate-speech comments in support of the original content or other counter-speech writers. Below are examples of a few expressions -

- Under Muslim posts
  - သူများအလှူလုပ်နေတာ ရန်လို မနေနဲ့ (don’t bring aggression when someone is donating);  
ချစ်ချစ်ခင်ခင်ရှိစေချင်ရင် ရန်ပါသော မန့်မပေးပါနဲ့ အလေးထားပါ အလှူရှင်ကို။ (If we want people to be amicable, don’t bring comments suggesting aggression)
  - အကောင်း မြင်တဲ့ ဘက်မှာရှိတတ်ပါစေ (be on the positive perspective side)
  - သူများတွေ ပီတိပွားနေတာကို ကျက်သရေ လာမတုံးနဲ့ (don’t bring disgrace when others are feeling delight)

- Under LGBT posts
  - လူတစ်ဦးကို အကောင်းဘက်က မြင်ပေးပါ။ ကိုယ့်ကိုယ် ကောင်းအောင်နေပါ။ (Look at someone with positive outlook; and be a good person yourself too)
  - လူတစ်ယောက်နဲ့ တစ်ယောက်ချစ်ခင်နေတာဟာ မုန်းတီးနာကျင်နေတာထက်စာရင် အများကြီး မင်္ဂလာရှိပါတယ်။ (People loving each other is better than people hating each other)
  - မုန်းတာထက်စာရင် ချစ်ကြတာက ပိုကောင်းပါတယ်။ (Love is better than hate)
  - အချစ်က အေးမြပါတယ်။ အမှန်းမှ မဟုတ်တာ။ (Love is peaceful; it's not hatred)
  - လူသားအချင်းချင်း ချစ်ကြတာကောင်းပါတယ်။ (Love between human is all good)

## Annex 8: Animal analogies

### 8.1: Negative animal analogies

- Anti-Muslim hate-speech- ခွေးမို့လို့ လူစိတ် မရှိတာပေါ့။ (Because they are dogs, they don't have human mind)
- Anti- LGBT hate-speech - ခွေးလောက်အသိဉာဏ် မရှိတဲ့ ကောင်တွေ။ (Those who have minds of lesser than dogs); ခွေးထက်မိုက်တာပေါ့ - (More stupid than dogs)

### 8.2: Animal analogies that are not negative

- This analogy is both neutral and negative. - ခွေးကို ခြင်္သေ့ထင် လင်းဒက ပျံဝဲ ဒေါင်းလို့မြင်နေတဲ့ (Those who thinks the dogs as lions and vultures as peacocks)
- This one talk about unity in a disapproving tone in a Burmese saying - နွားကွဲရင် ကျားဆွဲမယ် (The tiger attacks when the group of cows is disunited)

### 8.3: Dehumanization without animal analogy

- လူလိုနေရင် လူလိုဆက်ဆံခံရမှာပေါ့ (if you live like human, you will be treated as human)
- လူဖြစ်ပြီး လူစိတ်မရှိတဲ့ သူတွေ (human but without human mind you will be treated as human)
- လူစိတ်မရှိဘူးလား (don't you have a human heart?)
- လူလိုတွေးတတ်ရင် (if you can think like human)

- လူစိတ် (it can be interpreted as human rationalism or human heart/mind/soul depending on the context) can be a problematic expression. It is widely used in counter speech calling hate-speech speakers lesser human.

#### 8.4: Counter-speech dehumanization

- Some counter speech that attacked hate-speech speakers called them uneducated for saying things that are believed to be not true - စာမတတ်ဘူး၊ စာသွားဖတ်ဦး (cannot read? Go read).
- Some hate-speech speakers are called lower class “အောက်တန်းစား”
- Counter speech also say things such as ထမင်းစား ပြီးပြောနေကြတာကော ဟုတ်ရဲ့လား (are these people [who say horrible things] eating [cooked] rice at all?), implying not eating human food; and thus, ထမင်းစားတဲ့ သူဆိုရင် ဦးနှောက်ရှိတယ်, which implies if you eat rice [human food] you have brain.
- Explicit analogy would say ဒီကောင်တွေ ထမင်းစားနေတဲ့ ကောင်တွေ မဖြစ်နိုင်ဘူး။ ကောက်ရိုးစားနေတာပဲ ဖြစ်ရမယ်။ (they cannot be those who eat rice, probably eating straws [like cows]).

#### 8.5: Appeals to status as human

Positive counterspeech uses more neutral language to appeal hate-speech with humanity ground

- လူကိုလူလိုမြင်ပေးပါ။ အဓိကကတော့ လူကို လူလိုမြင်ဖို့ အရေးကြီးပါတယ် (to see human as humans; the most important thing is to see human as human)
- More elaborate messages in comments under anti-LGBT post
  - လူကိုလူလို မဆက်ဆံခံရတော့ ဖိအား ဘယ်လောက်ရှိမလဲဆိုတာကို စဉ်းစားကြည့်။ သူများကို မညှာမတာ မပြောင်သင့်ဘူး။ သူခံစားရတာတွေ မသိဘဲနဲ့ အပြစ်မပြောနဲ့။ (Do not blame others without know what they go through. Don't abuse. Think about the pressure they get from not being treated like a human)

- ကျမက မြန်မာလူမျိုး ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာ မိန်းမစစ်စစ်တစ်ဦးပါ။ လိင်တူထိမ်းမြားခြင်းကို မြန်မာနိုင်ငံမှာ ပြင်းပြင်းထန်ထန် ရှုံ့ချတာကို သိပါတယ်။ ဒါပေမယ့် ဒီလိုရိုင်းရိုင်းစိုင်းစိုင်းတွေ မပြောသင့်ဘူး။ homos တွေကလည်း လူတွေပါပဲ။ လူသားအချင်းချင်း ခွဲခြားတာတွေ မလုပ်သင့်ပါဘူး။ သူတို့က ကိုယ့်စီးပွားရေးကို လာထိခိုက်နေတာလည်း မဟုတ်ပဲနဲ့။ (I'm a Buddhist woman and I know same-sex marriage is looked down in Myanmar. But that doesn't mean we should be rude like this. Homos are humans. Humans shouldn't discriminate against one another. They are not hurting your business.

## Annex 9: Being Human / လူသားဆန်ခြင်း

### 9.1: Good Human Qualities

Many comments under interfaith posts relate humanity (လူသားဆန်ခြင်း) with different qualities such as kindness, compassion, and generosity. Most comments suggest similarly by saying that we are all human (it's about how we live that decides who we are) and thus labels are irrelevant.

- ကြင်နာ၊ ကရုဏာ၊ မေတ္တာ၊ စေတနာဟာ လူမျိုးဘာသာ၊ အသားအရောင်၊ နေရာဒေသ သတ်မှတ်ချက် မရှိနိုင်ဘူး။ ပေးသူ၊ လိုအပ်သူ ကြည်ဖြူပါတယ်။ (Kindness, compassion, love, and good will has no limit on race, skin colour or region. Both the giver and those need it are happy)
- ဘာသာတရားစည်းတွေသာ ဖယ်လိုက်ရင် ကျွန်တော်တို့ဟာ လူသားတွေပါပဲ။ လူသားအချင်းချင်း စာနာသနားချစ်ခင်နိုင်ကြပါစေဗျာ။ (If religious boundaries are removed, we are all human. Be compassionate.)
- ဘယ်လူမျိုးပဲ ဖြစ်ပါစေ စိတ်သဘောကောင်းရင် တစ်သွေးထဲ၊ တစ်သားထဲ၊ တစ်မျိုးထဲလို့ပဲ သတ်မှတ်ပါတယ်။ (Regardless of race, any good hearted person we see as one)
- စေတနာ ကောင်းတာ လူသားဆန်တာ ဘာသာနဲ့ မဆိုင်ဘူးဆိုတာ သိစေချင်သည်။ (Generosity and humanity are not related to religion)
- ဘာသာမတူပေမဲ့ စိတ်ထားဖြူစင်တာတွေ လေးစားတယ် (Respect even if different religion because mind is pure.)

- စိတ်ထားဖြူစင်ဖို့က အဓိကပါ။ (No matter how different religion, being pure mind is most important)
- ကုလား၊ ဗမာ ဘာသာနဲ့မဆိုင်။ စိတ်ကောင်းရှိတဲ့လူက စိတ်ကောင်းကို ရှိတာပါ။ လေးစားပါတယ် အလှူရှင်မိသားစု။ (Nothing to do with Kalar or Bamar. People with good souls will be good. Respect to the donor family.)
- ဘာသာမတူရင် ရန်သူက မဟုတ်တာ။ ကိုယ့်ချင်းချင်းလူပဲ။ ဒီလိုလူနေတာ အရမ်းဝမ်းသာပါတယ်။ (Just because we are of different religions doesn't make us enemies. We are all human. So happy to see donating like this)
- လူမျိုးပေါင်းစုံရှိတဲ့ နိုင်ငံပါ။ ကိုယ့်လူမျိုးတွေလည်း သူများနိုင်ငံမှာ အများကြီးရှိကြပါတယ်။ ကိုယ်ချင်းစာတရားရှိကြပါ။ မလိုအပ်ဘဲ အမုန်းတရားတွေ ပွားပြီး ရန်မီးမမွှေးကြပါနဲ့။ (This is a country with different ethnicities. Our people are also in other countries too. Be sympathetic. Do not make unnecessary hatred and cause aggression)
- မြင်ရတာ ကြည်နူးစရာပါ လူတိုင်း ဒေါသ၊မောဟ၊မာန်မာနတွေ ကင်းဝေးပြီး ကိုယ်ချင်းစာတရားတွေ ကိုယ်စီရှိကြပါစေ။ (Just lovely to see. Hope everyone is free of anger, delusions and pride and can have has sympathies)

## 9.2: Interfaith relationship example



ခင် ယွန်း ကိုယ်လည်း phone ဆိုင်မှာလုပ်တုန်းက အားသွင်းကြိုးလာဝယ်တဲ့ ကုလားအဖိုးကြီးတစ်ယောက်အိမ်ထောင်စုဇယားတွေ ဆိုင်ကယ်လိုင်စင်တွေ မှတ်ပုံတင်တွေထည့်ထားတဲ့ဖိုင် ဆိုင်မှာမေ့ကျန်နေခဲ့တယ် ဘယ်လိုဆက်သွယ်ရမုန်းမသိတာနဲ့ သိမ်းထားပြီးသူပြန်လာယူမယ့်အချိန်ကိုစောင့်နေခဲ့တာ နောက်နဲ့

မေ့မနုကျကြတော့ရောကျလာတယု သူ့ကိုပွဲချပေးတော့ သူကဟောတယုဦးလေးမနေကတချနေလို့ သွားခဲ့တဲ့နဲ့ရောတုမောလိုကျရာနေတာတဲ့ မတော်လို့ဒီမှာမြားကဖြုခွဲမလားဆိုပြီး လာကွဲညှတာတဲ့သူဝမျိုးသာသွားတဲ့မကြချနာကိုကွဲညှပြီး ကိုယ့်လည်းအရမ်းပြောချတာပဲ သူကကြေးဇူးတင်တဲ့အနုနဲ့ မနုဖိုးပေးတယု ကိုယ့်ကမယူတော့ သူကကိုယ့်ကိုဘာလုပေးတယုထင်လဲ(ကိုယ့်ခေါင်းပေါ်ချသူလကျတငှ ပွဲ သူတို့ဘာသာနဲ့ဆုတောင်းပေးတယုဘာမှနူးမသိပမေယုဘာသာမတူတဲ့ လူတချယောကျွန်းခြေခြေချခငှခွငှေးကကိုယ့်ကို တကယ့်ကွဲကျသီးထစတေယု)

Like · Reply · 9w



“ကိုယ်လည်း phone ဆိုင်မှာလုပ်တုန်းက အားသွင်းကြိုးလာဝယ်တဲ့ ကုလားအဖိုးကြီးတစ်ယောက် အိမ်ထောင်စုစာရင်းတွေ ဆိုင်ကယ်လိုင်စင်တွေ မှတ်ပုံတင်တွေထည့်ထားတဲ့ဖိုင် ဆိုင်မှာမေ့ကျန်နေခဲ့တယ်။ ဘယ်လိုဆက်သွယ်ရမှန်းမသိတာနဲ့ သိမ်းထားပြီး သူပြန်လာမဲ့အချိန်ကို စောင့်နေခဲ့တာ။ နောက်နေ့ မနက်ကြတော့ ရောက်လာတယ်။ သူ့ကိုပြန်ပေးတော့ သူကပြောတယ်။ ဦးလေးမနေ့က တစ်နေ့လုံးသွားခဲ့တဲ့နေရာတွေမှာ လိုက်ရှာနေတာတဲ့။ မတွေ့လို့ ဒီမှာများကျန်ခဲ့လားဆိုပြီး လာကြည့်တာတဲ့။ သူဝမ်းသာသွားတဲ့မျက်နှာကို ကြည့်ပြီး ကိုယ်လည်းအရမ်းပျော်တာပဲ။ သူက ကျေးဇူးတင်တဲ့အနေနဲ့ မုန့်ဖိုးပေးတယ်။ ကိုယ်ကမယူတော့ သူကကိုယ့်ကိုဘာလုပ်ပေးတယ်ထင်လဲ။ ကိုယ့်ခေါင်းပေါ်ကို သူ့လက်တင်ပြီး သူတို့ဘာသာနဲ့ ဆုတောင်းပေးတယ်။ ဘာမှန်းမသိပေမဲ့ ဘာသာမတူတဲ့ လူတစ်ယောက်ရဲ့ ချစ်ခင်ခြင်းက ကိုယ့်ကို တကယ်ကို ကြက်သီးထစေတယ်။”

### 9.3: Humanity and peace

A lot of comments relate humanity to achieving positive things in society such as peace and harmony.

- ဘယ်ဘာသာပဲဖြစ်ဖြစ် လူလူချင်း ချစ်မြတ်နိုးတဲ့စိတ် တန်ဖိုးထား လေးစားတဲ့ စိတ်နဲ့ဆိုရင် ငြိမ်းချမ်းတာကြာပါပြီ။ မွေးကတည်းက မိရိုးဖလာဆိုတဲ့ အစွဲကြောင့် အမြင်တွေကွဲပြီး လူကို လိုလို မမြင်တော့တာပါ။ (There would have been peace if people have the attitudes to respect and to love each other regardless of their religions. People can't see each other like human beings because of traditional dogmatic tendencies since their childhood.)
- ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာ အစစ်အမှန်တိုင်းဟာ မေတ္တာတရားလမ်းစဉ်အတိုင်းသာသွားတယ်။ လူလူချင်းမေတ္တာတရား ထားတတ်တာဟာ ဘယ်လောက်ငြိမ်းချမ်းကြောင်းကို အသိမဲ့သူတွေကို ပြလိုက်စမ်းပါ။ (Genuine Buddhism follows the path of Metta (loving-kindness). Show people who don't know how peaceful it is to love one another.)
- လူသားတိုင်း လူမျိုးဘာသာမရွေးပဲ စိတ်နှလုံးဖြူစင်ရင် အရာအားလုံး စိတ်ချမ်းသာရပါတယ်။ (If everyone has pure heart regardless of race and religion, everything will be peaceful.)
- ဘာသာ၊ လူမျိုးတွေ မခွဲခြားပဲ လူကိုလူချင်းပဲ စိတ်ဓာတ်အရင်းခံမြင်ကြမယ်ဆိုရင် အခုလိုမျိုး ပီတိဖြစ်စရာ မြင်ကွင်းတွေ ပေါ်များလာမှာပေါ့။ (If people are not discriminated against on the basis of race and religion, there will be more happy scences like that.)

- ကိုးကွယ်ရာဘာသာချင်းမတူပေမယ့်လည်း လူကိုလူလို မြင်တတ်ပြီး တစ်ယောက်နဲ့တစ်ယောက် မေတ္တာတရားနဲ့ နေထိုင်သွားကြမယ်ဆိုရင် ဒီတိုင်းပြည် အရမ်းအေးချမ်းမှာပါ။ (This country will be very peaceful if people of different religions see each other as human beings and live in love with each other.)

#### Annex 10: There is good and bad in everything

- ဘယ်လိုပဲ ပြောပြောပါ။ လူတွေထဲမှာ ကောင်းတဲ့သူနဲ့ ဆိုးတဲ့သူ အမြဲဒွန်တွဲနေတာပါ။ ဘာသာရေးနဲ့ မဆိုင်ပါဘူး။ (Not related to religion, there are always good and bad in everything.)
- ဘယ်အရာမဆို အဆိုး၊အကောင်း ဒွန်တွဲနေတာပါ။ ဘာသာတရားနဲ့ မဆိုင်ဘူး။ (Everything has good and evil that is not related to religion.)
- ဖြူဖြူမဲမဲ နှုတ်ဝဲ ဘာသာမတူ လူမျိုးခြားလဲ ကောင်းတဲ့သူက ကောင်းမှာပဲ။ မကောင်းတဲ့သူက ကောင်းပါဘူး။ လူနဲ့သာဆိုင်တယ်။ (It's about who. Black or white, even if different religions, good will be good, bad will be bad.)
- အဲ့တာကြောင့် ဘာလူမျိုးလဲ၊ အစ္စလာမ်လား၊ ခရစ်ယာန်လား မေးစရာမလိုပါ။ လူကောင်းလား၊ လူဆိုးလားဆိုတာပဲ မေးပါ (That's why only ask if good person or bad person, no need to ask if they are christian or muslim.)
- လူမျိုးဘာသာခြားဆိုတာ မသိဘူး၊ မရှိဘူး။ လူဆိုးနဲ့လူကောင်းပဲ ရှိတယ်။ ဒါကိုအားလုံးလက်ခံလာရင် လူသားအားလုံးအေးချမ်းတဲ့ မေတ္တာတရားကို ခံစားရမှာပါ။ (There's no different religion or race. I don't know that. There are only good and bad people. If we accept this, we will feel the peaceful love)

#### Annex 11: Criticizing extremism

- ဘာသာနဲ့ မဆိုင်ပါ။ စိတ်ဓာတ်နဲ့ဆိုင်တာ။ ဘာသာအစွန်းရောက်လူတွေဟာ သူများဘာသာကို မကောင်းမတူဘူး၊ မတန်ဘူးဆိုတာ ပြောကြတာပါ (Not related to religion, it's about attitude, only the extremists say that others' religion is inferior.)

- ဖြူစင်မေတ္တာ စည်းမခြားပါဘူး။ ဘာသာခြားတွေထဲမှာ လူကောင်းတွေ အများကြီး ရှိသလို ကိုယ့်ဘာသာဝင်တွေထဲမှာလည်း ခိုးဆိုးလုနွှ်က်လူယုတ်မာတွေ ရိုက်သတ်လို့တောင် မကုန်နိုင်အောင် ရှိပါတယ်။  
(Pure mind does not set boundary. As other religions have a lot of good people, our religion has a lot of bad people too.)
- လူသားဆန်ဖို့က အဓိကပါ။ လူအရိုင်းတွေကြောင့် မျိုးတူလူအယဉ်တွေ အားငယ်နေကြတာကို မြင်အောင်ကြည့်ကြပါ။ (Being human is the most important thing. Because of the rude people, the civilized people from the same group are put to shame.)
- ဒါကြောင့်ပြောတာ။ ဘာသာတိုင်း၊ လူမျိုးတိုင်းမှာ မကောင်းတဲ့ရှိသလို အခုလိုလူတွေ အများကြီးရှိတဲ့အတွက်ကြောင့် လူအများပြဿနာတစ်ခုခုဖြစ်ကြရင် ကိုယ့်ကြောင့်လူမျိုးရေး၊ ဘာသာရေးအပြောအဆိုတွေမှာ ဆင်ခြင်နိုင်ကြပါစေ။ (That's why I said. Every religion has bad people and good people like them. That's why people should consider the way they make racial and religious discourses where there is a problem between them.)
- အဲ့ဒါမြန်မာမဟုတ်ဘူး။ တစ်ချို့လူများတော်တော်အမုန်းစကားပြောပြီး မုန်းနေကြတဲ့ ကုလားလူနေတာနော်။ ကုလားတိုင်းမယုတ်မာကြသလို မြန်မာလို့အမည်ခံဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာကို ကိုးကွယ်တယ်ပြောတိုင်းအများအတွက် ယခုလို လူဒါန်းပေးဖို့ စိတ်ကောင်း၊စေတနာကောင်း ရှိကြတာ မဟုတ်ပါဘူး။ (This is not Myanmar. These are the donations of Kalar who are attacked with hate speech by some people. Every Kalar is not bad and every Buddhist is not kind enough to donate like them too.)
- ကုလားဆိုပြီး မလူနဲ့၊ ကန့်ကွက်ကြလေ အမျိုးစောင့်ကြီးတို့ရေ။ (Why ultra-nationalist groups don't protest this Kalar's donations.)

Counter-extremism can also turn into somewhat aggressive/abusive.

- ပြောလိုက် လူတွေက ကုလားဘာဖြစ်တယ် ကုလား ညာဖြစ်တယ် သောက်ကလေးတွေ လူပါးဝတာဆိုတာတွေကြီးပဲ။ အခုလို လူလိုလာယူတာ မြန်မာတွေပဲတွေ့နေရတယ်။ ငါ ကလားမဟုတ်ဘူးနော် ပြောတာ။ (They mostly talk about how Kalars are bad and bully. Now there are many Burmese who come to get things from Kalar's donations. I am saying it but I am not Kalar.)

## Annex 12: The concept of Karma

- Counter speech using the rhetoric of karma under LGBT post - ခင်ဗျားတို့ မွေးလာမယ့် သားသမီးကျမှ အဲလိုမျိုး LGBT မဖြစ်စေနဲ့ ဆုတောင်း။ ဝဋ်လည်မယ် မြန်မာလူမျိုးဖြစ်ပြီး ဖေးမကူညီ ရမယ်မရှိဘူး။ စိတ်ဓာတ်တွေက အောက်တန်းကို ကျတယ်။ (Pray that your children won't be LGBT like them. There will be Karma and don't help them as Burmese people. Mental attitudes are very low.)
- Counter speech using the rhetoric of karma under Rakhine Internet Shutdown post - မင်းတို့နေတဲ့ မြို့ကို ဖြတ်မယ်ဆိုရင်ကော မင်းဒီစကား ပြောထွက် မလား။ ဒါ ကမ္ဘာ့စံချိန်တင် လူသား အခွင့်အရေးကို ချိုးဖောက် တာကွ။ ဘယ်နိုင်ငံမှ အခုလိုမလုပ်ဖူးဘူး၊ ကိုယ်ချင်းစာတရားမွေး။ (Would you say like that what if your city would be under internet shutdown? This is the world's most notorious human rights violation. No country treats their citizens like that. You should have sympathy.)

## Annex 13: Pity

- anti-LGBTQ pity from comments
  - ဟုတ်ပါတယ် ဘယ်သူမှ ဒီလို ဘဝမျိုး လိုချင်မှာ မဟုတ်ဘူး။ ကံတွေကြောင့်မို့ လူသားတစ်ဦးအနေနဲ့ ကိုယ်ချင်းစာချင်တယ် (Yes, nobody wants a life like this. It's because of luck. As a human [I] hope [you are] sympathetic)
  - စိတ်နဲ့ ခန္ဓာ လွဲမှားစွာ လူဖြစ် လာတဲ့အတွက်သင့် အတွက် ဝမ်းနည်းမိပါတယ်ကွာ။ နောင်ဘဝတိုင်း စိတ်နဲ့ခန္ဓာတစ်ထပ်တည်းကျပါစေလို့ ဆုတောင်းပေးလိုက်ပါတယ်။ (It is sad that they have to have this kind of life and in next life [I] wish that they get the correct body for their mind)
- LGBTQ related pitying from interview
  - “သူငယ်ချင်းတွေက ဘာမှမကြောက်နဲ့ ငါတို့ရှိတယ်။ ကိုယ်က ချို့တဲ့နေတဲ့ပုံစံနဲ့ ပြောတယ်။ ဆိုးဆိုးရွားရွားခံစားရ။ နင်ကအားပေးနေရအောင် ငါက အားငယ်နေလို့လား။ ငါက

အကောင်းကြီး။” (My friends said that don't be afraid and they are with me.

They are talking to me like I am a weak person. I feel so bad for that. They encourage me as I am being too weak? I am strong enough to be fine.)

- Ethnic related pitying from interview -

- “တိုင်းရင်းသားက မသန့်စွမ်းလို ဖြစ်သွားတယ်။ မြန်မာကျတော့ လူမျိုး [ကျန်တာက တိုင်းရင်းသား] တစ်ဆင့် နှိမ့်သွားသလို - လူနည်းစုလိုလို၊ အခွင့်အရေး ပိုပေးရမလိုလို - အဲဒါကြောင့် ကိုယ့်ကိုယ်ကို ရခိုင်လူမျိုးလို့ နှုတ်ဆက်တယ်။ ရခိုင်တိုင်းရင်းသားလို့ မနှုတ်ဆက်ဘူး။ တိုင်းရင်းသားဆိုတာနဲ့ အလိုလိုအနေနဲ့ discrimination ဖြစ်နေတာ။ လူမျိုးပဲ။ တိုင်းရင်းသား မဟုတ်ဘူး။ တိုင်းရင်းသားဆို လက်အောက်လို ဖြစ်သွားတာ။ လက်မခံနိုင်ဘူး။” (Ethnic groups seems to be disable.

Calling us as ethnic people like (တိုင်းရင်းသား - Tyineyin Thar) seems to be lower stage of Burma as we are minority and we should be treated with more opportunities. That's why I don't introduce myself as Rakhine (တိုင်းရင်းသား - Tyineyin Thar) as calling ethnic people like (တိုင်းရင်းသား - Tyineyin Thar) is automatically discriminated. It should be race (လူမျိုး - Lumyo) and we are not (တိုင်းရင်းသား - Tyineyin Thar). Being (တိုင်းရင်းသား - Tyineyin Thar) is subordinate and I can't accept it.)

## Annex 14: Whataboutism

Type 1 - This type uses the ideas of whataboutism

Under the White Rose Campaign, many hate-speech comments wrote:

- “what about the Buddhists in Rakhine state or Burmese Buddhists are being oppressed in Malaysia?”.

Under the “Don’t Call Me Kalar” campaign post, many people made claims such as

- “Don’t Call Me Bamar then”
- “If we think kalar is racist, what about other racial identity words? Is tayote racist, Is bamar racist, Kachin?”

Type 2 - This type takes away the current issues by saying other people have the same problem too.

- မြန်မာနိုင်ငံမှာ အင်တာနက်သုံးလို့ မရတဲ့ ဒေသအများကြီးကျန်သေးတယ်။ ဘူမ္မိ ဘာမှမပြောဘူး။ မင်းတို့ရခိုင်ဘဲ အင်တာနက်ပိတ်လို့ အော်နေတာတွေတယ်။ အင်တာနက်မပိတ်လို့ ဖွင့်ပေးရင် အဓိကရုန်းဖမ်းပြီး ရခိုင် အမျိုးတုန်းသွားမှာစိုးလို့ အစိုးရက တမင်ပိတ်ထားဒါ။ အဲ့လိုပဲတော့ ထင်တာပေါ့ကွာ။ (There are many areas in Myanmar that doesn't have internet access so far. No one say anything. I just found out only Rakhine people are shouting out loud for the internet shutdown. The government intentionally decides for internet shutdown as they concerns that Rakhine people will be vanished in the riots if the internet is available in these places. I think so.)
- အကြံတစ်ခုပေးချင်ပါတယ်။ လက်ရှိမြန်မာပြည် အနေအထားအရ မိမိတို့အသိုင်းအဝိုင်း (LGBT Community) အတွင်း ဒီလို Cyber Bully လုပ်သော်လည်းကောင်း အလုပ်ခွင်မှာသော်လည်းကောင်း လှောင်ပြောင်ကဲ့ရဲ့လို့ စိတ်ဓာတ်ကျရင် အားပေးဖြောင့်ဖြဲခြင်း (Counselling) လုပ်ပေးနိုင်ပါတယ်။ လက်ရှိမြန်မာပြည်အခြေအနေ ပြဿနာပေါင်းသောင်းခြောက်ထောင်နဲ့ ရင်ဆိုင်နေရတဲ့ အချိန်မှာ လူ့အခွင့်အရေးတို့ ဘာတို့ (equal opportunities တို့ gender bias) စသည်တို့ နိုင်ငံရေး (priority) အရ ဆန္ဒပြခြင်း၊ တောင်းဆိုခြင်းတို့ မလုပ်မိရန် တိုက်တွန်းပါတယ်။ backlash ဖြစ်နိုင်လို့။ (I would like to give a suggestion. In the current context of Burma, we can provide counselling if anyone from our (LGBT community) is cyber bullied or depressed because of workplace harassment. At a time when current situations in Myanmar is facing thousands of problems, I urge not to protest and not to request for human rights, equal opportunities and gender bias, etc., as political priority. It could be backlash.)

Type 3 - This type was seen under interfaith positive posts. The comment blamed other identities for lack of similar good things that is mentioned by the counter-speech. Many of the examples from the section 4.4 (criticizing extremism) also overlap with this one. Although they no longer attack the identity in question, they could become hate-speech attacking other identities rather than talk about tolerance and inclusion.

- အခုလူနေတဲ့ အလူတွေမှာ ငါလိုးမ [sic] တရုတ်တွေ မတွေ့ဘူး နေရာတကာမှာ စီးပွားသာ လောဘဇောတိုက်ရှာနေတာ။ (I don't see any Chinese people in these donations. They are just doing business and focus on their own greed everywhere.)
- တရုတ်ထက်သာရင်တော့ အများကြီးတော်သေးတာပေါ့။ အခုလိုစိတ်လေးတွေရှိတာ ဂုဏ်ယူပါတယ်ဗျာ။ သာဓုသာဓုပါဗျာ။ (It is much better than Chinese people. I am very proud to see such an attitude. Well done, well done.)
- ဝမ်းသာပါတယ်ဗျာ၊ မြန်မာတွေက ကုလားကိုပဲ မဲနေကြတာ။ တရုတ်တွေကတော့ လူမှုရေးဆို ဘာမှ စိတ်မဝင်စားဘူး။ တရုတ်အချင်းချင်းကလွဲလို့ ကျန်တဲ့သူဆို ဆန်တစေ့တောင် မသတာကြပါ။ (Congratulations. Myanmar people are focusing on Kalar. Chinese people are not interested in that kind of social activity. They won't give a single rice grain to others except their own Chinese people.)
- မြန်မာပြည်မှာ မွေးဖွားပြီး ကြီးပြင်းလာကြတဲ့ မြန်မာပြည်ဖွားတိုင်းရင်းသားအစစ်တွေက အေးတူပူပူ မိသားစု စိတ်ဓာတ်ရှိကြတယ်။ ဟို မိမစစ်ဖမစစ် ခိုးဝင်ကောင်တွေက ထမိန်ခြုံအောက်ကနေ ရုတ်မာနေကြတာ။ (True Myanmar nationals who were born and raised here have a warm family spirit. Only illegal migrants are being evil under the lady's lone gyi.)
- ဗမာတွေက စားလို့ ရရင်သာဓု၊ မရရင် ကုလားတွေ ဒီလိုဖြစ်တယ် ဟိုလို ဖြစ်တယ်လို့ ပြောကြတယ်မလား။ နင်တို့ဗမာတွေက အခုကျတော့ ကောင်းတာပေါ့နော်။ (Burma people say well done when they get food to eat. Unless, when anything happens, they would say it is because of Kalar, right? You, Bamar people are feeling good now.)
- ပြောလိုက် လူတွေက ကုလားဘာဖြစ်တယ် ကုလား ညာဖြစ်တယ် သောက်ကလေးတွေ လူပါးဝတာဆိုတာတွေကြီးပဲ။ အခုလို လူလို့လာယူတာ မြန်မာတွေပဲတွေ့နေရတယ်။ ငါကလားမဟုတ်ဘူးနော် ပြောတာ။ (Let me tell. People always blame Kalar. Now I just only found out about Bamar people in this Kalar's donations. I just say so but I am not a Kalar.)
- မြန်မာလူမျိုးတွေရဲ့ စိတ်ဓာတ်ပဲ လူမျိုးဘာသာမခွဲခြားပါဘူး။ ခွဲခြားနေတာ ကမျိုးချစ်ဆိုတဲ့ နွားတသိုက် ကြံ့ဖွတ်က ဘာသာရေး မှိုင်းတိုက်ပြီး တိုင်းပြည်ကို ဆူပူအောင်လုပ် ဒါကို အိုးနှောက်မရှိတဲ့ လူတစ်စုက ထောက်ခံကျ

ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာကို အကြမ်းဖက်ဘာသာ ဖြစ်အောင် လုပ်နေတဲ့ ဟာတွေ။ သူတို့လုပ်တာနဲ့တင် ဘာသာပျောက်တော့မယ်။ (The spirit of people in Myanmar are not discriminated. Only nationalists cows of USDP are doing discrimination. They would like to make riots around the country by using religion based communal tensions and only stupid people support them. Those people are doing Buddhism to become a terrorist's religion. Our religion is gonna now disappear because of them.)

## Annex 15: Criticism of “human rights” and “democracy”

Under Interfaith posts, people somehow blamed democracy as a political system that allowed communal conflicts to happen and therefore for the lack of peace.

- ငယ်ငယ်တုန်းက အစ္စလမ်ဘာသာဝင် သူငယ်ချင်းတွေနဲ့ အတူတူ ပျော်ပျော်ရွှင်ရွှင် ဘာအရောင် ခွဲခြားမှု မရှိနေခဲ့ကြတာ ကြုံသူတိုင်း သတိရကြမှာပါ အဲဒါချိန်တုန်းက မြန်မာပြည်ကြီးက ရိုးသားပြီး အေးချမ်းတယ်။ (Everyone will remember that when we were young, we were happy with our Muslim friends and there is no color differences between us. At that time, Myanmar was a place of peace and honesty.). Reply from another speaker - ဟုတ်တယ် ဒီမိုကရေစီ ဆိုတဲ့ လူ့အခွင့်အရေးတွေကြောင့် ရှုပ်ကုန်တာ။ (Yes, democracy is complicated by human rights.)

Under LGBT post, democracy is mostly blamed for what the speakers perceived as social problem, i.e. being LGBT

- [...] လက်ရှိမြန်မာပြည် အခြေအနေ ပြဿနာ သောင်းခြောက်ထောင်နဲ့ ရင်ဆိုင်နေရတဲ့ အချိန်မှာ လူ့အခွင့်အရေးတို့ဘာတို့ (equal opportunity တို့ gender bias) စသည်တို့ နိုင်ငံရေး (priority) အရ ဆန္ဒပြခြင်း တောင်းဆိုခြင်းတို့ မလုပ်မိရန် တောင်းဆိုပါတယ်။ Backlash ဖြစ်နိုင်လို့။ (At a time when current situations in Myanmar is facing thousands of problems, I urge not to protest and not to request for human rights, equal opportunities and gender bias, etc., as political priority. It could be backlash.)
- အခွင့်အရေးနဲ့ရတာနဲ့ များများလိုချင်တယ်။ (If little rights are given, they would like to get more and more.)

- နေရာတကာမှာ human rights လုပ်နေလို့ ငါးပါးသီလတောင် ရှိမှာမဟုတ်တော့ဘူး ဒါမြန်မာပြည်ကွ။ (If we apply human rights in everywhere, five virtues even no longer be existed. This is Myanmar.)
- ဒီမိုကရေစီကို အမှတ်မှားကြသူများ၏ ဘေးထွက်ဆိုးကျိုးလုပ်ရပ်တစ်ခု။ အရမ်းရှက်စရာကောင်းလိုက်တာ မိဘတွေရင်ကျိုးရပြီပေါ့။ (This is a negative outcome of democracy for who misunderstand democracy. It is what a shame for parents.)
- ဒီမိုကရေစီကို အကြောင်းပြ၊ လူ့အခွင့်အရေးကို အကြောင်းပြ အမျိုးဘာသာကို အလေးမထား၊ ကိုယ်တိုင်စော်ကား၊ ဘင်္ဂါလီတို့ ခွေးတို့မှိုက်တဲ့ ခွေးမျိုးရုတ်။ (We insult ourselves to our race and religion by giving reasons for democracy and human rights. Bengalis are crazy dogs.)
- ပြောင်းလဲနေတဲ့ ဒီမိုကရေစီမှာ လူ့အခွင့်အရေးဆိုတာနဲ့ ဆက်နွယ်ပြီး အနှောက်အယှက်ပြုလိုက်တာလို့ ထင်မြင်မိတယ်။ (In a changing democracy, I think it is an annoying thing related to the human rights.)
- ပြောတော့ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာကို ကိုးကိုယ်ကြတာတဲ့။ လူ့အခွင့်အရေးဆိုတာကိုသာ ဦးစားပေးရင် ခွေးတွေတော့ ဖြစ်ကုန်ကြတော့မှာပဲ။ ကိုယ့်ယဉ်ကျေးမှု ကိုယ့်ဘာသာတရားကို အလေးထားခဲ့ရင် ဒါမျိုး ဖြစ်မလာနိုင်ဘူး။ (We say so we worship Buddhism. We would become dogs if they would like to prioritize human rights. This can't happen if we focus on our culture and religion.)
- တချို့တချို့သော ဓလေ့များသည် မြန်မာမှု ပြုရန် မသင့်ဟု ထင်မြင်မိကြောင်း (I think some customs should not be practiced in Myanmar.)
- စောက်မှတ်မရှိ သရက်စိတွေ လိင်ပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာ ခံယူခြင်း တခြားနိုင်ငံမှာသွားနေပေါ့၊ သာသနာရှိတဲ့ နိုင်ငံမှာတော့ မဖြစ်သင့်ဘူး။ (Shit stupid mango seeds! They should live in other countries if they would like to be accepted their different sexual orientation. It shouldn't be in a religious country.)

There were also a few hate-speech related to human rights under ethnic conflict posts.

- သူပုန်ပြောတဲ့ လူ့အခွင့်အရေး စစ်တပ်ဂရုစိုက်စရာမလိုဘူး။ (The military doesn't need to pay attention human rights that is claimed by the rebels.)

Some rare counterspeech also talk about human rights using karma rhetoric

- ကိုယ်ကိုယ်တိုင် လူ့အခွင့်အရေး နားမလည်ပေးနိုင်ဘဲနဲ့တော့ နင်တို့ငါတို့လည်း လူကိုလူလို ဆက်ဆံတဲ့ အစိုးရအောက် မနေရဘူးမှတ်ထား။ (Remember that you don't have to live under a government that treats people as human beings unless you can't understand human rights yourself.)

## Annex 16: Corpus of positive counter speech from the data sample

### General positive message applicable to any identity

#### Being human

- လူကိုလူလို မြင်တတ်ပြီး တစ်ယောက်နဲ့တစ်ယောက် မေတ္တာတရားနဲ့ နေထိုင်သွားကြမယ်ဆိုရင် ဒီတိုင်းပြည် အရမ်းအေးချမ်းမှာပါ။
- လူကိုလူလို မြင်ကြည့်တတ်တာ ဂုဏ်ယူစရာပါ။ အယူဝါဒတွေနဲ့ မဆိုင်ပါဘူး။
- လူသားအချင်းချင်း စာနာသနားချစ်ခင်နိုင်ကြပါစေဗျာ။
- (ကိုးကွယ်ရာဘာသာချင်းမတူပေမယ့်လည်း) လူကိုလူလို မြင်တတ်ပြီး တစ်ယောက်နဲ့တစ်ယောက် မေတ္တာတရားနဲ့ နေထိုင်သွားကြမယ်ဆိုရင် ဒီတိုင်းပြည် အရမ်းအေးချမ်းမှာပါ။

#### Good and bad

- ဘယ်လိုပဲ ပြောပြောပါ။ လူတွေထဲမှာ ကောင်းတဲ့သူနဲ့ ဆိုးတဲ့သူ အမြဲခွဲနေတာပါ။
- လူဆိုတာ ကောင်းတဲ့သူနဲ့ ဆိုးတဲ့သူပဲ ခွဲခြားသင့်ပါတယ်။ (လူမျိုး၊ဘာသာမတူလည်း) လူပီသတဲ့ လုပ်ရပ်တွေက အတူတူပဲ။ ထိုအရာကို လူလိုခေါ်တယ်။
- ဘယ်အရာမဆို အဆိုး၊အကောင်း ခွဲနေတာပါ။ (ဘာသာတရား)နဲ့ မဆိုင်ဘူး။

- (လူမျိုးဘာသာခြားဆိုတာ မသိဘူး၊ မရှိဘူး။) လူဆိုးနဲ့လူကောင်းပဲ ရှိတယ်။ ဒါကိုအားလုံးလက်ခံလာရင် လူသားအားလုံးအေးချမ်းတဲ့ မေတ္တာတရားကို ခံစားရမှာပါ။

## Compassion

- ချစ်သောမျက်စိဖြင့် ခံစားကြည့်ပါ။ အမုန်းတရားတွေ ကွယ်ပျောက်သွားလိမ့်မယ်။
- စိတ်ထားဖြူစင်ဖို့က အဓိကပါ။ လူမျိုးဘယ်လောက်ပဲ ကွဲပြားပါစေ စိတ်နှလုံးသားဖြူစင်နိုင်ဖို့ အဓိက။
- (ဘယ်ဘာသာဝင်ဖြစ်ပါစေ) မြန်မာနိုင်ငံသား၊ မြန်မာလူမျိုးတွေရဲ့ အခြေခံစိတ်ရင်းအမှန်ရှိရင် အားလုံးနဲ့အတူတကွ နေလိုရပါတယ်။
- လူမျိုးပေါင်းစုံရှိတဲ့ နိုင်ငံပါ။ ကိုယ့်လူမျိုးတွေလည်း သူများနိုင်ငံမှာ အများကြီးရှိကြပါတယ်။ ကိုယ်ချင်းစာတရားရှိကြပါ။ မလိုအပ်ဘဲ အမုန်းတရားတွေ ပွားပြီး ရန်မီးမမွှေးကြပါနဲ့။
- (မြင်ရတာ ကြည်နူးစရာပါ) လူတိုင်း ဒေါသ၊မောဟ၊မာန်မာနတွေ ကင်းဝေးပြီးကိုယ်ချင်းစာတရားတွေ ကိုယ်စီရှိကြပါစေ

## Diversity & non-discrimination

- မတူပဲ ညီတာက သဘာဝအလှ ပသာဒ ပေါ့နော်။ အစွန်းရောက်တာကို မည်သည့်ဘာသာတရားကမှလက်မခံပါ။
- အကြင်နာ၊ ကရုဏာ၊ မေတ္တာ၊ စေတနာဟာ လူမျိုးဘာသာ၊ အသားအရောင်၊ နေရာဒေသသတ်မှတ်ချက် မရှိနိုင်ဘူး။

## Interfaith positive message

- ငြိမ်းချမ်းတဲ့ ဘာသာ။ ငြိမ်းချမ်းတဲ့ စကားကိုပဲပြောပါ။
- ဘာသာတိုင်းရဲ့ အဆုံးအမကို ခံယူသူတိုင်းက အေးချမ်းကြပါတယ်။
- ဘာသာမတူပေမဲ့ စိတ်ထားဖြူစင်တာတော့ လေးစားတယ်။ မူဆလင်တိုင်း မကောင်းမြင်နေတဲ့သူတွေ မြင်စေချင်တယ်။
- ဘာသာချင်းမတူလည်း လူချင်းတူတူပါပဲ။

- ဘာသာမတူ လူမျိုးမတူ သော်လည်း နှလုံးသားဖြူစင်သူ
- ဘာသာရေးနဲ့ မဆိုင်ပါဘူး။ အဓိကကတော့ လူကို လူလိုမြင်ဖို့ အရေးကြီးပါတယ်။
- ဘာသာတရားစည်းတွေသာ ဖယ်လိုက်ရင် ကျွန်တော်တို့ဟာ လူသားတွေပါပဲ။
- ဘာသာကို သိပ်မကြည့်ပဲနဲ့ လူသားဆန်တာကိုပဲ ကြည့်ကြည့်လိုက်ပါ။
- စေသနာ ကောင်းတာ လူသားဆန်တာ ဘာသာနဲ့ မဆိုင်ဘူးဆိုတာ သိစေချင်သည်။
- လူကလူပါပဲ ကိုးကွယ်မှု ဘာသာတွေကြောင့် ခြားနားနေရတာပါ။
- အဲ့တာကြောင့် ဘာလူမျိုးလဲ၊ အစ္စလာမ်လား၊ ခရစ်ယာန်လား မေးစရာမလိုပါ။ လူကောင်းလား၊ လူဆိုးလားဆိုတာပဲ မေးပါ။
- ဖြူစင်မေတ္တာ စည်းမခြားပါဘူး။ ဘာသာခြားတွေထဲမှာ လူကောင်းတွေ အများကြီး ရှိသလို ကိုယ့်ဘာသာဝင်တွေထဲမှာလည်း ခိုးဆိုးလုနွှ်က်လူယုတ်မာတွေ ရိုက်သတ်လို့တောင် မကုန်နိုင်အောင် ရှိပါတယ်။
- လူမျိုးတိုင်းမှာ လူယုတ်မာ၊ လူကောင်းရှိပြီးသားပါ။ ဘာသာရေးနဲ့ မဆိုင်ပါဘူး။ လူမှန်ရင် စိတ်ကောင်း၊ မကောင်းနေရာတိုင်းမှာ ရှိတယ်ဟုတ်။

#### Positive message based on religion (Buddhist)

- ဒါနသီလဘာဝနာကို ထိရောက်စွာ အားထုတ်ဖူးသူတိုင်း ဤသို့ နှုတ်ထွက်မကြမ်းပါ။
- ကျွန်တော့် ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာကို ယုံကြည်သလို အခြားသော ဘာသာများကိုလည်း လက်ခံပါတယ်။ ကိုယ်ယုံကြည်ရ ကိုးကွယ်ပြီး နိုင်ငံတိုးတက်ဖို့ ဝိုင်းဝန်းလုပ်ဆောင်ပြရမှာပါ။ လူသားနိုင်ငံသားတိုင်းရဲ့ တာဝန်
- ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာ အစစ်အမှန်တွေက မေတ္တာတရားလမ်းစဉ်အတိုင်းသာသွားတယ်။ လူလူချင်းမေတ္တာတရား ထားတတ်တာဟာ ဘယ်လောက်ငြိမ်းချမ်းကြောင်းကို အသိမဲ့သူတွေကိုပြလိုက်စမ်းပါ။

#### Positive message based on religion (Muslim)

- ဟာဒစ်မှာ ပြောထားတယ် အရှင်မြတ်က လူသားတွေကို အသားအရောင် အယူဝါဒနဲ့ မခွဲခြားဘူး။ သူပြုတဲ့ အမှုကိစ္စနဲ့ပဲ ဆုံးဖြတ်ပါတယ်တဲ့။ အခု အလူက အရှင်မြတ်ပြောပြတဲ့ လူသားဆန်မှုကို ပြသနေတာပဲ။

- မိမိရဲ့ရှေ့မှာ ရောက်လာတဲ့ အလှူခံကို လူမျိုးဘာသာမရွေး လက်မဲ့မလွှတ်ဖို့ အစွဲလမ်းတရားတော်က ညွှန်ကြားထားပါတယ်

### Ethnic positive message

- လူဟာ လူပါပဲ။ ကုလားတွေ၊ တရုတ်တွေ၊ ကရင်တွေ၊ မွန်တွေ၊ ရခိုင်တွေ မလိုပါဘူး။ လူဟာလူပါပဲ။
- ဘာလူမျိုး၊ ဘာဘာသာပဲဖြစ်ဖြစ် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံမြေပေါ်မှာနေရင် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံသားစိတ်ရှိရင်အားလုံးဟာ ကျွန်တော်တို့ညီအစ်ကိုမောင်နှမတွေပဲပေါ့။
- အဓိကကတော့ ငြိမ်းချမ်းရေးရဖို့ ကျိုးစားတာ အကောင်းဆုံးပါ။ နှစ်ဦးနှစ်ဖက်ကျေလည်မှု ရအောင် လုပ်ဆောင်မှုမျိုးနဲ့ပေါ့။

### LGBT positive and inclusive message

- လူဆိုတာ man, woman, gay ဘာပဲဖြစ်ဖြစ် စိတ်ထားဖြူစင်သန့်ရှင်းနေဖို့ပဲလိုတယ်။ အဖြူအမဲကိုးကွယ်မှု ဘာသာ မခွဲခြားဘူး။ လူဆိုတာ လူပီသဖို့ဘဲလိုတယ်။
- လူတစ်ယောက်နဲ့ တစ်ယောက်ချစ်ခင်နေတာဟာ မုန်းတီးနာကျင်နေတာထက်စာရင်အများကြီး မင်္ဂလာရှိပါတယ်။
- မုန်းတာထက်စာရင် ချစ်ကြတာက ပိုကောင်းပါတယ်။
- ဘာသာရေးတော့ မသိပါဘူး ဒါပေမယ့် လူလူချင်း မုန်းဖို့တော့ မဆုံးမထားဘူးနော်။
- ကိုယ့်ခံယူချက်နဲ့ မတူတာနဲ့ မှားယွင်းတယ်လို့ ခေါင်းစဉ်မတပ်သင့်ဘူး။ သူတို့လည်း သူတို့ အယူအဆ သူတို့ ခံယူချက်နဲ့ပါ။ နားလည်ပေးသင့်ပါတယ်။
- ဒါပေမယ့် ဒီလိုရိုင်းရိုင်းစိုင်းစိုင်းတော့ မပြောသင့်ဘူး။ homos တွေကလည်း လူတွေပါပဲ။ လူသားအချင်းချင်း ခွဲခြားတာတွေ မလုပ်သင့်ပါဘူး။ သူတို့က ကိုယ့်စီးပွားရေးကို လာထိခိုက်နေတာလည်းမဟုတ်ပဲနဲ့။
- လူတစ်ယောက် မြင့်မြတ်တယ်၊ မမြင့်မြတ်ဘူးဆိုတာ ဗုဒ္ဓက ကိုယ်ကျင့်တရားသီလနဲ့ တိုင်းတာတယ်။ သူတို့နှစ်ယောက်က မင်းထက်ကိုယ်ကျင့်တရားသာရင် မင်းထက် ပိုမြင့်မြတ်တယ်။ လူမှာပါတဲ့ လိင်စိတ်ကိုကြည့်ပြီး ဘယ်သူက မြတ်တယ် မမြတ်ဘူး ဆုံးဖြတ်ရင်တော့ မင်းဉာဏ်နည်းတာပဲ။

- ဗုဒ္ဓရဲ့တရားမှာ ခွဲခြားဆက်ဆံမှုဆိုတာ လုံးဝမရှိဘူး။ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဝင်တွေအနေနဲ့ ခုလိုမျိုးတွေ ပြောဆိုနေတာ ဝမ်းနည်းစရာကောင်းတယ်။ သေချာတွေးကြည့်ရင် မြန်မာတွေဟာ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဖြစ်ရက်နဲ့ တရားတော်တွေကို သဘောမပေါက်ကြဘူး။ အနည်းဆုံးမေတ္တာတရားကိုတော့ နားလည်သင့်တယ်။ သူတို့ခင်ဗျားတို့နဲ့ မတူဘူးထား။ ခင်ဗျားတို့အခြေခံ ဗုဒ္ဓတရားဖြစ်တဲ့ မေတ္တာတရားကို ဒီနေရာမှာ မသုံးနိုင်ကြဘူးလား။ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဝင်စစ်စစ်တွေဆို ခင်ဗျားတို့ကို သနားလောက်တယ်။ ပညတ်နဲ့ ပရမတ်ကို တရားသိ မသိရင်တောင် စာလေးတော့ သိဖို့ကောင်းတယ်။