Rakhine Early Recovery Activity
Baseline Assessment, July 2016
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Executive Summary

Four years after inter-communal conflict broke out across the State, the context in central Rakhine state is at a delicate juncture characterized by both modest gains and ongoing uncertainty. The late 2015 election of a new National League for Democracy (NLD)-led government and the establishment of the new Central Committee for Peace and Development of Rakhine State have injected a renewed sense of urgency into the search for solutions. Starting in 2015, many of those displaced from their homes in Rakhine’s central townships have been re-housed under a government-sponsored return and resettlement programme, with the objective of formally ending the humanitarian emergency in these areas. As emergency aid provision begins to wind down, the government, donors, non-governmental organizations and local communities themselves have emphasized the need to implement longer-term development activities as a contribution to sustainable peace. At the same time, the local context remains highly tense. Parts of the return process remain deadlocked by disputes, while a dangerous mix of tension between Rakhine political parties and the NLD, armed conflict between Myanmar armed forces and Arakan Army militants, and resurgent religious political activism continue to threaten the wider political stability of the state.

In this context, the International Rescue Committee, the Danish Refugee Council, and Relief International have begun to implement the Rakhine Early Recovery Activity. Funded by the United States Agency for International Development, the project is providing support to 50 villages in areas that have experienced or are expecting returns of displaced populations in Minbya, Mrauk-U, Myebon, Pauktaw and Rathedaung townships. The project’s goal is to reduce displacement by providing both returnee communities and their neighbours with support to participatory governance structures, implementing small-scale development programming, and fostering greater trust and engagement between communities.

At project inception, consortium partners engaged Andaman Research and Advisory to conduct a baseline assessment. The assessment’s objectives were to provide a dataset against which to measure progress, and to ensure that the design, implementation and phasing of the project was grounded in a firm, up-to-date understanding of the local context. In pursuing these objectives, the assessment focused on four key themes central to the project’s design: livelihoods and development needs, participatory governance, inter-community trust and engagement, and protection concerns. In exploring these issues, the assessment also examined how they intersected with gender, age, location and other cross-cutting factors.

Data collection took place between May and June 2016. The study adopted a mixed-methods approach of 1) a representative sample of target populations in Rathedaung, Minbya, and Mrauk-U – where returns have taken place; and 2) age and gender-segregated focus group discussions (FGDs) across all five townships. This approach was designed to both gain a quantitative dataset which could identify trends, track them over time and allow for comparisons across different parts of the target population; and provide qualitative data to capture the complexities of how and why these dynamics take place. In total, the team interviewed 620 survey respondents and conducted 56 FGDs. Its key findings are presented below according to thematic area.

It is important to note here that these findings present a snapshot of the situation within the activity’s target areas within each township. They should not be extrapolated to the wider situation in these townships as a whole, or of Rakhine state in general.

Livelihoods and Development Needs

People in the project’s target area are heavily dependent on the agricultural sector for their livelihood, followed by smaller numbers engaged in trade and fisheries. A plurality of around one-third—notably more Muslim than Rakhine—are dependent primarily on casual labor, while another third own and farm their own land. Casual laborers generally lack the ability to diversify into secondary income sources. This stands in contrast with much of the rest of the population, who are often able to depend on a mixture of paddy farming, casual labor, and home-based vegetable gardening and livestock rearing.

Livelihood outcomes were measured using the World Food Programme’s Coping Strategies Index (CSI), which serves as a proxy for food security. This demonstrated substantial variation across both townships and ethnicities. In Minbya and especially Rathedaung, food insecurity was found to be significantly higher among Muslim communities than among Rakhine. By contrast, food insecurity was found to be overall much lower
in Mrauk-U, with much less inter-ethnic variation. Reflecting the precariousness of their situation, casual labourers were also substantially more likely to be food insecure compared to paddy farmers or fishermen.

When asked about their own needs and the needs of their communities, study participants focused overwhelmingly on the need for more jobs, and better education and health services. Employment was the main household priority across all ethnicities, while the focus on health was also reflected in reported inability to access basic medical care by a majority of respondents. By contrast, very few people raised improvements to community governance or leadership as an explicit development priority.

At present, external assistance to households in the target area is heavily concentrated on Muslim communities, largely in the form of food assistance. This generally reflects previous emergency aid distributed to villages housing displaced populations. Aid from NGOs or the UN accounts for just under half of all assistance received, with township and village governments providing under one-fifth. While this ethnic divide in the delivery of aid reflects the imbalances of food security observed between Muslim and Rakhine areas, it remained a point of contention for Rakhine communities, who accuse NGOs of biased aid provision, most notably in Rathedaung. However, anti-international sentiment also appeared to be softening in the wake of the more widespread international response to Cyclone Komen in 2015. Importantly, members of all communities stressed the importance of providing equitable assistance that is balanced not just between different groups, but also distributed equally within communities.

**Participatory Governance**

In general, village governance mechanisms were found to be highly centralized, with power concentrated in the hands of exclusively male village or village tract administrators, accompanied by small groups of village elders and occasionally religious leaders. Village leaders and their advisors tend to dominate decision-making within their villages, sometimes consulting the wider population on important issues but just as frequently making decisions unilaterally before announcing them to villagers. These leaders are also responsible overseeing dispute-resolution processes, and for ensuring safety and security in their communities. In addition, they serve as the village’s main point of contact with the outside world in the absence of any other horizontal or vertical structures linking villagers to either neighbouring communities or to the state.

In terms of wider participation, around one-half to two-thirds of all survey respondents reported some degree of engagement with village governance, whether in terms of selecting their leaders, or of understanding and engaging with decision-making processes. Within all communities, gender, age and social class were all key determinants affecting people’s level of participation. Gender is an especially critical determining factor. Village politics remains a male-dominated space, with women actively excluded from meaningful participation in decision-making processes across all communities – a trend often justified by communities on the grounds of religion, cultural values, or women’s perceived lack of education. Unsurprisingly, poorer people and youth were also found to be more marginalized, and were perceived as lacking the required social capital to take an active part in village politics. Overall, a picture emerges from both the survey and focus group data of decision-making power and engagement across all communities focused in the hands of older, richer, better-educated men.

However, there were variations across both ethnicity and geography. Overall, people in Muslim communities demonstrated lower levels of participation and awareness of village governance. Muslim respondents were significantly less likely than their Rakhine or Maramargyi counterparts to report feeling involved in selecting their village leaders, taking part in decisions affecting their village, and being properly informed about important decisions when they were made. These trends were especially pronounced among Muslim communities in Rathedaung.

Despite the lack of inclusiveness, almost three-quarters of respondents reported that they perceived their village leaders listened to their priorities and concerns, while a smaller majority also felt their leaders were effective in addressing them. In either case, study participants overwhelmingly felt that the leadership of their communities had improved over the past year, linking this directly to the appointment of a new cohort of village tract administrators and hundred household heads after the 2015 general election.

Study participants gave mixed responses about the kind of role they would like to play in village governance in future. Overall, around two-thirds of survey respondents wanted more involvement. Female and youth
FGD participants often rejected their current marginalized status quo and demanded a greater level of inclusion, including changes in the structure of decision-making to accommodate their voices if necessary. However, survey respondents in Rathedaung were much less interested in taking greater part relative to their counterparts in Mrauk-U. In addition, only around half of all women surveyed expressed such an interest, compared to three-quarters of men.

**Trust and Engagement**

Findings from the baseline suggest a slow increase in the level of interaction between members of different ethnic groups in the past 12 months, centred on the resumption of pre-conflict economic relationships. However, this trend exists along a continued background of hostility and mistrust, largely but not exclusively towards Muslims.

Around three-fifths of survey respondents reported interacting with members of another ethnicity in the previous 30 days. These interactions were notably higher in Mrauk-U compared to other townships, and lowest in Rathedaung. A plurality respondents felt these interactions were becoming more frequent, following the same trend in township variation. In line with this trend, FGD participants in non-camp Muslim communities also spoke of a gradual easing of movement restrictions through reduced requirements for permission documents or reduced rates of informal payments to police.

Interactions were mainly based around trading relations, as well as labour markets structured by ethnicity. Both FGD and survey participants reported a situation where ethnic interactions occur mainly when Muslim labourers are hired to work on the land of Rakhine paddy farmers, or when Muslim traders and consumers purchase goods through Rakhine brokers. However, it should also be noted that approximately one-quarter of Muslim respondents, one-third of Rakhine respondents and one-half of Maramargyi respondents also reported in engaging in more informal social relations with members of other ethnic groups.

In line with evidence from other recent studies, Muslims reported somewhat conciliatory attitudes toward their Rakhine neighbours – albeit driven as much by economic pragmatism as any other motive. Around half of all Muslim respondents reported feeling positive about interacting with other ethnic groups, with over 90% hoping to see this increase. By contrast, attitudes among Rakhine communities remained much more ambivalent. Only one-third felt positive about such interactions, and only one-fifth wanted to see them increase. Rakhine women were in particular especially skeptical of increased interactions, a view grounded in the perceived threat of sexual violence from Muslims that has permeated popular narratives since the 2012 conflict. Notably, Rakhine FGD participants sometimes expressed a relative level of acceptance for long-standing local Muslim communities, while emphasizing their hostility toward a perceived group of more dangerous, recently-arrived outsiders. Overall, differences in people’s perceptions across townships followed a similar pattern: more conciliatory in Mrauk-U, more hostile in Rathedaung.

Critically, majorities among all ethnic groups expressed a willingness to work with members of other ethnicities on projects that would bring benefits to all residents of their village tract. While this sentiment was weaker among Rakhine respondents, it was substantially more common than positive sentiments about more general increases in cross-ethnic interaction. This indicates a possible willingness to suspend wider animosities in pursuit of concrete development outcomes.

**Protection**

Although the return and resettlement of displaced people represents an important step forward, protection issues remain a significant concern in RERA’s target areas. Especially in Muslim communities, RERA’s protection teams have documented and worked to address upwards of 50 individual protection-related incidents since the start of 2016. Against this background, the baseline focused on exploring possible protection concerns related to community-based dispute resolution processes, realization of rights, and the returns process itself.

It found that dispute-resolution remains dominated by a small group of village elites, with formal justice mechanisms used only as a last resort. This remains a significant concern in cases of gender-based violence, where the rights and needs of survivors are unlikely to be respected, and where the primacy given to mediation and stability is likely to put them in harm’s way once again. In addition, it was observed that Muslim communities are dependent on village tract administrators (VTAs) and sometimes the police in
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arbitrating more serious disputes within their villages, and between their villages and those of another ethnicity. This represents a potentially troubling power imbalance given that these actors are almost always Rakhine.

The study examined households’ access to basic identity documentation in the form of birth certificates and updated family lists. These documents are critical as they form the basis for families being able to prove their existence to the state and other actors, and thus access basic services and claim formal rights where these exist. It found that coverage of such documentation was poor across RERA’s target area, but substantially worse for Muslims than Rakhines. Around three-quarters of Muslim households lacked birth certificates for children born within the past year compared to one-third of Rakhines, while almost none had seen their family lists updated within the past five years compared to just under half of Rakhines.

In terms of access to basic services, Muslims were substantially less likely to report access health and education compared to their Rakhine neighbours—although these trends exist in a wider context of chronic service provision gaps faced by the state as a whole. For health, just under half of Muslim survey respondents reported being unable to access care, compared with around one-tenth of Rakhines. Geography was also a factor, with Minbya and especially Rathedaung reporting higher barriers to healthcare access compared to Mrauk-U. Access to township hospitals remains restricted for Muslims, who must depend on challenging referrals directly to Sittwe when they need emergency care. In contrast to health, primary education was more easily accessible for all communities. While slightly more Rakhine children of primary school age were in school compared to their Muslim counterparts, geography was the key difference, with school access in Rathedaung substantially lower than either Mrauk-U or Minbya.

Closely linked with access to services is the issue of freedom of movement. Although almost all Muslims remain subject to some degree of movement restrictions, there appears to be some room for manoeuvre within people’s home village tracts. By contrast, movement restrictions for Rakhine are not unheard of but remain very rare. Just under half of all Muslims reported being able to move freely within their village tracts, although this conceals a pattern of very tight restrictions in Minbya, and much laxer constraints in Mrauk-U. Movement beyond the village tract remains difficult for Muslims, with only around one-sixth able to move further afield—almost all concentrated in Mrauk-U. FGD results indicate that when Muslims do move, they are often forced to pay burdensome informal payments to police or other authorities when they do so.

The assessment yielded only a limited amount of data on the process of ending displacement through return to area of origin or local integration—out of all survey respondents, only 43 were from formerly displaced households. Nevertheless, it identifies some key trends in need of further investigation. Promisingly, the vast majority of formerly displaced people in the survey expressed satisfaction with the process. By contrast, participants in some FGDs reported instances of misappropriation of funds allocated for returnees by village leaders. In addition, the returns process appears to have been poorly communicated to local populations. Less than one-third of people in villages neighbouring return communities reported having any awareness of the process, with most hearing by word of mouth. This raises questions about the long-term sustainability and impact of returns on inter-communal relations in areas where they have taken place.

In general, the findings from this assessment align with much of the current research as significant challenges were found for the RERA program, while a number of opportunities for engagement were identified. Recommended activities include supporting sustainable and decent-paying employment for laborers with particular attention to reducing food insecurity, and acting on the positive sentiment expressed by respondents in pushing for greater inclusiveness and participation of marginalized groups, particular of women, in the economy and in local-level decision-making. Prioritizing the formalization and sustainability of local governance bodies through a consultative approach that does no harm to existing relations will be also be critical. Given ongoing protection concerns and the tense state of inter-communal relations, monitoring work should continue while the RERA program seeks to build on the willingness of ethnic groups in some areas to collaborate on small-scale infrastructure projects that seek to incrementally build trust.
ရခိုင် အစိုးရအားလုံး စီမံကိန်းပုံစံ၏လူသားခ်င္းစာနာမႈဆိုင္ရာ ျပည္ေထာင္စုအစိုးရ၊ က်င္းပေသာ ရြာနီးခ်င္းအစိုးရာအဖြဲ႕ သည့္ အရာတုင္မႈအတူ ျပန္လည္အမွ်းရခိုင္ျပည္နယ္ လူသားခ်င္းစာနာမႈဆိုင္ရာ သစ္ႏွင့္အတူ ေရာက္ရွိေနသည့္ လူသားခ်င္းစာနာမႈအစိုးရ အား အခ်က္အလက္မ်ားဖြံရပ္ရြာမ်ားျဖစ္ပြားၿပီးေနာက္ စူးစမ္းေလ့လာရင္းအုပ္ခ်ဳပ္ေရးအား အလယ္ပိုင္းေဒသမွ ိပကၡမ်ားျဖစ္ပြားၿပီးေနာက္ စူးစမ္းေလ့လာရင္းအုပ္ခ်ဳပ္ေရး ရ္လက္နက္ကိုင္ပ တင္းမာမႈမ်ားမွာလည္း အခ်င္းခ်င္းယုံၾကည္မႈယူအက္စ္အိတ္ဒ္႕ြီးသုေတသနႏွင့္ ျဖစ္ေပၚခဲ့ပါသည္။
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ဆွဲခြင်းများအဖြဲ႕အဖြဲ႕ရှိငယ္မ်ားစားနပ္ရိက္အစုအဝိုင်းအတွင်းလက်ရာအဖြဲ႕အဖြဲ႕များကိုအော်ပြင်သည်။

ရှိသူရှိသားများအတွက်ဆက်သွယ်ရေးတွင်အပြင်အဆင့်ရာအဖြဲ႕အဖြဲ႕ကိုလိုအပ်ၾကာင့်မည်။
ပူးေပါင္းေဆာင္ရြက္ျခင္းျဖင့္ ခ်က္မ်ိဳးသည္ စီမံကိန္းမ်ားကို စုိးရိမ္ေၾကာင့္ၾကမႈ ေျမာက္ဦးၿမိဳ အခ်ဳပ္အားျဖင့္ ျပင္ပမွ မြတ္စလင္မ်ားကို ေကာင္းမြန္လာ ငါးပုံတစ္ပုံခန္ ေဖာ္ျပၾကပါသည္။ သူတို စစ္အလုပ္သမားမ်ားအား အလုပ္သမားမြတ္စလင္မ်ားကလည္း ဤ ေျဖဆိုသူမ်ားက လူမ်ိဳးစုမ်ား၏ ဦးတည္အုပ္စုေဆြးေႏြးပြဲမ်ားတြင္ပါဝင္သူမ်ား၏ သုံးပုံတစ္ပုံခန္ ႕ ၿပီး ငွားရမ္းမႈမ်ားတြင္ ဆက္ဆံေရးျပန္လည္ေကာင္းမြန္မႈကို မြတ္စလင္ ေဘးအႏၱရာယ္ကို လိုလားၾကပါသည္။ ေဖာ္ျပၾကပါသည္။ နယ္တြင္ စစ္တမ္းေကာက္ယူရာတြင္ လိင္ပိုင္းဆိုင္ရာအၾကမ္းဖက္မႈတည္ရွိေနေသာ သံသယရွိၾကပါသည္။ အေကာင္းျမင္ၾကၿပီး အနည္းဆုံးျဖစ္ေၾကာင္း သို ေလ်ာ့နည္းလာေၾကာင္း ႔ ရလဒ္ျဖစ္ေပၚလာမည္ဟူေသာအျမင္ထက္ အသိအမွတ္ျပဳလက္ခံေသာ္လည္း ရခိုင္ပြဲစားမ်ားထံမွ လူမ်ိုးစုအခ်င္းခ်င္း ႔ အႀကိမ္ပိုမ်ားလာေၾကာင္း၊ လိုၾက စလင္မ်ားအေပၚ ေဖာ္ျပၾကပါသည္။ ၂၀၁၂၊ ေရွးကာလကတည္းက ငွားရမ္းရခိုင္သုံးပုံတစ္ပုံခန္ ပါဝင္သူမ်ားက ၿပီး ၉၀ ခုႏွစ္ပ လြန္ခဲ့ေသာ ျဖစ္ပါသည္။ ကိစၥရပ္မ်ား ဆက္သယ္မႈ ေနထိုင္သူအားလုံးအက်ိဳးရွိမည့္ ႔ အထင္လြဲမႈ ိပကၡ ႏြးပြဲ ေဖာ္ျပၾကပါသည္။ ပုံစံတူပင္ ကာလကတည္းက ႔ ႕ ႔ ၉ ကာလကတည္းက မ်ားသည္ သို ၿမိဳ လူမ်ိဳးစုေပါင္းစုံ ႔ အႀကိမ္ပိုမ်ားလာေၾကာင္း၊ အျမင္က စခန္ျပင္ပေန မြတ္စလင္မႈမ်ားကို ျဖစ္ပါသည္။ စတင္ေၾကာင္း- အတြင္း အျမင္မွာ မြတ္စလင္မႈမ်ားကို တို ႔ စိတင္ေၾကာင္း။
ပိုမိုက်ယ္ေသာ ျဖစ္ေစပါသည္။

တည္ၿငိမ္းေအးခ်မ္းေရးကို မေလးစားသကဲ့သို့ပုံမွန္တရာေရးမြတ္စလင္ေက်းရြာမ်ားတြင္တစ္ရပ္ျဖစ္ေသာ္လည္းအကာအကြယ္ေပးျခင္းယာယီေမ ဤေတြပါေရးပါေသာအခါ ပုံမြငးမွီစီမံကိန္းေဒသအတြင္း ထိုသည္ ႕အျပင္အျငင္းကိစၥမ်ားကို ရခိုင္ေဒသလိုအပ္သလိုတန္းတင္ထားသျဖင့္သူတို ပညာေရးမ်ားျဖစ္ေပၚေသာအခါ ႕ျပန္လည္ေရာက္ရွိအေရးပါေသာခုႏွစ္ကနဦးစီမံကိန္းေဒသအတြင္း ရခိုင္မ်ားထက္ရရွိမႈအေျခအေနႏွင့္၏ ၅၀ ႆအေၾကာင္းအရာတစ္ရပ္/႕နာေျဖရွင္းရာတြင္ရွိေရးရရွိေရးေက်းရြာအုပ္ခ်ဳပ္ေရးမွဴးစစ္ေဆးစီမံကိန္းတစ္ပုံတို စစ္ေဆး၊ က်န္းမာေရးညႊန္ျပေနပါသည္။

အကာအကြယ္ေပးေရးဆိုင္အထူးသျဖင့္က်န္စမာေရးညႊန္ျပေးမႈမ်ားကို ထင္လုပ္ေပးထားျခင္း လိုအပ္ခ်က္မ်ားကိုကိုင္တြယ္ေျဖရွင္းေပးေနရပါသည္။

က်ယ္က်ယ္ျပန္ႏိုင္ငံေတာ္ ဝန္ထမ္းအဖြဲအနည္းငယ္လက္ထဲတြင္ တရားဝင္အခြင့္အေရးမ်ားကိုအေျခခံမ်ဥ္းစစ္တမ္းေကာက္ယူျခင္းကို ရခိုင္မ်ားထက္ရရွိမႈအေျခအေနႏွင့္ပတ္သက္၍က်န္းမာေရးညႊန္ျပေနပါသည္။
ပညာရေးနှင့်သောချက်များကိုအသုံးပြုထားရန်လုပ်ငန်းများရှိလျှင် လုပ်ငန်းအားလုံးကိုလည်းသုံးစွဲမည်။ သာသာယာအပေါ် ပေးပြားသောအခါကို အလှတာသုံးစွဲလုပ်ငန်းသည် ဆက်လက်စူးစမ္းလာရန် လုပ်ငန်းစဥ်များကိုအလှတာသုံးစွဲမည်။

အခြေခံသောစာမျက်နှာပေါင်းမှုများနှင့်အတူ အားလုံးများစွာကိုလည်းသုံးစွဲမည်။ ကော်မာ့တွင် လှတုံးအုပ်စုအတွင်းလျော်စွာ ဝန်ထမ်းများသို့ လှတော်လှမ်းမွီးရရွိနေရာကိုရာက္ကုသရန္ရပ္ရြာလူထုအားခရီးစြာလာရန္ကန္ျပန္ခြာေရႊင့္လာခြင့္နယ္ထက္မေျပလည္မႈမ်ားကိုရဲမ်ားရပ္ရြာလူထုအားလောက်ရွိမွီးရရွိချင်း႔ငိရဲမ်ားစွာရပ္ရြာလူထုအား ခရီးသြားလာမႈမ်ားသည္အမ်ားစုကပါဝင္အႀကံျပဳႏိုင္သည့္လိုအပ္ေသာအခါမ်ားတြင္က်န္းမာေရးပတ္သက္ေသာ ဦးသည္သာက်နေသာ ခ် မွတ္ေပးေသာ ဆုံးျဖတ္ခ်က္မ်ားတြင္ေျမာက္ဦးၿမိဳအတိုင္းအတာ သည္ နယ္အတြင္း သန္ခရီးမ်ားအတြက္နယ္အတြင္း လုပ္ငန်းမ်ားကို ဦးတည္အုပ္စု လုပ္ခေပး႕႕အျပင္သို စဥ္းစားလ်က္ ဦးတည္အုပ္စုလက္ရွိေဆာင္ရြက္ေနေသာ သည္ အခက္အခဲရွိေသာ ရသကဲ့သိုမြတ္စလင္မ်ားအတြက္ ေရရွည္ၿငိသိရပါသည္။

ရေသ့ေတာင္ၿမိဳမင္းျမားျမိဳမိ ထိန္းသိမ္းေရး သိုနိုင္ချင်။

အခြေခံကိုသောအရာများ မိဘာသာစကားလုပ်ငန်းများတြင္ အချိန်မှာ အပြင်နှင့်အဆိုးတွင္ လူတန္းစားမ်ားအတြက္ အခြေအနေအလုပ်အလိုင်း ေဆာင္ရြက္ထားေရး အနည္းငယ္သာရွိေၾကာင္းသိရပါသည္။

ဒီသို့သောအခြေခံစာမျက်နှာပေါင်းမှုများနှင့်အတူ ဗီယက်နှင့်သာသာယာအပေါ် ပေးပြားသောအခါကို အလှတာသုံးစွဲမည်။ ルーキー afford သော လုပ်ငန်းစဥ်များကိုအလှတာသုံးစွဲမည်။

ရှိသောစာမျက်နှာပေါင်းမှုများနှင့်အတူ ဗီယက်နှင့်သာသာယာအပေါ် ပေးပြားသောအခါကို အလှတာသုံးစွဲမည်။ ルーキー afford သော လုပ်ငန်းစဥ်များကိုအလှတာသုံးစွဲမည်။
ရှိသောအဆင့်ဖြင့်ပါဝင်သော အချက်အလက်များ ၊ အသုံးပြုသူများ၏ အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်အလက်များ၊ အထောက်အထားအရ ဦးစွာ ဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။