



MARCH 2024

Braving the wind and waves

A QUARTER CENTURY OF

FEMINIST MOVEMENT BUILDING



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MESSAGE FROM SWAN

As we mark the Silver Jubilee of the Shan Women's Action Network (SWAN), we reflect on a journey of movement-building defined by resilience, resistance, and a relentless pursuit of justice and equality. This quarter-century has not been merely about struggle but about activism how we, as a community and as a movement, have thrived amidst adversity, standing firm in our determination against the forces that seek to silence us and remove us from existence.

SWAN was born out of necessity, a response to the glaring injustices and human rights abuses that plagued our communities. Throughout the years, SWAN's efforts have been underpinned by a commitment to feminist principles, advocating for gender equality and the empowerment of women as agents of change and leaders within their communities. Our resilience is a determination to the courage and strength of Shan women, who face challenges with unwavering tenacity, illuminating paths forward even in the darkest times.

Our mission, to empower women of Burma and advocate for their social and political rights, has never wavered, even as we faced challenges that seemed insurmountable. Every day, we are inspired by the resilience of our SWAN sisters, the Shan women, and the communities we serve. They are the true embodiment of strength, proving time and again that even in the darkest of times, a light of hope can emerge.

The past 25 years have seen significant milestones that we commemorate with pride and gratitude. From groundbreaking reports that brought international attention to the plight of our people to the establishment of education, well-being, and empowerment programs that have directly impacted the lives of thousands, our achievements are many. Yet, what stands out most is not just what we have accomplished, but how we have done so. In the face of state-sponsored systemic oppression and violence, we have chosen resistance. Not just resistance in the conventional sense, but a resistance rooted in the power of education, awareness, and the unwavering spirit of our community.

The recent political turmoil in Burma, accentuated by the 2021 military coup, with increased and widespread violence, instability, and human

rights violations has presented unprecedented challenges testing our resolve. Yet, our dedication to our cause remains steadfast, driven by our political commitment to the right to self-determination, federalism, democracy, and human rights for all. These principles are integral to our vision for the future—a future characterized by peace, prosperity, and leadership roles for Shan women in shaping their communities. Through it all, our message has been clear: we will not be silenced, and we will not stand idly by as injustice prevails.

As we look to the future, we do so with the knowledge that our journey is far from over. The road ahead is filled with challenges, but also with opportunities. Opportunities to focus on growth, strengthening our network, and continuing to make a tangible difference in the lives of those we serve. Our vision for the next 25 years is one of hope, empowerment, and transformation. We envision a future where Shan women are not just agents of change, but leaders of the movement; where our communities are not defined by conflict, but by peace and prosperity.

In this moment of reflection, we recommit ourselves to the principles of justice, equality, and human rights. It is through unity and collective action that we can overcome oppression and build a brighter future for all. As we move forward, we pledge to continue standing strong together alongside our communities, embracing the challenges and opportunities that lie ahead. Together, we can continue to build on our legacy, striving for a future where the rights and voices of women and all those facing oppression are heard and respected.

With this, we extend our deepest gratitude to our communities, supporters, partners, and allies around the world. Your unwavering support has been our lifeline, enabling us to continue our work even in the most challenging times. Thank you for being a part of our journey and for your unwavering support. Your solidarity fuels our continued efforts and inspires us to keep fighting for a world where equality, justice, and human rights prevail for everyone.

With determination and hope,
Sisters of the Shan Women's Action Network (SWAN Sisters)

1999 – 2009

Building A Movement

1999

Founding of SWAN on 28 March

- Opened a small SWAN Centre / Office with one paid staff member as SWAN Centre contact person
- SWAN set up a health centre on the Thai-Shan border
- Shan young women were recruited to be trained at network NGOs
- Started in-house Internship Program with three young women
- SWAN co-founded the Women's League of Burma (WLB) along with 11 women's organizations from Burma on 9 December

2000

- Education Program formally set up with the support of the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) to run six informal schools for children and adults

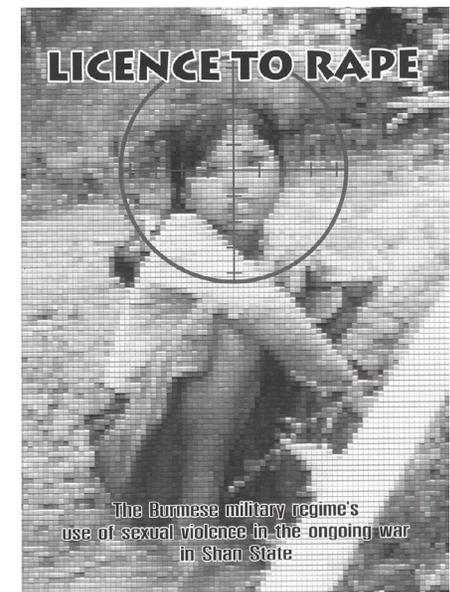
2001

- SWAN started running a women's crisis support program in Chiang Mai
- First Organizational review & recognised team-based structure
- More SWAN members active in international advocacy

2002

Release of Licence to Rape a joint report with Shan Human Rights Foundation (SHRF)

- Set up SWAN advocacy team
- Launched the campaign "Stop Licence to Rape in Burma"
- SWAN senior member was elected as the WLB General Secretary for the Second Congress Term



2003

- Increased international advocacy world-wide to stop Licence to Rape with the tremendous support of APWLD & regional & international human rights networks
- Expansion of the Internship Program, training six young women from Shan community for one year
- Set up Women's Empowerment Program by combining the Internship Program and a series of skills trainings & workshops on women's human rights
- Launched the first SWAN website
- Set up the second community-based Crisis Support Centre on the Thai – Burma border

2004

- Set up a satellite health centre for remotely located Shan IDPs, right on the Thai-Burma border
- Intensifying international advocacy campaign world-wide to "Stop Licence to Rape in Burma"

2005

- Fund-raising project including Paperdoll production for the Education Program supported by the Danish Foreign Ministry/DANIDA through Danish Burma Committee (DBC)
- Awarded the "Peter Gruber Women's Rights Prize" together with the Women's League of Burma (WLB)
- A SWAN member received several awards, including the "Reebok Human Rights Award"



2006

- Received five-year funding for the Education Program from DBC
- Expansion of the Women's Empowerment Program
- First Organizational Development Workshop
- Launch of Community-oriented activities on gender equality
- SWAN member received "The Best Practice Award" from Rajabhat University, Chiang Rai, Thailand

2007

- Women's Empowerment Program fully funded by Austcare & SWAN began running Women's Exchanges in IDP camps along the Thai- Burma border
- The House of Commons International Development Committee (UK) recommended that DFID provide cross-border aid and support for community-based organizations, in particular, SWAN
- SWAN member awarded "Student Peace Prize 2007" given by all students in Norway

2008

- SWAN received direct funding from DFID for Empowering the Shan Community, namely "Reducing the vulnerability of displaced Shan along the Thai-Burma border"
- SWAN member received the "Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Award" & "Vital Voices Global Partnership Award"

2009

- Celebration of SWAN's 10th Anniversary
- SWAN's website in four languages (English, Thai, Shan, and Burmese)
- Students who completed SWAN's schools were able to get access to the Thai education system
- Launch of SWAN scholarship program for students who are orphans, or come from very poor families
- SWAN radio program "Heng Jai Ying/ Girls' Power" was first aired on MAP Radio



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လူမ်းဂပ်းသၢင်္ဂ်
လွင်းဆင်းမိင်းတံး

Recalling the formation of SWAN

On the morning of 28 March 1999, approximately 40 Shan women of different ages and backgrounds got together at a garden in Chiang Mai Province near the Thai–Shan border and founded a women’s organization, the “Shan Women’s Action Network/SWAN”.



Who were these women?

Active women on the Thai–Burma border and different areas of Thailand: Piang Luang, Chiang Rai, Mae Hong Son, Chiang Mai, and Bangkok and Shan State from late 1993 to 1995.

HEALTH CARE

They established clinics along Shan–Thai border to provide basic health services needs in Shan migrant communities.

EDUCATION

They set up schools to provide basic education to Shan migrant adults and children.

WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

They participated in meetings, forums, and advocacy work at local, regional and international level.

ACTIONS BY THESE WOMEN BEFORE SWAN FORMATION

- Setting up informal schools for children of Shan refugees to access basic educational opportunities, including basic literacy classes
- Providing basic health education and HIV/ AIDS awareness raising
- Assisting practical needs of Shan migrants and unrecognized refugees and refugees from Burma
- Collecting data and documenting human rights violations committed by the Burmese military
- Promoting Shan Literature and Culture and publication of Shan literacy textbooks and posters

WHY ESTABLISHED A FORMAL ORGANIZATION?

- To more effectively address the practical and strategic needs of Shan women and children
- To address the rights of suffering Shan refugees fleeing from Shan State into Thailand, and to expose systematic human rights abuses committed by the Burmese military and its oppressive policies towards Shan people
- To network with other women's organization from Burma, as well as GOs and NGOs working with women locally, nationally, and internationally advocating for social and political change in Burma.

KEY OUTCOMES OF FOUNDATION MEETING



- Consensus on the name of the organization, its objectives and our symbol, a stylized image of the “kenneri”, dancing in a martial arts posture.
- Agreed to work independently with no influence from any outside individuals, organizations, and political groups
- Agreed upon a flat structure for the organization, working as a team of equals
- Decided SWAN to be a community-oriented organization: prioritizing the best interests and safety of women and their communities, remaining accountable to them at all levels.

Some of the responses when people learned about our flat structure with no hierarchal positions such as “chair”, “vice chairs”, general secretary etc.

“What kind of organization is this, with no head and no tail – how can it go in the right direction?”

“Why form an organization made up of women only?” was another common question, as both men and women had always worked together for community development, and for social and religious functions according to the cultural and traditional values of our Shan community.

COMMUNITY RESPONSES TO SWAN'S FORMATION

Concerned about confrontation with men, as community members had heard that when other women's groups were formed, their members had started challenging men who drank and smoked.

Upset upon the “assumption” that SWAN would work for “women only”, while all people from Shan State were suffering.

IN HER OWN WORDS

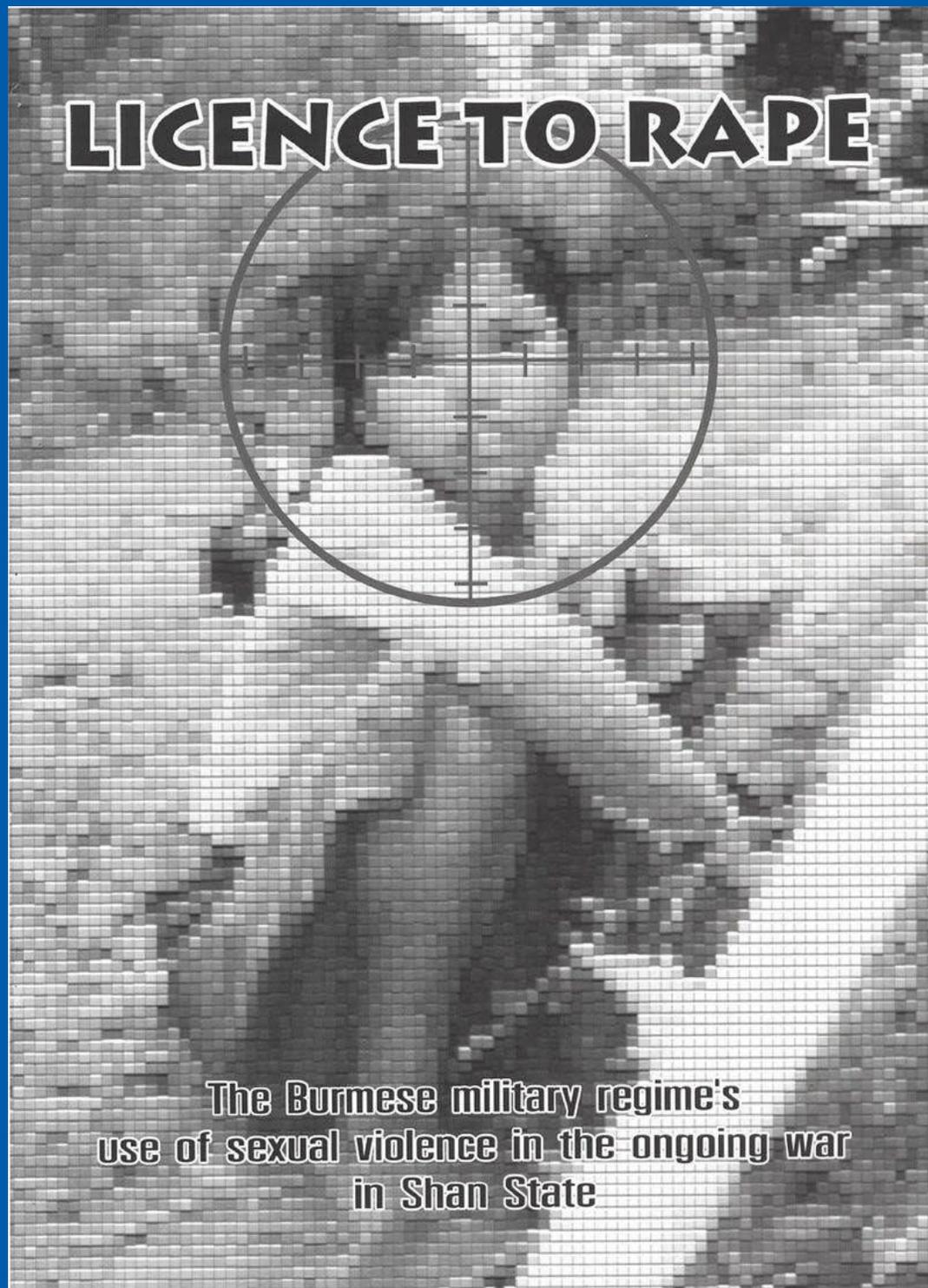


Nuon Hseng

FORMER COORDINATOR & BOARD MEMBER

When I started working as the Coordinator at SWAN in 2001, there were only two full-time staff. We stayed at the Centre together with six interns, who came from different parts of Shan State. SWAN had very limited funding at that time.

I remember that staff, especially me, had to pay for visitors' refreshments and food for overnight guests from our Shan community from our own pockets, as there were no extra funds. To cover all SWAN Centre operating costs, we had to raise funds through a sewing project making Shan traditional clothes, and doing catering service for the workshops and trainings run by Shan and youth network organizations. Moreover, while conducting awareness-raising on health, human rights, and the environment at Shan community festivals, SWAN sold Shan traditional clothes, food, and clothes. We needed to generate income to support organizational activities, as we did not have sufficient funds.



Licence to Rape

Details 173 incidents of rape and other forms of sexual violence, involving 625 girls and women, committed by Burmese army troops in Shan State, mostly between 1996 and 2001.

83% of rapes committed by officers, in most cases in front of their troops

Rapes involved extreme brutality and often torture, such as beating, mutilation, and suffocation

25% of rapes resulted in death

61% gang-rapes, and in some cases, women were detained and raped repeatedly for up to a four-month period

Out of 173 documented incidents, in only one case was a perpetrator punished by his commanding officer

ACHIEVEMENTS

as a result of Stop Licence to Rape Campaign

- Morale boost for SWAN and women in local Shan communities
- Raising awareness among the general Thai public about the situation in Shan State, which assists in advocacy efforts to gain protection for Shan refugees.
- Increased awareness about the situation of ethnic people, especially women, in Burma
- Enabling SWAN to raise more funds to support and serve communities
- Developing SWAN's capacity both individually and organizationally e.g media skills, lobbying skills, negotiation skills, and public speaking at international fora
- Establishing links with international women's networks with the support of APWLD
- Increased respect of SWAN from (male-dominated) Shan opposition and overseas democratic opposition movements
- SWAN and one of our members won several international awards

MAIN CHALLENGES

during the campaign

- Coping with publicity
- Balancing promoting an effective international campaign to Stop Licence to Rape while also protecting the interests of rape survivors on the ground

IMPORTANT LESSON

Yet, even these challenges served as important lessons for SWAN, enabling the organization to clarify its principles and goals, and better represent the interests of Shan communities.

REPORTS ON SEXUAL VIOLENCE PUBLISHED AFTER LICENCE TO RAPE

SHATTERING SILENCES



Karen Women speak out about the Burmese Military Regime's use of Rape as a Strategy of War in Karen State

April 2004

By Karen Women's Organisation

SYSTEM OF IMPUNITY



Nationwide Patterns of Sexual Violence by the Regime's Armed Forces and Authorities in Burma

September 2004

By Women's League of Burma (WLB)

July 2005

By Woman and Child Rights Project (Southern Burma) & Human Rights Foundation of Monland (Burma)

CATWALK TO THE BARRACKS

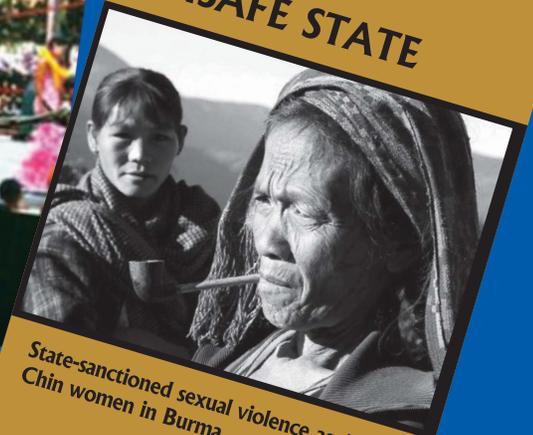


Conscription of women for sexual slavery and other practices of sexual violence by troops of the Burmese military regime in Mon areas

March 2007

By Women's League of Chinland

UNSAFE STATE



State-sanctioned sexual violence against Chin women in Burma

IN HER OWN WORDS

Nuon Hseng

FORMER COORDINATOR
& BOARD MEMBER

After the release of Licence to Rape, we faced security threats as an organization. The night that we received an order to shut SWAN is still vivid in my mind. It was raining very hard. A couple of SWAN senior members came and told us to pack all our things and move out of the place for fear of raids. We hurriedly packed our things in boxes, including copies of “Licence to Rape” and other important documents. Thanks to Chiang Mai-based NGO friends and SWAN’s active volunteers, we managed to move our interns to the SWAN safe house, and the boxes to two or three safe places.



I stayed behind on “standby” with an intern; we hid not far away from the SWAN Centre. We switched off all the lights and unplugged our telephone landline at the Centre to shut down all tele-communications.

I cannot remember how many days we stayed hiding until SWAN could move to a “new safe place”, but I do remember all the stressful nights. I felt so worried whenever the night came. I would wake up whenever I heard a car passing our place. I felt alert, especially after midnight, because I had noticed one truck passing slowly in the area around 1 A.M. or 2 A.M.

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IN HER OWN WORDS

Hseng Noung CO-FOUNDER & BOARD MEMBER

As a result of the publicity from the report, we faced challenges as individuals and as an organization. The most immediate challenges were security threats. While the Burmese regime attacked us publicly in their 'state-media', rumours were circulated, and anonymous e-mails were sent stating that a price had been put on our heads. I remember one of their press releases accusing us of being manipulated by men to write the report. What an insult!

The regime even pressured the Thai authorities to take action against people involved in the publication of Licence to Rape. So, SWAN and SHRF were forced to close in September 2002. Our members staying at the SWAN Centre had to move out and into a SWAN safe house. For the safety of everyone at SWAN, we had to operate underground. We kept a low profile but continued to provide emergency support for communities, including support to rape survivors. Also, we continued to communicate with media and local and international networks. Meanwhile, we were facing serious financial difficulties.

Our members were also stressed from the added workload involved in the constant campaign activities following the release of the report. At that time, it was hard for us to deal with all the challenges we encountered.

Amidst all these challenges, we facilitated a research investigation carried out by the US State Department in August 2002, and the UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights in Burma sent a mission in October 2002, in the hope that further official investigations along the Thai-Burma border might heighten pressure on the regime.

While the Burmese regime attacked us publicly in their 'state-media', rumours were circulated, and anonymous e-mails were sent stating that a price had been put on our heads.

Thanks to all SWAN members for being resilient and surviving the stressful situation. Also, thanks to the Chiang Mai-based Burma Relief Centre (BRC) for giving immediate financial support to our organization for relief during a crisis.

We are grateful to the Urgent Action Fund for Women and Frontline Human Rights Defenders for giving us emergency funds in early 2003, and APWLD and Forum Asia for their campaign support during that difficult time.

We will never forget the tremendous advocacy and support of Ajarn Kraissak Choonhavan, Thai NGOs, and the Thai Human Rights Commission.

Our campaign “Stop Licence to Rape in Burma” would not have been possible, and we would not have overcome all the challenges, without the remarkable support from global women’s networks, and international financial and political support, both from governments and civil society organizations.



OTHER CONSTRAINTS AND CHALLENGES IN OUR WORK

- Lack of human resources/capacity/skills to respond to communities' needs and requests
- Limited number of SWAN members who can travel "legally" to do international advocacy
- Many of SWAN's members, due to lack of legal status in Thailand, remained fearful of arrest and/or being deported back to Burma by Thai authorities.
- Security threats, individually and organizationally, which forced SWAN to stop operating openly
- Suffering psychological harassment from both the Burmese military regime and Thai authorities
- Constant pressure from dealing with needs arising at every level
- Media attacks by the Burmese military regime

INTERNATIONAL AWARDS WON BY SWAN & A SWAN MEMBER



2005

Women's Rights Prize by the Peter Gruber Foundation



2005

Reebok Human Rights Award

2008

Vital Voices Global Partnership Award



2008

Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick Award



OTHER AWARDS

- 2005 Marie Claire Award: One of Ten Women of the World
- 2005 Asia's Heroes Award by Time Asia Magazine
- 2005 1000 women for the Nobel Peace Prize
- 2006 The Best Practice Award in the Upper Greater Mekong Sub-region by Rajabhat University, Chiang Rai in Thailand
- 2007 Student Peace Prize given by all the students in Norway

2010 – 2019

Strengthening & expanding the movement

2010

- SWAN consultation meetings with Shan Communities across borders
- The first Reproductive Health training for health workers, working in remote and conflict-affected areas in Shan State

2011

- SWAN began organizing Women's Exchanges inside Burma

2012

- The First Young Women's Leadership Training in Chiang Mai
- SWAN official visit to Burma
- Consultation & networking meetings in eastern, southern, & northern Shan State and Yangon/Rangoon in Burma

2013

- Women' Well-being Program was set up by combining the Health & Women's Crisis Support Programs
- The First Emerging Women's Leadership Training in Chiang Mai





2014

- SWAN Taunggyi Centre opened in April
- SWAN's first public special event on the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women in Shan State (25 November)
- Launch of Internship Program at the Taunggyi Centre
- The First Alumnae Exchange

2015

- Consultation trip to Khamti and Homalin in Sagaing Region & Mandalay
- Launch of School health education program in different townships in Shan State
- The Young Women's Leadership Training was opened inside Burma for the first time in Taunggyi
- Launch of SWAN membership Program

2016

- Networking meetings in different parts of Shan State, including the Chinese border area
- The filming of an edu-drama highlighting the importance of family planning and sexual & reproductive health

2017

- The First Shan Women's Get-together & SWAN's 18th Anniversary Celebration in Lashio, Shan State in Burma

2018

- The Second Shan Women's Get-together in Lashio, Shan State in Burma
- Adaptation of the Women's Capacity Building workshops to the Youth Capacity Building (YCB) workshops at communities' request
- Construction of the SWAN Training Centre

2019

- SWAN's 20th Anniversary & the Third Shan Women's Get-together in Taunggyi
- Opening of the SWAN Training Centre



ACHIEVEMENTS

- SWAN's profile has grown across Burma through our various activities / events, on the ground via SWAN members including active alumnae of the internship program, EWLTL, and YWLT.
- Alumnae have gained more trust in their respective communities, and people approach them for assistance, particularly when they face violence. SWAN has received requests for more capacity building for youth and women in their communities.
- Expansion of networks across Burma via various successful consultations, networking and monitoring trips, which help to identify priority areas and inform SWAN's future programming.
- Increased recognition of SWAN by political parties, EAOs/EROs, CSOs, and youth groups
- Increased number of women participating in decision-making roles
- Working closely with women leaders and MPs, SWAN had a great opportunity to influence the policies of Shan political parties, and alliances related to women and gender issues
- Facilitated the formation of new women's organizations in Shan communities, namely Shan State Women's Organization (SSWO), Shan State Women's Development Organization (SSWDO), the Shanni Women's Organization in Homalin, and the Senior Women of Shan State (SWSS).

CHALLENGES

- Internal struggle of “To go in vs Not to” regarding SWAN’s presence inside Burma
- Staff shortage, as some well-trained staff members left SWAN in light of political trends inside Burma, and it was challenging to recruit suitable human resources with the necessary skills
- Time investment required to set-up all working systems inside Burma
- Insufficient funds/ human resources to fulfil the needs of Shan communities inside Burma; limited funds to meet many requests and expectations from communities
- Unable to produce SWAN specific advocacy materials predominantly targeted at an international audience, due to limited staff and increased workload
- Maintaining SWAN’s neutral role among divided communities
- Confronting and resisting the rigged legal system and pervasive corruption
- Balancing between Shan nationalism and human rights principles
- Operating in a highly patriarchal society inside Burma. When advocating for women’s rights, we face resistance and barriers from many different spheres- male leaders, community members, and at times, women themselves
- Intimidation of SWAN community health workers by some members of ethnic armed groups, specifically for providing family planning awareness and services, particularly providing contraceptive “Implant” services
- Ongoing fighting caused delays in program/ project implementation as well as increased workload providing emergency assistance to mass populations of displaced people in Shan State

IN HER OWN WORDS



Morn Kaein

SWAN MEMBER

Looking back since our journey started in 1999, there have been several significant changes. One of the memories that personally touched me was the “political transition” in Burma around 2012–2013. This had an extensive impact on civil society movements and community-based organisations of Burma that were established in Thailand, and along the Thai–Burma border. There were discussions, sometimes very heated debates, about whether to ‘move inside’ the country and work or to remain ‘outside’, stationed in Thailand.

Likewise, SWAN also had a series of discussions, and some members were for moving inside and setting up a SWAN branch in Shan State, while some wanted SWAN to stay in Thailand. One significant discussion point was that moving inside would offer increased opportunities to work very closely with our communities, aligning with the organisation’s longstanding mission. At the same time, valid concerns were raised that it would compromise SWAN’s political stance against the Burmese military regime. The military should not be trusted since they would use all their tactics to stay in power and prioritise their own interests. Further, they would enjoy self-amnesty for decades of committing war crimes, including sexual violence against ethnic women. One prominent concern was that SWAN members

and their family members inside Shan State would face security threats, because of SWAN's track record exposing state-sponsored sexual violence committed by the Burmese army.

I remember how frustrated we were at that time. There were some tensions, and some people were quite emotional. Following numerous meetings among us, consultations with Shan communities inside Burma, and women's groups, SWAN reached the decision to establish its communication centre inside Shan State. The consequence of this decision had a significant impact on SWAN's human resources, as well as our networking and international advocacy capacity. It was really painful for all of us.

From 2013, SWAN, established to respond to communities' needs and built on core values of teamwork, continued its mission inside Shan State and beyond while adapting operational systems with minimal capacity. Prioritizing communities' needs and working physically in Burma has yielded fruitful results within a few years. SWAN has successfully expanded networks, making more connections with relevant groups inside the country. Maybe SWAN is not on the frontline of international advocacy like in the 2000s. However, I have witnessed that SWAN feels fulfilled with all our accomplishments, especially establishing solid connections with communities that we are working with/for.

I trust that SWAN will remain resilient and committed to moving forward, as long as there are sisters who share its values and core principles, despite the challenges.

Maybe SWAN is not on the frontline of international advocacy like in the 2000s. However, I have witnessed that SWAN feels fulfilled with all our accomplishments, especially establishing solid connections with communities that we are working with/for.

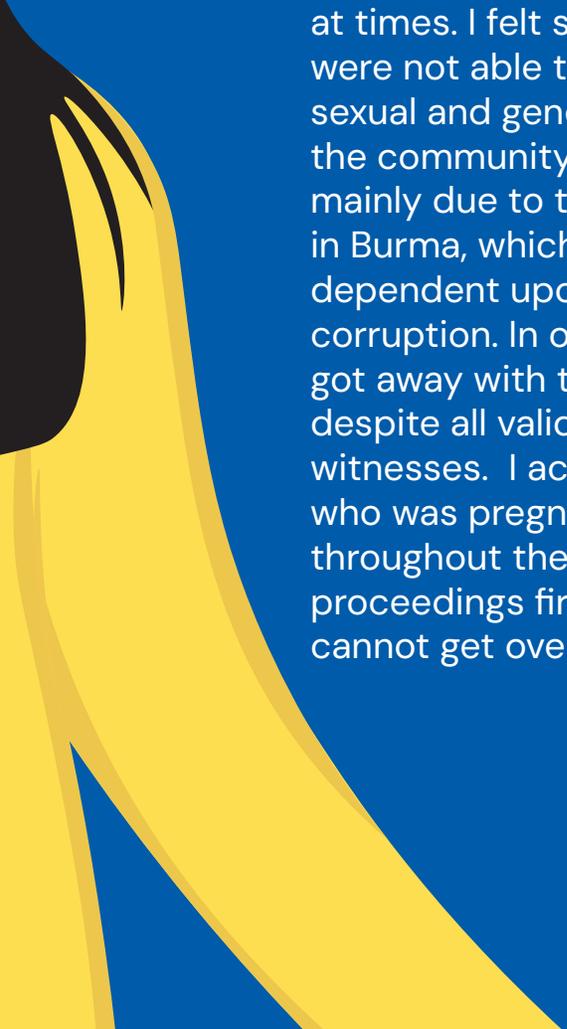
IN HER OWN WORDS

Noom Aon Leng STAFF MEMBER

Moving inside Shan State to work was quite an extraordinary and rewarding experience for me. Gradually, SWAN was able to expand its networks and program activities to empower local communities, in particular women. I felt very satisfied that SWAN staff could physically reach our communities inside Burma, and I saw alumnae of SWAN's various training programs active in all our project areas. Some of them have become valuable assets on the ground, and many have returned to work in civil society organizations. Moreover, several women were selected as candidates to run in the elections, and some were elected as MPs.

— *One of the most memorable events for me was the first Shan Women's Get-together held in the heart of Lashio, in northern Shan State followed by our 18th Anniversary on 28 March 2017. Thanks to the support of local monks, most participants were able to stay in local temples. In addition, over half of the participants of the Shan Women's Get-together were able to support themselves to attend. It was a remarkable moment for us to receive such tremendous community support from youth groups, CSOs, local leaders, political parties, EAOs, and religious leaders.*





Another highlight was SWAN's 20th Anniversary attended by nearly 500 people, including women and CSO networks, EAOs, and political parties. The event was followed by the opening of the SWAN Lucky Draw, which reached out to many areas across Burma and raised funds for the organization.

While expanding our networks, SWAN became more renowned among Shan communities, but it was also frustrating at times. I felt so distressed when we were not able to assist survivors of sexual and gender –based violence, as the community had expected. This was mainly due to the unreliable legal system in Burma, which was determined by (and dependent upon) the role of money and corruption. In one case, the perpetrator got away with the crime he committed, despite all valid evidence and strong witnesses. I accompanied the woman, who was pregnant by the perpetrator, throughout the trial; I witnessed the proceedings firsthand. Still today, I cannot get over it.

In another case, SWAN provided support to a young survivor of sexual violence who was first sexually assaulted by a married man in 2014. Then in 2015, the young woman was physically assaulted by the man's wife and parents of the perpetrator. SWAN supported the young woman for transport, accommodation, food, and some legal representation costs for more than 50 court appearances from 2015 to 2018. Finally, the case was settled with financial compensation. We think such a settlement is an injustice, as the perpetrator, avoided harsher penalties for committing acts of violence against a young woman.

Often, I felt so frustrated that we did not have enough financial, logistical, and technical resources, and a safe place for women to stay. We were under significant mental pressure, as more survivors of sexual violence came forward seeking crisis support, counselling, and legal assistance.

BALANCING SHAN NATIONALISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLES

Moreover, it has been quite a challenge balancing between Shan nationalism and human rights principles, which SWAN upholds. There was one incident that made me feel really bad and disturbed. One Shan woman was arrested and held by a non-Shan ethnic armed group. To prevent further division (e.g. hatred and blame games), we worked on the case discreetly and cautiously, and we calmly talked to all relevant parties/authorities. But, some community members criticized us on social media, as well as personally, for not raising concerns “publicly”.

*Noom Aon Leng
Staff member*

ပင်ဂွင်ထွမ်းရှုပ်, ကျင်းခင်းယင်းတံး
ရှမ်းအမျိုးသမီးများနီးနှောပလုယံပွဲ
SHAN WOMEN GET-TOGETHER
LASHIO 26 TO 28 MARCH 2017



ပင်ဂွင်ထွမ်းရှုပ်, ကျင်းခင်းယင်းတံး
ရှမ်းအမျိုးသမီးများ နီးနှောပလုယံပွဲ
Shan Women Get together

STOP

IN HER OWN WORDS

Hseng

PROGRAM OFFICER OF WOMEN'S
EMPOWERMENT PROGRAM

A stylized illustration of a woman with dark, wavy hair, wearing a light blue top. She is looking down at a dark blue laptop screen. The background is a light blue gradient.

I learned about SWAN through a Shan political party. I was so glad to know that there is a strong women's group in our Shan community, specifically working for Shan people. I got to know SWAN because SWAN was physically inside Shan State, in Burma.

I joined SWAN as a trainee of the Young Women's Leadership Training in 2015, and then started working in the organization in 2018. As a young staff member, I have learned how extensive SWAN's work is in communities. SWAN is the primary organization operating for Shan communities in Burma, particularly in remote conflict/war effected areas, using a comprehensive set of programs and advocacy tools to tackle gender discrimination and address tensions among divided communities.

I was initially based at the SWAN Communication Centre in Taunggyi, which served as an important resource for coordinating and monitoring activities inside Burma, as well as bridging communication with SWAN's Centre in Chiang Mai. At SWAN, I am responsible for the Women's Exchange (WE) under the Women's Empowerment Program. I directly implement the WE on the ground, which provides space and time for women in the community to build confidence, by joining together to share their experiences and stories about violence and other gender issues. Through WE, I have a great opportunity to meet women in different areas, and I also feel empowered.

At times, I feel discouraged when we are not able to fulfill communities' requests due to funding constraints and lack of human resources. The requests include more training, women exchanges, capacity building workshops, and support for cases of violence. Instead of dwelling on this feeling, I decided that I would do my best to focus on how to make the situation better and more effective in the future. For me, it is the women in the community who give me strength to overcome difficulties, to recharge, and move forward.

2020 – 2024

Resisting New Challenges

2020

Responding to the COVID-19 Pandemic

- Work from Home
- Emergency support to communities through programs & awareness-raising activities
- Production of audio & video clips for COVID-19 awareness-raising materials



Actions for the 2020 General Elections

- Launch of “Women Candidate Support” Project
- Awareness sessions on Voter Education and Civic Education
- Production of awareness audio & video clips

Digital capacity building

2021

Resisting the Military Coup in Burma

- Protests against the coup in Burma and Thailand – Emergency response for participants in the civil disobedience movement (CDM)
- Producing anti-coup advocacy materials
- Photo exhibitions
- Building political alliances via WLB

Re-strategising SWAN's operation & relocation of SWAN Centre

Digital and Cyber Security Support

Emergency support for IDPs and refugees affected by armed conflicts in Shan & Kachin states

Continued giving COVID-19 emergency support to communities

လွှမ်းမိုးလှမ်းလျားရုန်းထမ်း/ရုန်းကျေယူယူ၊ ဖွင့်တောင်းပန်ခွင့်ပိတ်, - 19 နေ့လမ်း/ ဖွင့်ယူသင်ပေးတီ၊ နှိုင်း

Source: www.who.int and www.paho.org

@shanwomen.org

2022

WEP activities resumed, which were paused due to COVID-19 & shortage of funding

Strengthening new organizational structure & internal capacity building

Reconnecting with Thai networks & organizations based in Thailand

2023

Reform of the Education Program

Responses to the increased displacement of communities because of Operation 1027 in northern Shan State

Alumnae Exchange



2024

Celebration of Silver Jubilee
Launch Shan Women's Podcast

Alumnae Exchange, 2023



The COVID-19 situation

ACHIEVEMENTS

- SWAN responded pretty well to the COVID-19 situation within the organization, with donors, and communities
- SWAN staff in both countries (Burma & Thailand) have developed new online communication and IT skills, and some staff have increased skills in video editing & graphic design
- Timely production of audio clips and videos on the election, prevention of COVID-19, and related health awareness and women's health broadcasting via social media and SWAN radio programs
- Able to give COVID-19 emergency support to communities in project areas in Burma and along the Thai- Burma border in Northern Thailand with the support of existing donors as well as various international and local donors.
- Increased recognition of the role of our health workers, as they have become the primary healthcare providers and COVID-19 awareness educators for the people in the community
- SWAN-supported teachers on the Thai-Burma border in Northern Thailand have earned greater appreciation from students and their families for their home visits and giving emergency support and COVID-19 awareness education
- Successfully supported 30 women candidates from three Shan political parties under the "Women Candidate Support" project aiming to increase women's participation in parliament
- 13 SWAN alumnae were selected to be women candidates in the 2020 General Election

CHALLENGES

- Many program activities on the ground were suspended due to the COVID-19 lock-down & restrictions
- Restrictions caused delay in organizing awareness raising activities on civic education, voter education, and election related information
- Mental burden and tension among staff due to time-limitations and funding constraints
- Restrictions imposed by some donors for giving emergency support for COVID-19 relief



IN HER OWN WORDS

Nang Kham Awn

DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION &
DOCUMENTATION DEPARTMENT

Aiming to get women candidates elected in the 2020 General Election, we started the “Women Candidate Support” project to promote individual candidates’ profiles and share their political views with the public in various ways, including using different media platforms.

— We were so excited and had developed a comprehensive workplan for the project. Then, there was the outbreak of COVID-19 in March. At that time, I was in Chiang Mai. From the beginning, I tried all possible ways / means to go to the ground. I even gave my name for the emergency flight back home so that I could meet the candidates in person and work with them closely. It took three months to get on the list for the relief flight. Unfortunately, there were lockdowns with travel-bans both by land and by air again inside Burma, besides a two-week quarantine period. So, I had no choice but to give up going there. It was so stressful and I could not sleep well at night, feeling worried that we would not be able to do the job well.



Due to time-pressure before the election date, set for the first week of November 2020, we courageously decided that we would use online-technology and techniques focusing on different social and news media platforms. We persisted, even though we did not have sufficient capacity at that time to use online technology on the ground. Familiar with common problems such as limited internet access and frequent power cuts, we knew we would encounter communication challenges. But, we prepared ourselves as a team.

Our team contacted more than 60 Shan women candidates from three Shan parties: the Tai-Leng Nationalities Development Party (TNDP), the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD), and the Shan Nationalities Democratic Party (SNDP). Among them, we interviewed 30 women.

Our team started to interview individual candidates in September. The interviews were recorded by Zoom, and once the editing team finalized the recordings, the videos were posted on SWAN's Facebook page and shared by candidates. Also, videos were posted on the SHAN Facebook page and candidates' respective political party Facebook pages. The re-posted and re-shared videos reached out to wider audiences via the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD) Official Page, SHAN News (Burmese Version) and Tai TV Online. The interview videos had Shan captions for Burmese -speaking candidates, as well as Burmese captions for Shan -speaking candidates.

With the COVID-19 pandemic situation and ongoing fighting, both the SWAN team and the candidates faced immense obstacles. Depending on the situation, sometimes we did interviews early in the morning, and sometimes late at night after campaigning hours. We had to re-schedule when the internet was cut off in the middle of an interview. Some candidates even had to travel to locations where they could get good internet access.

The longest period of time to complete an interview was with a candidate in Kyaukme Township, northern Shan State where there was heavy fighting between the RCSS and Burmese army. Closer to the election, there was an announcement stating that voting was cancelled in the constituency, as the area was unstable and not safe for the election. It was a great pity for the candidate, as she was the most favored and supported by the community, and she was set to win the election.

Working with the candidates online, we had a great chance to build trust and consolidate our relationships. Moreover, we had an opportunity to share our tech-skills with the candidates and show them how to use essential apps like Zoom and change the background etc. We greatly appreciate all candidates' efforts, trust and patience, and time and energy which they gave us.

It was also a challenging time for the SWAN team because individual members working on this project stayed in different places due to COVID-19 restrictions. As a team, it was very important for us to have good coordination and communication with mutual understanding among us. We regularly had online meetings to share updates, and problem-solving sessions to brainstorm about how to make things better. For me, I take this as a good challenge because it was quite a rewarding experience for us.

The best lesson from this experience is that we should not be discouraged when facing unanticipated situations. Do not be afraid to try something different or new, and find the best way to make it work!

Nothing is impossible if we are into it !!!

NANG KHAM AWN
*Director of Information &
Documentation Department*



The situation because of the Burmese military coup

ACHIEVEMENTS

- Received emergency grants from several donors to provide secure communication channels, transportation, and safe places/ accommodation for SWAN staff members inside Shan State, and women activists from SWAN networks
- Organizing to deliver communication tools on time for staff members and other women's networks during internet shutdowns right after the coup
- Relocation of SWAN's main center to a safe location
- Managed to re-strategize SWAN's operation
- Providing emergency support to Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Shan and Kachin states through SWAN members in the field and women MPs from the last election

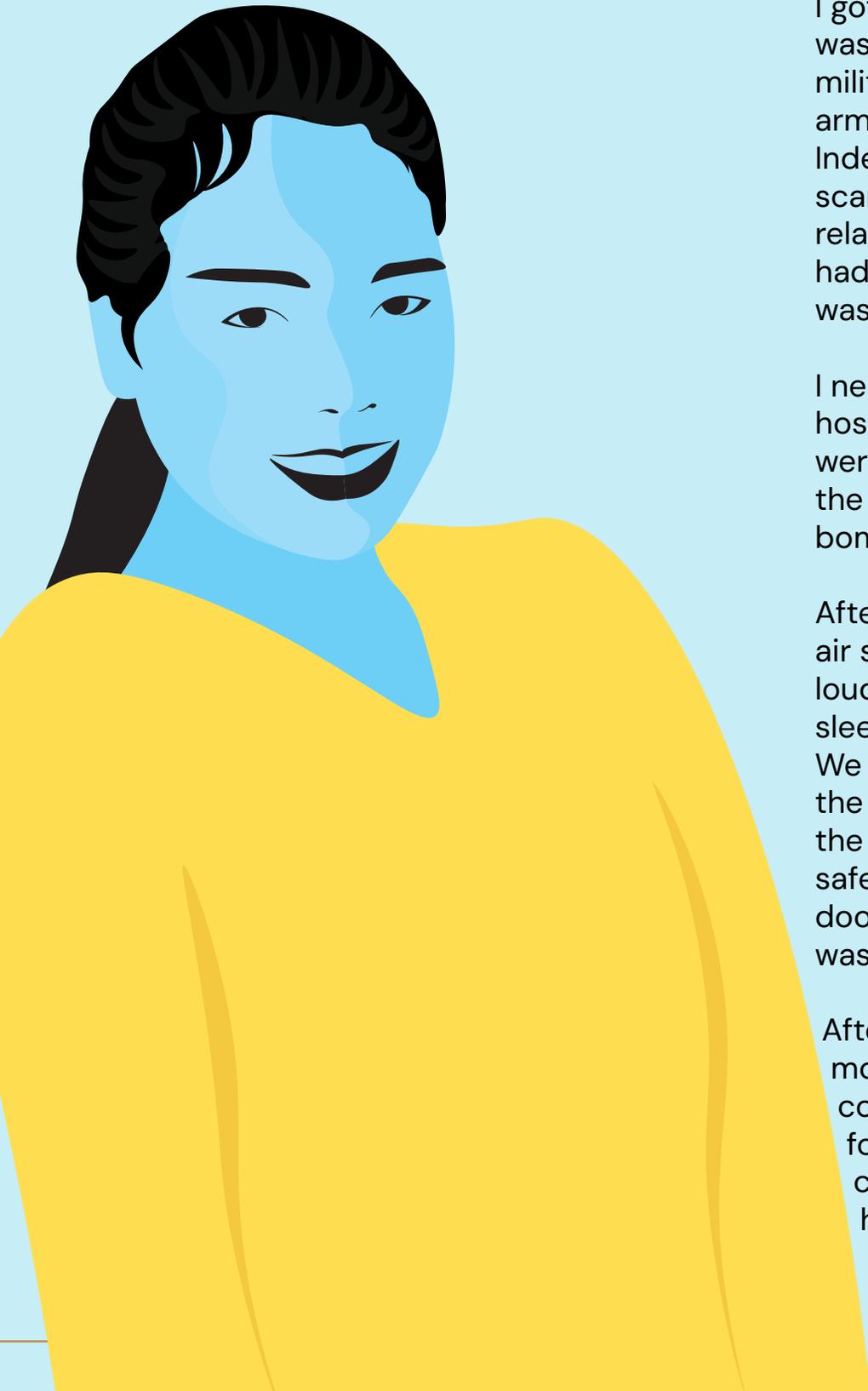
CHALLENGES

- Forced to cancel several activities to be implemented inside Burma, including the project to promote and work with women MPs
- Security threats for all staff members from local authorities and the Burmese military
- Communication risks for field staff & focal points, due to lack of knowledge about digital security
- Affecting human resources: staff changing positions, end of contracts, and some resignations
- Pressure from a donor to implement activities, despite the political situation
- Insecure internet connection, communication, and transportation
- Ongoing fighting and armed clashes in Shan State



A candlelight vigil for the fallen heroes and heroines

IN HER OWN WORDS



April

YWLT ALUMNAE & FOCAL POINT

I got pregnant during COVID-19 in Burma, and I was three months into my pregnancy when the military staged the coup. Right after, the Burmese army launched airstrikes against the Kachin Independence Army (KIA). The situation was so scary, with bombs going off, and we had to let relatives, community members, and neighbors who had lived in unsafe shelters stay at our house. It was so crowded.

I needed surgery to deliver my child, but all hospitals and clinics in the whole Kachin State were closed at that time. So, I had to navigate the service available for my childbirth amidst bombings and safety concerns.

After the birth, we came home, despite continuous air strikes. The sounds of bombardments were so loud, and the ground was shaking. We could not sleep as the Burmese army continued bombing. We were sitting and holding the baby in our arms the whole night. We did not dare to switch on the light, or even the light on our phones, for our safety. We all stayed quiet. We had to close all the doors. My baby cried the whole night because it was too hot inside.

After two days under these conditions, we moved to my brother's house for my post-natal confinement period. It was a very difficult time for me as my wounds were not fully healed. The challenges did not stop there. My brother and his wife had an accident while going to buy

some necessary stuff. My brother broke his leg in the accident, and my sister-in-law was also severely injured. She got 40 stitches from her eyebrow to the skull. Within a week, we had to move again to the Shan Literature and Cultural Association (SLCA) building downtown and stayed in a hall type building. Later, hundreds of IDPs came and stayed with us. We received stuff like beds, bedsheets, pillows, and blankets, and a lot of food donations from charity groups, but I could not eat the food because I was still in my post-natal confinement period. So, I had to buy other food items with my own money.

After staying there for two months, I returned to my house, although the conflict had not ended. As my stomach wounds were still too sore, I received treatment from a clinic in our village. The situation in our town was so quiet, and there was only one person per household. We had generated no income since COVID-19, as we could not work for a long time. We had to use money from our savings to buy our food.

During that harsh time, I lost contact with SWAN, and I felt so lost and depressed.

If SWAN has grants, we want to do women's exchange activities and give support to the community. I love SWAN, and I am so attached to SWAN. So, if there is anything, please let me know. I am always ready to continue helping the women in our community.

*After the birth,
we came home,
despite continuous
air strikes.*

*The sounds of
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and the ground
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army continued
bombing. We
were sitting and
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in our arms the
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Overall

ACHIEVEMENTS

- Resumed previously 'suspended' projects and SWAN's overall operations across borders.
- Better coordination, communication, and closer ties among SWAN staff members based in different locations
- Individual staff gained more self-confidence, and enhanced their knowledge and skills relevant to their work, with ongoing on-site learning, improving personal and professional skill development.
- Increased number of SWAN's younger generation getting involved in advocacy and networking activities at different levels, with more confidence.
- Remarkable resilience of SWAN's younger generation, overcoming all hardships and internal and external challenges, as a result of the 2021 military coup in Burma, following the COVID-19 pandemic.
- Increased recognition of the role of SWAN alumnae for their support, including: focal points, health workers, and data collectors by people in local communities in SWAN's target areas; people routinely seek their advice.
- Increased number of students from SWAN schools are able to access to the Thai education system
- Stronger advocacy and networking by reconnecting local and national networks in Thailand, as well as international networks.

CHALLENGES

- Some project activities cannot be implemented due to ongoing fighting and armed clashes in SWAN's working areas.
- Some program activities must be postponed or delayed, and workplans must be modified due to unanticipated clashes among armed groups, unstable internet, and limited electricity in Burma.
- Recruiting new staff who have capacity and relevant skills resulted in a shortage of human resources
- Financial constraints for staff to obtain legal status in Thailand
- Significant long-term funding challenges for the Education Program
- Limited funding to support many new arrivals from Burma, specifically children who have fled forced recruitment from armed groups in Shan State
- Significant security concerns for all staff working inside Burma as communication systems, banking, and personal registration and identification are controlled by the Burmese military junta
- Security threats for communities due to ongoing tension and armed clashes in areas where SWAN is operating

IN HER OWN WORDS

Morn Lao
STAFF MEMBER

Life is so hard after the COVID-19 pandemic, followed by the coup. My children could not study either. Due to personal security concerns, we finally decided to leave our hometown for the Thai-Burma border.

Our group of ten, including three women with kids, left home early in the morning, around 5 A.M. Due to the unstable situation, we travelled by walking through the jungles and mountains from 7:30 A.M. until 10:30 P.M. During the journey, my children cried all the way, feeling upset since their father could not come along with us. So only four of us came; the youngest one did not know that she was going towards Thailand. I had to carry her on my back along with my travel bag, while holding my second child's hand as we walked. Halfway through our journey, a young man offered to help carry my second child on his back. It was quite a relief for me, as well as for the whole group, as his help reduced travel delays.

On the way, the group was concerned that the children might cry out loud, so they were given sleeping pills. However, I chose not to give any pills to my kids.

The journey took 3 days and 2 nights. One night that we stayed at a house, there was only one thin blanket provided for my family, so I gave it to my three children. Also, that night all the children had nothing to eat.

Walking and carrying my child and my travel bag, I slipped and fell twice. I was unharmed the first time, but the second time I fell, and I slipped into a small ravine. My child on my back cried a lot, and my eldest son had to pull me out of the ravine. After that, he repetitively asked for assistance from the group to carry my travel bag. Understanding everyone was so tired, I had to calm him down and told him that we were almost there, encouraging him to be patient and stay strong.

During the journey, my children cried all the way, feeling upset since their father could not come along with us. So only four of us came; the youngest one did not know that she was going towards Thailand. I had to carry her on my back along with my travel bag, while holding my second child's hand as we walked.



IN HER OWN WORDS

SAM PHONG

COMMUNITY HEALTH WORKER



As a community health worker, I help people in my neighborhood when they get sick and need assistance at their homes. Sometimes, I also volunteer to take people who cannot speak Burmese to hospitals in the city. There are times I must pay for their medicine if there is no one else to help.

I also give healthcare services to six villages in my area. During a visit to one of these villages, I encountered a 7-year-old boy with a swollen belly and yellowish skin color. After consulting with the family, I learned that the boy required a monthly blood transfusion. Without this transfusion, he became weak, bedridden, and he was unable to rise. So, he could not go to school. I also learned that he lives with his maternal grandparents, as his parents were divorced and working in Thailand. The mother supports the child's treatment and hopes that once the boy recovers, he will be able to attend school. One day, his grandmother consulted me, and she mentioned that she wanted to take the child to the city for treatment. She would borrow some money from neighbors and relatives to pay for the treatment.

Last February 2023, I took the boy and his grandmother to Taunggyi. After consultation with the doctor/ophthalmologist I know, we went to the Mother and Child Hospital to get the boy examined. The doctor there referred him to the Sao San Tun public hospital, as he needed surgery.

Since there was a long queue of patients for surgery, we were asked to wait outside the hospital and return after five days. During the wait, we stayed at my relative's place by sharing some living costs because we could not afford a hotel. We still had to wait another few days at the hospital before the child was finally put on the surgery list. Meanwhile, my husband called to inform me that my child was suffering from stomach pain. As I could not leave the grandmother and the boy at the hospital alone, I asked my husband to take my child to the hospital in Taunggyi.

Before the surgery, I had to reassure and encourage the child and grandmother not to be afraid. Upon arriving at the operation room, nurses found out that the child had consumed some water. So, the surgery could only take place the following day. After the surgery, the hospital informed us that we could pay whatever amount we

could afford for the treatment and operation fees. So, we managed to pay 50 thousand kyat (20 USD). We also had to buy all the medicine for post-operative treatment externally from several well-known hospitals in Taunggyi. The doctor allowed the child to leave the hospital after one week, which brought us immense joy. It was so exhausting during the wait for the operation and recuperation time at the hospital taking care of the grandmother and child. I diligently followed the doctor's instructions. There were sleepless nights, as I had to wake up to comfort the child, who cried a lot at night. Some days, I had to make around 10 trips across the city to buy medicines, as per the doctor's instructions.

Anyhow, through this experience, I learned a lot. Even though there were times I could not be with my own family when they needed me, I felt fulfilled being able to help and support people in my community. Moreover, I was thrilled that I could also seek some financial support from SWAN for this case.



SWAN's contribution to WLB & women's movement of Burma

- Giving significant input to political and advocacy initiatives
- Providing technical and professional advice and support for advocacy materials including reports
- Production of WLB video documentaries
- Layout design of most WLB publications, event banners and stands, campaign materials etc.

Some of the campaign and advocacy materials
SWAN assisted to develop and design



Courage to Resist



Women Human Rights Defenders of Burma

Women's League of Burma
November 2007

BUILDING A MOVEMENT WITHIN THE MOVEMENT

WLB marks ten years of gender activism

December 2009

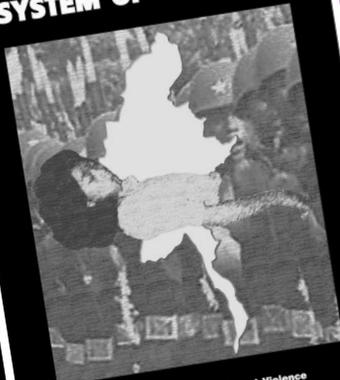
In the Shadow of the Junta

CEDAW Shadow Report

By Women of Burma
2008

Any Progress for the Lives of Women in Burma since Beijing?

SYSTEM OF IMPUNITY



Nationwide Patterns of Sexual Violence by the Regime's Armed Forces and Authorities in Burma

20 Years of Activism FOR EQUALITY, JUSTICE AND PEACE



LONG WAY TO GO

Continuing Violations of Human Rights and Discrimination Against Ethnic Women in Burma

CEDAW Shadow Report
July 2016

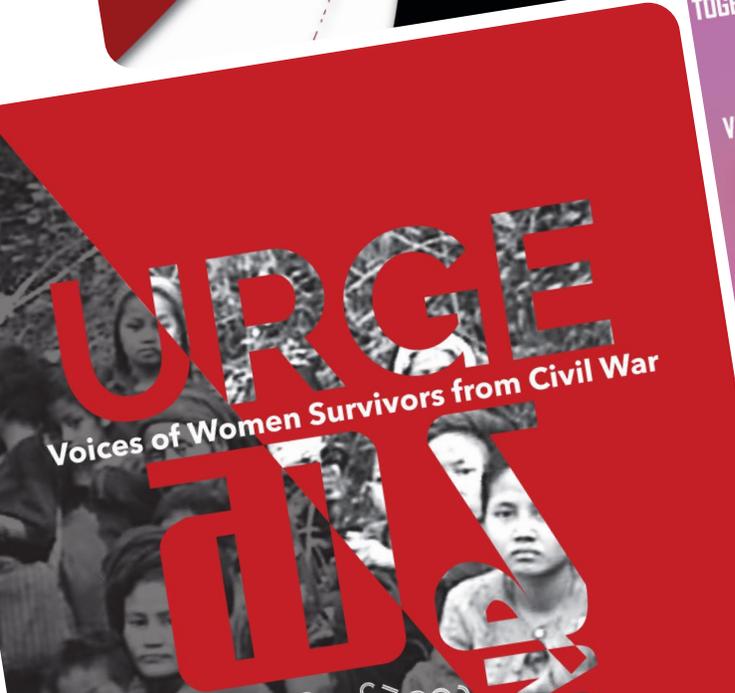
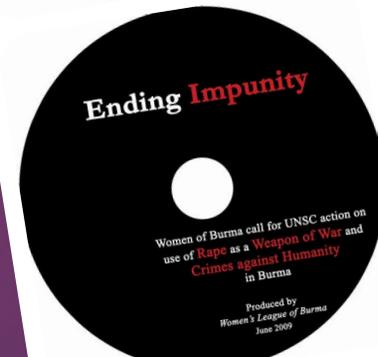
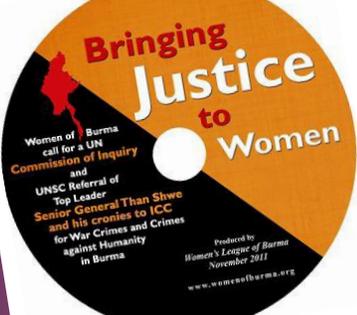


WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF BURMA

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ဒီမိုကရေစီနှင့် တာဝန်ယူမှုကို အာရုံစိုက်ရန် အားပေးရန်။

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Analyzing the Principles of GENDER EQUALITY Adopted by Union Peace Conference

where are the women? #Manel_Exhibition
ဖိုဝါဒလွမ်းမိုးသော စကားပိုင်းများ ဓာတ်ပုံပြပွဲ
OCTOBER 17 - 29, 2023 | OPENING OCTOBER 19, 2023

Programs at a glance



WOMEN EMPOWERMENT Program

182 women empowered

Emerging Women's Leadership Training

103

Young Women's Leadership Training

51

Internship at SWAN Office

69

NEPAL

INDIA

BANGLADESH

Sagaing Region

Chin State

Mandalay Region

Rakhine State

Magway Region

Bah

Yang

Ayeyarwaddy State



WOMEN'S WELL-BEING Program

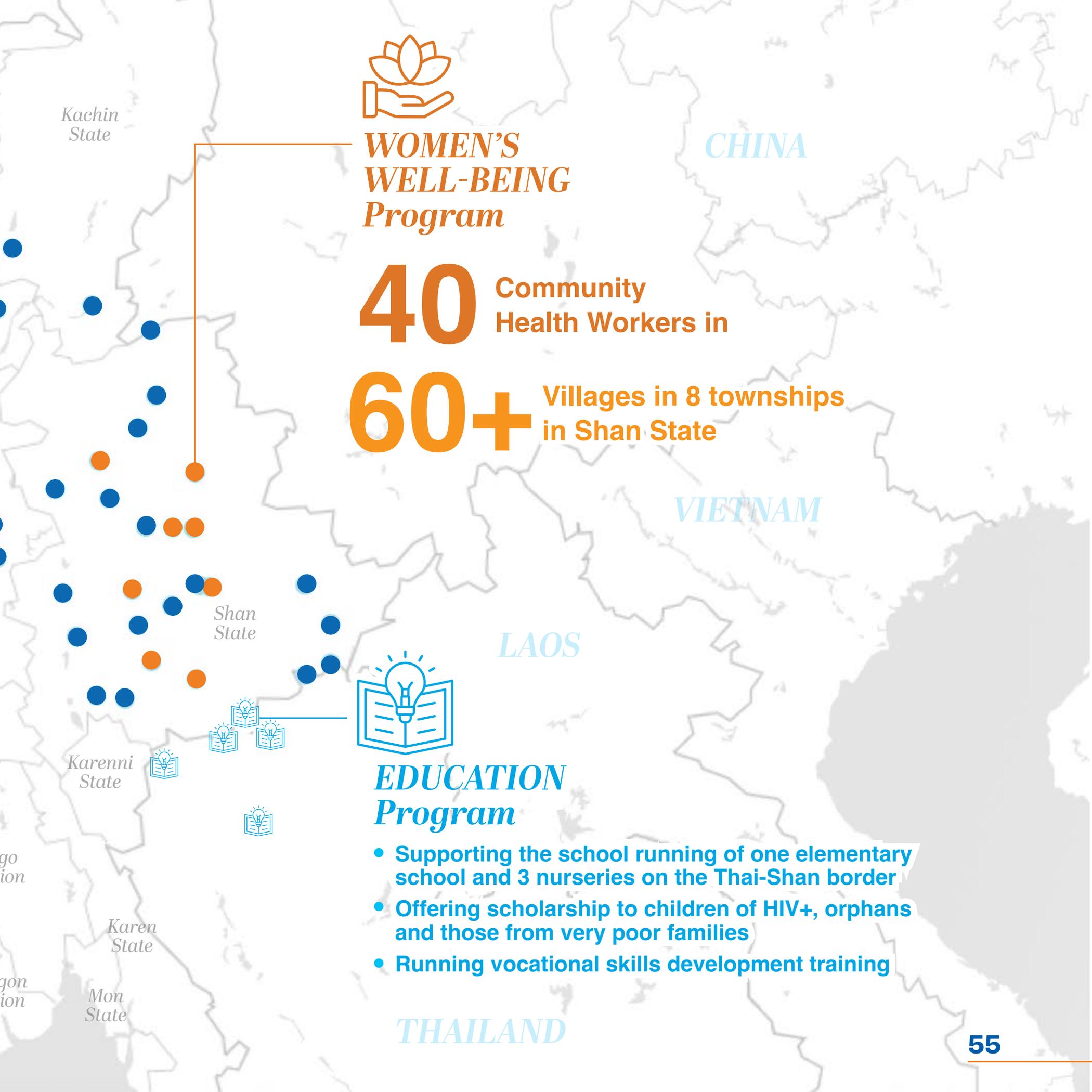
40 Community
Health Workers in

60+ Villages in 8 townships
in Shan State



EDUCATION Program

- Supporting the school running of one elementary school and 3 nurseries on the Thai-Shan border
- Offering scholarship to children of HIV+, orphans and those from very poor families
- Running vocational skills development training



DONORS

No.	Donors	Country	1999-2009	2010-2019	2020-2024	Activities / Program
	American Jewish World Service (AJWS)	USA				Health
	APCASO Foundation	Thailand				Strengthening the Organizational Capacity
	APHEDA via DAK Foundation	Australia				Education
	Asia Indigenous People Pact Foundation (AIPP)	Thailand				COVID 19 Emergency Response
	Austcare	Australia				Women's Empowerment
	Australian Embassy	Thailand				Health education for rural migrant workers
	between borders	Germany				Education
	Body Shop	UK				Education
	Bradley	Hong Kong				Education
	Burma Lifeline	USA				Health
	Burma Relief Centre (BRC)	Thailand				Health
	Chiang Mai International Rotary Club	Thailand				Education
	Children on the Edge	UK				Education
	City Life	Thailand				Education
	Cosefeb	France				Education
	Danish Burma Committee (DBC)	Denmark				Education
	Department for International Development (DFID)	UK				Educatio, health and women's empowerment activities including radio brodcasting to build social capital along Thai-Shan border and Central Shan State under the project" Reducing Vulnerability of Displaced Shan
	Dom Thai	Thailand				Education
	Embassy of the Netherlands	The Netherlands				Case supported under Women's Well - being
	Euro Burma Office (EBO)	Canada				Advocacy, Education & Emergency support
	Firetree Asia Foundation	Hong Kong				Education
	Foundation for the People of Burma (FPB)	USA				Education
	Help Without Frontiers	Germany				Education

No.	Donors	Country	1999-2009	2010-2019	2020-2024	Activities / Program
	Humanitarian Aid Relief Trust (HART)	UK				Health & Crisis support Women's Well - being & Education & Organizational Development Workshop & Strategy Planning workshop and COVID 19 Emergency Response
	Hussman Foundation	USA				Education
	International Indigenous Women's Fund (AYNI/FIMI)	Peru				Young Women's Leadership Training under Women's Empowerment
	InFoAid	Thailand				COVID19 Emergency Support
	International Network of Engaged Buddhists	USA				COVID19 Emergency Support
	International Republican Institute (IRI)	USA				Political Exchange; Alternative Tourist Guidebook; Administration support
	International Women for Peace and Justice	Thailand				SWAN Café'
	International Women's Development Agency(IWDA)	Australia				WEP & ID; Organizational Strengthening activities
	LifePrep & Starfish fund	Thailand				Education
	LUSH	Hong Kong				Adolescent training under Women's Well- being Programm, Education
	Magical Light Foundation	Singapore				Education
	Maris Foundation	Thailand				Education
	Move92	USA				COVID 19 Emergency Support, Youth Exchange & Women Exchange
	National Endowment for Democracy	USA				SWAN Center running; Staff salaries & Consultation, Networking & Advocay
	Norwegian Church Aid (NCA)	Norway				Health & Women's Empowerment, Raising gender awareness among Shan Community project
	Open Society Institute (OSI)	USA				Office running & Internship
	Pact Myanmar	USA				Information and Documentation
	Partner Asia	USA				Emergency case support, Education, COVID 19 Emergency Response, 16 Days activism
	PAWANKA Fund	USA				COVID 19 Emergency Support
	Philanthropy Connections Foundation	Thailand				Education, COVID 19 Emergency Response
	Planet Wheeler	Australia				Education
	Probono	Germany				Education
	Stichting Care For Children	Netherland				Education

No.	Donors	Country	1999-2009	2010-2019	2020-2024	Activities / Program
	Tebtebba Foundation	Philippines				COVID 19 Emergency Response
	Terre des Hommes	Germany				Raising gender awareness among Shan Community project Child Safety and Protection Project for Ethnic Minority Children in Post Conflict Area
	Thai Life	Thailand				Education
	The Embassy of the Netherlands	The Netherlands				Young Women's Leadership Training under Women's Empowerment
	The Popocatepetl Trust	USA				Education
	Unitarian Universalist Service Committee	USA				Office Running cost
	Urgent Action Fund	USA				Emergency support for women's human rights defenders
	Women's Education for Advancement and Empowerment (WEAVE)	Thailand				Income generation workshop
	Women's Fund Asia (WFA)	Sri Lanka				Women's Empowerment activities
	Private donors					Education and other Emergency support

ACRONYMS

APWLD	Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development
CDM	Civil Disobedience Movement
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DBC	The Danish Burma Committee
DFID	Department For International Development, United Kingdom government ministerial department
EAO/ERO	Ethnic Armed Organization/ Ethnic Resistance Organization
EWLT	Emerging Women's Leadership Training
GO	Governmental Organization
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
JRS	The Jesuit Refugee Service
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
RCSS	The Restoration Council of Shan State
SHAN	The Shan Herald Agency for News
SHRF	The Shan Human Rights Foundation
SLCA	The Shan Literature and Cultural Association
SNDP	The Shan Nationalities Democratic Party
SNLD	The Shan Nationalities League for Democracy
SSWDO	The Shan State Women's Development Organization
SSWO	The Shan State Women's Organization
SWSS	The Senior Women of Shan State
TNDP	The Tai-Leng Nationalities Development Party
YWLT	Young Women's Leadership Training
WLB	Women's League of Burma



*Designed by Ying Tzarm
March 2024*



A QUARTER
CENTURY OF

FEMINIST

MOVEMENT

BUILDING

