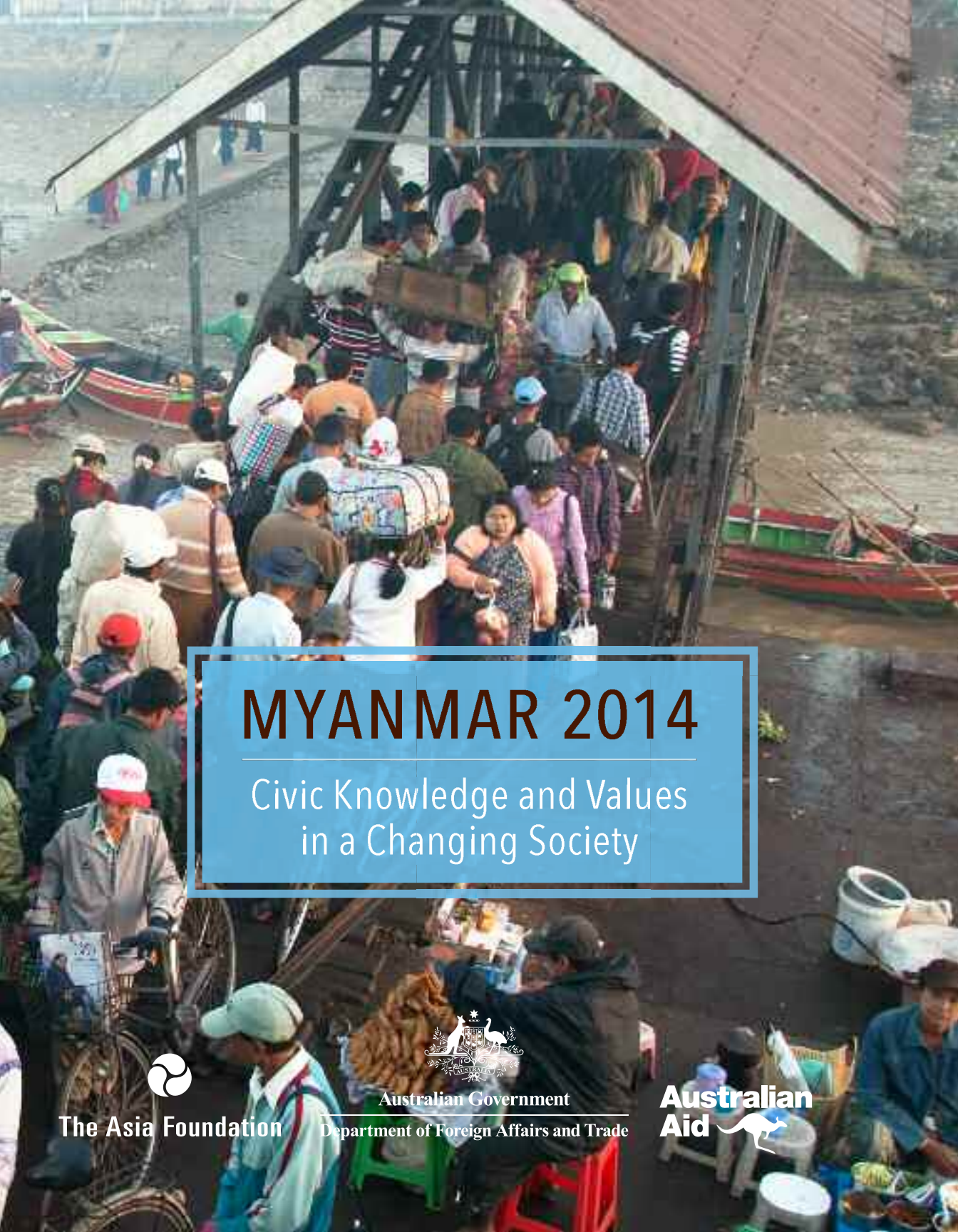

MYANMAR 2014

Civic Knowledge and Values in a Changing Society

The Asia Foundation

Australian Government
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

Australian Aid

MYANMAR 2014

Civic Knowledge and Values in a Changing Society

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MYANMAR 2014: Civic Knowledge and Values in a Changing Society

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PREFACE

The Asia Foundation is pleased to present *Myanmar 2014: Civic Knowledge and Values in a Changing Society.*

The dramatic political, social, and economic reforms that the government of Myanmar has ushered in since 2011 have captured global attention. An increasingly active Parliament and lively multi-party politics have generated new dynamics in political dialogue and state-citizen interactions. It is inspiring to witness so many in government and society who are committed to finding the way forward toward a democratic and prosperous nation, overcoming the challenges of decades of military rule and ethnic armed conflicts. The urgency of the undertaking to remake and renew the country is pervasive, but a deep sense of distrust also remains among individuals and organizations, and between citizens and the state, in trying to make sense of these dramatic changes after so many years of severely curtailed public participation. Will the reforms bring about meaningful changes that benefit the majority, or will gains be captured by the few who have always had access to political and economic power?

There are many critical challenges confronting Myanmar in the years ahead, among them constitutional reform, negotiations to achieve a lasting peace, government accountability and effectiveness, and access to public services and opportunities. In this early phase in the transition process, however, what do ordinary people actually know about government, how do they feel about where things are going, and what values do they hold on a range of issues, from governance, to the economy, to gender? In carrying out this first nationwide survey of civic knowledge and values in Myanmar, we hope to contribute a more solid empirical basis for the ongoing discourse in the country on democratic transition and inclusive society, and thereby better inform the work of all those who are supporting the country's political, social, and economic development.

No one data source provides perfect information, but the survey instrument can give us a broad sense of public knowledge and opinion across the country. We hope that you will find the survey data illuminates a country undergoing extraordinary change, with all the inherent conflicting perspectives that entails. Given that this is the first survey of its kind in Myanmar, the survey questionnaire can be refined further to better document and track changes in public awareness and views, and we hope to do so in future years.

The *Myanmar 2014 survey report* was a team effort of The Asia Foundation Myanmar, with the support of many colleagues and partners at different stages of design, implementation, and analysis. I would like to thank Tim Meisburger, Matthew Arnold, Barbara Smith, Ellen Boccuzzi, and Norris Thigpen for contributing substantive inputs to the design of the survey questionnaire, and particularly to Sunil Pillai, who worked closely with Myanmar Survey Research in the testing of the questionnaire, survey implementation, data presentation, and in producing the initial draft report. Susan Lee carried out significant additional data checks and analysis for the final report, with inputs from Ye Thu Aung and Thi Dar Nwe. Colleagues at Myanmar Survey Research were consistently professional and responsive throughout the course of the survey implementation. Representatives from political parties and civil society organizations provided thoughtful insight

and feedback which aided our analysis. The final report also benefited greatly from the assistance of colleagues in the Foundation's Digital Media and Technology Programs and the Global Communications unit, particularly Tomas Apodaca and Nancy Kelly.

The Asia Foundation would like to thank the Ministry of Information for its assistance in ensuring that the survey could be carried out effectively and independently in the various localities, and the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade for funding support to the survey and its dissemination to a wide range of interested stakeholders inside and outside of Myanmar.

Kim N. B. Ninh, Ph.D
Country Representative, Myanmar

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Myanmar is undergoing an extraordinary period of change. The transition from military rule to a quasi-civilian government since 2011 is exemplified by shifts from a closed economic system to one that is market-oriented, from an isolated country to one that is engaging actively in regional and global affairs, and from decades of conflict with multiple, ethnic armed groups to a push for a national ceasefire and political dialogue. Changes of this magnitude within such a compressed time frame are not easily accomplished, however, given the urgent need for updated knowledge and the lack of capacity in many sectors within government and society, as well as continuing distrust of the government's reform agenda among ethnic armed groups and civil society organizations. After so many years of severely curtailed social, political, and economic development under military rule, many within society remain skeptical about whether current reforms can bring genuine, inclusive development and peace, or will be captured by crony capitalism and the old political order.

In this challenging context, The Asia Foundation carried out a nationwide survey in 2014 to document public knowledge and awareness of new government institutions and processes, and to gauge the political, social, and economic values held by people of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds, which will inform the country's long-term development and the nature of state-society relations. Conducted during the months of May and June, the survey included face-to-face interviews with more than 3,000 respondents across all fourteen states and regions. States and regions are constitutionally equivalent in Myanmar, but they have different historical roots. States typically encompass the areas where a large number of ethnic communities live, while regions are where the ethnic Burman majority resides. The survey over-sampled in the states to ensure a better understanding of their views. It should be noted that, given the complex ethnic map of Myanmar, the views of the states as reported in the survey should not be taken as the views of the ethnic groups themselves.

The survey results show that in the early stages of Myanmar's transition to democracy, people are generally hopeful about the future, though that optimism is tempered by a number of challenges. People have very limited knowledge about the current structure and functions of various levels of government, particularly the subnational levels. They are most knowledgeable about the national government on the one hand, and the lowest levels of village and ward administration, with whom public interaction is highest, on the other. People express a strong preference for democracy in the abstract and a high level of expectation that voting will bring about positive change, but they possess a limited understanding of the principles and practices that underpin a democratic society. Democracy is viewed as having provided new freedoms, but there is little association of democracy with rule by the people. Social trust is particularly low, and political disagreements are deeply polarizing. Gender values remain highly traditional, with both men and women expressing a similarly strong view that men make better political and business leaders than women.

On the whole, people are positive about the current situation in the country, but there is a pervasive underlying uncertainty, with positive sentiment dropping among the states. The tangible results of the reform process in delivering roads, schools, and economic growth are cited by respondents who believe

that the country is going in the right direction, whereas ongoing conflicts, a bad economy or lack of development, and problematic governance and corruption are highlighted by those who are negative about the direction in which the country is heading. Economic performance figures prominently a s a public concern, serving as a key indicator for how well people feel the country is doing. In this regard, the economic values that people express bode well for the future if properly harnessed to drive inclusive growth as market-oriented reforms continue. People feel strongly that competition, individual effort, and hard work contribute to a better life, and that there is enough economic opportunity to benefit everyone. Nevertheless, the public continues to have a high expectation that the government will play a strong role in ensuring an equitable and inclusive society.

KNOWLEDGE OF GOVERNMENT

Knowledge of government is low. Overall, the survey revealed that basic knowledge about the structure and functions of the government is very low. A significant 82% of respondents are unable to name any branches of the government, with 14% correctly citing the executive, 3% the legislative, and 2% the judicial. Respondents are most knowledgeable about the executive branch, with 87% of all respondents correctly identifying the president as the head of state in Myanmar. There is a significant difference in knowledge between states and regions, as 93% of respondents in the regions answered correctly, compared to 73% in the states.

Public knowledge about the selection/appointment process for key government positions is poor. Although respondents report overwhelmingly (95%) that they participated in the 2010 elections, many incorrectly believe that key officials are elected directly by citizens. More than a third (36%) of all respondents did not know, and only 12% knew, that the president is indirectly elected by the *Pyidaungsu Hluttaw*, the national, or Union, Parliament. A significant 44% believed incorrectly that the president is elected directly by ordinary citizens. Similarly, 32% of all respondents believed that the chief minister is elected, while only 22% correctly answered that the chief minister is appointed by the president. In a related question, 25% of respondents correctly identified the president as responsible for appointing Union ministers, but 17% believed that ministers are selected by voters.

People know very little about the functions of the legislative branch at the Union and state/region levels. Few respondents (15%) correctly identified the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw as the institution that passes bills into law, while 76% did not know. Respondents tended to associate both the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw and the state/region hluttaws with the function of representation (44% Pyidaungsu; 45% state/region), rather than lawmaking (14% Pyidaungsu, 11% state/region) or providing budgeting and oversight (4% Pyidaungsu, 4% state/region). Almost half of all respondents said they did not know the functions of the hluttaws.

Knowledge of the 25% reservation of parliamentary seats for the military is low. When asked to state the percentage of defense services representatives in the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, 68% of respondents said they don't know, and only 15% were able to provide the correct figure of 25%. As for the presence of defense services personnel in the state and region hluttaws, 49% of respondents did not know if there

are any, 39% believed that there are, and 13% thought there are not. Respondents in the regions were more likely to know the correct answer, with 42% stating that defense services personnel are in the state and region hluttaws, compared with only 29% in the states.

Knowledge of the judiciary is lowest of all. When asked to name the highest court in Myanmar, a majority (56%) stated that they did not know. A third (29%) of respondents correctly named the Supreme Court, 7% cited the state or region court, 5% named the township court, and 2% named the district court. When asked whether the chief justice of the Supreme Court is elected or appointed by the president, half of the respondents (50%) correctly answered that the chief justice is appointed by the president, while 15% believed that the chief justice is elected by voters. More than a third (35%) indicated that they did not know.

People are more aware of the national government and the lowest level of village/ward government than they are of the various subnational government entities in between. When people were asked to describe the key functions of various subnational government institutions, 76% stated that they did not know the functions of the state and region governments, and 68% said that they did not know the functions of the township government. In contrast, only 33% felt they did not know the functions of the village-tract administrator.

When asked whether state and region governments have the power to tax or impose fees, only a third (31%) were able to answer correctly in the affirmative; a third (36%) did not think so, and another third (33%) did not know. Lack of knowledge about the activities of the state and region hluttaws is underscored by the low number of respondents (4%) who were able to correctly name their representative in their state or region hluttaws. In contrast, 85% of all respondents identified correctly the name of their village-tract or ward administrator, while only 16% knew the name of their chief ministers, and just 7% knew the name of their township administrator.

The survey also probed people's sense of which level of government affects their lives the most by its decisions. Twenty-nine percent of respondents identified the national government, and 20% cited the village-tract or ward administrators. A similar percentage believe either that no government decisions affect their lives (14%) or that decisions made at different levels of government affect their lives equally (12%). While 21% of respondents stated that they did not know, only 3% felt the decisions of state and region governments affected their lives the most, and a mere 2% thought so about the township governments.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND UNDERSTANDING OF DEMOCRACY

People report a high rate of election participation, while asserting a lack of interest in "politics." Politics in Myanmar, *naing ngan yeh*, carries with it the burden of decades of military rule and political repression. Involvement in and discussion of politics has long been seen as dangerous or requiring expertise beyond the capacity of ordinary people. The survey results suggest that these notions persist, with respondents rarely voicing a strong interest in politics, yet acting in a way that reflects awareness and interest in political participation through voting.

Overall, only five percent of respondents said they were very interested in politics, and few said they discussed politics with friends almost all the time (3%) or often (9%). Forty-six percent of all respondents said they were not at all interested in politics, and 49% said they never or almost never discuss politics with friends. Women reported much less interest in politics, with 59% stating that they never or almost never discuss politics with friends, compared to 41% of men.

This reported lack of interest in politics, however, is countered by people's strong interest in election participation. An overwhelming number of respondents reported participation in the 2010 general elections (95%) and expressed an intention to vote in the election of 2015 (93%).

People believe in exercising their right to vote, and express cautious optimism about the 2015 general elections. People are eager to exercise their right to vote, with 77% believing that voting can lead to improvements in the future, while only 10% feel that things will not change no matter how one votes. When it comes to the 2015 general elections, 68% of all respondents thought that they would be free and fair, with significantly more optimism in the regions (72%) than in the states (56%). The lower optimism in the states seems to be offset by a greater sense of uncertainty or lack of knowledge: 26% of respondents in the states said they did not know, as compared to only 13% in the regions. In addition, 38% of respondents believed the coming election will have a very positive impact, while 42% foresaw a somewhat positive impact. Only 4% felt the election would have no impact at all, and 15% said they did not know.

People's understanding of democracy and systems of government reflects a society in transition. When people were asked an open question about what it means when a country is called a democracy, "freedom" was most frequently mentioned (53%), follow by "rights and law" (15%), "peace" (11%), and "equal rights for groups" (8%). Just 3% mentioned "government of the people." More than one third of respondents (35%) said they did not know, with significantly more respondents expressing this uncertainty in the states (43%) than in the regions (32%). Almost twice as many women (45%) as men (25%) said they did not know what it means when a country is called a democracy.

When asked what the relationship between the government and the people should be, a majority (52%) felt that the government and the people should relate as equals. A substantial number of respondents (43%), however, believed that the government should be like a father and the people like children.

People mostly feel free to express political opinions, but respondents in the states feel much less free to do so. Sixty-six percent of all respondents said they feel free to express their political opinions where they live, while 23% said they do not. Significantly fewer respondents felt free to express their political opinions in the states (53%) than in the regions (71%), a gap that was most pronounced in Rakhine State, where only 41% of respondents felt free to express their political opinions, while 51% felt they were not free to do so.

There is a high degree of political polarization. When asked whether all political parties, even ones most people do not like, should be allowed to meet in their community, 52% of all respondents said yes, but more than a third (35%) said no. The level of political polarization is more defined when personal experience is captured. When asked whether they would end a friendship if a friend supported a

political party most people don't like, 41% said they would, while 52% said they would not. Significant variation exists among the states, with 68% in Rakhine State electing to end the friendship, compared to just 18% in Shan State. Political polarization is also higher in rural areas, with 45% opting to end the friendship, compared to 32% who would do so in urban areas.

IDENTITY, VALUES, AND TRUST

Identity of respondents in the regions is more clearly defined by religion, whereas those from the states express many layers of identity connecting to their ethnicity, local community, and religion. An overwhelming majority of all respondents (91%) were very proud to be from Myanmar, with little difference between residents of the states and the regions. When asked to express how they relate to the world, however, only about one third of all respondents (35%) identified themselves as part of the Myanmar nation first and foremost. Twenty-four percent identified primarily with their religious group, 10% with their local community, and nine percent with their ethnic group. The identity of those in the regions is defined most clearly by their religious group (28%), whereas respondents in the states expressed more layers to their identity: as members of their ethnic group (19%), their local community (16%), or their religious group (15%).

People agree strongly on the principle of equal rights under the law, and that there should be separation between politics and religion. Almost three quarters (73%) of respondents agreed with the principle that citizens should have equal rights under the law regardless of gender, ethnicity, or religion. Despite apparently deep political polarization, people generally believed that ethnic minorities need additional help to make them more equal with other communities, with 57% agreeing strongly and another 31% agreeing somewhat. Only 2% disagreed strongly with this idea.

Additionally, 41% of all respondents agreed strongly, and another 28% agreed somewhat, that religious leaders should concentrate on guiding the people in matters related to faith and not get involved in politics. Only 9% disagreed strongly, and 12% disagreed somewhat, with the same statement.

People highlight honesty and responsibility as key values to impart to children, while they look for fairness and decisiveness in leaders. When asked to state the most important qualities children should be encouraged to learn at school, almost half of all respondents mentioned "honesty" (48%), and a significant proportion mentioned "responsibility" (39%) and "hard work" (38%). "Religious faith" (28%) was the fourth most frequently mentioned quality, followed by "independence" (24%) and "tolerance and respect for other people" (23%).

Similarly, when asked to state the most important qualities of a leader, more than half of all respondents (54%) said that "fairness" was an important trait, while almost half mentioned "decisiveness" (48%), "generosity" (47%), and "honesty" (46%) as important traits of a leader. In contrast, only 19% mentioned that "religious faith" was an important quality for a leader.

Participation in activities to improve society and government is highly valued, but actual participation is low. While people believed overwhelmingly (80%) that it is very important for citizens to participate in improving society and government, only 18% of respondents said that they have participated in such activities. Men indicated a participation rate (24%) twice that of women (12%), and most people reported their participation as volunteer work (68%). Almost a quarter (22%) of respondents said they were members of voluntary associations, community-based organizations, or non-governmental organizations, and about half (49%) of these associations were social clubs, with membership in religious associations the second most frequently cited (21%).

Levels of social trust are very low. An astounding 77% of all respondents believed that, generally, most people cannot be trusted (71% in the states, 80% in the regions). The situation did improve when people were asked whether most people in their neighborhood can be trusted, with 56% agreeing strongly or somewhat that most people can be trusted, and 43% disagreeing strongly or somewhat with that statement.

Public trust in various governance institutions is tentative. When asked to rate the integrity of various institutions, few respondents rated them highly. For many institutions, a large number of respondents answered "don't know," again underscoring the general lack of knowledge about key governance institutions in the country. The highest percentages of "don't know" responses were recorded for the Union Election Commission (43%), for Parliament at both the Union level (33%) and the state/region level (36%), and for the media (32%). Overall, the offices of the president and the village-tract/ward administrators were viewed most favorably by the public, while the police received the lowest positive rating, followed by the courts and the army.

People exhibit remarkable belief in the benefits of hard work, competition, and wealth sharing, although they also see a strong role for the government in providing for the people. Almost three quarters of all respondents (73%) believed that hard work usually makes life better, with only about one quarter (24%) believing that success depends more on luck and connections. While 28% felt that income should be made more equal, nearly 7 in 10 (69%) agreed that income differences are needed to reward individual effort. The same proportion (69%) said that competition is good and stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas, while 26% believed competition brings out the worst in people. The survey also asked whether people can get rich only at the expense of others, or whether wealth can grow so that there is enough for everyone. An overwhelming 90% of respondents believed that there is enough wealth for everyone.

However, the public also feels the government can do more to ensure everyone is provided for in an equitable and inclusive way. A substantial majority of respondents (58%) felt that government should take more responsibility for providing for the people, while a large minority (37%) said that people should take more responsibility for themselves.

GENDER

People believe that women should decide their own votes. The survey asked respondents whether a woman should make her own choice when voting or whether men should advise her. A very strong majority (82%) of respondents believed that women should make their own choice, while 18% said that men should advise them. There was no significant difference in opinion by state or region or by gender, though in urban areas 88% said women should make their own choice, compared to 80% in rural areas. In Shan State, 93% said that women should make their own choice, while in Mon State, 26% felt men should advise the women.

Views are mixed on the equal importance of a university education for both boys and girls. When asked whether a university education is more important for a boy than for a girl, 44% agreed that it is more important for a boy (23% agreed strongly; 21% agreed somewhat) and 52% disagreed (28% of all respondents disagreed strongly; 24% disagreed somewhat). The responses were similar among men and women.

Both men and women believe strongly that men make better political and business leaders than women. A strong majority (71%) of respondents believed that men make better political leaders than women (42% agreed strongly; 29% agreed somewhat), and a similarly strong 71% believe that men make better business executives than women (41% agreed strongly; 30% agreed somewhat). It is notable that there is virtually no difference in these responses between men and women, and the intensity of those who agree strongly with both of these statements is high. These responses indicate a firm cultural and social preference for male leadership that cuts across gender lines.

PEACE PROCESS

Knowledge about the existence of ongoing, armed conflicts appears low. A little more than half of all respondents (55%) believed that there are ongoing, armed conflicts in Myanmar, while one third (34%) said there are none. However, feedback from consultation meetings suggests that conflict is likely to be defined in different ways by different groups around the country; the term for "conflict" used by the survey (*pa ti paa kha*) may be too abstract or academic to capture what ordinary people experience as fighting, or *taiq pwe*. People are also likely to view conflicts in very personal terms rather than as a broad national issue. Even so, significant variation in knowledge about ongoing armed conflict is seen between the states, with respondents most aware of ongoing conflicts in Kachin State (74%) and Mon State (58%), where ethnic armed conflict has been present for years, and respondents least knowledgeable in Chin State, where 67% believe there is no armed conflict. Overall, men were more knowledgeable (63%) about the conflicts than women (48%).

Of respondents who believe there are ongoing, armed conflicts, 19% did not know their main causes, while 30% attributed the conflicts to political divisions, 27% to ethnic tensions, and 21% to religious tensions. Notably, respondents in the regions (24%) were significantly more likely than those in the states (14%) to attribute ongoing, armed conflict to religious tensions.

Most respondents express guarded hope about the outcome of the current peace process. All respondents were informed of ongoing peace negotiations between the Union government, ethnic armed groups, the Parliament, and the army, and were subsequently asked to express their level of confidence that the current peace process would end these conflicts. There is cautious optimism, with 64% of all respondents expressing confidence in the peace process (23% very confident, 41% somewhat confident). Greater uncertainty exists among the states than among the regions. Forty-seven percent of respondents in the states expressed confidence in the outcome of the peace process (15% very confident, 32% somewhat confident), compared to 70% in the regions (26% very confident, 44% somewhat confident). Twice as many respondents in the states (32%) as in the regions (15%) said they did not know.

Understanding of federalism is very low. While discussions over federalism and political power-sharing arrangements have been central to peace negotiations, very few respondents (14%) had heard of the term "federalism." Urban areas (26%) were more aware of the term "federalism" than rural areas (8%). Nearly half (45%) of those respondents who had ever heard of the term said they did not know what it meant, while 15% associated federalism with self-governance.

After federalism was explained to respondents as allowing states and regions more independence while still maintaining the Union, a slight majority of people (54%) expressed cautious optimism that federalism might help resolve conflicts in the country (22% agreeing strongly, 32% agreeing somewhat). One third of all respondents said that they did not know.

PUBLIC OUTLOOK

People are cautiously optimistic about the direction in which Myanmar is headed. A majority (62%) of all respondents believed things in Myanmar are going in the right direction, while 28% said they don't know. The level of optimism is markedly higher in the regions (67%) than in the states (49%), with the difference reflected mainly in the number of respondents who answered "don't know": 37% in the states and 25% in the regions. Relatively few people in both states (7%) and regions (3%) felt the country is headed in the wrong direction.

People most frequently cited the building of roads and schools, and overall economic development and growth as reasons for their optimism. Respondents who felt the country is moving in the wrong direction most frequently cited the ongoing conflicts, the lack of economic development, and bad governance. In general, people felt the government is doing a relatively better job in education, healthcare, and providing security, while they felt the government is doing less well in developing the economy and creating jobs, and is not doing very well in fighting corruption.

Most people's economic situation remained the same in the past year. When respondents were asked how their current economic situation compares to a year ago, a majority (50%) reported that their economic situation had not changed. Nearly a third of all respondents (31%) reported being in a better economic situation, and 4% were much better off, while 14% felt they were worse off than they

were a year ago. On average, more respondents in the regions felt their economic situations had improved in the last year (34% better off, 3% much better off), than in the states (26% better off, 4% much better off).

Most people do not often fear for their personal safety or the safety of their families. Most respondents (73%) do not often fear for the safety of themselves or their families, while 17% of respondents fear for their safety often or sometimes. Respondents most likely to fear for their safety or the safety of their families live in Kachin State (38%), Rakhine State (35%), and Chin State (32%). Note, however, that the survey does not include respondents from areas controlled by non-state armed groups or from contested areas experiencing ongoing armed conflict.

People feel more knowledgeable about problems facing their local communities than they do about problems at the national level. When asked about the biggest problem facing Myanmar, almost half (47%) said they don't know. Respondents who did offer an opinion tended to believe that conflict, whether based on ethnicity or religion, is one of the biggest problems (22%), with poor economy (13%), poverty (12%), and unemployment (11%) as other common answers. When asked to consider the biggest problems in their local areas, poor road conditions (20%) and electricity (20%) were the most frequently cited, while more than one third (37%) said they don't know.

-When asked who is most responsible for solving local problems, a majority of respondents (55%) identified the Union government as most responsible, and the village-tract or ward level government, with whom they deal most frequently, as the next most responsible (21%). These results may relate to the lack of knowledge about the functions of government, particularly government at the subnational levels, but it could also be that most people do not differentiate greatly among the different levels, and tend to associate government with the Union level.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Television (37%) is the source from which people generally get their information about what is happening in the country, but people also rely substantially on information provided through friends, family, and neighbors (35%), as well as the radio (35%). In the states, respondents obtain information about national news primarily from friends, family, and neighbors, relying less on television and radio than respondents in the regions. All respondents cite state-run media—television, radio, and print—as the most frequently accessed sources of information.

B. DETAILED REPORT

1. INTRODUCTION

Myanmar is undergoing an extraordinary period of change. The transition from military rule to a quasi-civilian government since 2011 is exemplified by shifts from a closed economic system to one that is market-oriented, from an isolated country to one that is engaging actively in regional and global affairs, and from decades of conflicts with multiple, ethnic armed groups to a push for a national ceasefire and political dialogue. Changes of this magnitude within such a compressed time frame are not easily accomplished, however, given the urgent need for updated knowledge and the lack of capacity in many sectors within government and society, as well as continuing distrust of the government's reform agenda among ethnic armed groups and civil society organizations. After so many years of severely curtailed social, political, and economic development under military rule, many within society remain skeptical about whether current reforms can bring genuine, inclusive development and peace, or will be captured by crony capitalism and the old political order.

In this challenging context, The Asia Foundation carried out a nationwide survey in 2014 to document public knowledge and awareness of new government institutions and processes, and gauge the political, social, and economic values held by people of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds, which will inform the country's long-term development and the nature of state-society relations.

The survey data is rich with opportunity for further analysis, and has implications for the Union government, state and region governments, national and regional parliaments, political parties, civil society organizations, the private sector, and development partners. In order to sustain and promote further democratic reforms in Myanmar, greater effort must be focused on increasing public knowledge of key governance institutions and processes. Decentralization is happening, but few citizens understand clearly the role of government at the state and region or township levels. Values that people express about political and economic life, social trust, ethnic and religious tolerance, and gender should be considered in the design of policies and development programs. The consistently low knowledge level among the states and among women also needs to be addressed.

Lastly, we hope that the data gathered will provide a platform for a wide-ranging public discussion in the country about the vision people have for a new Myanmar, one that will strengthen governance and justice, support peace, and offer economic opportunities to all. This first survey on civic knowledge and values and the nature of state-society relations in Myanmar in 2014 can serve as a baseline to benchmark the country's progress in the years to come.

1.1. METHODOLOGY

While a detailed note on the methodology is provided at the end of this report as an appendix, an overview of the methodology is provided here to aid understanding of the scope of the survey and the limitations in the data analysis that follows. Conducted during the months of May and June, the survey included face-to-face interviews with more than 3,000 respondents across all fourteen states and regions, using a structured questionnaire. In all, 2,100 interviews were conducted in the states and 900 across the regions. On average, each interview lasted approximately one hour. The overall margin of error is +/- 1.8% at a 95% confidence level.

The sample size and the sampling strategy were based on the desire to look at the responses by certain subnational variables. States and regions hold equivalent status under the Constitution, with states typically covering the areas where a large number of ethnic communities live, and regions where the ethnic Burman majority reside. In the survey design, the seven regions are considered as a largely homogenous unit, and the analysis deals with the combined response of those interviewed in the regions. In order to ensure a better understanding of the views of people in the states, the survey was designed to allow analysis for each state individually, as they represent varied ethnic communities and are at varying stages of economic development. For that reason, 300 respondents from each of the seven states were sampled. It must be noted, however, that given the complex ethnic map of Myanmar, the views of the states as reported in the survey should not be taken as representative of the view of the ethnic groups themselves. The margin of error while analyzing responses by individual states is below +/- 5.6% at 95% confidence level.

The 2006 population data released by the Central Statistics Office was used for the sampling. The probability proportionate to size (PPS) method was used to select the 84 townships where interviews would be conducted. The wards and village-tracts within these townships were then selected using simple random sampling. In the rural areas, the selection of the final villages for the interviews was done using PPS again. Within the towns and villages, maps and local information were used to select the starting points for the interviews. Overall, 26 interviewers and 13 supervisors fanned out across the country to conduct the interviews. Each interviewer would start from the selected point, do a random walk using the right hand rule, and select respondents for the interview from 10 households in each location. In this manner, for 3,000 interviews, 300 locations across the country were chosen. Within each household, the final respondent for the interview, a man or woman between 18 and 70 years of age, was selected using a Kish Grid that aided in random selection. At the starting point for each of the 300 locations, the interviewers also took a GPS reading to track the coordinates of the points visited by the team across the country. Quality control was accomplished through in-person visits by the central office to the field teams, as well as by field supervisors who monitored interviews at every sampling point.

The Asia Foundation has extensive experience conducting surveys of this kind across many countries in the Asia Pacific region. Questions for this survey of Myanmar were drawn from the Foundation's own database of questions, as well as from well recognized and reliable sources such as the World Values Survey[1] and the World Bank's Governance Survey Database.[2] Questions allowing multiple response and open-ended answers were also incorporated in the survey to capture public perception

with greater nuance. The questionnaire was translated into Burmese and then translated back into English, and field-tested. It was not feasible for the questionnaire to be translated into all the major language groups in Myanmar, but translation was done for the Chin, Kachin, Kayah and Rakhine languages. The survey team used local interpreters for other languages as needed in the course of the survey implementation. The full questionnaire can be downloaded from The Asia Foundation website.

Surveys of this kind necessarily have some limitations. Given the newness of public perception surveys in Myanmar, and the recent establishment of many government institutions and processes since 2011, it is not surprising that the percentage of people answering "don't know" was high. The refusal rate, however, was negligible, and the "don't know" responses dropped markedly on questions that people felt they knew the answers to, such as those related to government at the lowest level of village-tracts and wards, or how they define their own identity. This suggests that people generally were not afraid to answer survey questions, but that they do face a significant knowledge and information gap. Use of terms with technical or complex definitions was deliberately avoided during the design of the questionnaire, but where understanding of terminology may have nevertheless influenced survey responses, the possibility is noted in the findings. Lastly, for security reasons, it was not possible to carry out fieldwork in areas under the control of non-state, armed groups or in contested areas experiencing ongoing armed conflict.

To generate deeper insight into the survey findings, two consultation meetings were convened, on September 4 and 5, 2014, in Yangon, with participants from selected political parties and civil society groups. Conducted over the course of three hours each, the meetings involved presentation of survey findings and extensive discussion, which aided analysis and added context and clarification to particular findings as noted in the report.

Readers of this report should note that due to rounding, percentages may not add up to exactly 100% in the figures which follow. Where multiple answers were possible, or responses are combined, it is so noted. Unless otherwise specified, the number of respondents to each question is 3,000.

The report that follows highlights the key findings, reporting overall national results along with any significant differences in the responses of the combined state or region areas, among the seven states, between urban and rural areas, and between men and women. It documents a society emerging out of decades of isolation, military rule, and conflict, and can be drawn on to inform the work of the many stakeholders working to support Myanmar's democratic transition, inclusive economic growth, and multicultural society.

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1 http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp

2 http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPUBLICSECTORANDGOVERNANCE/0,,contentMDK:21816109~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:286305,00.html

FIG. 1.1: DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW OF RESPONDENTS

GENDER	
Male	39%
Female	61%

LOCATION	
Urban	27%
Rural	73%

ETHNICITY	
Bamar	41%
Kayin	10%
Chin	9%
Rakhine	9%
Shan	8%
Mon	4%
Kayah	3%
Kachin	2%

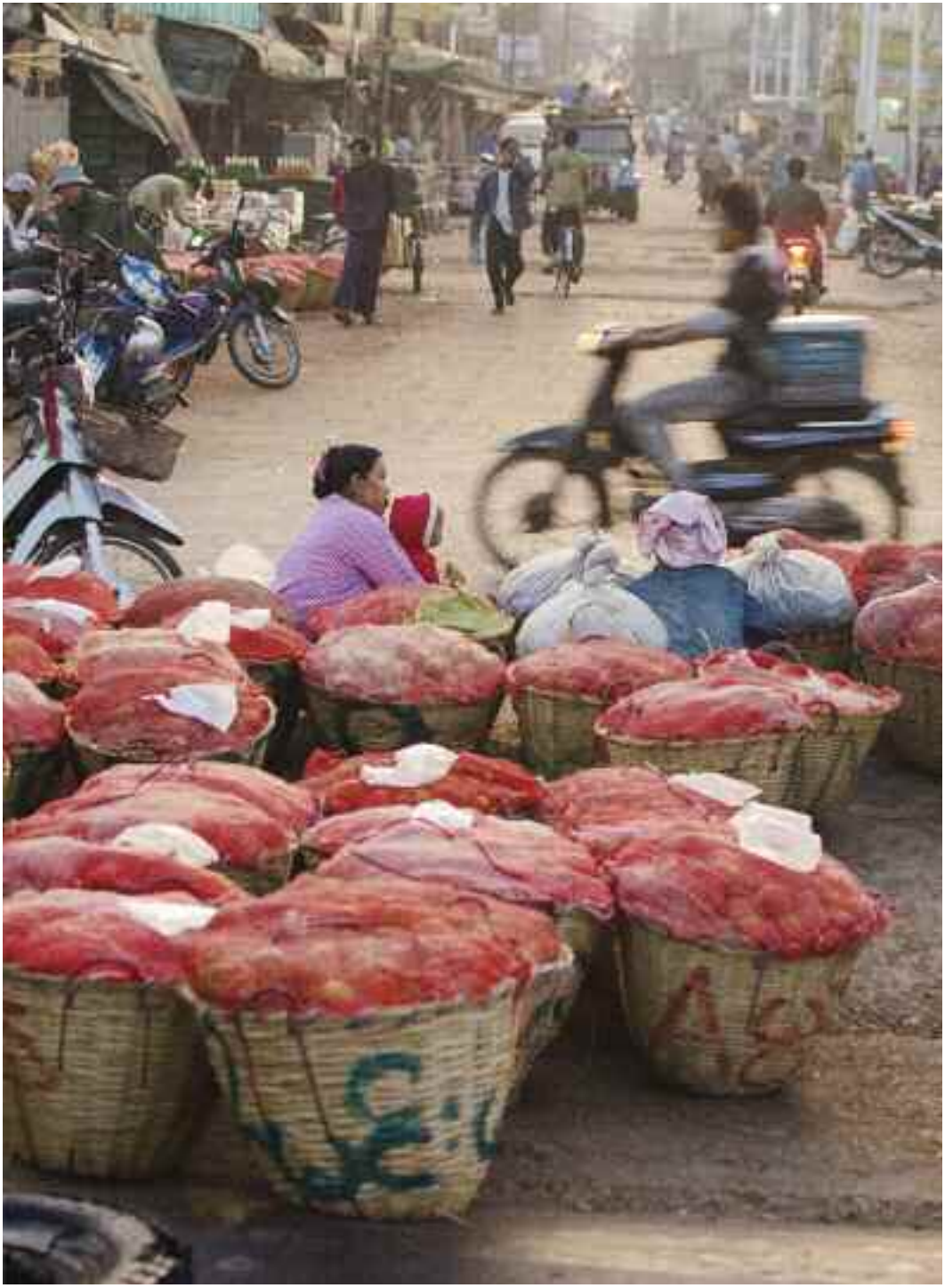
RELIGION	
Buddhist	77%
Christian	19%
Islam	3%

MARITAL STATUS	
Single	19%
Married	72%
Separated	2%
Widower or Widow	8%

AGE GROUP	
18-24 yrs	12%
25-34 yrs	22%
35-44 yrs	24%
45-54 yrs	21%
55-70 yrs	21%

OCCUPATION	
Farmer of own land	35%
Private business	17%
Housewife	15%
Labourer/casual labour	11%
Government staff	4%
Other agricultural business (owner)	4%
Tenant farmer	3%
Agricultural worker	1%
Student	1%
Private company staff	1%
Fishing/ aquaculture	1%
Animal husbandry	1%
Unemployed	5%

EDUCATION	
Illiterate	11%
Literate	8%
Attended primary school	20%
Primary School	26%
Middle school	20%
High school	8%
Vocational training	1%
University graduate	7%



2. KNOWLEDGE OF GOVERNMENT

The Constitution of 2008 divided the government of Myanmar into three main branches—the executive, legislative, and judicial—headed by a president elected by the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, the national Parliament. The states and regions are overseen by chief ministers who are appointed by the president, and limited legislative power is vested in state and region hluttaws, or legislatures.

Though a number of important powers and responsibilities have been decentralized to subnational governments, increasing their role in local governance, national level government institutions remain most prominent in people's minds. Few people possess knowledge about their chief ministers or township level government, and even fewer are knowledgeable about the state and region hluttaws. People feel more familiar with the most local representatives of government—the village-tract or ward administrators—though actual understanding of the functions of these local institutions remains limited.

As many new government institutions and structures were only recently created, the lack of public knowledge about the current structure and functions of the different levels of government is not surprising. Nevertheless, the lack of civic knowledge bears great significance for the general elections in 2015, and for the continuing efforts towards democratic reform and increased civic engagement. While it is clear that voter education is urgently needed before the next election, the survey results also reveal a critical and continuing need for more public information, education, and awareness about government institutions at all levels—especially those involved in subnational governance—and the ways in which citizens can access and engage with their government.

2.1. KNOWLEDGE OF THE UNION GOVERNMENT

Branches of government

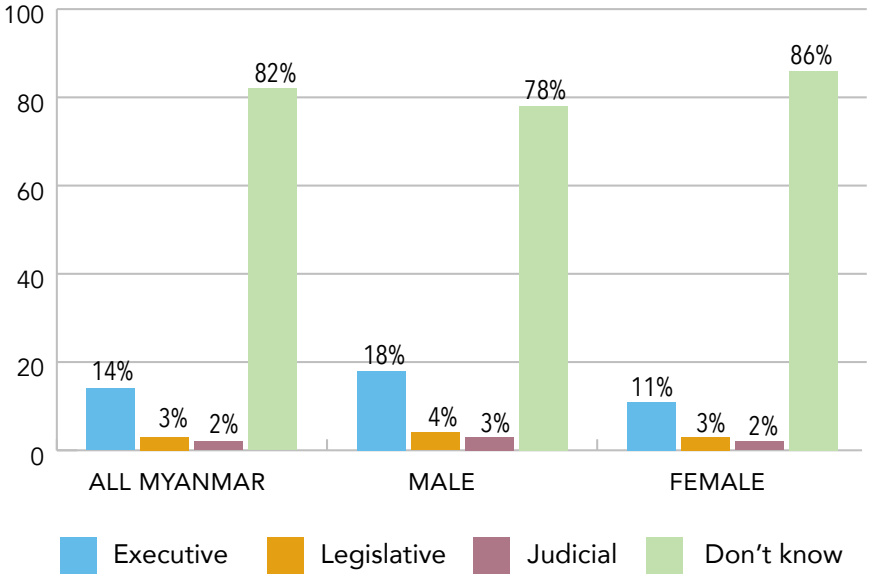
Respondents seemed largely unfamiliar with the concept of having different branches of government, but appeared most knowledgeable about the executive branch. When respondents were asked to name the branches of the government, the vast majority (82%) were unable to name any branches, while 14% of respondents mentioned the executive branch or the president. Other survey questions showed that the public is in fact aware of legislative and judicial institutions, but only 3% and 2%, respectively, mentioned them as branches of government.

Respondents in the regions were seen to be only slightly more aware than those in the states, with 16% of respondents in the regions mentioning the executive or the president, compared to 11% of respondents in the states. However, 80% of respondents in the regions and 86% of respondents in the states could not name any branches of government.

Among the individual states, respondents in Kachin State were more aware than the national average: 25% of respondents mentioned the executive branch, though 71% were unable to name any branches.

In contrast, only 1% in Kayah State and 2% in Kayin State mentioned the executive branch, and in both states, 97% of respondents were unable to name any branches, potentially reflecting a crucial need for increased civic education in these areas.

FIG. 2.1: NAMING THE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT (MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)



2.1.1. EXECUTIVE

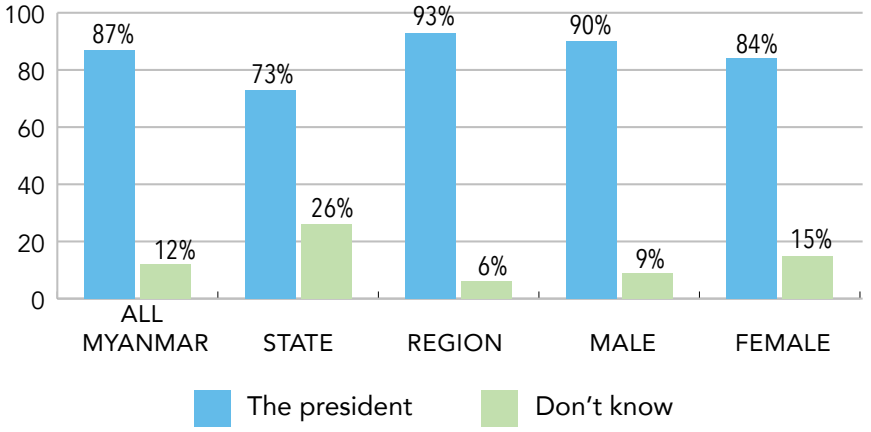
People showed the greatest familiarity with the executive branch of government, though when survey questions probed more deeply into how key officials are selected or appointed for office, most people did not know, underscoring the need for significant civic and voter education.

Who is the head of state?

When asked to identify the head of state of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, 87% of all respondents correctly named the president, and only 12% did not know.

A significant difference was observed between the states and regions, with 93% of respondents from the regions correctly identifying the president as head of state, while only 73% from the states did so. A quarter (26%) of respondents from the states said they did not know the head of state, compared with only 6% of respondents from the regions.

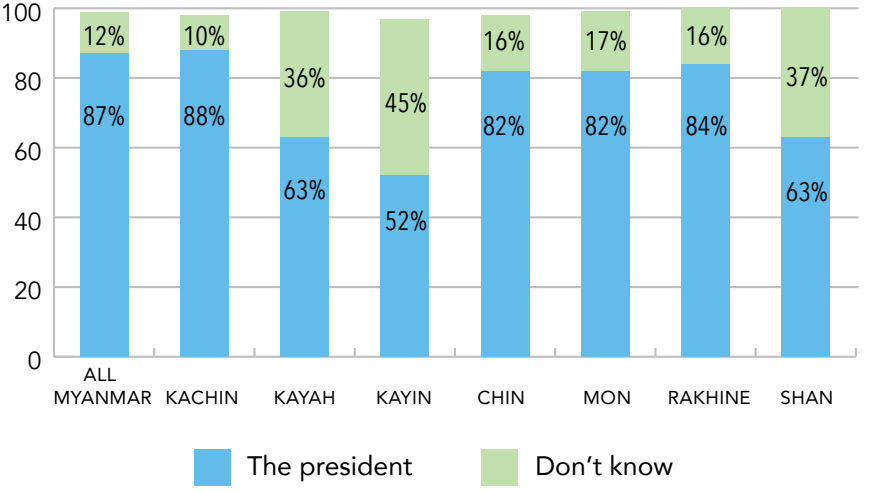
FIG. 2.2: WHO IS THE HEAD OF STATE OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNION OF MYANMAR?



In urban areas, 94% of respondents said that the president is the head of the state, compared to 84% in the rural areas. While a high proportion of both men and women knew the head of state, the level of knowledge was slightly higher among men.

Knowledge varied widely among the individual states: 88% in Kachin State and 84% in Rakhine State mentioned the president, while in Kayin State only 52% did so. Almost half of respondents (45%) in Kayin State said that they did not know.

FIG. 2.3: WHO IS THE HEAD OF STATE? (BY STATE)



Who elects the president?

Though people appear more familiar with the president than almost any other government official, they are surprisingly unaware of how the president is selected for office—through an electoral college composed of members of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw. Only 12% of respondents nationwide correctly identified the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw as the institution responsible for electing the president, with twice as many respondents in the regions (13%) aware of this fact than in the states (6%).

A substantial proportion of respondents (44%) believed incorrectly that the president is elected directly by voters. More than one third (36%) of respondents nationwide said they did not know who elects the president, with significantly more people in rural areas (40%) than urban (26%) saying they don't know. While many more women (43%) than men (28%) said they did not know who elects the president, women were nearly as likely as men to know that the president is elected by the Parliament, not by the people.

As will be seen later in the report, a very high majority of the population exercised their right to vote in the 2010 general elections and plan to do the same in the upcoming 2015 general elections, but many do not understand the current electoral process in Myanmar and what their votes mean. This is not only related to how the president is elected, but also how the Union ministers and the chief ministers of the states and regions are appointed.

FIG. 2.4: WHO ELECTS THE PRESIDENT?

	ALL MYANMAR	STATE	REGION	MALE	FEMALE
The people/voters	44%	40%	46%	48%	41%
The Pyidaungsu Hluttaw	12%	6%	13%	14%	10%
Commander of the defense services	6%	4%	7%	7%	5%
Don't know	36%	48%	31%	28%	43%

Who appoints the Union ministers?

Union level ministers are appointed to office by the president. Overall, only one in four respondents (25%) knew that Union ministers are appointed by the president, but almost twice as many respondents knew this in the regions (29%) as in the states (15%). Respondents in urban areas tended

to be slightly more knowledgeable, with 32% knowing that the president appoints Union ministers, compared with only 22% of respondents in rural areas. Among the individual states, respondents from Kayin State (7%) and Kayah State (6%) were least aware of how Union ministers are appointed.

Overall, a high percentage of people (46%) said they did not know the answer to this question, with more such responses in the states (58%) than in the regions (41%). While more women (53%) than men (38%) said they did not know, men were also more likely than women to answer incorrectly that Union ministers are selected by voters or the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw.

FIG. 2.5: WHO APPOINTS MINISTERS?

	ALL MYANMAR	STATE	REGION	MALE	FEMALE
The president	25%	15%	29%	27%	22%
The people/voters	17%	17%	17%	20%	14%
The Pyidaungsu Hluttaw	9%	6%	10%	11%	6%
Commander of the defense services	3%	3%	3%	3%	4%
Don't know	46%	58%	41%	38%	53%

Selection of the chief minister

Respondents also lack awareness of how the chief ministers of the states and regions are chosen.

Though people were provided a list of possible responses to this question, a large proportion of respondents nevertheless said that they don't know (36%), with significantly more such responses in the states (49%) than in the regions (31%).

Only 22% of respondents nationwide knew that chief ministers are appointed by the president. Nearly one third of all respondents (32%) believed mistakenly that the chief minister is elected directly by the people to that office.

As reflected throughout the survey, respondents in the regions (24%) were more aware than those in the states (14%), and men (25%) more aware than women (18%).

Among the states, respondents from Kayah State (8%), Shan State (8%), and Kayin State (9%), were least aware of how chief ministers are selected.

FIG. 2.6: HOW IS THE CHIEF MINISTER CHOSEN?

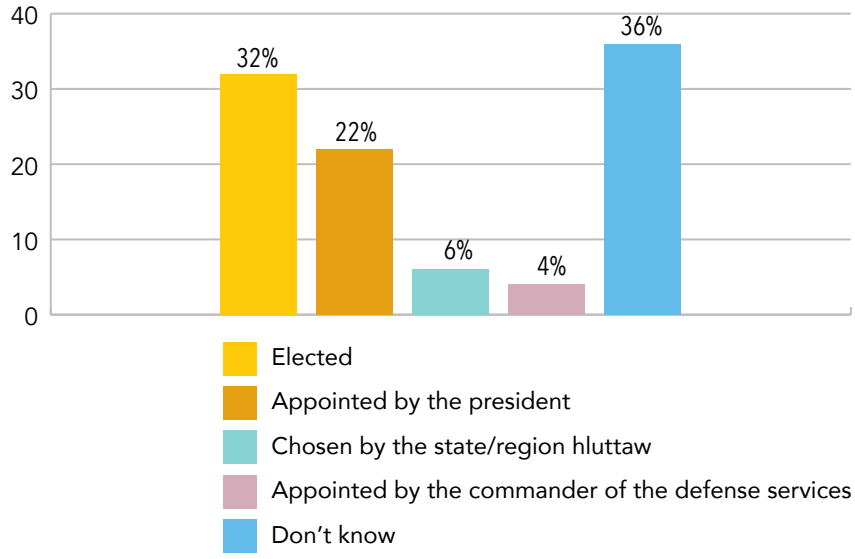


FIG. 2.7: HOW IS THE CHIEF MINISTER CHOSEN? (BY STATE)

	ALL MYANMAR	KACHIN	KAYAH	KAYIN	CHIN	MON	RAKHINE	SHAN
Elected	32%	38%	28%	19%	19%	35%	37%	20%
Appointed by the president	22%	24%	8%	9%	17%	13%	26%	8%
Chosen by the state/region hluttaw	6%	10%	9%	4%	2%	2%	3%	4%
Appointed by the commander of the defense services	4%	6%	2%	4%	3%	6%	3%	3%
Don't know	36%	22%	54%	63%	58%	43%	31%	65%

2.1.2. LEGISLATIVE

In principle, the legislative institutions of Myanmar—the Union-level Pyidaungsu Hluttaw and the state and region hluttaws—represent a vital opportunity for the diverse populations of the country to find a voice after decades of military rule, and to participate in important policy decisions that will affect their lives. The success of these nascent institutions and their potential to contribute to the broader development of democratic practices and values will depend in part on how well citizens are able to access and engage their elected representatives, to hold them accountable to their constituencies, but also to empower them to act as a more effective check on executive power.

The survey found that people generally do understand that the role of MPs is to represent the interests of their constituents, but they still lack a deeper awareness of other crucial functions, such as drafting and passing legislation and reviewing and approving budgets for the Union, states, and regions.

Which institution passes bills into law?

Awareness of the lawmaking function of the national and subnational parliaments was low, though the new lawmaking process in Myanmar, which involves many more government institutions than just the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, may contribute to public confusion about the passage of bills into law.

Only 15% of respondents nationwide identified the institution responsible for passing bills into law as the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw. Respondents in the regions (18%) were twice as likely to know as respondents in the states (9%). Among the individual states, to highlight the outliers, 18% of respondents in Kachin State identified the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, while few respondents in Kayin State (1%) and Mon State (2%) were able to answer the question.

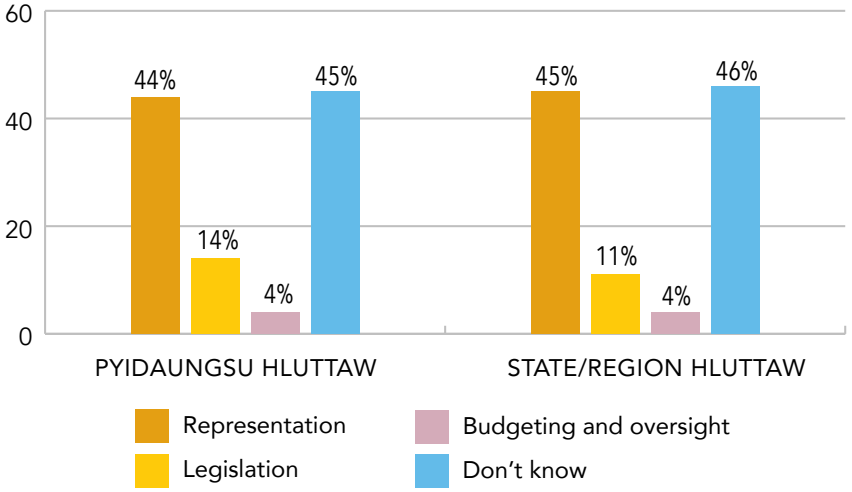
A substantial majority (76%) of all respondents said that they don't know which institution is involved in passing bills into law (84% in the states and 72% in the regions).

Functions of the Pyidaungsu, state and region hluttaws

When asked to describe the functions of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw and the state or region hluttaws, respondents were given options from which they could select multiple responses—legislation-making, budgeting and oversight, and representation. Even with possible responses provided, almost half of all respondents said they do not know the functions of either institution: 45% don't know the functions of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, and 46% don't know the functions of their state or region hluttaw. With the exception of Kachin State, respondents in the states were much more likely to say they didn't know (57%) than those in the regions (40%).

Respondents who did answer mainly perceived the function of both the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (44%) and their state or region hluttaws (45%) as that of representation rather than legislation or budgeting and oversight. People also do not appear to distinguish between the functions of the legislative bodies at the national and subnational levels, as responses were similar for both.

FIG. 2.8: FUNCTIONS OF THE PYIDAUNGSU, STATE, AND REGION HLUTTAWS
(MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)



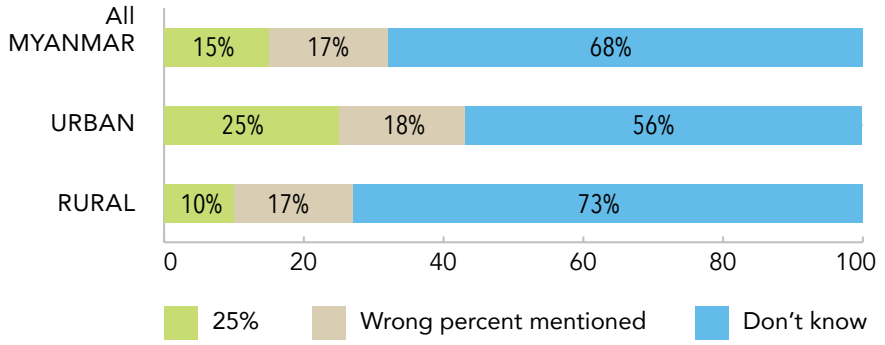
Reservation of Parliamentary seats for military personnel

A significant and continuing point of political contention in Myanmar is the constitutional reservation of 25% of Parliamentary seats in both national and subnational parliamentary bodies for unelected defense services personnel, a voting bloc which effectively prevents amendment of the Constitution without military approval. Although a number of political parties and civil society organizations have initiated public campaigns to reform this provision, the survey results show that low public knowledge of the mandatory presence of military personnel within the national and subnational parliamentary institutions may stand as a key obstacle to the success of such reform efforts.

In the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw: Only 15% of all respondents knew that a quarter of the seats in the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw are held by defense services personnel appointed to office by the commander-in-chief of defense services. While a large majority (68%) of respondents said they did not know the proportion of seats held, another 17% of respondents provided an incorrect percentage of seats held by defense services personnel.

Respondents in urban areas (25%) were more than twice as likely as those in rural areas (10%) to know the correct percentage of seats reserved for defense services personnel in the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw. A similar gap in knowledge was found between men (20%) and women (9%). Among the states, 19% in Kachin State knew the correct percentage of reserved seats, while in Kayin State, only 4% were aware.

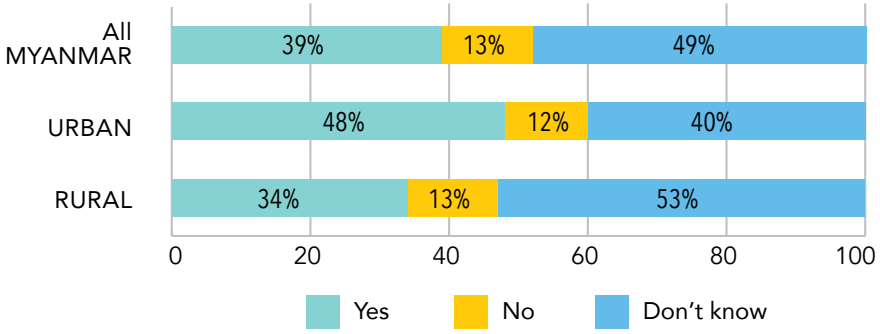
FIG. 2.9: PERCENTAGE OF DEFENSE PERSONNEL IN THE PYIDAUNGSU HLUTTAW



In the state and region hluttaws: Only 39% of all respondents knew that defense services personnel hold seats in the state and region hluttaws, while 13% believed that there are none. About half of all respondents (49%) said they did not know. Significantly more respondents from urban areas (48%) than from rural areas (34%), and more respondents in the regions (42%) than in the states (29%), knew of the presence of defense services personnel in the state and region hluttaws. Again, women were less aware than men: 45% of men knew there are defense personnel in the state and region hluttaws, compared to 33% of women.

Among the individual states, respondents in Kachin State were more aware, with more than half (51%) saying that there are defense personnel in the state and region hluttaws, while less than half as many respondents in Mon State (19%) and Kayah State (22%) were aware.

FIG. 2.10: ARE THERE DEFENSE PERSONNEL IN THE STATE/REGION HLUTTAWS?



2.1.3. JUDICIAL

The highest court in the country

Although the survey did not probe deeply into public knowledge of the judicial system, it did reveal that knowledge about the highest court in the country was poor. When asked to name the highest court in Myanmar, fewer than one third (29%) named the Supreme Court, while a majority (56%) of respondents said they did not know.

The disparity in knowledge about the judiciary appears greatest between urban and rural respondents, with 43% of urban respondents but only 23% of rural respondents identifying the Supreme Court. A large gap in knowledge was also seen between respondents from regions (34%) and those from states (18%), and between men (35%) and women (24%). Knowledge varied greatly between individual states: while 30% of respondents in Kachin State mentioned the Supreme Court, only 10% of respondents in Kayah State did the same.

FIG. 2.11: WHICH IS THE HIGHEST COURT IN THE COUNTRY?

	ALL MYANMAR	STATE	REGION	MALE	FEMALE	RURAL	URBAN
Supreme Court	29%	18%	34%	35%	24%	23%	43%
State or regional court	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	9%
Township court	5%	4%	5%	4%	5%	6%	2%
District court	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	3%
Don't know	56%	68%	51%	51%	61%	62%	41%

FIG. 2.12: WHICH IS THE HIGHEST COURT IN THE COUNTRY? (BY STATE)

	ALL MYANMAR	KACHIN	KAYAH	KAYIN	CHIN	MON	RAKHINE	SHAN
Supreme Court	29%	30%	10%	12%	23%	20%	19%	15%
State or regional court	7%	11%	3%	3%	4%	3%	12%	7%
Township court	5%	4%	1%	1%	2%	1%	7%	5%
District court	2%	3%	2%	1%	1%	1%	2%	3%
Don't know	56%	52%	82%	83%	67%	72%	61%	68%

Is the chief justice of the Supreme Court elected or appointed?

When asked whether the chief justice of the Supreme Court is elected, or appointed by the president, half of all respondents (50%) answered correctly that the chief justice of the Supreme Court is appointed. This percentage is driven by respondents in the regions, 55% of whom said the chief justice is appointed, compared to 36% of respondents in the states. Over a third (35%) of all respondents said that they don't know whether the chief justice is elected or appointed.

Among the states, respondents in Kachin State and Rakhine State appeared the most knowledgeable, with 58% and 46% respectively answering that the chief justice is appointed. Two thirds of those in Kayah State (68%) and Shan State (67%) say that they don't know.

FIG. 2.13: IS THE CHIEF JUSTICE ELECTED OR APPOINTED?

	ALL MYANMAR	STATE	REGION	MALE	FEMALE	RURAL	URBAN
Appointed	50%	36%	55%	53%	46%	46%	59%
Elected	15%	17%	14%	16%	14%	16%	13%
Don't know	35%	47%	31%	30%	40%	38%	29%

2.2. KNOWLEDGE OF DIFFERENT LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT

While the survey found the public to be largely uninformed about the function of national level government institutions, people appear to be even less knowledgeable about government bodies at the state and region level and the township level. People demonstrate a greater familiarity with their local government representatives—village-tract and ward administrators—than they do with the other subnational government entities, though this does not necessarily translate into a higher level of knowledge about what the local administrators actually do.

Functions of the various levels of the government

When asked to describe the key functions of various subnational government institutions, people believed themselves to be more knowledgeable about the village-tract or ward administrator than about the functions of the township government and the state or region level government.

Respondents generally perceive the village-tract administrator or ward administrator to be involved in the repair of bad roads (29%), mediating conflicts between citizens (18%), implementing educational programs (13%), and maintaining health centers (10%). Only a third of respondents (33%) said they don't know the functions of the village-tract and ward administrators.

When respondents were questioned about the functions of the township government, similar areas were mentioned—repair of roads, provision of education and health care—but by far fewer respondents. In fact, the proportion of respondents who said they don't know the functions of the township government doubled to 68%.

Even fewer respondents were able to describe key functions of the state or region government: more than three fourths (76%) of all respondents said they didn't know. Again, the few respondents who did mention some functions focused on repair of roads, education, and health care.

These results suggest that people tend to focus on what they feel is essential to their lives, such as basic infrastructure and social services, when asked what government should be delivering, and then connect these to the level of government with which they are most familiar, whether or not those government representatives are actually responsible for those activities. Though the public seems to attribute road repair, educational programs, and improvements in health centers to local government authorities, another survey of local governance suggests that village-tract and ward administrators may not see their responsibilities the same way, tending to emphasize law and order instead.[3] This potential gap between what the public expects of local government and how local government perceives itself is important to note.

[3] UNDP Myanmar. Local Governance Mapping: The State of Local Governance in Mon State. May 2014. Ongoing mapping of fourteen states and regions by UNDP has so far found that village-tract administrators consistently consider their most important functions to be ensuring peace and security, mediating conflicts between villagers, providing villagers with information and directives, and law enforcement.

FIG. 2.14: KNOWLEDGE OF KEY FUNCTIONS OF SUBNATIONAL GOVERNMENT (VILLAGE-TRACT/WARD ADMINISTRATOR) (COMBINED 3 RESPONSES)

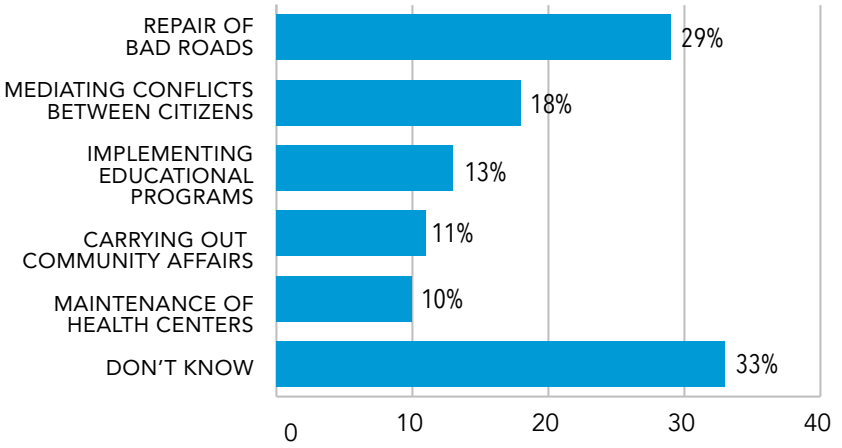


FIG. 2.15: KNOWLEDGE OF KEY FUNCTIONS OF SUBNATIONAL GOVERNMENT (TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT) (COMBINED 3 RESPONSES)

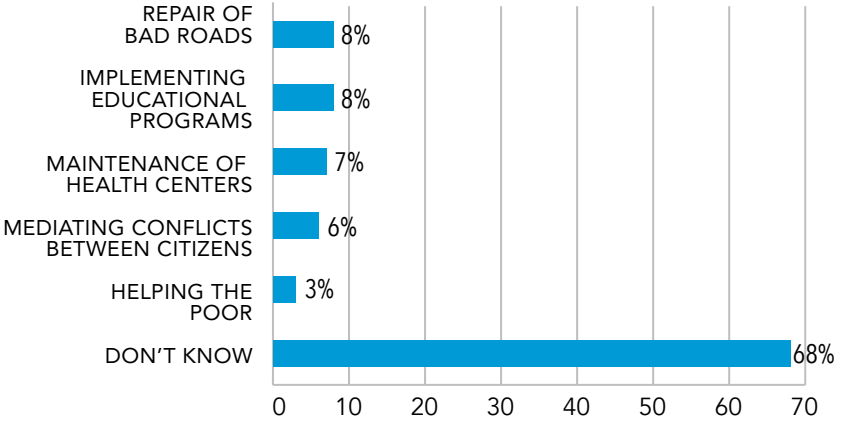
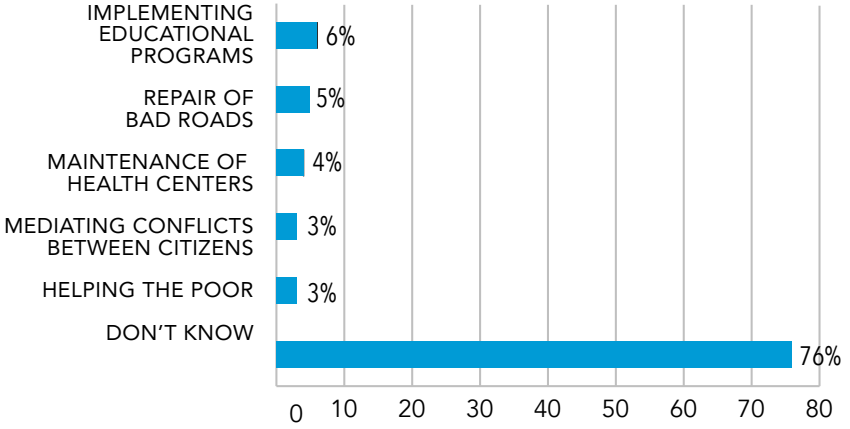


FIG. 2.16: KNOWLEDGE OF KEY FUNCTIONS OF SUBNATIONAL GOVERNMENT (STATE/REGION GOVERNMENT) (COMBINED 3 RESPONSES)

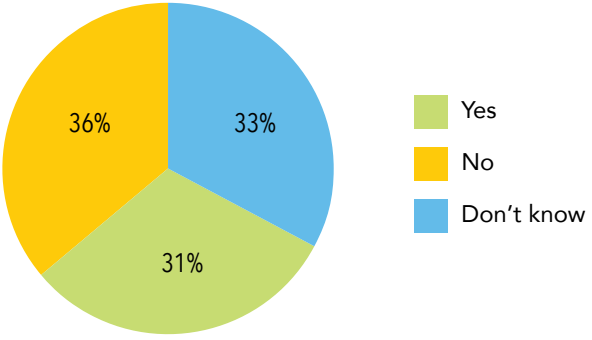


The power of state and region governments to tax

Respondents also appear largely unaware of the power of state and region governments to tax and impose fees, which may reflect the limited degree to which these governments currently exercise that power. [4] Thirty-one percent of respondents believed that the state and region governments do have the power to impose taxes, while another 36% believed that they do not enjoy such power. Another third (33%) said that they don't know.

Fewer respondents in the states (25%) than in the regions (33%) are aware of the state and region governments' power to tax, though an approximately equal proportion in states (35%) and regions (37%) believe that state and region governments do not possess this power. More people in the states (40%) than in the regions (30%) said they do not know.

FIG. 2.17: DO STATE AND REGION GOVERNMENTS HAVE THE POWER TO TAX OR IMPOSE FEES?

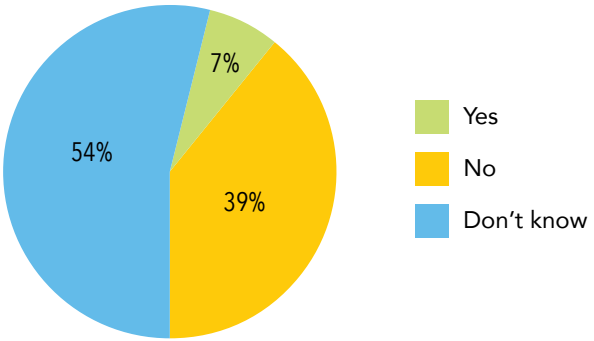


[4] The Asia Foundation & MDRI-CESD. *Fiscal Decentralization in Myanmar.* June 2014.

The power of state and region hluttaws to pass laws

State and region hluttaws are authorized under Schedule Two of the 2008 Constitution to enact laws in several sectors. While all have passed routine bills such as the annual budget, other legislative activity varies greatly from state to state and from region to region.[5] The survey found that very few respondents were aware of whether their state or region hluttaw had passed any laws in the past year. Only 7% of all respondents believed that their state or region hluttaw had passed a law in the last year, while 39% believed no laws had been passed by their hluttaw in the last year. A majority of respondents (54%) did not know.

FIG. 2.18: HAS THE STATE OR REGION HLUTTAW PASSED ANY LAWS IN THE PAST YEAR?

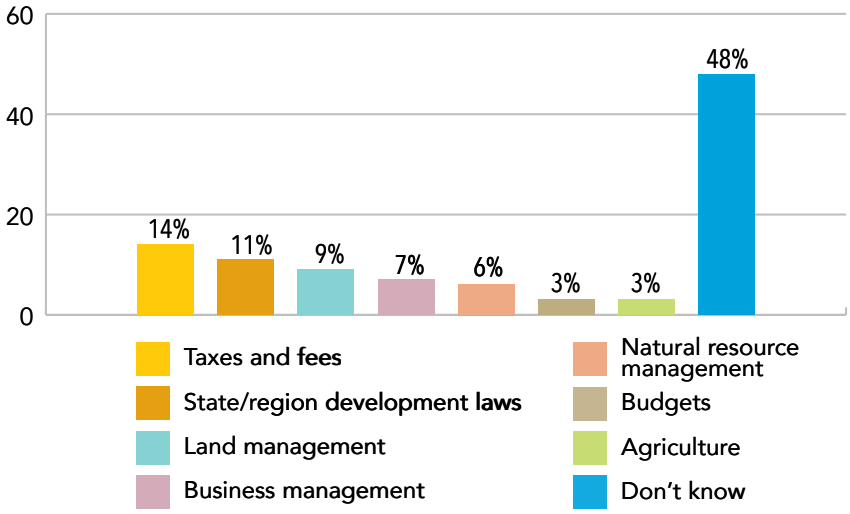


More respondents in the states (63%) than in the regions (51%) said they did not know, while more respondents in the regions (42%) than in the states (32%) believed that their hluttaw had not passed any laws in the past year.

Of the 7% who said they knew of laws passed by their state or region hluttaw, almost half (48%) did not know what the law was about. Fourteen percent mentioned that the law passed concerned taxes and fees, and 11% mentioned that the law passed concerned development plans. Other mentions include land management (9%), business management (7%), and natural resource management (6%).

[5] The Asia Foundation & MDRI-CESD. *State and Region Governments in Myanmar.* September 2013.

FIG. 2.19: SUBJECT OF LAW PASSED BY STATE OR REGION HLUTTAW (N=210)

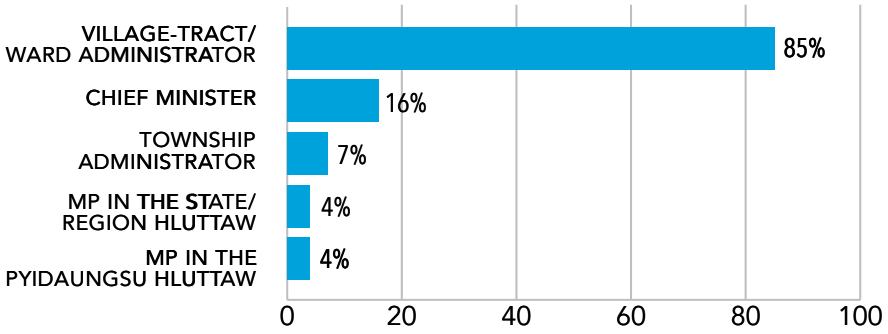


Knowledge of the names of government officials at different levels

The greater familiarity people seem to have with local government administrators was reflected best when respondents were asked to provide the names of government representatives at different levels. Overall, 85% of respondents knew the correct name of their local village-tract or ward administrator, while 6% provided an incorrect name and 9% did not know. In contrast, only 16% of all respondents knew the name of the chief minister of their state or region, and just 7% knew the name of their township administrator. A mere 4% of respondents knew the name of their representative Member of Parliament in either the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw or the state or region hluttaw.

Respondents in urban areas (78%) were somewhat less knowledgeable about the name of their ward administrator than respondents in rural areas (89%), nearly all of whom knew the name of their village-tract administrator. Knowledge of the name of the village-tract or ward administrator was nearly as high in the states (80%) as in the regions (87%), with the notable exception of Kayin State, where only 58% of respondents knew the name of their village-tract or ward administrator, and 21% of respondents provided an incorrect name—nearly three times the number nationwide.

FIG. 2.20: RESPONDENTS WHO KNEW THE NAMES OF THEIR GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES



2.3. STATE AND REGION GOVERNMENTS AND REPRESENTATION

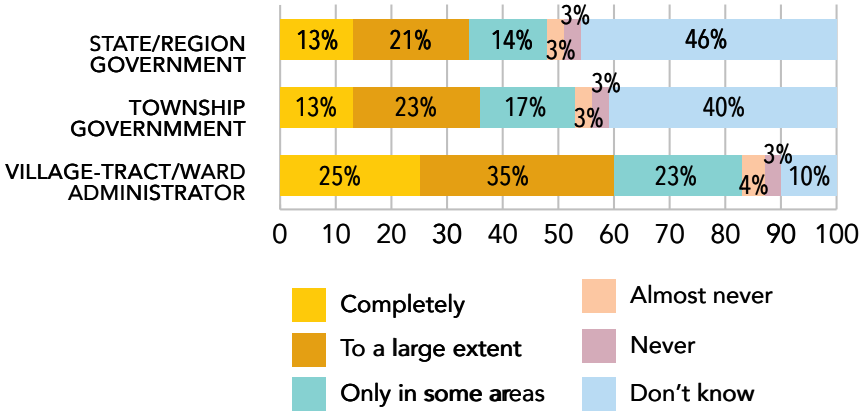
Extent to which the decisions of the various levels of government reflect their needs

Greater familiarity with local government authorities also appears to translate into an increased sense that decisions of local government administrators reflect the needs of the community. When asked how well decisions of government institutions at the state and region, township, and village-tract or ward levels reflect their needs, respondents felt that their local government administrator reflected their needs more than any other subnational government institutions.

A quarter of all respondents (25%) felt that decisions made by their village-tract or ward administrator "completely" reflect their needs, almost twice as many as believed decisions of the township government (13%) or the state or region government (13%) "completely" reflect their needs. Most respondents offered a more qualified assessment of the decisions of village-tract and ward administrators, with 35% saying that they reflect their needs "to a large extent," and another 23% saying "only in some areas."

Echoing the finding that most people have a low level of knowledge about subnational government institutions, a large proportion of respondents stated that they simply don't know whether the decisions of the state or region government (46%) or the township government (40%) reflect their needs.

FIG. 2.21: EXTENT THEY FEEL VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS REFLECT THEIR NEEDS



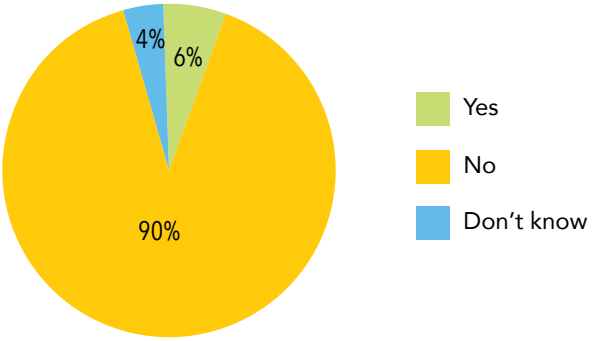
When communities face problems

Though people may feel they know their village-tract and ward administrators better than other subnational government officials, and may attribute government activities—accurately or not—to the institutions they know best, the survey results also suggest that people tend not to turn to local government administrators to help solve their problems.

In order to probe what steps people and communities take when they are faced with problems that they are not able to solve on their own, the survey asked respondents if their community had faced any problem in the last year that they needed outside help to resolve.

Only 6% of all respondents said that their community had faced such a problem in the last year, suggesting a preference for solving community problems within the community rather than reaching out to outside actors or the government. There were no major differences in responses between the states and the regions, but among the individual states, Rakhine State reported the most concerns in the community, with 13% of respondents saying that they faced a community problem that they needed outside help to resolve.

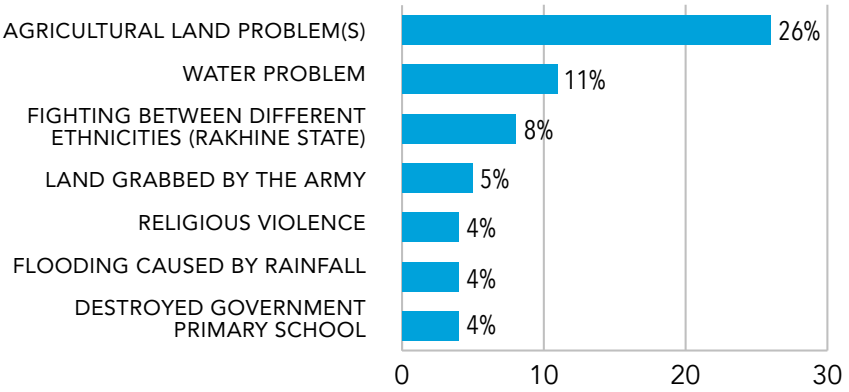
FIG. 2.22: IN THE PAST YEAR, HAS THEIR COMMUNITY FACED A PROBLEM REQUIRING EXTERNAL HELP TO RESOLVE?



Kind of problem faced by the community and who was approached to solve the problem

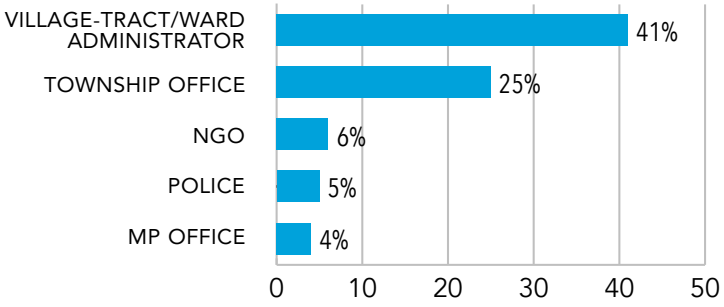
Though the number of respondents who said their community had faced such problems was small (n=184), when asked in an open question what kind of problem was faced, problems related to agricultural land were mentioned by 26% of the respondents. Problems related to water (11%), ethnic conflict (8%), religious conflict (4%), transportation (7%), and land-grabbing (5%) were also mentioned.

FIG. 2.23: WHAT KIND OF PROBLEM DID THEIR COMMUNITY HAVE THAT THEY HAD TO ASK FOR HELP OR COOPERATION TO RESOLVE? (N=184)



When the same respondents were asked whom they approached to help solve these problems, 41% reported approaching their village-tract or ward administrator, and 25% sought help from their township office. Six percent reported seeking help from an NGO, and 5% went to the police.

FIG. 2.24: WHOM DID THEY APPROACH TO RESOLVE THE COMMUNITY PROBLEM? (N=181)



Which level of government affects life most?

Relatively greater familiarity with national level and village-tract or ward level governments also appears to be reflected in people's beliefs about how decisions made at different levels of government affect their lives. When asked which decisions made at various government levels affect their lives the most, people tend to believe decisions made by the national government (29%) and the village-tract or ward administrators (20%) affect them most. The state or region government and the township government are not seen as affecting their lives to a great extent. Fourteen percent of all respondents believe that none of these governments affect their lives, while 12% believe all of these governments are the same.

Respondents in the regions felt the national government has more impact in their lives, while those in the states attributed more impact to the village-tract or ward administrator. Twenty percent of respondents in the states felt that no level of government affects their lives more than any other, compared to 11% in the regions.

Respondents in Mon State appear to believe more strongly (47%) than respondents nationally or in other states that decisions of their village-tract or ward administrators affect them. Thirty-one percent of respondents in Rakhine State felt the national government's influence the greatest. Government impact at all levels appeared to be least strongly felt in Shan State, where 43% of respondents said they don't know and another 26% said that none of the governments affect their lives.

FIG. 2.25: DECISIONS OF WHICH LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT AFFECT THEM MORE

	ALL MYANMAR	STATE	REGION	MALE	FEMALE
National government	29%	15%	34%	32%	25%
Village-tract/ward administrator	20%	23%	19%	19%	21%
State/region government	3%	3%	3%	3%	2%
Township government	2%	3%	2%	2%	1%
None of them	14%	20%	11%	15%	13%
All the same	12%	8%	13%	12%	12%
Don't know	21%	29%	19%	17%	26%

FIG. 2.26: DECISIONS OF WHICH LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT AFFECT THEM MORE (BY STATE)

	ALL MYANMAR	KACHIN	KAYAH	KAYIN	CHIN	MON	RAKHINE	SHAN
National government	29%	23%	14%	10%	22%	11%	31%	7%
State/region government	3%	3%	4%	6%	3%	2%	3%	1%
Township government	2%	3%	5%	4%	6%	3%	3%	1%
Village-tract/ward administrator	20%	17%	15%	29%	31%	47%	14%	13%
All the same	12%	19%	19%	6%	9%	8%	2%	10%
None of them	14%	11%	9%	10%	13%	10%	30%	26%
Don't know	21%	24%	35%	34%	16%	18%	18%	43%

What is the most effective way to reach their MP?

Despite the low level of knowledge people appear to have about the functions of MPs at both the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw and state and region hluttaws, people appear optimistic about their ability to contact their legislative representatives. Though the survey did not probe respondents' actual experience of contacting or interacting with their MPs,[6] the findings suggest an opportunity for MPs to build on people's expectations to establish better and more direct communications with their constituents.

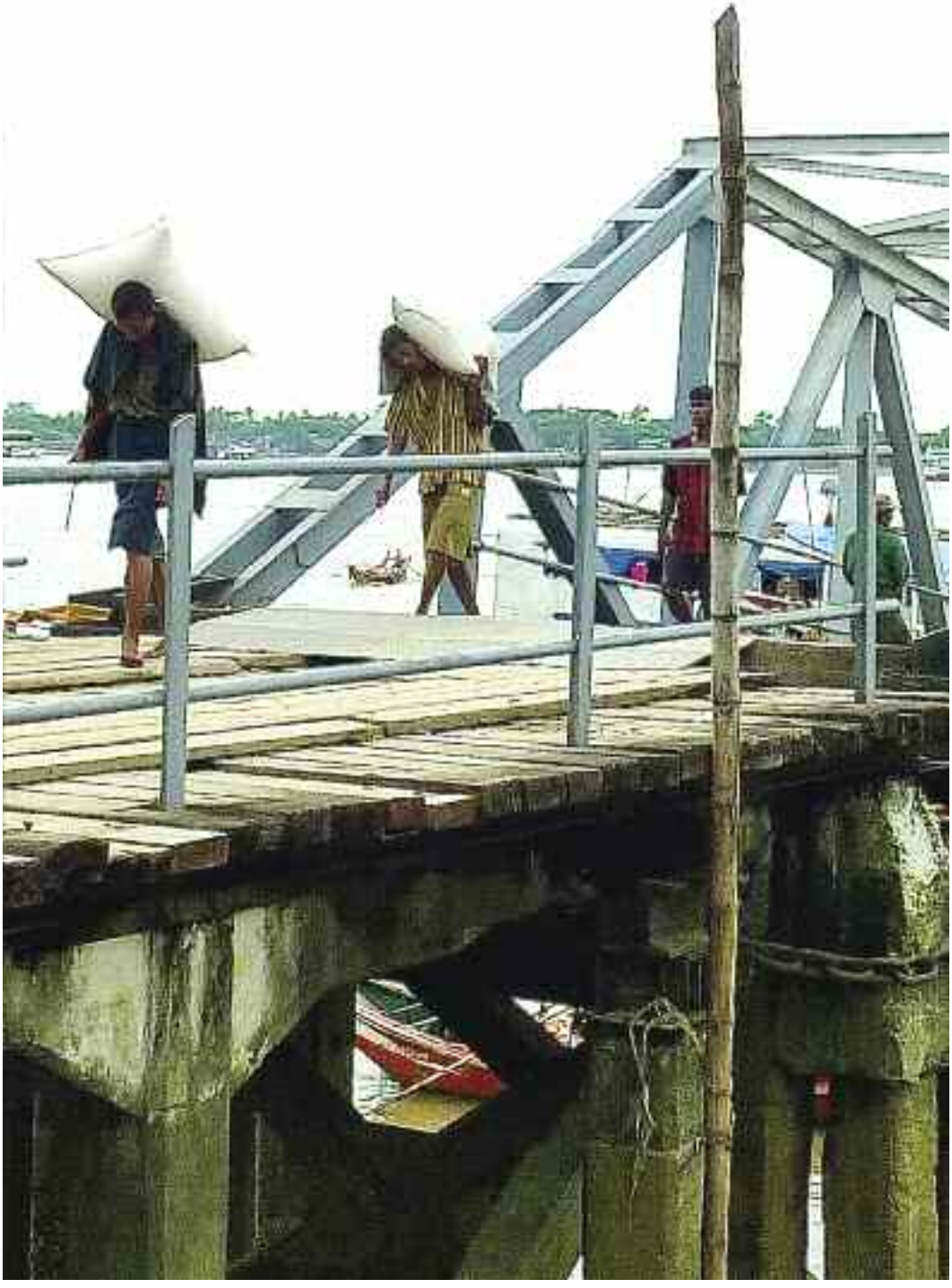
A significant proportion of all respondents (42%) believed that they can contact their MP directly. Some believed they can contact the MP through his or her personal assistant (6%), or through party activists (5%). More than one quarter (27%) did not know how to reach their MP.

Respondents in the regions appear to feel significantly more empowered to contact their MPs directly (47%) than those in the states (28%). Men (45%) also appeared to feel more empowered than women (38%) to contact their MPs directly, while more women (33%) than men (22%) felt they did not know the best way to contact their MPs.

FIG. 2.27: MOST EFFECTIVE WAYS TO REACH THEIR MPS (AIDED LIST)

	ALL MYANMAR	STATE	REGION	MALE	FEMALE
Contact MPs directly	42%	28%	47%	45%	38%
Personal assistants to the MP	6%	6%	6%	7%	5%
Party activists	5%	6%	5%	6%	4%
MP's relatives	4%	3%	5%	4%	4%
Regular MP constituents meeting	4%	6%	4%	4%	4%
Middlemen	4%	2%	4%	3%	4%
Don't know	27%	37%	24%	22%	33%

[6] Other recent research in Myanmar suggests that fewer than 1% of people in Myanmar have ever attempted to contact their MPs. BBC Media Action. *The Media's Role in Citizen Engagement: Evidence from Burma Research Briefing* (June 2014).



3. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND UNDERSTANDING OF DEMOCRACY

3.1. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The term for politics in Myanmar, *naing ngan yeh*, carries with it the burden of decades of military rule and political repression, and these lingering connotations are likely reflected in survey responses. Involvement in and discussion of politics has long been seen as dangerous or requiring expertise beyond the capacity of ordinary people, though these views may be changing as people have felt freer to express political views and opinions in recent years. Then again, perceptions of what politics entails will necessarily vary depending on a variety of factors including local circumstances and individual experiences. While people may not voice a strong interest in politics, they do reveal a keen desire to participate in the political process, expressing overwhelmingly the intention to participate in the coming general elections, and showing a cautious optimism in the potential for the elections to bring about positive change in their lives.

Interest in politics

When asked whether they were interested in politics, 37% of respondents expressed some degree of interest (5% "very interested," 32% "somewhat interested"). However, 46% of all respondents were "not interested at all" and another 16% were "not very interested."

Women reported much less interest in politics, with just 2% expressing a high level of interest, compared to 8% of men. More than half of women respondents (53%) said they were "not interested at all," compared to 39% of men.

No significant differences were observed between states and regions, or between rural and urban respondents. However, interest in politics varied greatly among the states, with respondents in Kachin State and Kayah State voicing greater interest, while relatively fewer respondents in Mon State expressed an interest.

FIG. 3.1: INTEREST IN POLITICS

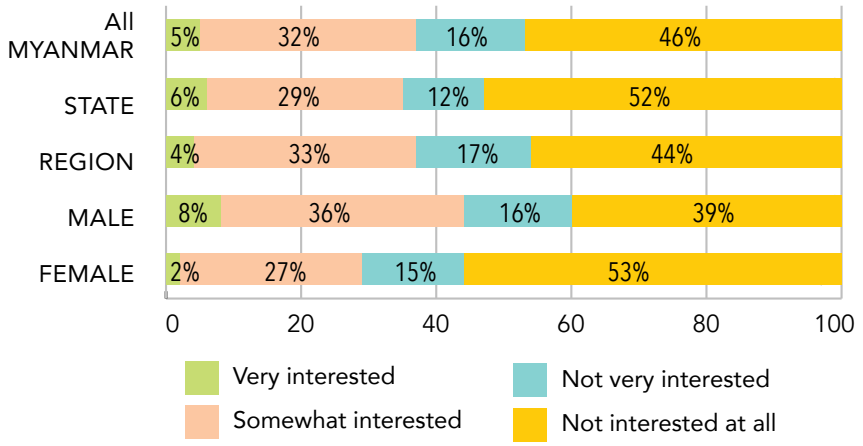
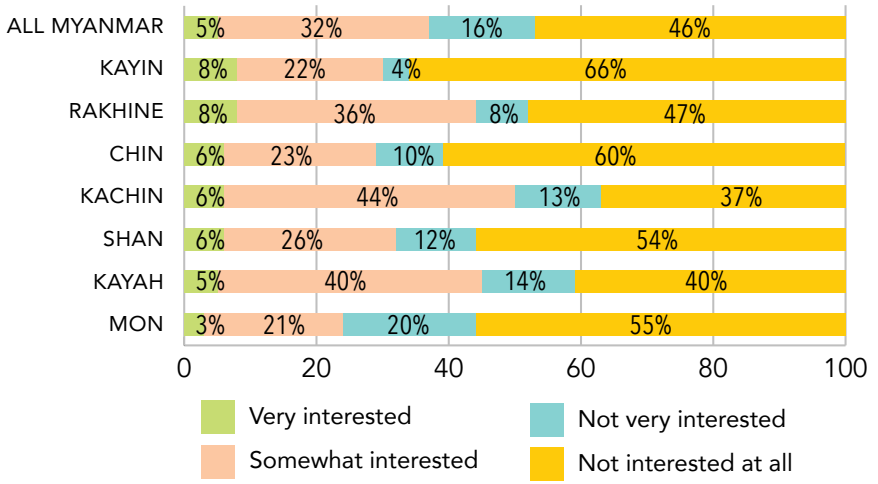


FIG. 3.2: INTEREST IN POLITICS (BY STATE)

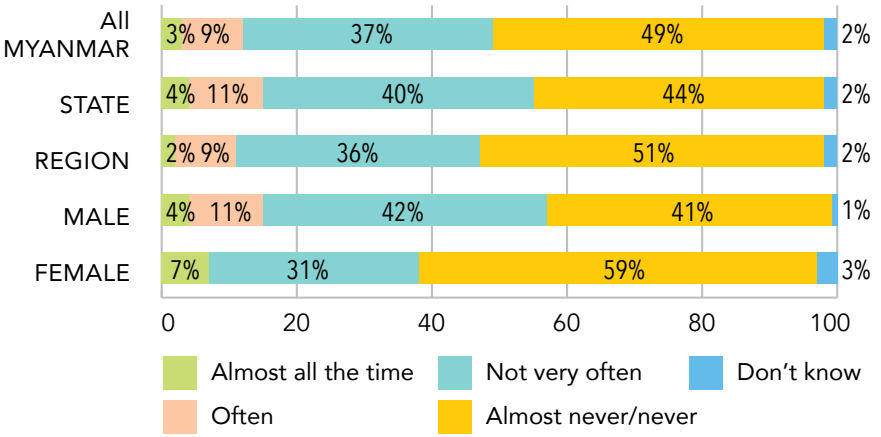


How often do they discuss politics with friends?

Of those respondents who reported at least a minimal level of interest in politics (n=1610), only 12% said that they discuss politics with their friends "almost all the time" or "often." Thirty-seven percent said they discuss politics "not very often," while 49% "almost never or never" discuss politics with friends.

Twice as many men (15%) as women (7%) who expressed some interest in politics reported discussing politics with their friends "almost all the time" or "often." Fifty-nine percent of women who expressed some interest in politics never or almost never discuss politics with friends, compared to 41% of men who said the same. There were no significant differences in responses between the states and regions, but urban respondents were more likely to discuss politics than their rural counterparts: 41% of urban respondents said they never or almost never discuss politics with friends, compared to 52% of rural respondents.

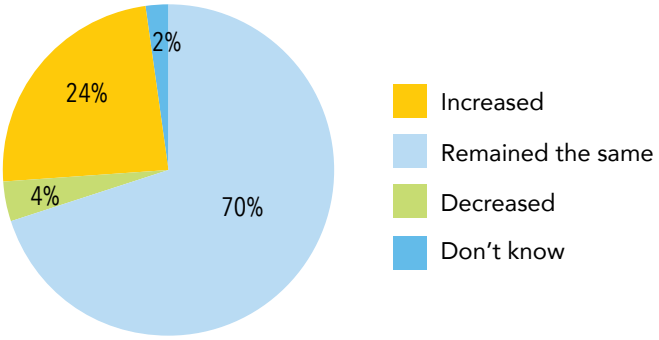
FIG. 3.3: HOW OFTEN DO THEY DISCUSS POLITICS WITH FRIENDS? (N=1610)



How has their interest in politics changed in the last three years?

While most people (70%) said that their interest in politics has not changed in the last three years, almost one quarter of respondents (24%) indicated that their interest in politics has increased, while only 4% said that their interest has decreased. These responses were fairly consistent across states and regions, with only respondents in Chin State expressing more increased interest in politics (33%) than the national average. Again, fewer women (20%) than men (29%) reported an increased interest in politics over the last three years.

FIG. 3.4: HOW HAS INTEREST IN POLITICS CHANGED IN THE LAST 3 YEARS?



3.1.1. ELECTION PARTICIPATION

In 2015, Myanmar is planning to hold highly anticipated general elections across the country. These will be the first elections since the shift from military rule to a quasi-civilian government in 2011, and they are expected to have the participation of all political parties, including the main opposition party, the National League of Democracy (NLD), headed by Aung San Suu Kyi, which boycotted the 2010 elections and only participated in the by-elections of 2012. As such, the 2015 general elections represent a potential movement forward in the country's continuing democratization. Survey respondents expressed strong faith in the electoral process, believing that voting can bring meaningful and positive change to the country and its people, and anticipating that the coming elections will be held in a free and fair manner.

Have they ever been listed on the voters list?

In the 2010 general elections and the 2012 by-elections, errors were widely reported in the electoral rolls. When asked whether they had ever been included on the voters list, 87% of all respondents nationwide said that they had been included. However, a gap appeared between respondents in the states and those in the regions, with 90% of respondents in the regions but just 78% of respondents in the states reporting they have been included on the voters list.

Presence on the voters list was much lower in Kayin State (64%) and Kayah State (63%), where nearly a third of respondents said they had never been on the voters list.

FIG. 3.5: REPRESENTATION ON VOTERS LIST

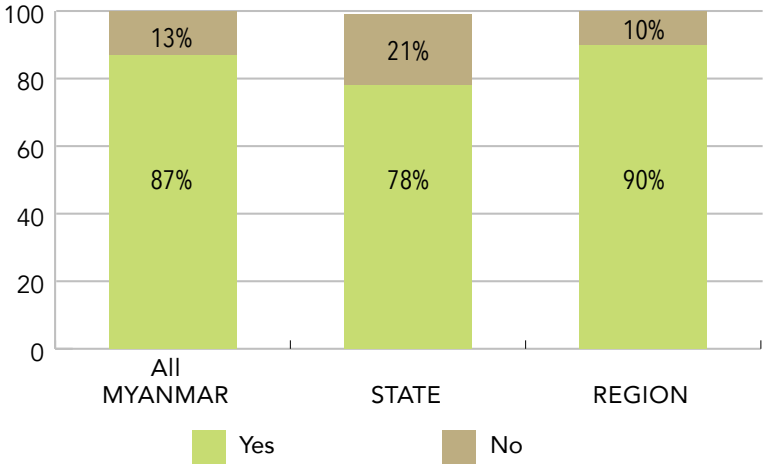
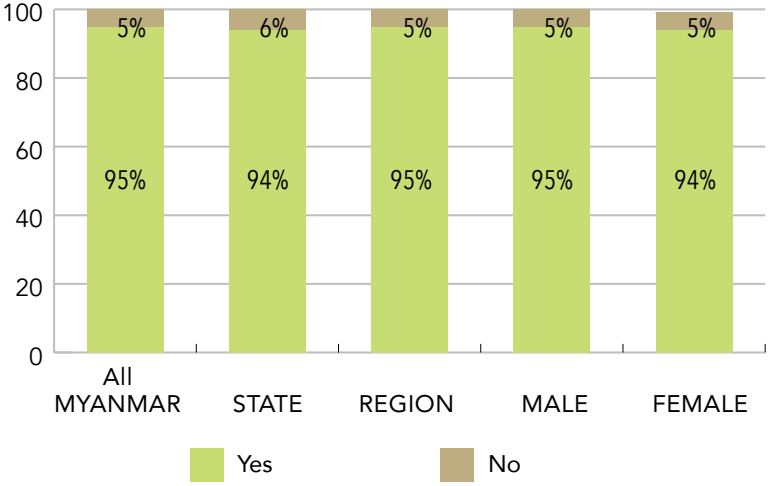


FIG. 3.6: VOTER PARTICIPATION IN 2010



Did they vote in the 2010 elections?

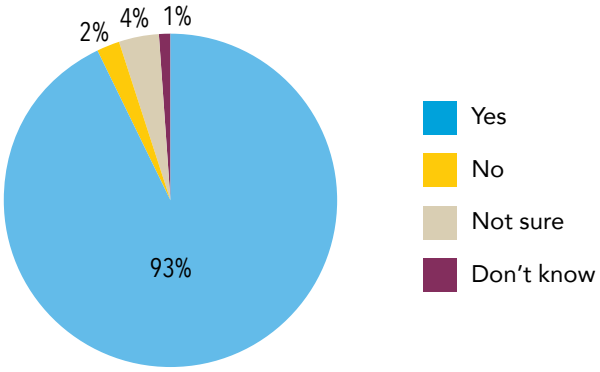
Despite some variations in inclusion on the voters list, reported participation in the 2010 general elections was very high. Ninety-five percent of all respondents said they had voted in the 2010 general elections, with no significant differences seen by geography or by gender.

It should be noted that the rate of voting in the 2010 elections reported by survey respondents is higher than the approximately 77% reported by the Union government,[7] though it is not clear whether the discrepancy results from inaccuracy in the government's figures or over-reporting of participation by survey respondents.

Voting in the upcoming elections in 2015

A similarly high number (93%) also expressed their intention to vote in the upcoming general elections in 2015. Again, there were no significant differences in responses between rural and urban areas, between states and regions, or between men and women. There are small variations among the states, with fewer respondents planning to vote in Kayah State (77%) and Kachin State (85%).

FIG. 3.7: INTENTION TO VOTE IN 2015



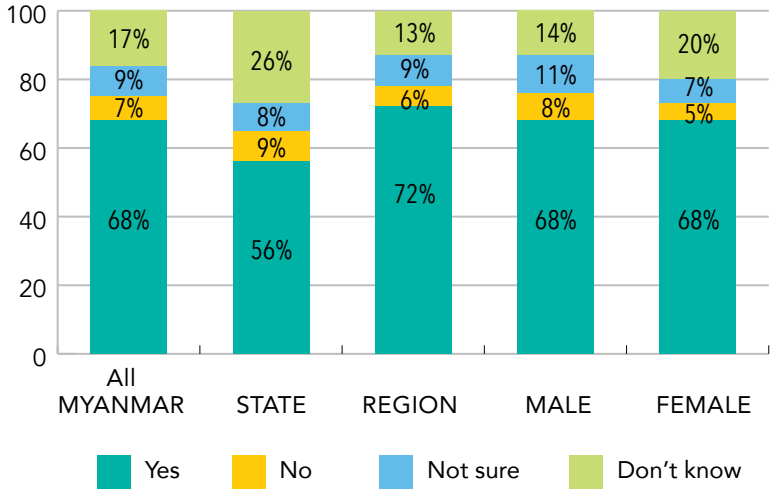
Will the 2015 elections be free and fair?

Even though previous elections were plagued by allegations of fraud and irregularities, the survey found that people were cautiously optimistic that the general elections of 2015 would be free and fair. More than two thirds (68%) of all respondents believe that the upcoming elections will be free and fair, though there is a much lower level of confidence among respondents in the states (56%) than in the regions (72%). No significant differences were observed in responses from rural and urban areas, or between men and women.

[7] The Union of Myanmar, Union Election Commission Notification No. 143/2010. "Announcement on figures of multiparty democracy general elections for respective hluttaws" (7 December 2010).

Among the states, 73% of respondents in Chin State believed that the 2015 elections will be free and fair, compared to just 58% in Rakhine State and 52% in Kayah State.

FIG. 3.8: WILL THE 2015 ELECTIONS BE FREE AND FAIR?



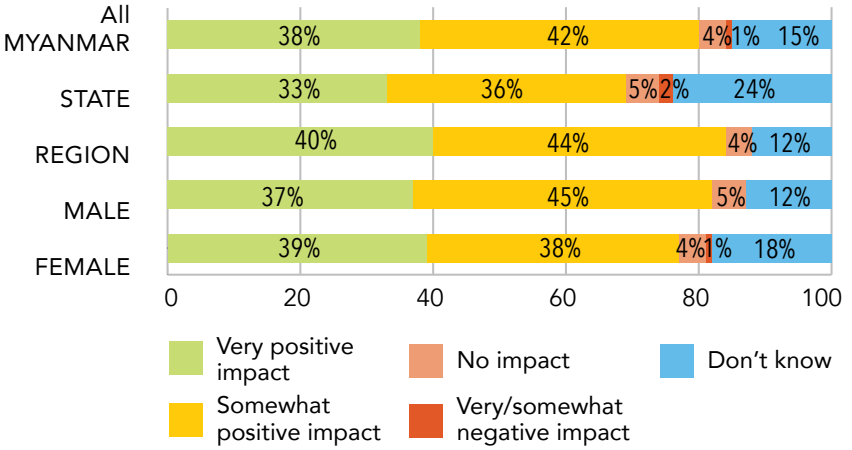
What kind of impact will the 2015 elections have on their lives?

People appear to have great faith that elections can bring about meaningful change. When asked what kind of impact the 2015 elections would have on their lives, 38% of all respondents felt that there would be a "very positive impact," and 42% thought a "somewhat positive impact." Very few respondents (4%) believed the elections would have no impact at all, though 15% said they did not know what kind of impact the elections would have on their lives.

Respondents in the regions generally felt more confident that the 2015 elections would have a positive impact on their lives than those in the states, with twice as many respondents in the states (24%) than in the regions (12%) indicating that they did not know how the elections will impact their lives.

In the individual states, respondents in Chin State were the most confident that the elections would affect their lives in a positive way, with nearly half (48%) of respondents saying the impact would be very positive, and another third (32%) believing the impact would be at least somewhat positive. In stark contrast, only 17% of respondents in Kayah State felt the elections would have a very positive impact on their lives, and 37% believed the impact would be somewhat positive. Notably, 14% of respondents in Kayah State felt the elections would have no impact at all on their lives.

FIG. 3.9: POTENTIAL OF 2015 ELECTIONS TO IMPACT LIFE



Can voting change things or are things not going to get better?

The keen interest in exercising ones voting rights can be seen to stem from a belief that voting can change things for the better. Over three fourths (77%) of all respondents believe that voting can change things, while only 10% believe that things will not be made better by voting. Respondents in the regions tended to be more optimistic that voting can change things (79%) than respondents in the states (69%). No significant differences were found between the views of respondents from urban and rural areas.

Respondents from Chin State (82%) were most hopeful about the potential for voting to change things for the better, while those in Shan State (58%) and Kayah State (63%) were much less certain. More than one third of respondents in Shan State (35%) and more than one quarter of respondents in Kayah State (26%) felt they did not know whether voting would lead to change.

FIG. 3.10: POTENTIAL FOR VOTING TO BRING IMPROVEMENT

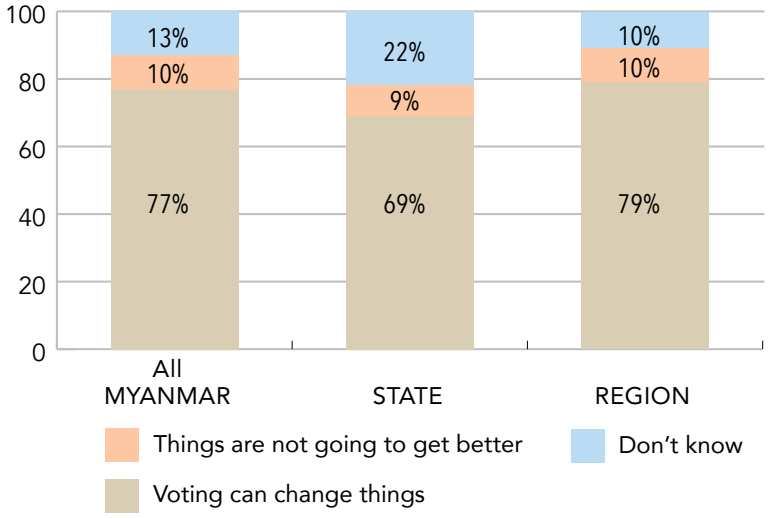
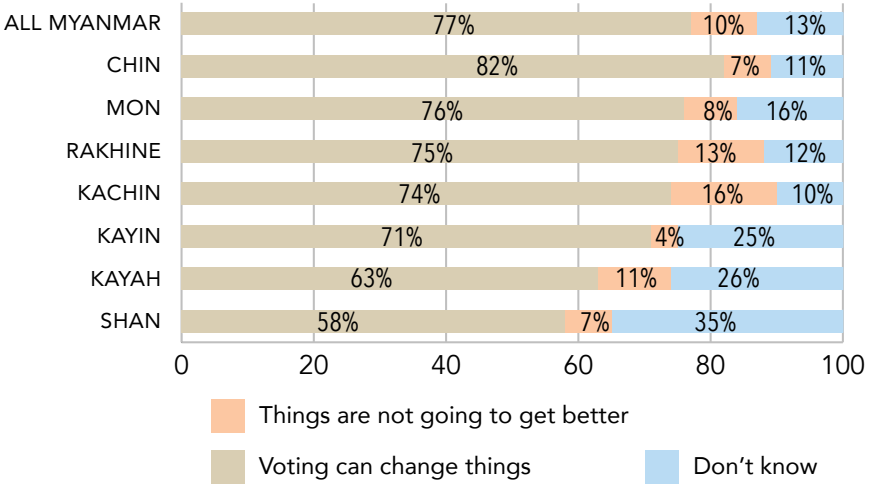


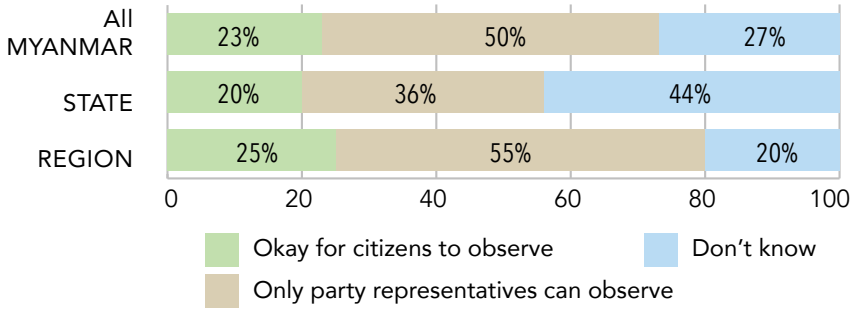
FIG. 3.11: POTENTIAL FOR VOTING TO BRING IMPROVEMENT (BY STATE)



Can ordinary people observe the voting and counting process or are only party representatives allowed?

The laws governing the general election in 2010 permit, at least in principle, members of the public to observe the counting of votes.[8] The survey asked respondents whether they believe that ordinary people are allowed to observe the voting and counting process, or that only party representatives are allowed to observe. Overall, 23% of all respondents think that ordinary people or citizens are permitted to observe the voting and counting process, while half (50%) believe only party representatives may observe the voting and counting process. At the time of this writing, new guidelines regarding the accreditation of individuals who want to observe the elections are being developed by the Union Election Commission, but survey responses point to a widespread lack of knowledge among the public about election observation or a prevailing belief that it is the province of political parties rather than ordinary citizens.

FIG. 3.12: WHO MAY OBSERVE VOTING AND THE COUNTING OF VOTES?



3.2. UNDERSTANDING OF DEMOCRACY

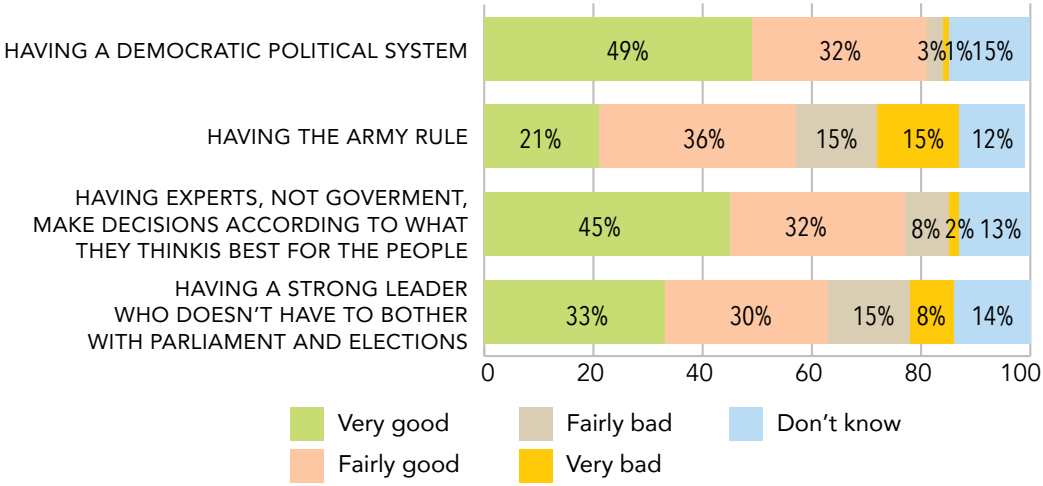
The understanding of democracy is evolving as Myanmar continues its transition from highly centralized military rule. While people express a strong preference for democracy in the abstract and believe that democracy will result in greater freedoms, understanding of the values that underpin a democratic society—including tolerance of diverse political viewpoints—and the rights and responsibilities of citizens remains less developed. The mixed responses in the survey may reflect a traditional belief in strong leaders and the unequal relationship between rulers and the ruled. It will take time and sustained effort to clarify and instill new democratic concepts of governance, and these nuances in the public's understanding of democracy and the nature of citizen-state relations must be considered in any civic education program.

[8] The Amyotha Hluttaw Election Law (March 8, 2010) Chapter X, art. 48(b), (d). The Pyithu Hluttaw Election Law (March 8, 2010) Chapter X, art. 48(b), (d). The Region Hluttaw or the State Hluttaw Election Law (March 8, 2010) Chapter X, art. 48(b), (d).

What do you think about different ways of governing a country?

The survey aimed to understand what people thought about various forms of government or governance, and respondents were presented with four different systems and asked their perceptions of each in turn.

FIG. 3.13: PERCEPTIONS OF DIFFERENT SYSTEMS OF GOVERNANCE



Overall, respondents preferred having a democratic system, with about half of all respondents (49%) calling it "very good" and another 32% calling it "fairly good." The level of net positive responses was higher in the regions (84%: 50% very good, 34% fairly good) than in the states (73%: 46% very good, 27% fairly good), though more respondents in the states (22%) than in the regions (12%) felt they did not know. Responses were somewhat varied between individual states, with many respondents in a few states feeling that they did not know. While 84% of respondents in Chin State and Kachin State felt that a democratic political system is "very good" or "fairly good," just 66% in Kayah State said the same, and fully one third (33%) said they did not know.

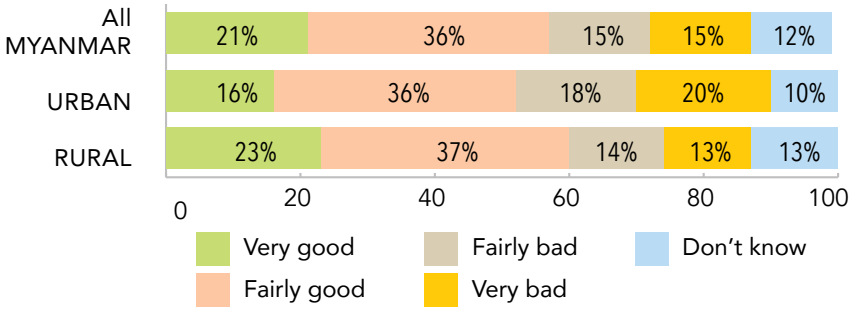
When asked about army rule, about one fifth (21%) of all respondents called it "very good," while another 36% called it "fairly good." Perhaps unsurprisingly, the idea of army rule received a much stronger negative response than the other forms of governance presented, with 15% believing army rule is "very bad" and another 15% believing it is "fairly bad."

Enthusiasm for army rule was not significantly lower in the states than in the regions, with 17% of respondents in the states saying that army rule is "very good," compared to 22% of respondents in the regions. However, the divide between respondents in urban and rural areas was more marked, with only 16% in urban areas believing army rule is "very good," compared to 23% in rural areas. Urban

respondents were also more negative about army rule, with 20% saying that army rule is "very bad" and 18% saying it is "fairly bad," compared to 13% "very bad" and 14% "fairly bad" in rural areas.

Among the individual states, respondents in Chin State felt the least positive about army rule, with only four percent (4%) saying that army rule is "very good," while 30% felt army rule is "very bad" and 26% felt it is "fairly bad." In contrast, 40% of respondents in Rakhine State believe that having the army rule is "very good," though there are also many, 20%, who believe it is "very bad."

FIG. 3.14: OPINION OF ARMY RULE (RURAL/URBAN)



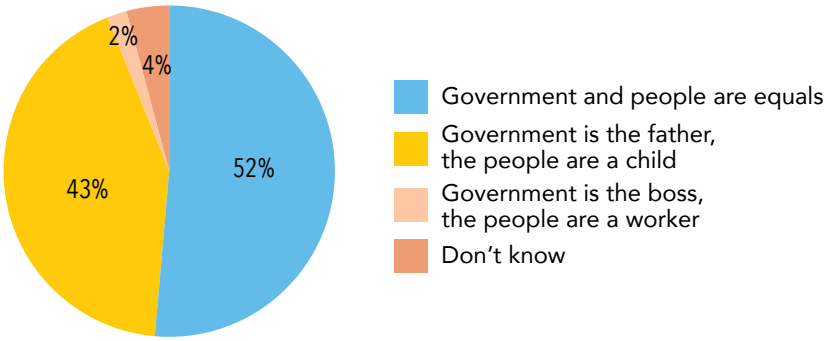
Respondents were also asked how they felt about having experts rather than the government make decisions according to what they think is best for the country. People felt nearly as favorably about this form of government as they did about democracy, with 77% of all respondents believing that having experts rather than government making decisions is positive (45% very good, 32% fairly good). No significant difference was seen between the states and regions, though somewhat more respondents in urban areas (85%) than in rural areas (73%) felt that having experts was "very good" or "fairly good." Variations were seen between individual states, particularly in the proportions of people who said they did not know, but a very strong positive response to this form of government was seen in Rakhine State, where 68% of respondents felt that having experts rather than government make the decisions was "very good."

People responded much less positively to the idea of authoritarian rule than to other forms of government. When asked how they felt about having a strong leader who did not have to listen to a parliament or wait to get elected by the people, 33% of all respondents felt that this would be "very good," while another 30% felt it would be "fairly good." Overall, 63% of respondents responded positively to this form of governance. Generally, there were many more respondents in the states (24%) than in the regions (10%) who did not know.

What should be the relationship between the government and the people?

The survey attempted to probe how people viewed the relationship between themselves and the government, and it is a good sign that only 2% believe the government should be seen as the boss and the people as a worker. However, only slightly more people believed the government and the people should be seen as equals (52%) than believed the government should be seen as a father and the people as a child (43%).

FIG. 3.15: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE



In this instance, respondents from the regions tended to take a more traditional view of the relationship between people and government, with 46% believing that the government should be like a father to the people, compared to 35% in the states. Generally, belief that the government and the people should be equals was stronger in the states (56%) than in the regions (50%), with people believing this principle most strongly in Rakhine State (65%) and Shan State (61%).

If a country is called a democracy, what does it mean?

For a population just emerging from decades of political repression and isolation, democracy is most closely associated with freedom rather than rule by the people. The survey found that when respondents were asked what it means if a country is called a democracy, more than half (53%) said broadly that "freedom" comes to mind. Though minor variations were seen between individual states, "freedom" was the response seen most frequently across all of the states and regions. Fifteen percent of respondents mentioned "rights and law," and 11% said "peace." A mere 3% of all respondents associated democracy with "government by the people."

More than one third of all respondents (35%) also said that they don't know what it means when a country is called a democracy, underscoring the gap between public enthusiasm and the knowledge people still need in order to participate more fully in democratic processes. The number of respondents who did not know was higher in the states (43%) than in the regions (32%), and was particularly high in Kayah State (61%).

There were significant differences by gender. Forty-six percent of women said freedom comes to mind at the mention of democracy, compared to 60% of men. Twice as many men (21%) as women (10%) mentioned "rights and law." Many more women (45%) than men (25%) said they don't know what it means for a country to be a democracy.

FIG. 3.16: WHAT DOES DEMOCRACY MEAN? (COMBINED 3 RESPONSES)

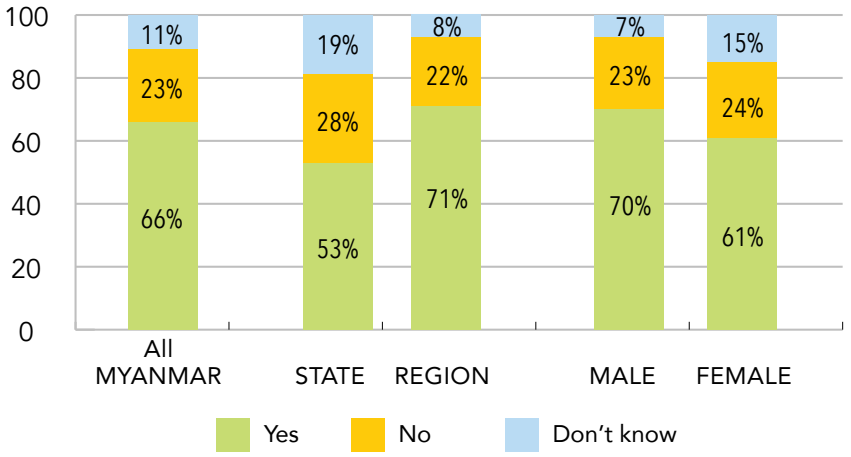
	ALL MYANMAR	STATE	REGION	MALE	FEMALE
Freedom	53%	45%	56%	60%	46%
Rights and law	15%	15%	15%	21%	10%
Peace	11%	10%	11%	12%	11%
Equal rights for groups	8%	8%	8%	10%	5%
Government of the people	3%	3%	3%	4%	2%
Don't know	35%	43%	32%	25%	45%

3.2.1. FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Do people feel free to express their political opinions in the area where they live?

A democratic society cannot function effectively if people do not feel free to express their opinions without fear of reprisal from the government or other members of their communities. Three years after Myanmar embarked on broad reforms intended to move the country towards an open and democratic system, most people do appear to feel free to express their political opinions in the area where they live, but challenges remain.

FIG. 3.17: DO PEOPLE FEEL FREE TO EXPRESS POLITICAL OPINIONS?



Two thirds (66%) of all respondents feel free to express themselves, but about a quarter (23%) of the population still does not feel free to do so. Urban respondents (71%) tended to feel freer to express their political views than people in rural areas (64%).

It should be noted that people in the states (53%) feel much less free to express political views than people in the regions (71%). This is particularly pronounced in Rakhine State, where more than half of respondents (51%) said they do not feel free to express their political opinions, and only 41% of respondents do feel free to do so.

Should all political parties, even ones most people do not like, be allowed to hold meetings in their area?

Though people are demonstrably enthusiastic about democracy in principle and the new freedoms it represents, and keen to participate in democratic processes, as reflected in the high levels of reported voter participation, people appear notably intolerant of political viewpoints that diverge from their own. The survey results suggest deeply polarized political values that have significant implications for the continuing development of democratic practices in Myanmar.

Respondents were asked if all political parties, including those that are unpopular, should be allowed to hold meetings in their area. Overall, more than half of all respondents (52%) say that they should be allowed. But more than one third (35%) say that they should not be allowed, a sentiment more pronounced in rural (37%) than in urban areas (29%).

Significant variations appeared between individual states in respondents' openness to a diversity of political viewpoints. Sixty-nine percent of respondents in Kayah State and 61% in Kachin State say

that unpopular political parties should be permitted to hold meetings in their area, but 42% of respondents in Chin State and 45% in Mon State say unpopular parties should not be permitted to hold meetings in their area.

FIG. 3.18: ACCEPTANCE OF LOCAL MEETINGS OF UNPOPULAR POLITICAL PARTIES

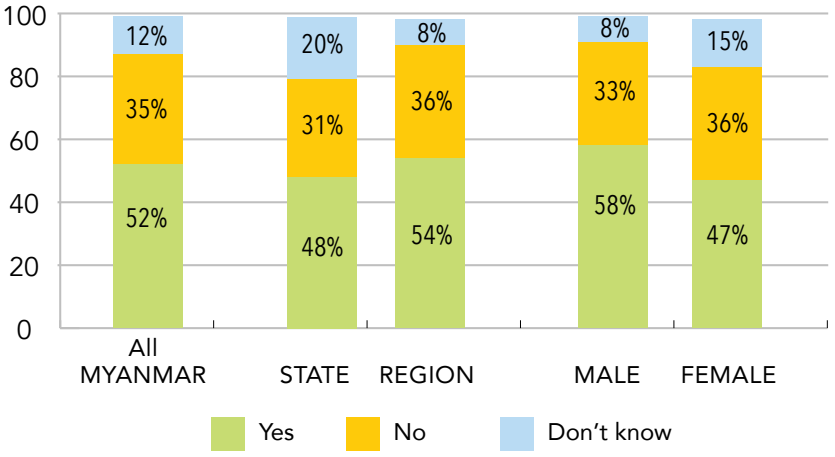


FIG. 3.19: ACCEPTANCE OF LOCAL MEETINGS OF UNPOPULAR POLITICAL PARTIES (BY STATE)

	ALL MYANMAR	KACHIN	KAYAH	KAYIN	CHIN	MON	RAKHINE	SHAN
Yes	52%	61%	69%	49%	52%	43%	50%	43%
No	35%	25%	10%	24%	42%	45%	35%	27%
Don't know	12%	12%	21%	27%	6%	12%	15%	30%

Tolerance of unpopular political parties

Probing the degree of political polarization in communities in Myanmar, the next question asked whether they would continue being friends with someone who supported an unpopular political party. More than half of respondents (52%) said they would accept the decision and maintain the friendship, but 41% said they would end the friendship.

Polarization appeared especially pronounced in the urban/rural divide. Sixty-two percent of urban respondents said they would continue the friendship, while 32% would end the friendship. But just 47% of rural respondents would continue the friendship, while 45% would end it.

Among the individual states, respondents in Shan State appeared the most tolerant of political difference, with 61% saying they would maintain the friendship. In contrast, Rakhine State appears highly polarized, with more than two thirds of respondents (68%) saying they would end the friendship.

FIG. 3.20: ACCEPTANCE OF FRIENDS WHO JOIN UNPOPULAR POLITICAL PARTIES

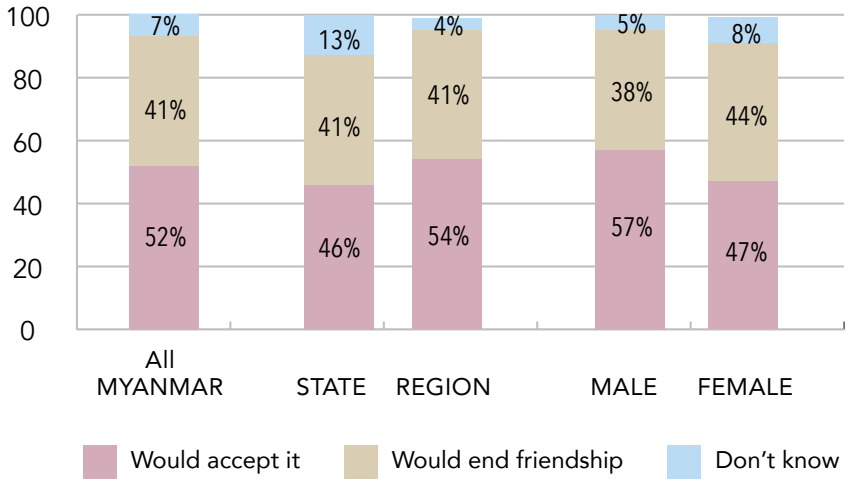


FIG. 3.21:ACCEPTANCE OF FRIENDS WHO JOIN UNPOPULAR POLITICAL PARTIES (RURAL/URBAN)

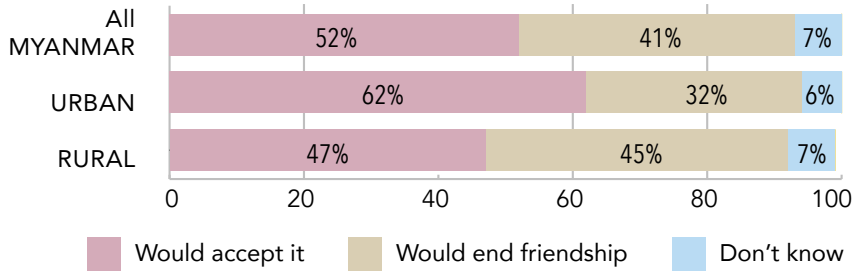


FIG. 3.22: ACCEPTANCE OF FRIENDS WHO JOIN UNPOPULAR POLITICAL PARTIES (BY STATE)

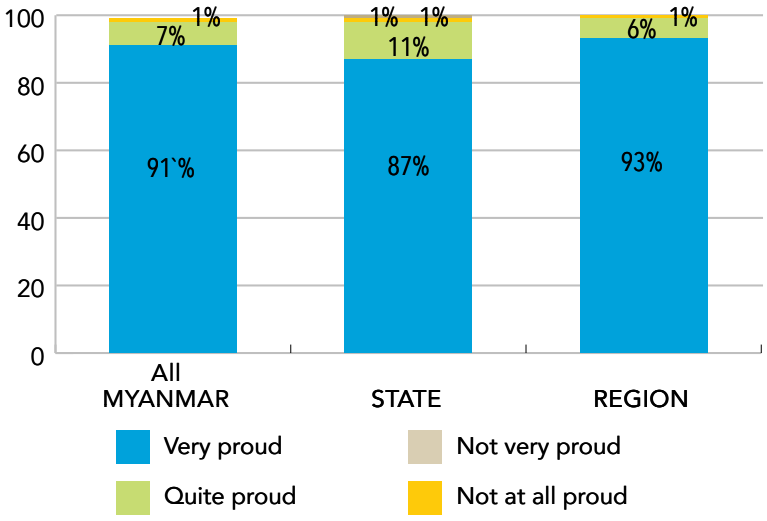
	ALL MYANMAR	KACHIN	KAYAH	KAYIN	CHIN	MON	RAKHINE	SHAN
Would accept it	52%	47%	41%	39%	49%	43%	25%	61%
Would end friendship	41%	44%	42%	47%	46%	51%	68%	18%
Don't know	7%	9%	18%	14%	5%	6%	7%	21%

4. IDENTITY, VALUES, AND TRUST

4.1. SELF-IDENTITY

Ethnicity and religion are at the heart of political identity in Myanmar, with significant implications for the peace process and political reforms. The survey responses suggest that people in the regions tend to identify more closely with their religious group, whereas people in the states express identity in complex layers connecting to ethnicity, local community, and religion. However, across states and regions, pride in being from Myanmar is very strong.

FIG. 4.1: HOW PROUD ARE YOU TO BE FROM MYANMAR?



An overwhelming majority of respondents nationwide (91%) said that they are "very proud" to be from Myanmar, with another seven percent (7%) saying they are "quite proud." Among the states, 87% said they are "very proud" to be from Myanmar compared to 93% in the regions. Some variation was seen between individual states. While 91% of respondents from Kayin State and Shan State were "very proud" to be from Myanmar, only 58% from Chin State were "very proud," though another 30% said they are "quite proud."

How people view themselves and how they relate to the world

Respondents were shown a list of statements about how people may see themselves and how they relate to the world, and were asked to choose a statement with which they most strongly agree.

More than one third of respondents (35%) identified themselves most strongly as part of the Myanmar nation. People in the regions identified most strongly as being part of the Myanmar nation (38%) and with their religious group (28%), while people in the states also identified strongly as part of their ethnic group (19%) and as part of their local community (16%).

Compared to other states, people in Chin State (41%) and Mon State (40%) identified very strongly as part of the Myanmar nation, but in Chin State people also strongly identified with their ethnic group (19%). People in Kayin State identified as strongly with their local community (26%) as with the Myanmar nation (25%). In Shan State and Rakhine State, people identified more strongly with their ethnic group than they did as part of the Myanmar nation.

FIG. 4.2: HOW DO PEOPLE SEE THEMSELVES?

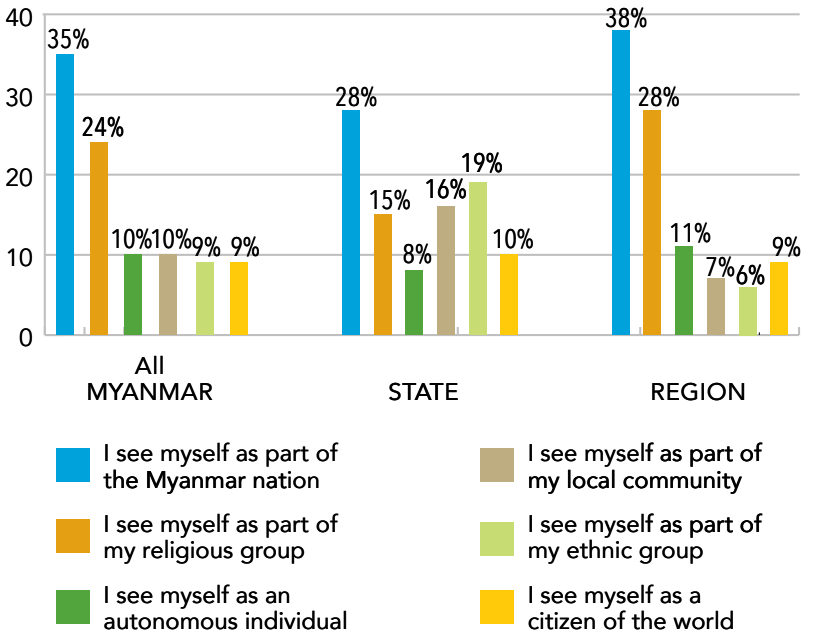


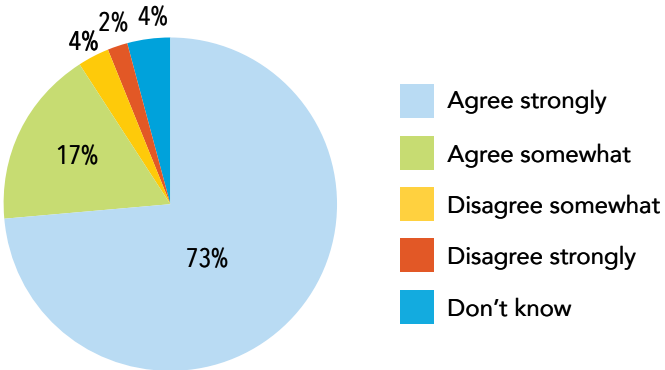
FIG. 4.3: HOW DO PEOPLE SEE THEMSELVES? (BY STATE)

	ALL MYANMAR	KACHIN	KAYAH	KAYIN	CHIN	MON	RAKHINE	SHAN
I see myself as part of the Myanmar nation	35%	36%	28%	25%	41%	40%	20%	24%
I see myself as part of my religious group	24%	12%	18%	13%	13%	23%	21%	9%
I see myself as an autonomous individual	10%	14%	8%	7%	5%	8%	10%	7%
I see myself as part of my local community	10%	8%	19%	26%	13%	11%	15%	19%
I see myself as part of my ethnic group	9%	11%	12%	13%	19%	3%	24%	28%
I see myself as a citizen of the world	9%	12%	11%	11%	6%	9%	9%	10%
I see myself as part of ASEAN	1%	4%	2%	2%	1%	3%	1%	1%
Don't know	1%	3%	2%	3%	2%	4%	1%	3%

4.2. RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC TOLERANCE

Considering the complexity of ethnic and religious identity in Myanmar, and in light of the increasing incidence of communal violence rooted in beliefs about religion, race, and nationality, the survey sought to explore public perceptions of equality under law, and tolerance of religion and ethnic difference.

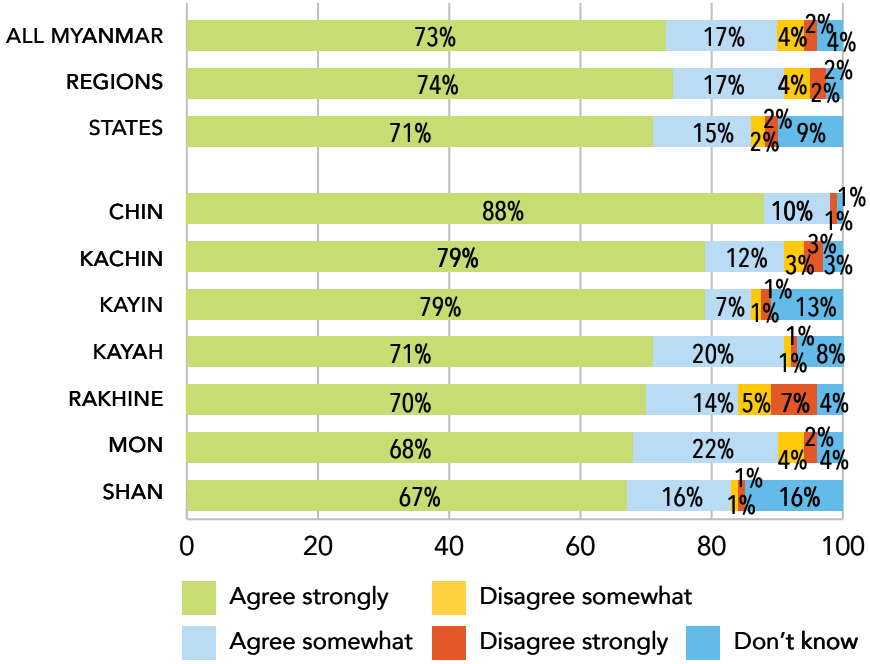
FIG. 4.4: BELIEF IN EQUAL RIGHTS UNDER LAW



Equal rights under law

When asked whether every citizen should have equal rights under the law regardless of gender, ethnicity, or religion, almost three-fourths (73%) of all respondents agreed strongly, while another 17% agreed somewhat, bringing the total of those who agreed to 90%. There was no difference in opinion between urban and rural respondents, though small variations emerged among individual states. People in Chin State were the most supportive of equal rights, with 88% strongly agreeing with the statement. Compared to other states, many people in Shan State and Kayin State said they don't know.

FIG. 4.5: BELIEF IN EQUAL RIGHTS UNDER LAW (BY STATE)

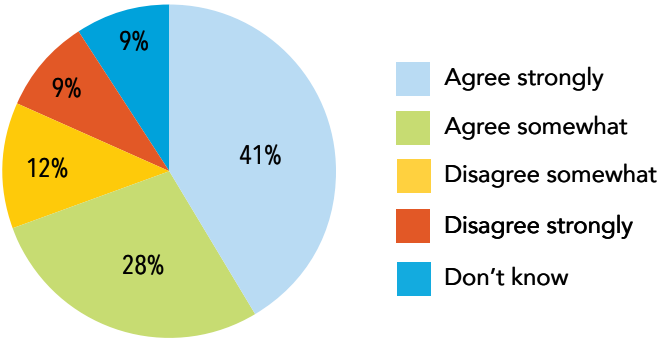


Religious and ethnic tolerance

In response to questions that probe perceptions of religious and ethnic tolerance, people expressed strong support for the ideas that religion should be kept separate from politics, and that ethnic minority groups should receive help to ensure an equal footing with others in society.

These are important findings, showing that people do have a clear view of the separation between religion and state, and that they aspire to a more inclusive and open society. However, communal conflict rooted in religious and ethnic difference has a long history in Myanmar, and can easily be provoked by groups who want to foment social divisions for political, ethnic, or religious reasons. Recent incidents of anti-Muslim violence, for example, serve as a strong reminder that public belief in the principle of equality for religious and ethnic minorities can be undermined in practice.

FIG. 4.6: RELIGIOUS LEADERS SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON GUIDING PEOPLE ON MATTERS RELATED TO THEIR FAITH AND NOT GET INVOLVED IN POLITICS

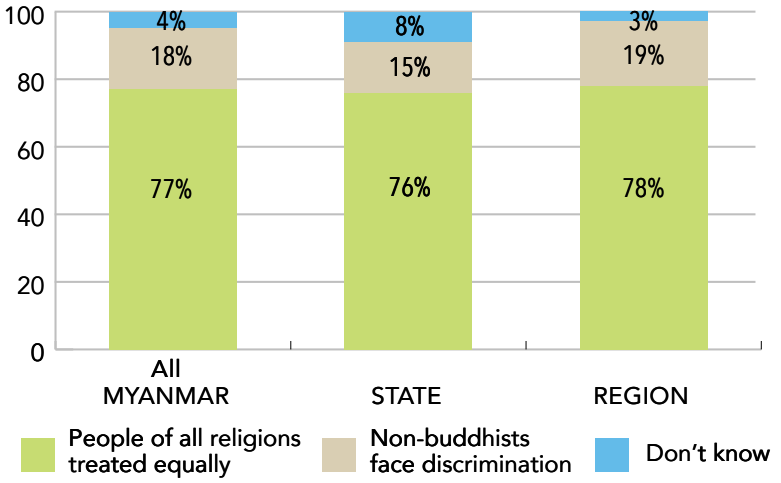


Signaling keen interest in keeping faith away from the divisive and polarizing arena of politics, a substantial 41% of respondents nationwide agreed strongly with the statement, "Religious leaders should concentrate on guiding people on matters related to their faith and not get involved in politics." An additional 28% agreed somewhat, while only 9% disagreed strongly.

Support for keeping religion separate from politics was more strongly expressed in the regions (44% agreed strongly) than in the states (33% agreed strongly), but the difference was accounted for mainly by the higher number of people in the states who did not know (16%) compared to the regions (6%).

There were notable variations between individual states, with respondents in Chin State expressing very strong support for this principle (54% agreed strongly and 29% agreed somewhat). Though disagreement otherwise appeared low across the country, in Rakhine State, 26% of respondents disagreed strongly with the separation of religion and politics.

FIG. 4.7: ARE ALL RELIGIONS TREATED EQUALLY OR DO NON-BUDDHISTS FACE DISCRIMINATION?

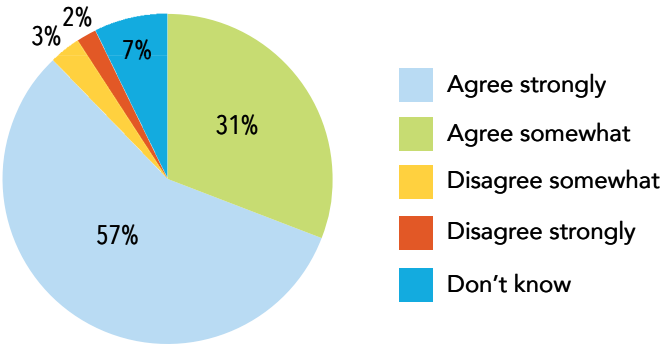


The survey also found that most people surveyed (77%) believe that people of all religions are treated equally, while only 18% think that non-Buddhists face discrimination. Given the history of ethnic conflicts and the rise of communal violence in Myanmar in recent years, this suggests that many people in Myanmar may not see or experience discrimination, may have differing views of what constitutes discrimination, and perhaps do not believe themselves guilty of discriminatory behavior.

The perception that all religions are treated equally appeared strongest in Shan State (85%) and Chin State (84%). In contrast, a third of respondents in Rakhine State (31%) thought that non-Buddhists face discrimination, which may reflect the increased level of communal conflict in the state over the last few years. On the whole, however, this finding suggests that people may not easily recognize the extent of religious discrimination in Myanmar, and this would need to be taken into account when designing programs addressing religious, ethnic, or racial tolerance.

Despite deep political polarization, people mostly believed that ethnic minorities should receive additional help to make them more equal with other communities. Fifty-seven percent agreed strongly that additional help should be provided, and another 31% agreed somewhat. Only 5% disagreed strongly or somewhat that such help should be provided. In sharp contrast, 19% of respondents in Rakhine State disagreed strongly or somewhat with giving ethnic minority groups additional help.

FIG. 4.8: BELIEF THAT ETHNIC MINORITIES SHOULD BE PROVIDED ADDITIONAL HELP



4.3. GENDER DISCRIMINATION

According to a number of indicators, women in Myanmar enjoy a high degree of gender equality. Myanmar is a signatory to key international treaties and policy frameworks for the elimination of discrimination against women. Women hold a constitutional right to participate in politics, and broad legal rights to property. Available data also show that girls receive primary and secondary education at rates nearly equal to boys, enjoy high rates of literacy, and account for nearly half of the non-agricultural workforce. However, the remarkable absence of women in roles of leadership in the political and economic spheres suggests that significant obstacles to gender equality persist. The survey sought to probe public perceptions of women as leaders in politics and business, and the social values regarding gender that inform women's participation in the public and private spheres. Survey results show a remarkable consistency between men and women in the strongly held view that men make better political and business leaders than women, suggesting that this is a firm social and cultural position that calls for greater awareness of gender rights and equality, not only among men, but also among women. Women may play a stronger role in the home or in issues considered personal and private such as voting, but there seems to be a strong preference for men in public roles.

Should a woman make her own choice, or should men advise her while voting?

People believe strongly that women should decide their own votes. The survey asked respondents whether a woman should make her own choice while voting, or whether she should be advised by a man. Eighty-two percent of all respondents believed that a woman should make their own choice, while only 18% felt that a woman should be advised how to vote by men. There was no significant difference in opinion by state or region or by gender.

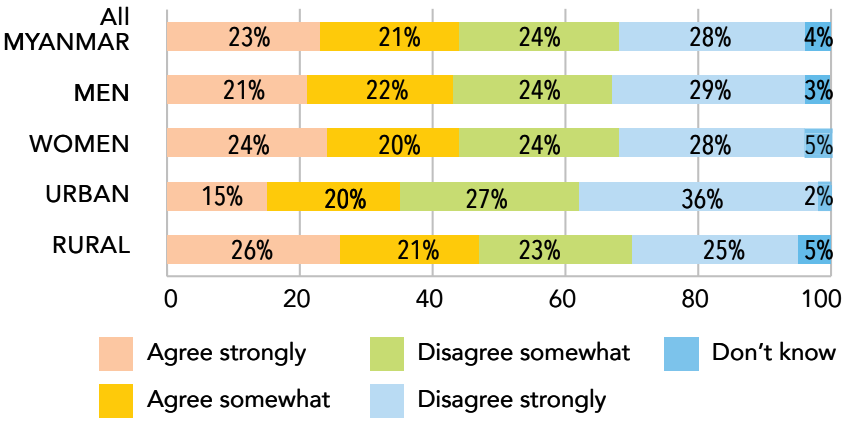
People in urban areas felt more strongly (88%) than people in rural areas (80%) that a woman should make her own choice in voting. People in Shan State felt most strongly, with 93% of respondents

stating that women should decide their own votes. In Mon State, by comparison, 26% said that men should advise women how to vote.

Gender in education

Though reported rates of primary and secondary school enrollment suggest that education is viewed as an equal priority for boys and for girls, people's views were mixed about whether a university education is more important for a boy than for a girl. Forty-four percent agreed strongly or somewhat that a university education is more important for a boy, while 52% disagreed strongly or somewhat. However, 63% of urban respondents disagreed with the statement that university is more important for boys (36% strongly, 27% somewhat), while just 48% of rural respondents disagreed (25% strongly and 23% somewhat). Again, no significant difference appeared between the responses of men and women.

FIG. 4.9: AGREE/DISAGREE: UNIVERSITY IS MORE IMPORTANT FOR A BOY THAN FOR A GIRL



Gender and leadership

People strongly preferred male leaders in both politics and business. Forty-two percent of all respondents agreed strongly with the statement that men make better political leaders than women, and another 29% agreed somewhat. The same substantial proportion agreed strongly (41%) or somewhat (30%) that men make better business executives than women.

No significant variations were observed between the states and regions, or between individual states. The difference in response between rural and urban areas was minor. In rural areas, the bias in favor of male leadership in politics was only a little stronger than in urban areas, with 69% agreement in urban areas (37% strongly, 32% somewhat) compared to 72% agreement in rural areas (44% strongly, 28%

somewhat). However, people in urban areas were more supportive of women's leadership in business, with only 32% agreeing strongly that men make better business executives, compared to 45% in rural areas.

There is virtually no difference in the responses between men and women, and the intensity of those who agree strongly with both of these statements is high. These responses reveal a firm cultural and social perspective, cutting across gender lines, that prefers male leadership.

FIG. 4.10: AGREE/DISAGREE: MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

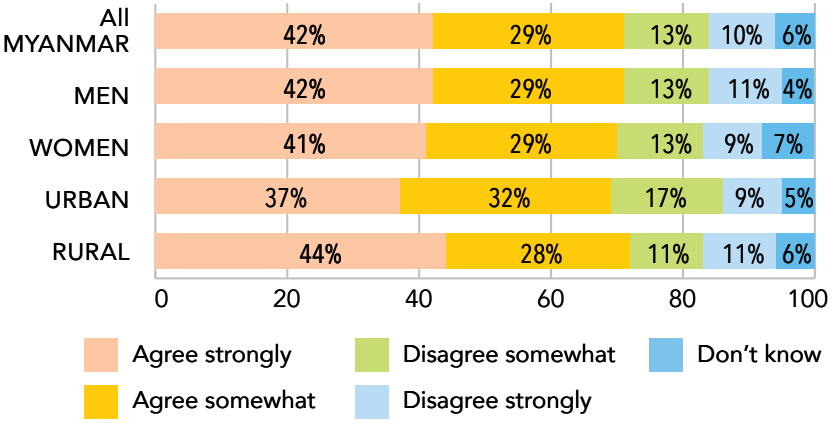
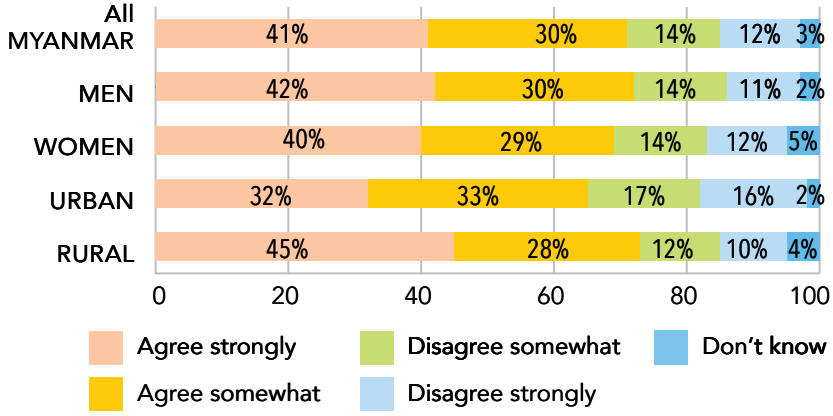


FIG. 4.11: AGREE/DISAGREE: MEN MAKE BETTER BUSINESS EXECUTIVES THAN WOMEN



4.4. CIVIC VALUES

Most important qualities for children and most important qualities in a leader

Honesty, responsibility, and hard work were most frequently identified as key values to impart to children at home and in school. Nearly half of all respondents (48%) mentioned honesty, while a substantial proportion mentioned responsibility (39%) and hard work (38%). Religious faith was mentioned by more than a quarter of all respondents (28%).

Similarly, when asked to state the most important qualities a leader should possess, fairness was mentioned by more than half (54%) of all respondents. Forty-eight percent valued decisiveness as an important quality in leaders, while a similarly high proportion of respondents mentioned generosity (47%) and honesty (46%). Notably, religious faith was mentioned by 19% of all respondents, and was far from the most important trait most people look for in a leader.

FIG. 4.12: QUALITIES MOST IMPORTANT FOR CHILDREN TO LEARN (COMBINED 3 RESPONSES)

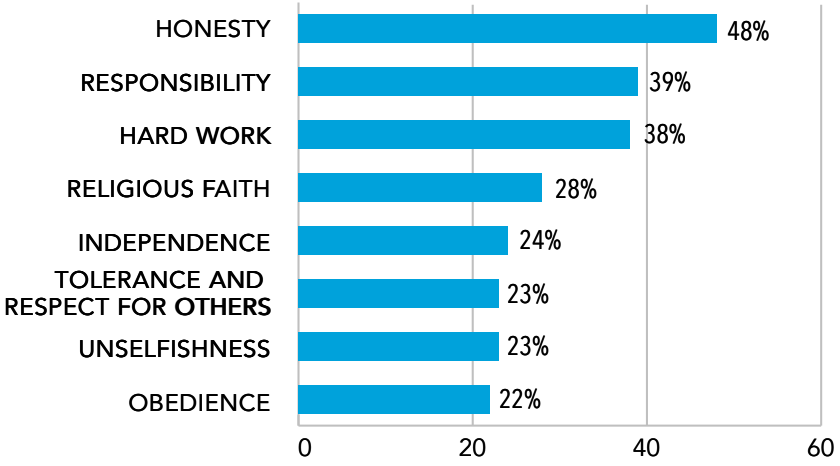
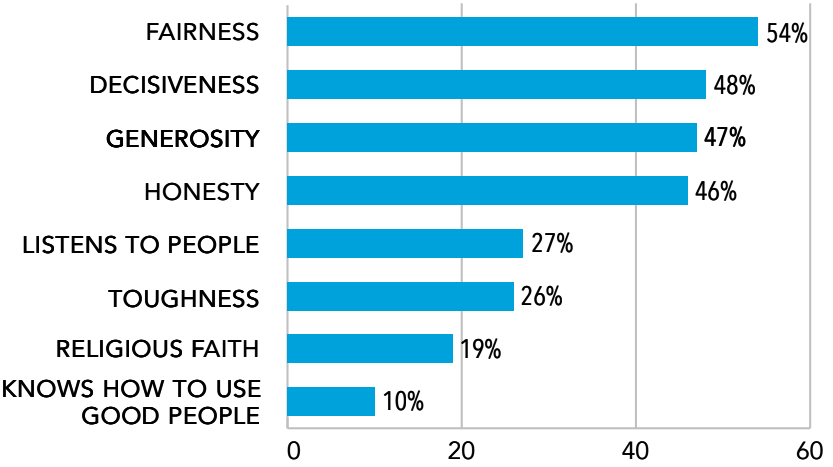


FIG. 4.13: QUALITIES MOST IMPORTANT IN A LEADER (COMBINED 3 RESPONSES)



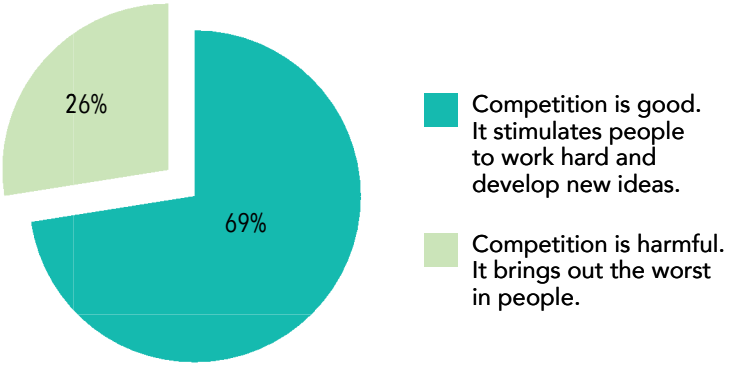
4.5. ECONOMIC VALUES

The public views economic performance, both personal and national, as a key indicator of how well the country is doing. In this regard, the economic values that people express in this survey may reflect perceptions rooted in past experiences of limited opportunity, and guarded hope for better prospects in the future. People feel strongly that competition, individual effort, and hard work, rather than luck or connections, contribute to a better life, and that there is enough economic opportunity to benefit everyone. Nevertheless, the public continues to have a high expectation that the government will play a strong role in ensuring an equitable and inclusive society.

Is competition helpful or harmful?

More than two-thirds of all respondents (69%) agreed with the statement that competition is good because it stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas. No significant differences between states and regions were noted. Among the states, responses varied. Respondents in Rakhine State agreed overwhelmingly with the statement that competition is good (82%), while in Mon State nearly half of all respondents (44%) believed that competition is harmful and brings out the worst in people.

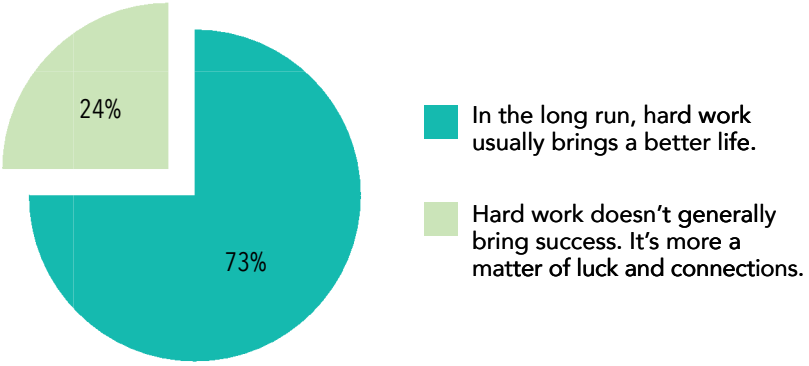
FIG. 4.14: VALUE OF COMPETITION



Does hard work bring a better life, or does success rely on luck and connections?

Almost three quarters of all respondents (73%) believed that in the long run hard work will result in a better life, while the remaining quarter (24%) felt that success generally depends on luck and connections. Again, no significant difference was noted between states and regions. However, in Mon State, 41% of respondents believed luck and connections are more likely to bring success than hard work.

FIG. 4.15: VALUE OF HARD WORK

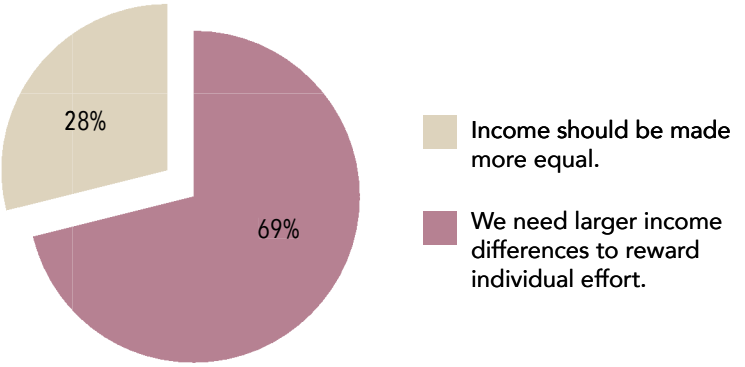


Income equality or income differences?

Two conflicting statements on income were presented to the respondents: Did they believe that income should be made more equal, or that income differences should exist in order to reward individual effort? A significant majority (69%) felt that income differences need to exist to reward

individual effort, while 28% believed that income should be made more equal. These results were highly consistent across all states and regions, with one exception. Almost three fifths (59%) of respondents from Chin State believed that income should be made more equal.

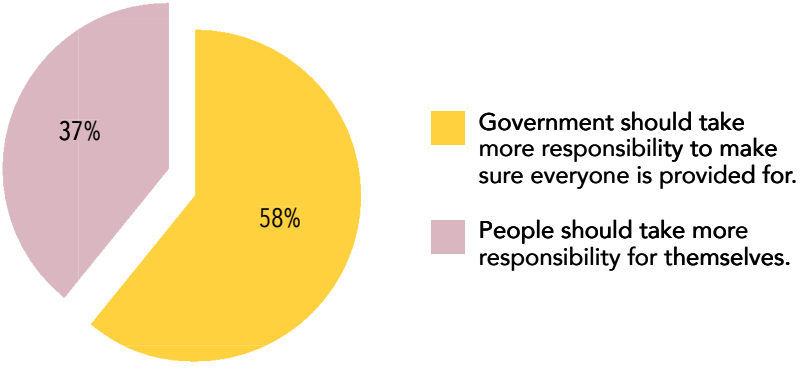
FIG. 4.16: VALUE OF INCOME INEQUALITY



Who is responsible for providing for the people?

Though people exhibit a remarkably strong belief in the benefits of hard work, competition, and wealth sharing, they also see a strong role for the government in providing for the people in an equitable and inclusive way. A strong majority of respondents (58%) believed that the government should take more responsibility to make sure everyone is provided for, while 37% said that people should take care of themselves. Results were consistent between states and regions, but varied between individual states. People in Chin State (70%) and Rakhine State (69%) felt strongly that the government should take more responsibility, while 44% in Kayah State and Mon State believed that people should take responsibility for themselves.

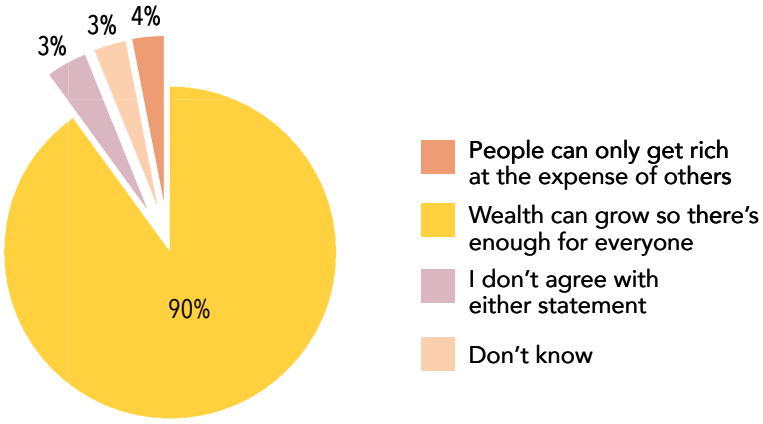
FIG. 4.17: GOVERNMENT AND INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY



Does wealth grow or just change hands?

Underscoring the positive public outlook about the possibility of economic prosperity, people overwhelmingly (90%) felt that wealth can grow so there is enough for everyone, though the optimism is more pronounced in the regions (92%) than in the states (83%). In Mon State, 94% felt that wealth can grow, while in Chin State people were less optimistic, with 19% of respondents believing that people can only get rich at the expense of others.

FIG. 4.18: AVAILABILITY OF WEALTH

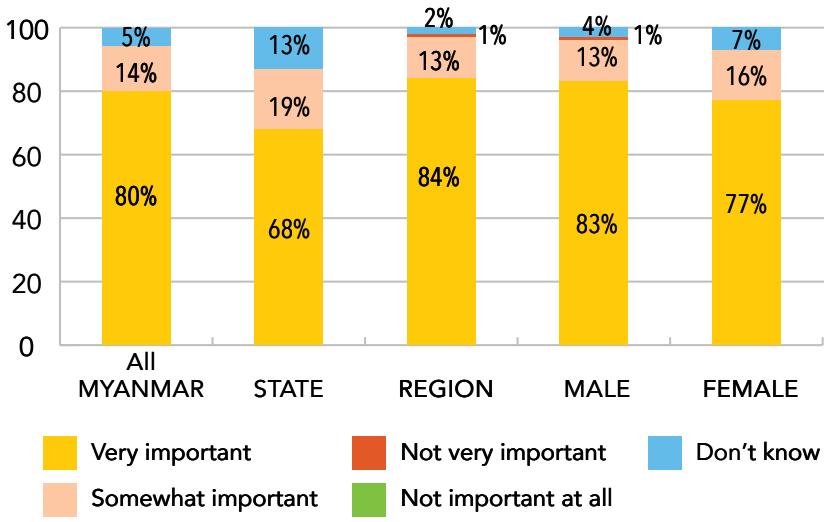


4.6. SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Importance of citizens participating in improving society and the government

Citizen participation in activities that improve society and government is highly valued by the public. Eighty percent of respondents stated that participation in such activities is "very important," while another 14% say that it is "somewhat important." Overall, 94% of all respondents believed participation was important, and more respondents in the regions felt it was important (97%) than in the states (87%).

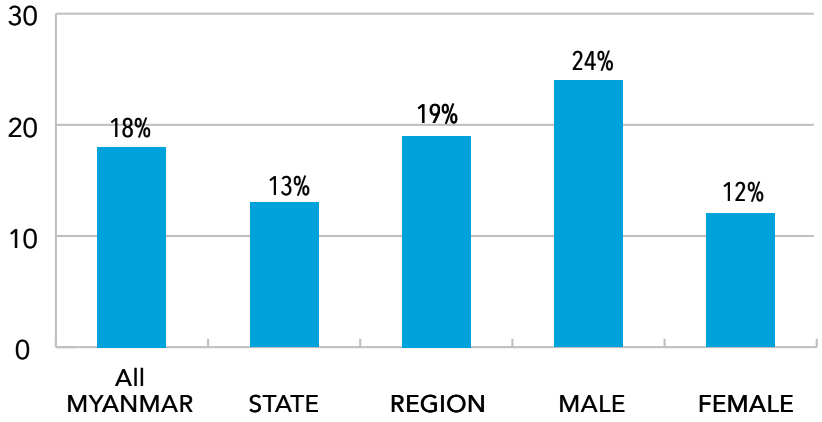
FIG. 4.19: IMPORTANCE OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION



Have they participated in social activities to improve the society and government?

Though respondents clearly value participation, when asked whether they had actually participated in any social activity to help improve the society and the government, a substantial majority said no. Only 18% of all respondents said that they had participated in activities to improve society and government, and participation rates were somewhat higher in the regions (19%) than in the states (13%). Men indicated a participation rate of 24%, twice that of women at 12%. Most of the activities in which people participated were reported as volunteer work (68%, n=527).

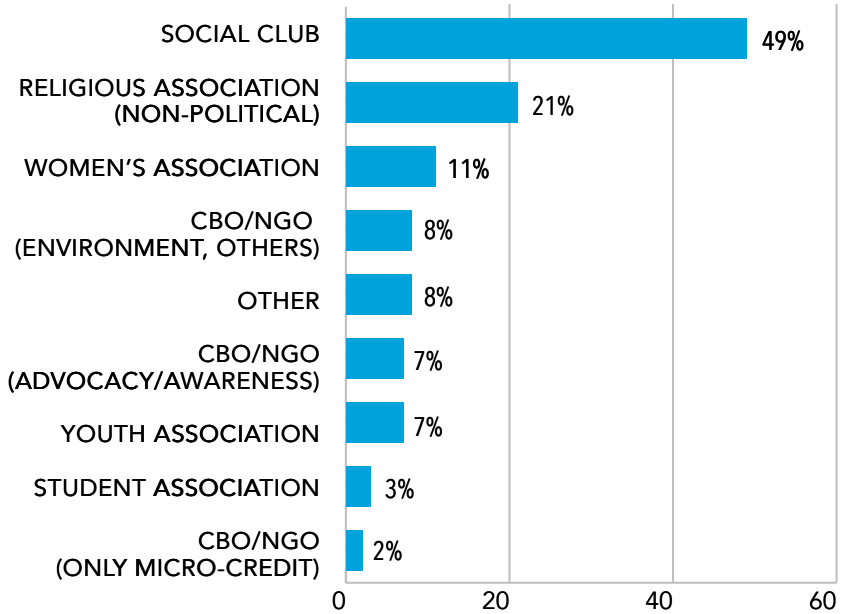
FIG. 4.20: PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL ACTIVITIES



Membership in Organizations and Associations

Respondents were asked if they were members of any voluntary associations, community based organizations (CBOs), or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Overall, 22% of respondents reported that they were members of such organizations, with the rate of participation by men (29%) once again much higher than that of women (16%). No significant differences in organizational membership were seen between urban and rural areas or states and regions.

FIG. 4.21: ORGANIZATIONS/ASSOCIATIONS IN WHICH PEOPLE PARTICIPATE
(MULTIPLE RESPONSES POSSIBLE, N=668)



Of respondents who said they were members of voluntary organizations or associations, about half (49%) said they belonged to a social club, while 21% said they belonged to a non-political religious association. Of the respondents who were women, only 26% reported being a member of a women's association.

4.7. TRUST

Can most people be trusted?

When respondents were asked whether, in general, most people can be trusted, an astonishing 77% said that most people cannot be trusted. Only 21% believed that most people can be trusted. Social trust was lower in urban areas, where only 15% of respondents believed most people can be trusted, compared to 23% in rural areas. Levels of trust were also lower in the regions (18%) than in the states (27%). People in Chin State were much more likely to express trust, with 48% saying that most people can be trusted.

FIG. 4.22: CAN MOST PEOPLE BE TRUSTED?

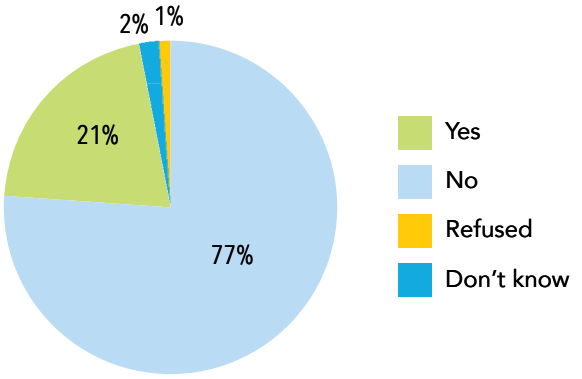


FIG. 4.23: CAN MOST PEOPLE BE TRUSTED? (BY STATE)

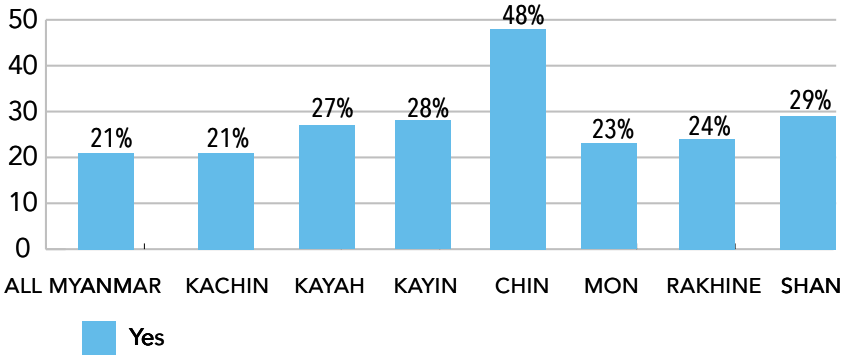
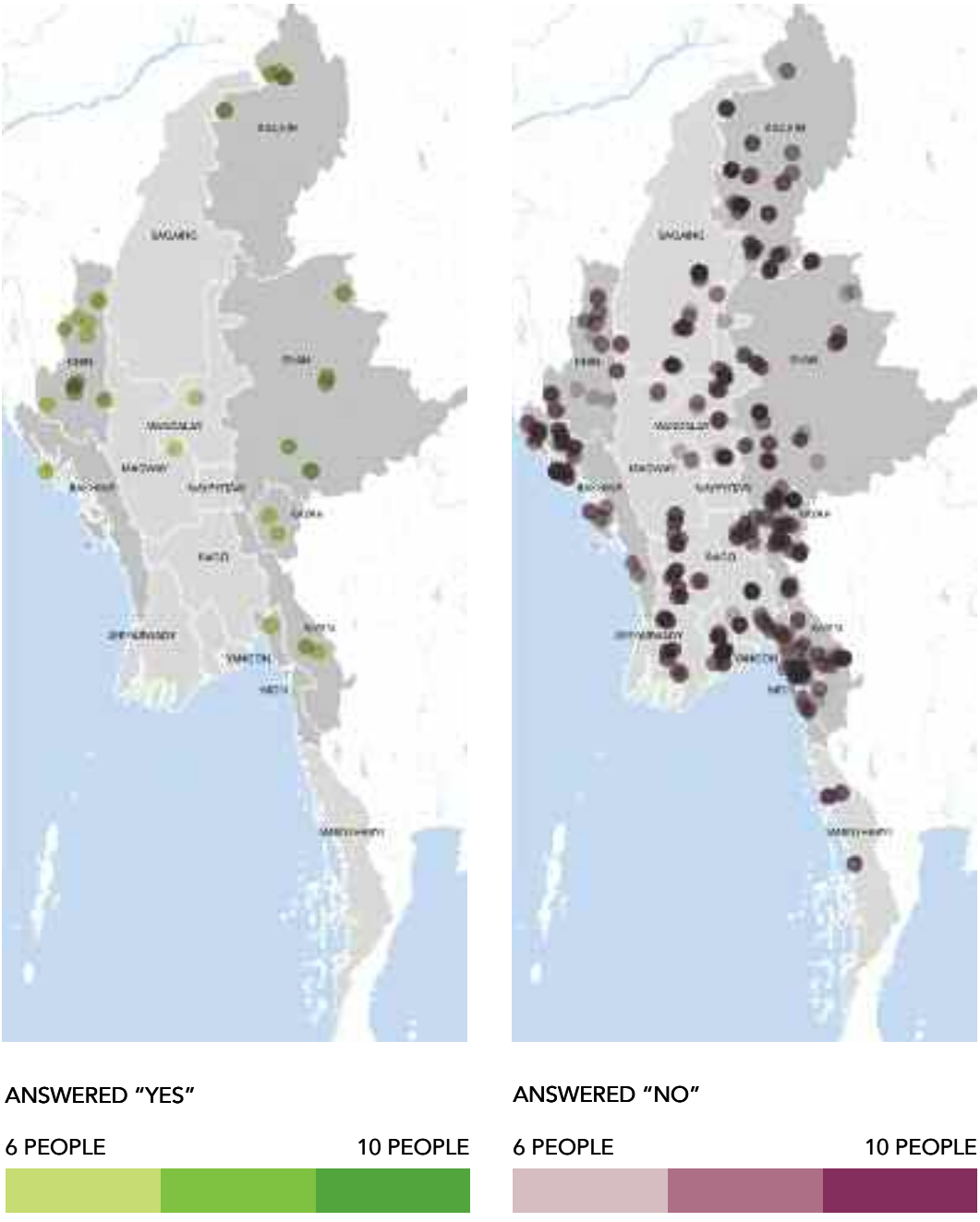


FIG. 4.24: CAN MOST PEOPLE BE TRUSTED? (GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES)



ANSWERED "YES"

6 PEOPLE — 10 PEOPLE

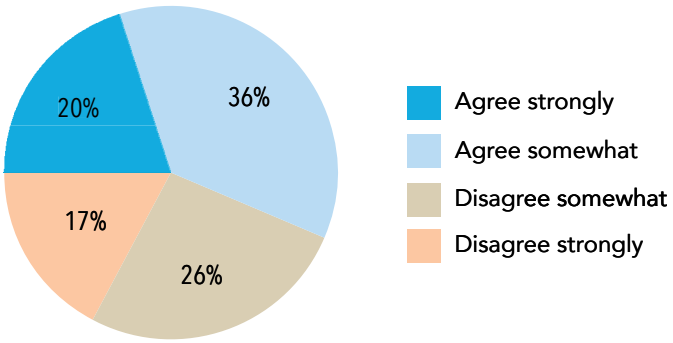
ANSWERED "NO"

6 PEOPLE — 10 PEOPLE

The level of trust does appear to improve when people are asked about the situation closer to home. More than half of all respondents agreed strongly (20%) or agreed somewhat (36%) that most people who live in their neighborhood can be trusted. However, deep mistrust persists, as 17% disagreed strongly and 26% disagreed somewhat that most people in their neighborhood can be trusted.

Again, people in the states felt greater trust for people in their neighborhoods than did people in the regions. Sixty-three percent of respondents from the states agreed strongly (24%) or somewhat (39%) that people in their neighborhood could be trusted, compared to 53% in the regions (18% strongly, 35% somewhat). Trust appeared particularly high in Shan State, where 77% of respondents said they agreed strongly (25%) or somewhat (52%) that people in their neighborhood can be trusted. Levels of trust were notably lower in Rakhine State, where one third of all respondents (33%) felt strongly, and another 16% felt somewhat, that most people in their neighborhood could not be trusted. Only 18% of respondents in Rakhine State agreed strongly that most people in their neighborhood could be trusted.

FIG. 4.25: CAN MOST PEOPLE IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD BE TRUSTED?



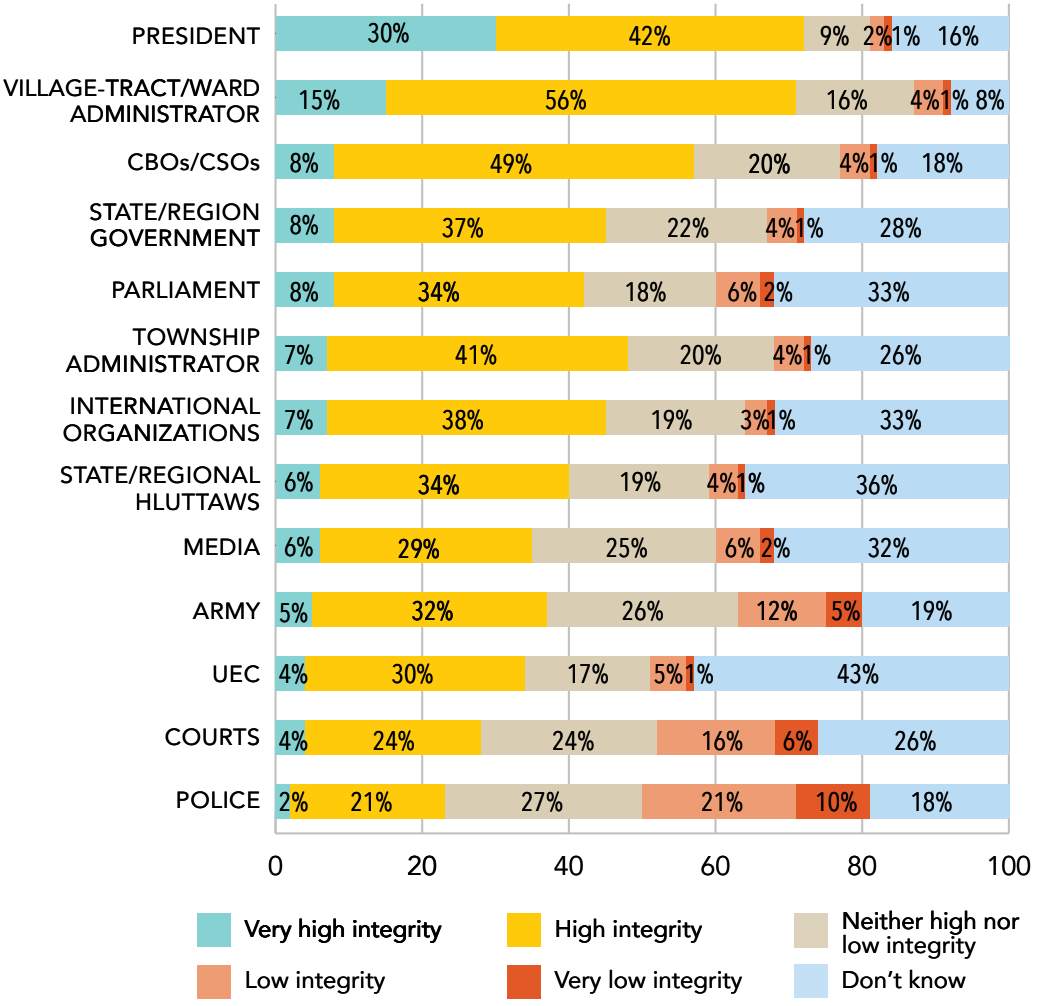
Public perception of the integrity of key institutions

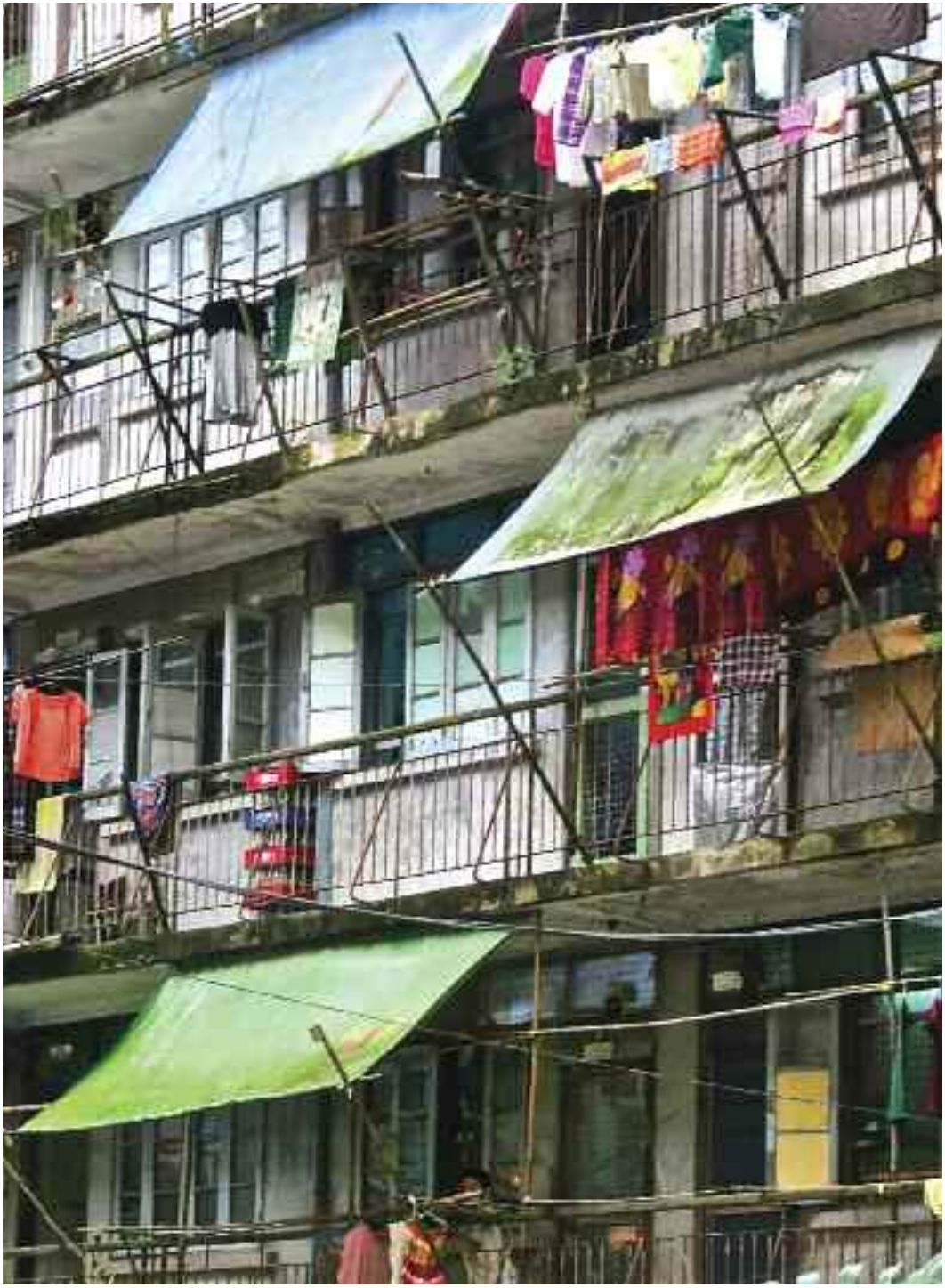
When respondents were asked to rate the integrity of various institutions, few were rated highly, and the large number of respondents answering "don't know" underscores the general lack of knowledge about key governance institutions in the country.

The most "don't know" responses were recorded for the Union Election Commission (43%), Parliament at both the Union level (33%) and the state/region level (36%), and the media (32%). Overall, the office of the president was viewed most favorably by the public, with 30% perceiving it to be of "very high integrity," while another 42% felt it had "high integrity." The village-tract and ward administration was also rated relatively well, with 15% of respondents perceiving it to be of "very high integrity," and another 56% of "high integrity."

The three lowest ranked institutions were the army, the courts, and the police, in descending order. The police in particular received the weakest positive response—only 2% of the public felt the police had "very high integrity"—and the strongest negative response, with 21% of respondents believing the police to be of "low integrity," and 10% of "very low integrity." The courts received similarly low positive ratings and high negative ratings, though more people said they did not know when asked about the courts (26%). Public perception of the army was mixed, with a somewhat positive integrity rating (5% "very high integrity," 32% "high integrity") challenged by negative integrity responses (12% "low integrity," 5% "very low integrity").

FIG. 4.26: PERCEPTIONS OF INTEGRITY OF VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS





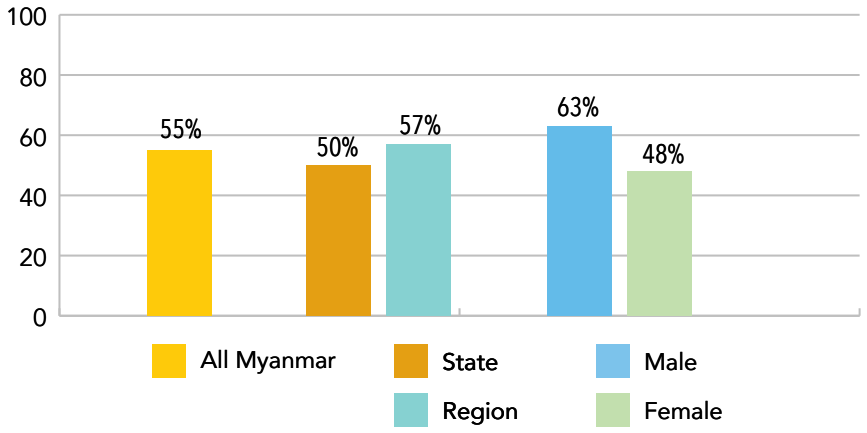
5. PEACE PROCESS

Awareness of ongoing, armed conflict in the country and causes of conflict

Knowledge about the presence of ongoing, armed conflicts appears low. A little more than half of all respondents (55%) believed that there are ongoing, armed conflicts in Myanmar, while one third (34%) believed there are none. Conflict is likely to be defined in different ways by different groups around the country, and the term used by the survey (*pa ti paa kha*) to refer to ongoing ethnic armed conflict may have been too abstract or academic to capture what ordinary people experience as fighting (*taiq pwe*). People are also likely to view conflicts in very personal terms rather than as a broad national issue.

Even so, significant variation in knowledge about ongoing armed conflict was seen between the states, with respondents most aware of ongoing conflicts in Kachin State (74%) and Mon State (58%)—where ethnic conflict has been present for years—and respondents least knowledgeable in Chin State (67% believed there are none). Men (63%) were generally much more aware of ongoing, armed conflict than women (48%), while people in urban areas (67%) were more aware than those in rural areas (50%).

FIG. 5.1: AWARENESS OF ONGOING, ARMED CONFLICT



Of respondents who believe there are ongoing, armed conflicts, 19% do not know their main causes, 30% attribute the conflict to political divisions, 27% to ethnic tensions, and 21% to religious tensions. Notably, respondents in the regions (24%) were significantly more likely than those in the states (14%) to attribute ongoing, armed conflict to religious tensions.

FIG. 5.2: AWARENESS OF ONGOING, ARMED CONFLICT (BY STATE)

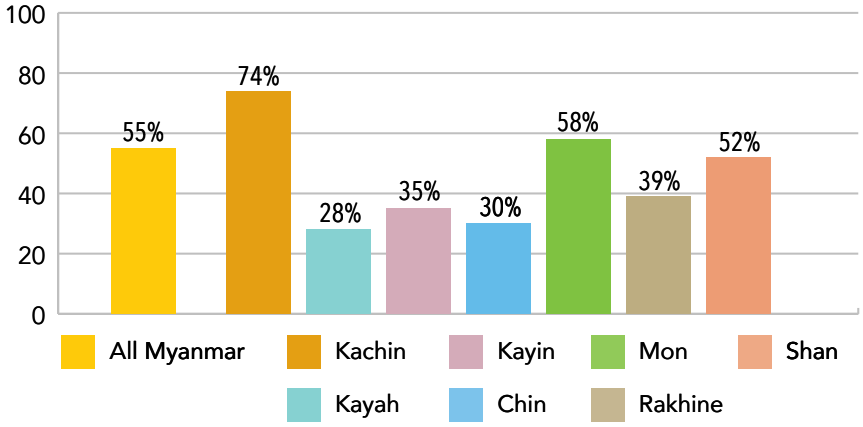


FIG. 5.3: PERCEIVED CAUSES OF ARMED CONFLICTS IN MYANMAR (N=1660)

	ALL MYANMAR	STATE	REGION	MALE	FEMALE
Political divisions	30%	26%	32%	32%	29%
Ethnic tensions	27%	26%	27%	27%	26%
Religious tensions	21%	14%	24%	20%	23%
Secessionism by ethnic minorities	8%	11%	7%	8%	7%
Don't know	19%	22%	18%	17%	22%

Confidence in the peace process

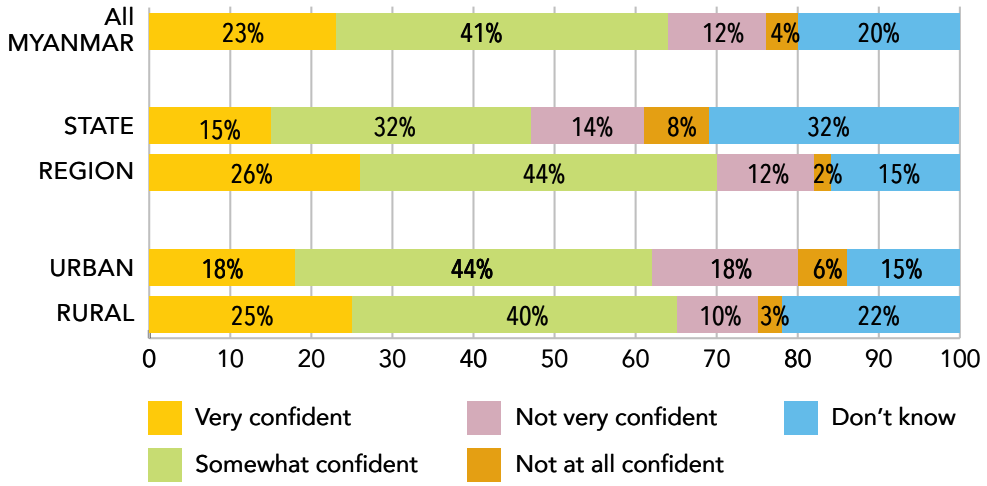
All respondents were informed of ongoing peace negotiations between the Union government, ethnic armed groups, the Parliament, and the army, and were subsequently asked to express their level of confidence that the current peace process would end these conflicts.

Most respondents were cautiously optimistic about the outcome of the current peace process: 64% of all respondents were either "very confident" (23%) or "somewhat confident" (41%) that the current peace process will end the conflicts. Urban dwellers expressed much less confidence about the peace process (18% "not very confident," 6% "not at all confident") than those in rural areas (10% "not very confident," 3% "not at all confident").

There is also significantly greater uncertainty among the states than in the regions, with respondents in states showing much less confidence in the outcome of the peace process (15% "very confident," 32% "somewhat confident") compared to those in the regions (26% "very confident," 44% "somewhat confident"). More than twice as many respondents in the states (32%) as in the regions (15%) said they did not know.

Uncertainty about the peace process was most pronounced in Kayin State, where 41% did not know how the current peace would turn out, and only 37% expressed any confidence (15% "very confident," 22% "somewhat confident") in the peace process. A similarly high number of people in Shan State (42%) felt they did not know whether the peace process would end the conflicts. Respondents in Chin State (23% "very confident," 43% "somewhat confident") and Kachin State (23% "very confident," 37% "somewhat confident") expressed much more confidence in the process.

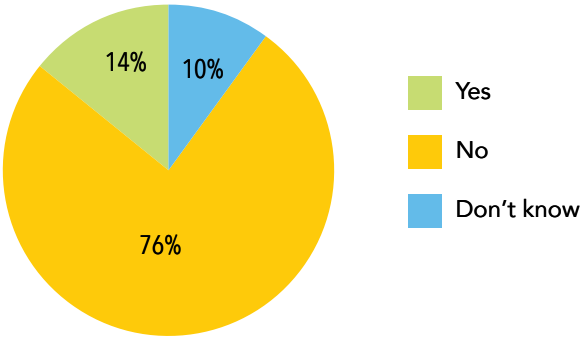
FIG. 5.4: CONFIDENCE IN THE CURRENT PEACE PROCESS



Awareness of the term "federalism"

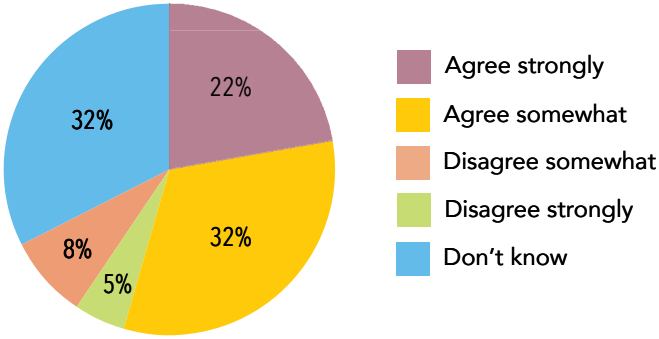
Understanding of federalism was very low. While discussions over federalism and political power-sharing arrangements have become a key issue in the peace negotiations, very few respondents (14%) had heard of the term "federalism." Lack of awareness was consistently low between states and regions, though urban respondents (26%) were much more aware of the term "federalism" than rural respondents (8%). Men were twice as likely (18%) to be aware of the term as women (9%).

FIG. 5.5: AWARENESS OF THE TERM "FEDERALISM"



Nearly half (45%, n=407) of those respondents who had ever heard of the term said they did not know what it meant, while 15% associated federalism with self-governance.

FIG. 5.6: CAN FEDERALISM HELP RESOLVE CONFLICT IN THE COUNTRY?



After federalism was explained to respondents as allowing states and regions more independence while maintaining the Union, 54% expressed cautious optimism that federalism might help resolve conflict in the country (22% agreeing strongly, and 32% agreeing somewhat). One third of all respondents said that they did not know.

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6. PUBLIC OUTLOOK ON THE STATE OF THE UNION

6.1. RIGHT DIRECTION OR WRONG DIRECTION

Direction in which the country is moving

People appear cautiously optimistic about the direction in which Myanmar is headed. A majority of all respondents (62%) believe that Myanmar is going in the right direction, and 28% say they don't know. The level of optimism is markedly higher in the regions (67%) than in the states (49%), with the difference reflected mainly in the number of respondents who answered "don't know": 37% in the states and 25% in the regions. Relatively few people in both states (7%) and regions (3%) felt the country is headed in the wrong direction.

People in some states expressed a much higher degree of uncertainty than others. In Kayah State, Shan State, Chin State, and Kayin State, negative and "don't know" responses outnumbered the positive responses. People in Kayah State expressed the greatest uncertainty, with nearly two thirds saying they "don't know" (60%), and only 36% feeling the country is moving in the right direction.

No significant differences were seen between urban and rural responses. Significantly more men than women felt that the country is headed in the right direction, but the difference can be attributed to the much higher rate of "don't know" responses from women.

FIG. 6.1: ARE THINGS IN MYANMAR MOVING IN THE RIGHT OR THE WRONG DIRECTION?

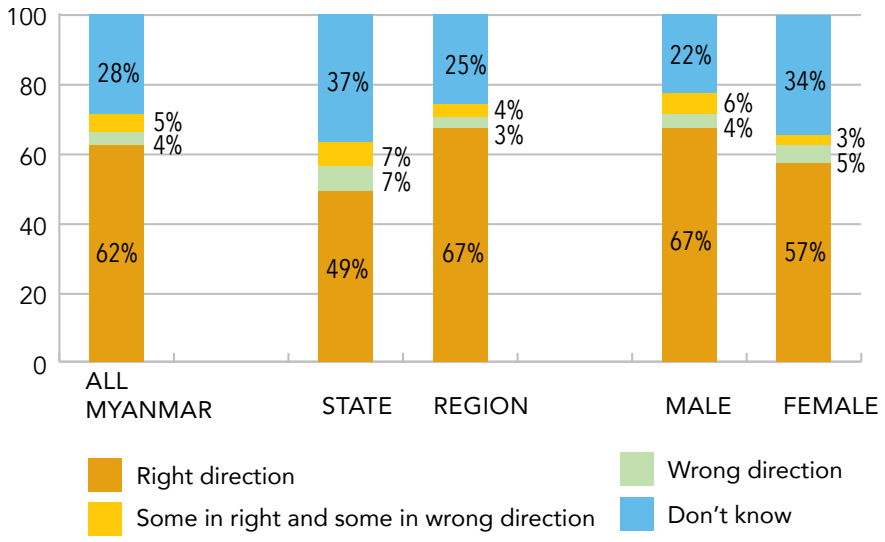
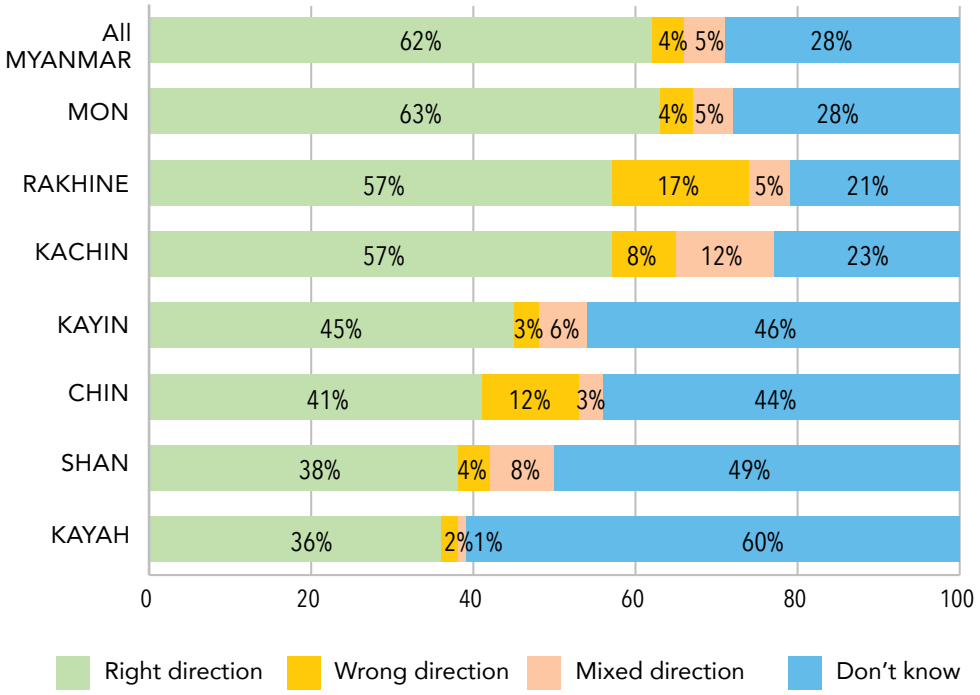


FIG. 6.2: RIGHT OR WRONG DIRECTION? (BY STATE)



People most frequently cited tangible evidence of development such as the building of roads (30%), the building of schools (20%), and overall economic development and growth (20%) as reasons for their optimism. The building of roads was particularly emphasized by people in the states as a hallmark of positive change.

Respondents who felt the country is moving in the wrong direction most frequently cited as reasons the ongoing conflict (25%), the lack of economic development (16%), bad governance (16%), and corruption (16%). Conflict, including ethnic and religious conflict, was more prominently mentioned in the states (32%) than in the regions (20%).

Similarly, when asked about specific fields in which the government is working, respondents felt the government is doing a relatively better job in education, healthcare, and providing security, while they felt the government is doing less well in developing the economy and creating jobs, and is not doing well in fighting corruption.

FIG. 6.3: REASONS THINGS ARE GOING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION

(COMBINED 3 RESPONSES, N=2003)

	ALL MYANMAR	STATE	REGION
They are building roads	30%	38%	27%
Schools are being built/access to education is improving	20%	22%	20%
Economic growth/economy is getting better/economic development	20%	20%	20%
Overall there is progress	14%	14%	13%
Democracy/political liberalization/many parties/freedom	13%	9%	14%
Good government/rulers/leaders/ruling party	10%	11%	10%
Hospitals are being built/access to health care is improving	8%	9%	7%
There is no conflict/there is peace	6%	8%	5%
Infrastructure is being built	5%	6%	5%
Don't know	14%	11%	15%

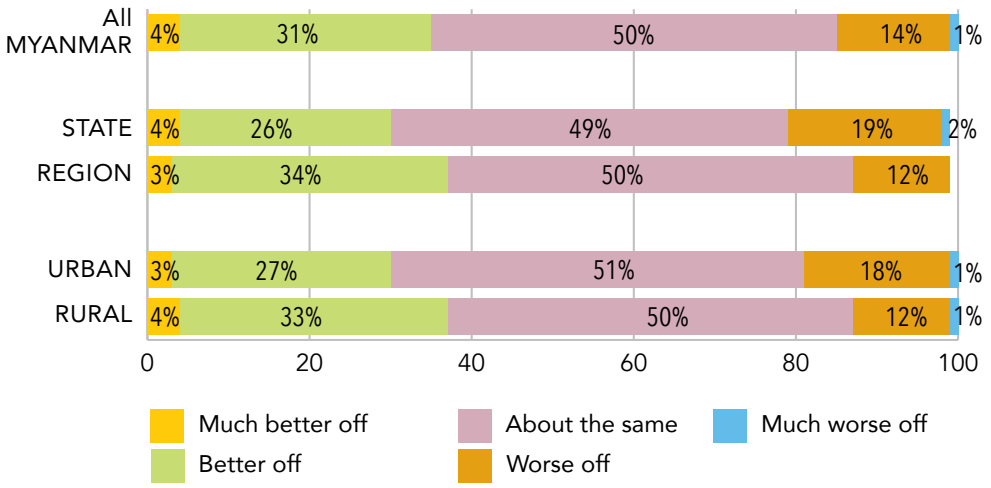
FIG. 6.4: REASONS THINGS ARE GOING IN THE WRONG DIRECTION
(COMBINED 3 RESPONSES, N=272)

	ALL MYANMAR	STATE	REGION
Conflict/ethnic conflict/religious conflict	25%	32%	20%
Bad economy/economy is getting worse/ lack of development	16%	18%	15%
Bad government/rulers/leaders/ruling party	16%	13%	18%
Corruption	16%	17%	15%
Unemployment is high	12%	17%	9%
Poverty	12%	15%	10%
Road conditions are poor	8%	8%	9%
Schools are few/access to education is poor	8%	10%	6%
Health facilities are poor/lack of good hospitals	6%	5%	6%
Don't know	18%	6%	10%

Improvement in economic situation over the last year

The economic condition of most people in Myanmar has not changed in the last year. When respondents were asked how their current economic situation compares to a year ago, a majority of respondents reported being in the same (50%) or worse (14%) economic condition than before. About one third of all respondents (31%) reported being in a better economic situation, while only 4% felt they were "much better off" than they were a year ago. On the other end of the spectrum, only 1% of all respondents felt they were "much worse off" economically compared to one year ago, and 14% felt they were "worse off."

FIG. 6.5: PERSONAL ECONOMIC SITUATION COMPARED TO A YEAR AGO

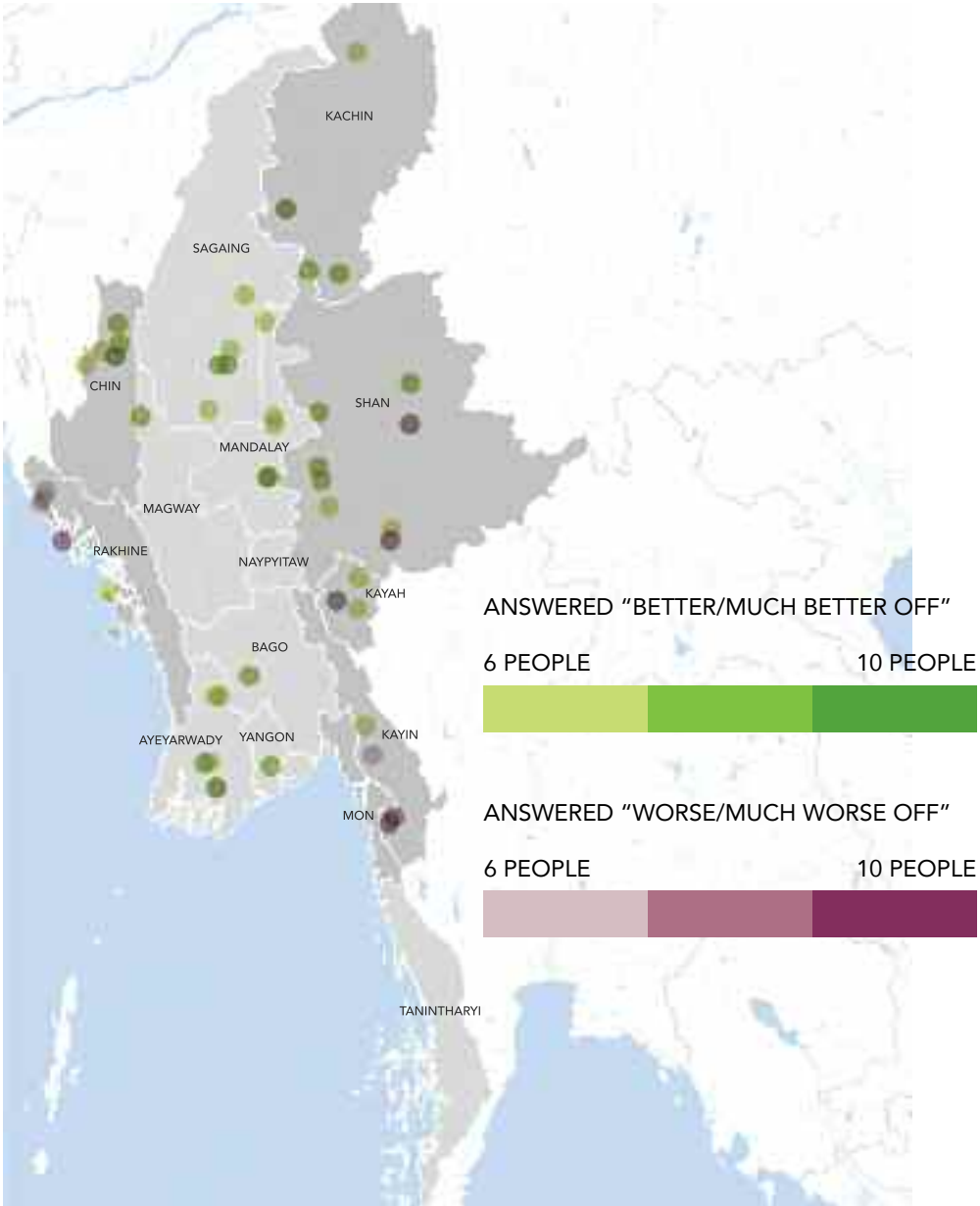


On average, economic development seems to have benefited people in the regions more than those in the states, and rural areas more than urban areas. More respondents in regions felt their economic situations had improved in the last year (34% were "better off"; 3% were "much better off"), as compared to respondents from the states (26% "better off," 4% "much better off"). Moreover, while only 12% of respondents in regions reported being worse off than last year, 19% were worse off in the states. Economic growth has also impacted individual states differently, with people in Chin State (24% "better off," 17% "much better off"), Shan State (36% "better off," 2% "much better off") and Rakhine State (17% "better off," 10% "much better off") reporting the most improvement in their personal economic situation compared to other states.

FIG. 6.6: PERSONAL ECONOMIC SITUATION COMPARED TO A YEAR AGO (BY STATE)

	ALL MYANMAR	KACHIN	KAYAH	KAYIN	CHIN	MON	RAKHINE	SHAN
Much better off	4%	2%	3%	1%	17%	1%	10%	2%
Better off	31%	28%	22%	21%	24%	19%	17%	36%
About the same	50%	49%	57%	51%	44%	56%	48%	46%
Worse off	14%	20%	17%	25%	12%	21%	23%	14%
Much worse off	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	3%	2%	1%

FIG. 6.7: PEOPLE WHO WERE BETTER OFF OR WORSE OFF COMPARED TO ONE YEAR AGO



Fear for personal safety

Though ethnic and religious conflict were frequently cited as major challenges facing the country, most people (73%) do not often fear for the physical safety of themselves or their families, with 11% indicating sometimes and just 6% often. Urban dwellers tend to fear for their safety more often than people in rural areas, but the difference is minimal. Respondents most likely to fear for their safety or the safety of their families live in Kachin State (38%), Rakhine State (35%), and Chin State (32%).

FIG. 6.8: FEAR FOR PHYSICAL SAFETY

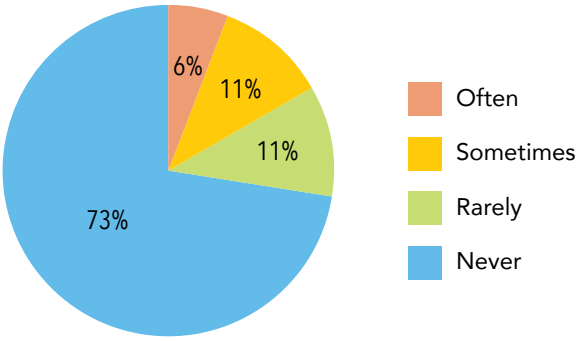


FIG. 6.9: FEAR FOR PHYSICAL SAFETY (BY STATE)

	ALL MYANMAR	KACHIN	KAYAH	KAYIN	CHIN	MON	RAKHINE	SHAN
Often	6%	14%	3%	3%	5%	3%	16%	3%
Sometimes	11%	24%	17%	8%	27%	4%	19%	11%
Rarely	11%	16%	9%	6%	15%	6%	8%	10%
Never	73%	46%	72%	83%	52%	87%	57%	76%

6.2. BIGGEST PROBLEMS AND WHO CAN SOLVE THEM

Biggest problems

People feel more knowledgeable about problems facing their local communities than they do about problems at the national level. When asked about the biggest problem facing Myanmar, almost half (47%) said they do not know. Respondents who provided an opinion tend to believe that conflict (22%), whether based on ethnicity or religion, is one of the biggest problems, with poor economy (13%), poverty (12%), and unemployment (11%) as other frequent answers.

When asked to consider the biggest problems in their local areas, more than one third (37%) said they don't know, while poor road conditions (20%) and electricity (20%) were the most frequent responses.

FIG. 6.10: BIGGEST PROBLEMS FACING MYANMAR AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL
(COMBINED 3 RESPONSES)

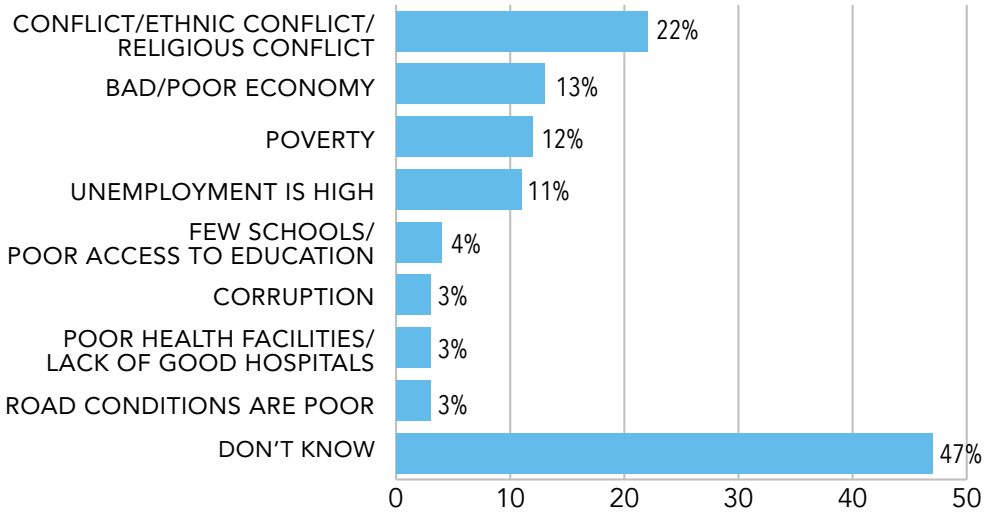
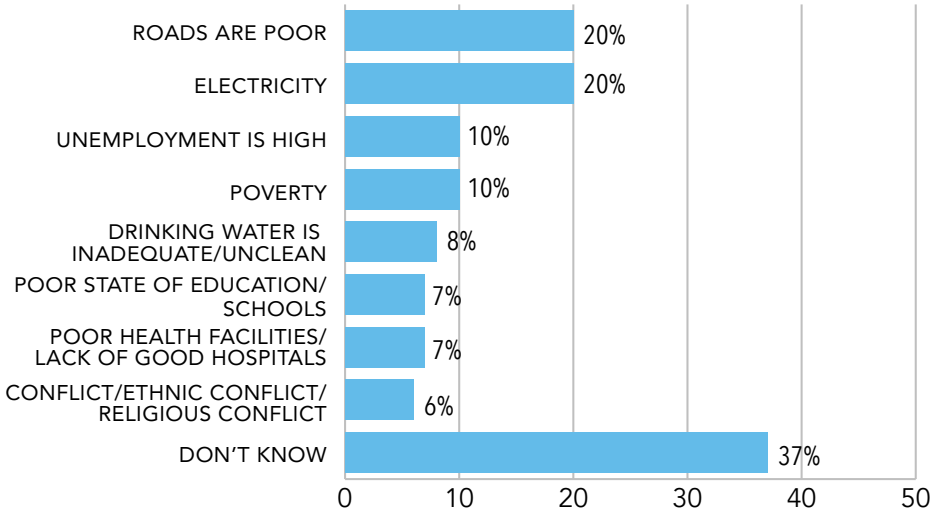
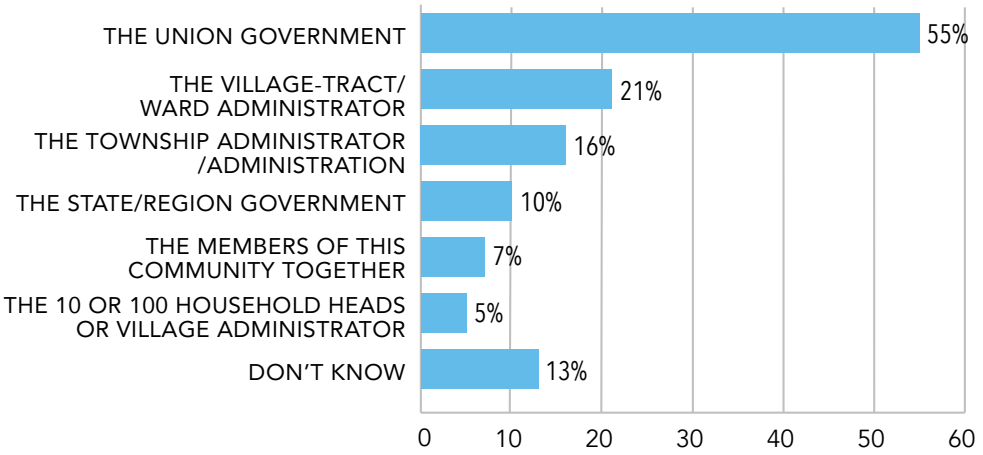


FIG: 6.11: BIGGEST PROBLEMS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL (COMBINED 3 RESPONSES)



The Union government is seen by respondents as being most responsible for solving local problems. A majority of respondents (55%) identified the Union government as most responsible, and the village-tract or ward level government (21%), with whom they deal most frequently, as the next most responsible for addressing problems faced locally. These results may relate to people's lack of knowledge about the functions of their government, particularly at the subnational levels, but it could also be that most people do not differentiate greatly among the different levels of government, and tend to associate government with the Union level.

FIG. 6.12: WHO IS MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR SOLVING LOCAL AREA PROBLEMS?



7. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

How do people get information about what is happening in the country?

Television (37%) is the source from which people generally get their information about what is happening in the country, but people also rely substantially on information provided through friends, family, and neighbors (35%), as well as radio (35%). In the states, respondents obtain information about national news primarily from friends, family, and neighbors, relying less on television and radio than respondents in the regions. All respondents report that the state-run media—television, radio, and print—are their most frequently accessed sources of information.

FIG. 7.1: MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION? (COMBINED 2 RESPONSES)

	ALL MYANMAR	STATE	REGION
Television	37%	26%	41%
Friends, family, and neighbors	35%	45%	31%
Radio	35%	26%	38%
Newspapers	13%	5%	16%
Journals	11%	10%	12%
Village leader	3%	7%	2%
Internet/computer	3%	3%	3%
Don't know	14%	20%	12%

FIG 7.2: MOST FREQUENTLY USED TV CHANNELS (COMBINED 2 RESPONSES, N=1465)

	ALL MYANMAR	STATE	REGION
MRTV	60%	60%	61%
Myawaddy	42%	36%	43%
MRTV-4	33%	18%	37%
Channel 7	8%	4%	9%
DVB	4%	5%	4%
Myanmar International	3%	1%	3%

FIG. 7.3: MOST FREQUENTLY USED PRINT MEDIA (COMBINED 2 RESPONSES, N=1025)

	ALL MYANMAR	STATE	REGION
The New Light of Myanmar	30%	23%	31%
7 Days Journal	23%	16%	25%
The Kyemon (The Mirror)	18%	13%	20%
Eleven/Bi-weekly Eleven Journal	12%	14%	12%
Thutiya Naywun Journal	8%	7%	8%

FIG. 7.4: MOST FREQUENTLY USED RADIO STATIONS (COMBINED 2 RESPONSES, N=1360)

	ALL MYANMAR	STATE	REGION
Myanmar National Radio	59%	55%	60%
Shwe FM	26%	16%	29%
BBC	13%	28%	9%
Mandalay FM	12%	2%	15%
Cherry FM	10%	14%	9%
VOA	9%	17%	7%

8. CONCLUDING NOTES

Survey data is rich and can be drawn on to inform the work of many stakeholders working to support Myanmar's democratic transition, inclusive economic growth, and multicultural society. Survey results have documented a society emerging out of decades of isolation, military rule, and conflict. People are happy with new freedoms and eager to exercise their right to vote, but their knowledge of government institutions and processes is low, and their understanding of their rights and responsibilities in a democracy is limited. There is cautious optimism about the reforms and where the country is heading, including the potential for the current peace process to succeed, but there remains a significant divide between states and regions, in both knowledge about government and confidence in the reforms. The low level of social trust, and deep political polarization, have historical roots, but will need to be addressed for Myanmar to move forward.

At the most basic level, civic education, to deepen and sustain citizens' commitment to democracy through a more equal relationship with the government, will need to be a significant part of governance and development efforts. In addition, given Myanmar's long history of ethnic and religious conflict, and a traditional society that is facing the challenge of adapting to new values as the country proceeds with its opening process, it will be essential that updated knowledge in a variety of issue areas be provided in ways that a large number of citizens can easily access. In many instances, the development of new terms and vocabulary is needed in local languages to create a base of common understanding. Weaving together a society that is open to different narratives of how groups construct their own history and see themselves as part of the larger nation is a challenging task, but survey information such as this and other in-depth research can provide a firmer basis for understanding how people think and feel about key issues affecting their lives, and how civic education, governance policies, and development initiatives can usefully target their messages and activities for more beneficial outcomes. It is the optimism of the public, even if cautious, for peace, development, fair opportunities, and an inclusive society that we hope will resonate with readers and animate the ongoing national discourse on the nature of a new, post-transition Myanmar

APPENDIX 1: SURVEY METHODOLOGY

PROJECT SCHEDULE

PROJECT PHASES	START DATE	END DATE	COMMENTS
Translation	March 30, 2014	April 3, 2014	
Training and Pilot Test	April 4, 2014	April 11, 2014	April 12 -22 (Water Festival Holiday)
Debriefing and refresher training	April 24, 2014	April 26, 2014	
Fieldwork	May 1, 2014	June 10,2014	Delayed for security, permission and logistics
Quality Control	May 4, 2014	May 22, 2014	
Data Editing & Processing	May 10, 2014	June 17, 2014	
Data Review	June 18,2014	June 23,2014	

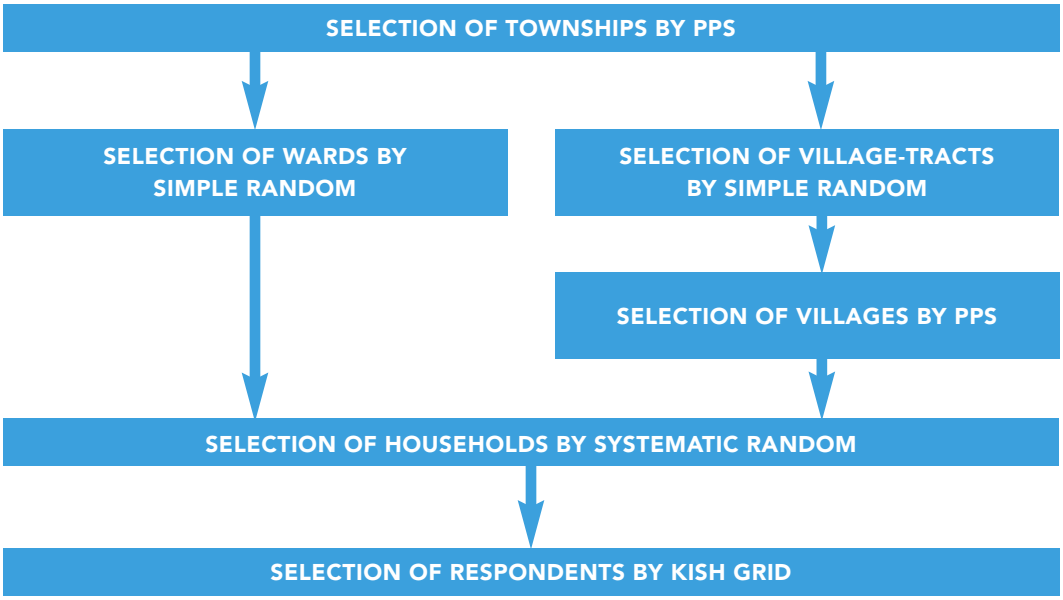
SURVEY SAMPLE:

OVERVIEW

The target area for the survey was nationally representative for both urban and rural areas of Myanmar. The target sample for the survey was a nationwide poll of Myanmar citizens age 18+. The representative random national sample was 3,000 individuals (1,200 + over-sample 1,800 in seven states) drawn from across the entire country. The seven states—Kachin, Kayah, Kayin, Chin, Mon, Rakhine, and Shan—were over-sampled to ensure that their sub-samples were large enough to analyze. In the national data these over-samples were weighted to their correct proportion of the population.

During the sampling and fieldwork of the survey, no data on settlement level populations and no current census data for Myanmar were available. However, the General Administration Department released basic population statistics in 2006 for total numbers of residents by state/region and by township. MSR applied this population data for the first step of sample selection. Based on the Myanmar Information Management Unit (MIMU) GIS dataset, the sampling area within the township was selected by simple random sampling method.

MULTI-STAGE RANDOM SAMPLING METHOD:



STEP ONE: DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLING POINTS BY REGION AND URBAN/RURAL STRATA

The survey includes both urban and rural respondents in all states and regions of Myanmar. Urban and rural populations are people living in urban or rural areas as defined by the national statistical office. Based on population data, the urban and rural sample sizes were allocated to be in accordance with the national sample.

The national sample was calculated first from 317 townships by state and regional urban/rural population data. Townships were selected on a probability proportionate to population (PPP) basis. For the states, the Foundation decided to over-sample to ensure that state sub-samples were large enough to analyze. For over-sampling, an additional seven sample townships were selected from Shan State by PPS method within the state. Similarly, six additional townships were selected from Kayin State. Townships for oversampling in Kachin, Kayah, Chin, Mon and Rakhine states were also selected in the same way by PPS method within each state. Altogether 84 sample townships were selected for this survey.

SELECTION PROCEDURES OF SAMPLE TOWNSHIPS BY PPS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

Step 1: List all the townships in Myanmar in a logical order

Step 2: Insert the number of population in the second column.

Step 3: Calculate the accumulated number of population in the third column.

Step 4: Determine number of sample townships.

Step 5: Calculate the sampling interval by dividing total number of population by number of sample townships.

Step 6: Generate a random number between 1 and the sample interval

Step 7: Locate the first sample township by finding the township whose cumulative population just exceeds the random number.

Step 8: Select the subsequent sample township by adding intervals

STEP TWO: SELECTION OF SAMPLING POINTS AND REPLACEMENT OF SAMPLING POINTS

Depending on urban and rural population ratio, samples are allocated to wards and villages in each township.

SELECTION OF WARDS:

The sizes of population are not much different among wards within a particular township. Therefore, the sample wards are selected by simple random sampling method from the list of wards of the township.

Step 1: The list of urban wards for each township is prepared.

Step 2: By using random numbers, generated from computer, sample wards are selected.

SELECTION OF VILLAGE-TRACTS:

The sizes of population among village-tracts was more or less the same. Therefore, the sample village-tracts are selected by simple random sampling method from the list of village-tracts of the township.

Step 1: The list of rural village-tracts for each township is prepared.

Step 2: By using computer-generated random numbers, sample village-tracts are selected.

SELECTION OF VILLAGES:

From a selected village-tract, a village can be selected. However, the sizes of villages within a village-tract can vary significantly. Therefore, simple random sampling method cannot be used. The MSR survey team collected population data of villages in the selected village-tracts from the village-tract authorities when they arrived at the field, and the data were sent to the MSR head office in Yangon. The head office in Yangon then selected a sample village by PPS method and informed the field survey team of the name of the selected village. For better quality control, field survey teams were not allowed to select the sample villages by themselves. Sporadic armed conflicts in some localities, security issues in conflict areas, and permission issues in parts of the country required some sampling points to be adjusted or replaced, within the same township in most cases. In Nay Pyi Taw area, the whole district had to be replaced because the township authorities did not permit the survey.

STEP THREE: SELECTION OF STARTING POINTS WITHIN EACH SAMPLING POINT

A starting point at the ward/village was determined by the field supervisor. the survey team gathered information on the total number of households in the selected ward/village by asking the administration office or counting in the field. Before sampling, the survey team looked around the village, and chose the starting point as appropriate, mostly at the entrance to the village or from a significant building such as a school, monastery, administration office and bazaars etc. In urban areas, residential wards are in blocks, and the starting point is fixed from a street corner.

STEP FOUR: HOUSEHOLD SELECTION

Households were selected by systematic random sampling method. In general, the total number of households in the selected sampling point was divided by sample size, 10, to get an interval. If a selected ward/village was too big to count the households—i.e., more than 150 households—the ward/village was divided into equal parts (for example, northern part, southern part, western part, and eastern part) and a part was randomly selected.

Households were selected from the selected part. Then, in each sampling point, a random number between 1 and the interval was generated. For example, where the random number was three, from the given starting point, the interviewer headed in the assigned direction and selected the third household on the right hand side of his/her route as the sample household. The next household was identified by adding the interval.

In the case of multi-apartment buildings, the interviewer conducted the sampling clockwise. He or she would start from the apartment on the left side of the ground floor, go up the staircase, sticking to the left side while counting the interval, and from the top floor, switch to the other half of the apartments.

STEP FIVE: RESPONDENT SELECTION (KISH GRID METHOD)

After selecting a household, interviewers were instructed to utilize a Kish Grid for randomizing the target respondent within the household. This method ensures that the selection of respondents is unbiased. At the selected household, people aged 18 to 70, together with sex and age, are entered in the Kish Grid table in order of ages from the oldest down to the youngest. The serial number of the respondent is at the point where the column whose top number is the last digit of the questionnaire number, going vertically downwards meets the row, going horizontally rightwards, that starts with the youngest person's name.

STEP SIX: RESPONDENT SUBSTITUTION

Using the Kish Grid, under no circumstances were interviewers allowed to substitute an alternate member of a household for the selected respondent. If the respondent refused to participate or was not available after callbacks, then the interview moved on to the next household according to the random walk.

STEP SEVEN: CALLBACKS (RATE, METHOD, AND RESULTS)

Interviewers were required to make at least two repeat visits (call-backs) before replacing the designated respondent, unless respondent's final status could be determined earlier (e.g., complete or refusal). This was done by the field supervisor only; the interviewers were not allowed to do replacements themselves.

In this survey, while the field teams had to make some call-backs, the majority of the interviews (83.7%) were completed on the first attempt. Five percent of the interviews were completed on the second attempt, and 1% were completed on the third attempt.

FIELD STAFF

	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
Number of Interviewers	20	6	26
Field Supervisor	7	6	13

The interviewers were trained initially using the interviewer manual, and their initial work was closely monitored by supervisors. The interviewing team overcame numerous obstacles in its daily work, facing problems with the weather, transportation, and security. The survey team hired interpreters who spoke the dialect or the ethnic language for fieldwork in all states except in Rakhine State. The field staff for Rakhine State were ethnic Rakhine and could communicate easily in the local language. MSR also prepared the translations of the questionnaire into Kachin, Kayah, Chin, and Rakhine languages.

A four-day training of all field staff, both supervisors and interviewers, was held in Yangon. Each supervisor then organized his own briefing sessions with the interviewers. Issues covered included a detailed explanation of the survey's objectives, survey implementation methodology, quality control, interview practice, potential challenges, and survey logistics. The Asia Foundation's survey manager and staff also attended the training sessions.

REFUSALS, NON-CONTACTS, AND COMPLETED INTERVIEWS

		FREQUENCY	% OF CATEGORY
COMPLETED INTERVIEW	Completed interviews	3000	89.6
INCOMPLETE/ PARTIAL	Broke off interview	1	0
REFUSED	Refusal	62	1.9
NON-CONTACT	Nobody at home after 3 attempts	3	.1
	Denied access (security, gate locked)	6	.2
	Respondent away from home or unavailable	112	3.3
OTHER	Illness or mental disability	23	.7
	Other misc. reasons	5	.1
UNKNOWN	Unsafe (animals, violence, rioting, etc)	2	.1
	Unable to determine if household is occupied	3	.1
	Unable to determine if eligible respondent exists	6	.2
NOT ELIGIBLE	Housing unit not occupied (vacant, for sale, resident away for extended period, etc).	109	3.3
	No household member meets eligibility requirements (no one 18+)	15	.4
TOTAL CONTACT ATTEMPTS		3347	100.0

OVERALL RESPONSE RATE

Response Rate	(3000/ 3347) * 100 = 89.6%
Refusal rate	(62/3062)*100 = 2.01%

FORMULAE USED

Response Rate	Completed interview/ (completes + incomplete +refusals + + no contact +other+ unknown + not eligible) * 100
Refusal rate	Non-cooperative households / (non-cooperative households + households interviewed) * 100

COMPLETED INTERVIEWS, REFUSALS, NON-CONTACTS, AND TOTAL CONTACT ATTEMPTS BY STATE AND REGION

STATE/REGION	Completed interviews	Broke off interview	Refusal	Nobody at home after 3 attempts	Denied access (security, gate locked)	Respondent away or unavailable	Language barrier	Illness or mental disability	Other misc. reasons	Unsafe (animals, violence, rioting, etc)	Unable to determine if household is occupied	Unable to determine if eligible respondent exists	Housing unit not occupied (vacant, resident away, etc).	No household member meets eligibility (no one 18+)	TOTAL
Kachin	300		5			2		1			2		3	1	314
Kayah	300					4									304
Kayin	300	1	10		3	24						5	66	2	411
Chin	300		2	2		3								1	308
Sagaing	120					5									125
Tanintharyi	60					3		2					1		66
Bago	150		4			2		2	1		1	1	4	2	167
Magway	120		4		1	2								2	129
Mandalay	180		1			2							2		185
Mon	300		5			13		5					15		338
Rakhine	300		11		1	25		7					1	3	348
Yangon	120		15	1		4		2	2	1			6	1	152
Shan	300		5		1	8		3	2	1			5	2	327
Ayeyarwady	150					15		1					6	1	173
TOTAL	**3000**	**1**	**62**	**3**	**6**	**112**	**0**	**23**	**5**	**2**	**3**	**6**	**109**	**15**	**3347**

QUALITY CONTROL METHODS

QUALITY CONTROL BY SUPERVISORS IN THE FIELD

During fieldwork, supervisors oversaw selection of households and respondents. At each sampling point, a minimum of four interviews were monitored directly by a supervisor. Other interviews were partially monitored by a supervisor.

Completeness checks: all questionnaires were checked, first by the interviewer and then by the supervisor, before leaving the sample area at the end of the day. Both supervisor and interviewer had to sign completed and checked questionnaires. Complete questionnaires were those with all questions properly completed and without missing fields.

QUALITY CONTROL BY QC TEAM SENT FROM THE CENTRAL OFFICE

Three QC teams checked all the field teams from May 4 to May 22, 2014. QC teams conducted two types of check for each team: two villages/wards for back check and at least one village/ward for live check. In total, 14% of the all interviews were checked in these ways by a QC team. The issues verified during in-person back-checks were proper household and respondent selection, and the correct recording of answers to five questions randomly selected from the main body of the questionnaire.

In the process of the live check, QC teams checked every enumerator during the interview. Afterward, they clarified some factors: how to ask some questions, how to behave during the interview. QC teams pointed out some weak points to the field teams after the back-check visits. QC teams reported every evening to the MSR office, relating their findings, problems, and difficulties, and consulted with the project manager when issues occurred.

QUALITY CONTROL BY THE MANAGEMENT TEAM

The management team controlled both field teams and QC teams by a system in which daily report-backs were made. The management team directly guided the field teams and shared information when it learned of any findings, problems, or difficulties.

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