

# THE POLITICS OF LANGUAGE: Linguistic Justice and the Unfinished Revolution in Myanmar's Education

## Abstract

This essay argues that the current educational crisis in Myanmar is the direct outcome of a long-standing, unresolved struggle for linguistic justice. It traces this historical conflict from the moral and linguistic foundations of pre-colonial monastic schools, through the centralized, elite-focused structures of colonial rule, the post-independence push for 'Burmanization,' and the ideological control of successive military regimes. Across these periods, education was repeatedly mobilized as a tool of authority, creating a persistent tension between centralized state efforts to impose a singular Burman-centric identity and the resistance of ethnic nationalities demanding linguistic and cultural recognition. By examining these dynamics, the essay demonstrates that the post-2021 fracturing of the education system, which culminated in the SAC's 2022 amendments mandating Burmese as the sole language of instruction (Independent Mon News Agency, 2022), is not a sudden break but the predictable culmination of these enduring political and cultural struggles. The paper concludes that any future reform must confront this deep-rooted history by centering linguistic justice as a cornerstone of a more inclusive and equitable system.

## Keywords

Myanmar Education, Language Policy, Ethnic Diversity, Burmanization, Political Authority

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Myanmar's education system is facing a deep crisis, intensified by the February 1, 2021, military coup and the reversal of earlier democratic reforms. In response, hundreds of thousands of teachers joined the nationwide Civil Disobedience Movement. The junta, formally known as the State Administration Council (SAC), enforced punitive measures such as mass suspensions of educators, compulsory reopening orders, and the banning of teacher and student unions. This has created a divided system, with state-run schools on one side and alternative schools on the other, both competing for the future of the country's children. However, this collapse did not emerge suddenly. It reflects a long and turbulent history in which schools have repeatedly become contested spaces where struggles over national identity, language rights, and political authority have played out.

This essay argues that a recurring, unresolved struggle for linguistic justice is the central driver of conflict in Myanmar's education system. The question

of whether education should promote a unified Burmese national identity or recognize the nation's extraordinary linguistic diversity has shaped every era of its development. From the moral foundations of pre-colonial monastic schools and the colonial privileging of English to the post-independence policy of 'Burmanization' and the SAC's 2022 amendments to the National Education Law (Independent Mon News Agency, 2022), the politics of language have defined Myanmar's educational trajectory and created the fractures visible in today's crisis.

Beyond Myanmar, this case also speaks to wider debates in education. The tension between dominant and minority languages connects to global discussions on multilingual education and the challenges of ensuring equity for linguistically diverse learners. The colonial and postcolonial experiences highlight how educational systems often carry legacies of empire long after independence. At the same time, the enduring role of Buddhist monastic schools underscores how

religion can both sustain literacy and shape national identity, offering lessons for understanding the broader relationship between faith and schooling.

To understand the roots of the current crisis, this paper begins with an overview of Myanmar's ethnic, linguistic, and political context. This review also advances the argument that enduring struggles over linguistic justice are central to understanding Myanmar's educational crises, past and present. It then examines the historical development of education across the pre-colonial, colonial, post-independence, socialist, and democratic transition periods, highlighting how struggles over religion, language, and power have repeatedly shaped the nation's educational development. By situating the present crisis within this longer history, the essay underscores how the politics of identity remain central to Myanmar's educational future.

## **THE ETHNIC AND LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF MYANMAR**

Myanmar's education system cannot be understood without first considering the country's deep ethnic and linguistic diversity. This diversity shapes national life but has long been managed in politicized ways, fueling many of the country's conflicts. Following the enactment of the 1982 Citizenship Law, the government formally recognized 135 ethnic groups, grouped into eight major "national races": Bamar, Shan, Kayin, Rakhine, Mon, Kachin, Chin, and Kayah (Burma Citizenship Law, 1982; International Crisis Group, 2020). This classification, introduced during military rule, is widely disputed. Many ethnic communities reject it, arguing that it divides populations for political purposes and overlooks the identities of some groups.

The Bamar people make up around two-thirds of the population and live mainly in the central lowlands. Burmese, their language, is the country's official language (Humanitarian Aid Relief Trust [HART UK], 2021). The remaining one-third of the population consists of other ethnic groups such as the Shan, Kayin, Rakhine, Mon, Kachin, and Chin, who mostly live in mountainous border areas. This ethnic diversity is matched by a wide linguistic range, with more than 100 languages and dialects spoken (Aye & Sercombe, 2014). For many children from non-Bamar families, Burmese is a second language, which creates serious challenges for equal access to education when it is enforced as the only medium of instruction.

Because of this history, many communities prefer to describe themselves as "ethnic nationalities" rather than "ethnic minorities," emphasizing their role as co-founders of the union rather than subordinate groups (Yawngnhwe, 2001). Understanding this context is essential, as debates over which languages, cultures, and histories are taught in schools are closely tied to broader struggles for recognition, autonomy, and the creation of a more inclusive federal identity in Myanmar.

## **THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL CONTEXT**

Myanmar's modern political history has been dominated by military rule. After seizing power in 1962, the armed forces (known as the Tatmadaw) governed for decades under various authoritarian regimes (Devi, 2014). In Myanmar and internationally, the term "junta" is widely used to describe military councils that seize power and suspend democratic governance. Following a partial democratic transition beginning in 2011, the military once again overthrew the elected government on February 1, 2021, and established the State Administration Council (SAC) (Reuters, 2021).

## **PRE-COLONIAL ERA (BEFORE 1885)**

Myanmar's pre-colonial education, during the time when it was known as Burma, was deeply rooted in history and culture. In this early period, education served as both a spiritual and civic foundation, with monastic schools shaping moral life and literacy in ways that would later influence debates about national and linguistic identity. According to Shah and Cardozo (2018), education revolved around monastic institutions, which emphasized religious knowledge while operating autonomously through community support. These schools admitted students without discrimination by class or religion, a notable departure from the norms of the time, and achieved remarkable results, with literacy rates among Burmese men estimated at around 60% (Cady, 1946). For children of wealthier families, private tutors offered additional instruction in literature, history, and religious studies, but monastic schools remained the backbone of education, aiming to nurture scholars who would contribute to society through wisdom and knowledge. While the moral foundation of monastic education centered on cultivating virtuous individuals devoted to Buddhist teachings, its social function extended beyond religious instruction. Monastic schools also served practical and civic purposes, preparing young men



for roles in administration, record-keeping, and community leadership. In this way, the pursuit of spiritual wisdom was intertwined with broader social advancement, reflecting how religion and governance were mutually reinforcing in pre-colonial Myanmar (Cady, 1958; Charney, 2009).

As Cheesman (2003) notes, this system was informally structured yet deeply embedded in Buddhist traditions, with its core purpose being the cultivation of individuals devoted to the Buddhist way of life. This religious base promoted literacy and fostered social cohesion. Literacy in this context referred primarily to reading and writing in Pali and Burmese, the languages of Buddhist scripture and royal administration. Mastery of these languages allowed ordinary villagers to participate in religious and civic life, while also reinforcing Burmese as the dominant cultural medium of the kingdom. At the same time, other local languages remained largely excluded from formal instruction, foreshadowing later tensions over linguistic representation in education (Cheesman, 2003; Shah & Cardozo, 2018). Over time, this base of religiously grounded education became a powerful source of cultural preservation and resistance, linking later to nationalist movements such as the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA).

This history complicates Western assumptions that modern education must be secular. While secularization theory often associates higher education levels with reduced religious participation (Dhima & Golder, 2021; Flatt, 2023), Myanmar's case demonstrates the opposite: monastic schools were not obstacles to progress but the foundation of widespread literacy. By intertwining religion and education, the monastic system laid the groundwork for both cultural preservation and the emergence of a shared Burmese identity. While these schools fostered unity through Buddhist moral teaching, they also privileged a single linguistic and religious framework that did not encompass Myanmar's broader ethnic diversity. This dual legacy, of moral cohesion on one hand and cultural exclusion on the other, continues to shape debates about linguistic and educational equity in Myanmar today.

### **COLONIAL ERA (1885-1948)**

Before British administration, formal education opportunities in Myanmar were limited, with monastic schools serving as the primary source of learning (Cady, 1946). Under British colonial

rule, education became a means of social division, as English-medium instruction and missionary schools produced an urban elite while marginalizing indigenous languages and monastic traditions. An exception was the presence of Christian missionary schools, although girls were generally restricted to home-based education due to cultural and religious norms (Cady, 1946). The colonial period marked a transformative phase in Myanmar's educational landscape, introducing new structures and tensions.

Initially, the British sought to add secular subjects to the monastic curriculum and gradually expanded a system of government-run schools modeled on Western education (Tinker, 1958). This push toward secularism unfolded alongside a strong missionary presence, with Christian organizations establishing schools that blended Western academic subjects with religious instruction, complicating the colonial claim of neutrality (Cheesman, 2003). These schools mainly served urban elites. In 1871, the colonial administration further diversified provision by establishing local-language schools, bilingual schools, and English-medium schools, all with fee structures; students unable to afford fees continued to rely on monastic education (Cheesman, 2003). In practice, urban elites and the children of civil servants or merchants tended to enroll in English-medium or missionary schools, while the vast rural majority continued their studies in monastic schools that remained free and community-supported.

By the early 20th century, the colonial state had created a full framework of government elementary and secondary schools, along with teacher training colleges (Lopes Cardozo & Maber, 2019). A defining feature of this system was its strong emphasis on English, the language of governance and commerce, which offered students access to better career opportunities (Chai, 2014). Yet this approach marginalized Myanmar's cultural and linguistic diversity, cultivating a small English-educated elite while sidelining most local communities (Chai, 2014).

Although the system was exclusionary, it nonetheless produced a small class of educated Burmese who later played pivotal roles in the nationalist movement. By the 1920s and 1930s, many began to call for reforms and founded national schools that promoted Burmese language and culture, directly challenging colonial dominance (Cheesman, 2003). Nationalist organizations such as the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA) pushed for the preservation

of Buddhism in the curriculum, linking education to broader struggles for identity and independence (Hillman, 1946; Tinker, 1958).

### **POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA (1948-2011)**

Following Myanmar's independence from British colonial rule in 1948, the new government placed education at the heart of national reconstruction. In this period, language policy became the main tool for forging national identity, but it also intensified ethnic tensions by privileging Burmese as the sole medium of instruction. Establishing a state-owned system was viewed as essential for dismantling the colonial framework, which had privileged a small English-speaking elite while neglecting the majority of the population (Lall, 2021; Tin, 2008; Zaw, 2023). Policymakers presented education as both a means of promoting equality and a symbol of national sovereignty. The 1947 Constitution affirmed education as a right and duty of citizens and designated Burmese as the common language of the Union (Constitution of the Union of Burma, 1947, Art. 152). These principles were reflected in early initiatives such as the Education Reconstruction Committee of 1947 and the 1950 Education Act, which sought to expand access to free primary schooling in Burmese while phasing out English as the language of instruction (Lall, 2021; Matelski, 2015). The Department of Education, established in 1945, played a key role in implementing these reforms and coordinating efforts to expand access to primary, secondary, and higher education nationwide.

The promotion of national identity was pursued most directly through language. Burmese was made the medium of instruction at all levels to build a shared sense of citizenship across Myanmar's diverse populations (Lwin, 2019). While this linguistic shift aimed to decolonize the curriculum by replacing British-centric subjects with Burmese history and culture, it also became associated with 'Burmanization,' marginalizing ethnic and linguistic minorities. Although by the 1950s, Myanmar achieved one of the highest literacy rates in the region (Skidmore & Wilson, 2008), these policies planted the seeds of long-standing ethnic tensions that continue to shape the country's educational landscape. These tensions over language and identity set the stage for the more centralized and authoritarian approaches that followed under military rule after 1962.

### **SOCIALIST ERA AND MILITARY TAKEOVER (1962-1988)**

The 1962 military coup marked a decisive turning point in Myanmar's education policy, turning schools into a central instrument of state-building and social control. During socialist rule, education was centralized and politicized, with language and curriculum tightly controlled to promote ideological conformity and suppress ethnic and linguistic diversity (Lall, 2021; Shah & Cardozo, 2018). For the socialist regime, centralizing education was a political priority because it was viewed as essential for securing loyalty to the "Burmese Way to Socialism" and for preventing universities from serving as hubs of dissent. The 1972 Basic Education Law centralized administration under the Ministry of Education and restructured curricula to meet the labor needs of the socialist economy. Building on this foundation, the Education Law of 1973 introduced the 6-4-2 system (six years of primary, four years of secondary, and two years of higher secondary education), designed to standardize educational progression nationwide and produce a uniform pipeline of students trained in socialist ideology (Vrieze, 2017). Together, these laws prioritized vocational and technical training to align schools with state-controlled economic development (Tin, 2008) and enforced rote learning over critical thinking, reinforcing ideological conformity and discouraging any challenges to authority (Lall, 2021; Shah & Cardozo, 2018).

Academic freedom was sharply restricted. Subjects such as history and political science were censored to reflect state narratives. At the same time, the regime entrenched Burmese as the sole language of instruction. This policy not only limited access to global knowledge but, more critically, deepened linguistic inequality and excluded ethnic communities from full participation in public education (Lall, 2021). Although the state invested in infrastructure, persistent underfunding, declining teacher salaries, and widespread censorship revealed a system that valued political loyalty over intellectual growth. The result was deteriorating educational quality and a generation left with restricted opportunities (Shah & Cardozo, 2018).

These structural weaknesses left the education system fragile, paving the way for the emergence of private and non-formal education in the decades that followed.





## **EMERGENCE OF PRIVATE AND NON-FORMAL EDUCATION (1988–2011)**

In the wake of growing dissatisfaction with state education, the late 1980s and 1990s saw the rise of private and non-formal educational options. Private schools gained popularity, though they often faced regulatory constraints and inconsistent oversight (Shah & Cardozo, 2018). At the same time, non-formal education programs were introduced to address adult illiteracy and out-of-school populations, offering basic literacy training to marginalized groups. Non-formal education initiatives emerged from multiple actors: the Ministry of Education launched programs such as the Post-Literacy and Continuing Education Program (PLACE) in collaboration with UNESCO and UNICEF to improve adult literacy and life skills, while ethnic education departments and local community-based groups organized their own schooling systems in areas affected by conflict or limited state presence (Lall, 2021; UNESCO, 2000). While urban populations turned to private schools to escape declining quality, ethnic communities established their own systems to resist linguistic and cultural suppression. These community-led systems often prioritized mother-tongue instruction and culturally relevant curricula, reflecting ongoing efforts to reclaim educational space from an increasingly centralized, monolingual state model.

Higher education, however, remained under tight state control. Although the Council for the Development of Higher Education (CDHE) had been established in 1964, its influence persisted into this period. Appointments continued to be made on the basis of political loyalty rather than academic merit, limiting institutional autonomy and innovation (Maber et al., 2022). While private actors played a growing role in education provision during this era, the overall system remained fragile, constrained by political interference, limited funding, and a lack of long-term policy continuity.

## **REFORM AND CHALLENGES IN THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION (2011–2020)**

The democratic transition period revived hopes for a more inclusive education system, yet debates over language of instruction and local autonomy continued to reflect deep-rooted inequalities. Since the establishment of a quasi-civilian government in 2011, Myanmar's education system underwent a series of ambitious reforms aimed at improving

quality, expanding access, and modernizing school governance (Hayden & Martin, 2013). Long characterized by centralized control over management, finance, and curriculum, the system began a gradual shift toward decentralization, allowing states and regions greater autonomy to tailor policies to local needs.

A major turning point came in 2014 with the enactment of the National Education Law, which introduced compulsory and free education for children aged five to sixteen and established the National Education Commission to oversee system development (Lall, 2021). These reforms emphasized student-centered learning and introduced a new 2017 curriculum that promoted critical thinking, problem-solving, and workforce readiness through vocational and technical education aimed at employability in a market-oriented economy shaped by private enterprise, foreign investment, and ASEAN labor mobility (W. Z. Htet, 2020). Despite these policy shifts, the persistence of Burmese-only instruction and the limited recognition of ethnic education systems underscored how linguistic hierarchies remained embedded even within democratic reform.

Despite these initiatives, the reforms faced substantial challenges. Schools across the country continued to suffer from chronic shortages of textbooks and qualified teachers, especially in rural and conflict-affected regions (Campbell, 2018). The gap in attainment between urban and rural areas persisted, reflecting broader inequities in infrastructure and development. These material shortages also had linguistic and cultural dimensions: most government-produced textbooks were available only in Burmese, limiting access for ethnic-minority students, while a shortage of teachers fluent in local languages further constrained inclusive instruction in multilingual areas (Lall, 2021; UNICEF, 2019). As a result, the promise of equitable reform remained unevenly realized across Myanmar's diverse communities.

The 2014 law also generated significant public controversy. Critics argued that it was drafted without sufficient input from civil society and ethnic minority groups, and that its centralized structure marginalized non-Burmese languages and cultures within the education system (Lall, 2021). These concerns were reinforced by the 2014 Census, which revealed that school attendance and attainment

were particularly low in conflict-affected ethnic minority areas. This evidence underscored the gap between the government's centralized education policies and the lived realities of ethnic communities, intensifying long-standing debates about inequality and exclusion in Myanmar's education system (Yamada & Matsushima, 2020).

In response, student-led protests erupted, organized by groups such as the Action Committee for Democratic Education (ACDE) and the All Burma Federation of Student Unions (ABFSU). They demanded greater public consultation, protections for teacher and student unionization, and stronger support for ethnic education (Mooney, 2014). Despite promises of negotiation, government forces responded with violent crackdowns. Although revisions were made in 2015, including a budgetary target of 20 percent for education, Burmese remained the dominant language of instruction and centralized control remained largely intact (Saning, 2023; Vrieze, 2017).

Despite these controversies, the government pressed forward with its reform vision through the National Education Strategic Plan (NESP) for 2016–2021. The plan outlined a long-term strategy for improving quality and inclusivity, prioritizing teacher training, ongoing professional development, and curriculum reforms that aligned with national goals and student needs (Rwehera, 2017; Sin, 2021). These needs focused on equitable access, improved learning outcomes, and inclusive support for disadvantaged, rural, and ethnic-minority students, identified through national consultations and education-sector assessments (Ministry of Education, 2016). Yet, in practice, efforts to integrate ethnic languages and local priorities into the public system progressed unevenly. Although the National Education Strategic Plan (2016–2021) recognized ethnic-language instruction in principle, implementation remained largely symbolic, as teaching in minority languages was still not formally permitted within most government schools (N. M. Htet, 2021) (Htet, 2021). Empirical research has shown that students from minority backgrounds continued to face cultural, linguistic, and religious exclusion in public schools, reflecting the persistence of dominant Bamar ideologies across curricula and school practices (Aung et al., 2023). Coordination between state and non-state education providers also remained limited (Salem-Gervais et al., 2025). Teachers were nevertheless encouraged to

play more active roles in curriculum design and classroom innovation. NESP also attempted to balance market-oriented goals with social equity by promoting access for marginalized groups and aligning education with labor market demands (Howson & Lall, 2019). However, implementation was uneven, as many schools lacked the resources or institutional capacity to meet its objectives.

In sum, while the democratic transition raised hopes for a more inclusive and modern education system, the reforms of 2011–2020 reveal the limits of top-down policymaking in a context still shaped by ethnic tensions, weak institutions, and authoritarian legacies. The groundwork for change was laid, but its realization remained fragile and incomplete, foreshadowing the collapse that followed the 2021 military coup.

### **THE CURRENT CRISIS: A FRACTURED EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE**

Myanmar's education system was profoundly disrupted by the military coup of February 1, 2021, which overthrew the democratically elected government and triggered a nationwide Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM). The military coup reignited long-standing struggles over authority and inclusion, as the SAC's education policies reinstated linguistic control and deepened social divisions. Education quickly became a frontline of resistance: more than 300,000 teachers and education personnel joined the CDM, creating severe staff shortages (Maber et al., 2022). In retaliation, the SAC suspended over 125,000 educators and intensified violence across the country, displacing millions of people, including countless school-aged children (Reuters, 2021). Many families lost trust in the junta-controlled system, leading to a sharp decline in student attendance and exam participation (No, 2024).

The crisis deepened in October 2022, when the SAC amended the 2014 National Education Law. The amendment mandated Burmese as the sole language of instruction, undermining the linguistic rights of ethnic nationalities and reversing earlier efforts toward inclusivity (Independent Mon News Agency, 2022; PEN International, 2023). It also abolished teachers' and students' unions, silencing organized resistance (Independent Mon News Agency, 2022). Meanwhile, alternative education initiatives led by the National Unity Government (NUG), a parallel government formed after the coup by elected parliament members, ethnic





representatives, and civil society leaders, as well as ethnic providers, were deliberately targeted, with attacks resulting in casualties among both teachers and students (Saito et al., 2024).

Beyond immediate violence, the coup halted ongoing reforms initiated under the civilian government, including increased education budgets and the National Education Strategic Plan. Although the junta ordered schools to reopen in 2022–2023, millions of children did not return, citing insecurity, displacement, or political opposition to the regime (Aung, 2023). The shadow NUG responded by creating its own schools and online platforms, further entrenching a dual system of education.

The upheaval has also worsened long-standing inequalities. Urban–rural gaps in access remain stark, while underfunding, inadequate training for new teachers, and excessive workloads for those who stayed in SAC schools undermine quality (San & Bexci, 2025). As students and parents increasingly seek alternative options, the sector stands at a critical juncture. The coup has transformed education into both a casualty and a battleground of the wider conflict, leaving the future of an entire generation in jeopardy (Saning, 2023). This dual system of education mirrors the long-standing tensions that have defined Myanmar’s educational history, a reality that the following implications and conclusion will now address.

## **IMPLICATIONS**

Although this essay is grounded in Myanmar’s historical and political context, several insights may be relevant for broader discussions in education. First, the Myanmar case demonstrates how imposing a single dominant language in schools has tended to intensify inequality rather than foster unity. The repeated elevation of Burmese as the sole medium of instruction, while intended to strengthen a shared national identity, has systematically marginalized non-Bamar communities and contributed to long-standing ethnic tensions. This experience adds to global debates on multilingual education, showing how the suppression of linguistic diversity in schools can deepen social divides rather than resolve them. Future policy should therefore promote multilingual education that values ethnic languages alongside the national language, ensuring equitable access to learning for all linguistic groups.

Second, the historical interaction between Buddhist monastic schools, colonial missionary institutions, and state-run systems illustrates that education in Myanmar has never been neutral but has always been intertwined with political authority and cultural identity. This dynamic underscores how colonial legacies continue to shape education globally, as structures once designed to serve empire often persist in modern schooling. It also highlights the significance of religious institutions, reminding us that faith-based schooling can simultaneously promote literacy, preserve cultural traditions, and act as a site of resistance to political power. Policies should recognize the continuing role of faith-based and community schools as legitimate partners in education reform, integrating their cultural and moral contributions within national planning while maintaining inclusive standards.

Finally, Myanmar’s experience shows the dangers of top-down reforms that overlook the perspectives of marginalized groups. These dynamics point to the importance of more participatory approaches to policy, particularly those that engage diverse communities and respect linguistic and cultural pluralism, if education is to contribute to greater inclusion and stability. Future policy should adopt participatory approaches to educational planning, engaging teachers, ethnic education providers, and local communities in decision-making, to build a more inclusive and context-responsive system that supports long-term stability.

## **LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH**

This analysis is based primarily on secondary literature and publicly available policy reports. Given the continuing instability in Myanmar with limited access to primary data constrains the ability to verify how national reforms have been implemented in practice. Some recent developments, especially after the 2021 coup, may also not yet be fully documented in academic sources. Future research could build on this work by incorporating primary data through interviews or field studies, and by comparing Myanmar’s experience with multilingual and post-conflict education reforms in other Southeast Asian contexts.



## CONCLUSION

What emerges from this review is a long-standing struggle over how education should serve the nation. Across different eras, schools have been used to impose centralized authority, whether through colonial control, socialist ideology, or military rule. Language has been the most contested area of policy, with repeated attempts to elevate Burmese at the expense of other languages and cultures. At the same time, monastic and community-led education traditions show that alternative models rooted in local contexts can sustain both literacy and identity.



The current collapse of Myanmar's education system is not an abrupt rupture but the predictable outcome of these historical patterns. For researchers, Myanmar's case shows that educational challenges cannot be separated from the country's history of contested identity, cultural diversity, and political control. For policymakers and practitioners, it highlights the urgent need to involve ethnic communities as equal stakeholders in shaping future reforms. While Myanmar's political future remains uncertain, understanding how education has been shaped by these struggles is essential for imagining a system that is more inclusive, equitable, and resilient.



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