



# Public Opinion on Elections and Expectations of the New Government

မသိပါ (ဖတ်ပြရန် မလို)  
ဖြေဆိုရန် ငြင်းဆန် (ဖတ်ပြရန် မလို)

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မသိပါ (ဖတ်ပြရန် မလို)  
ဖြေဆိုရန် ငြင်းဆန် (ဖတ်ပြရန် မလို)

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 [စစ်တမ်းကောက်ယူသူ- ခြေဆိုသူ၏ အဖြေကို ရေးချပ်၊  
 ကို သေပါက ကြိုက်ပုံသူကို မေးမြန်းပြီး မြည့်စွက်ပါ။ ထို့နောက်



The People's Alliance for Credible Elections  
(PACE)

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## Executive Summary

In Myanmar's November 2015 elections, 69 percent of people turned out to vote according to the Union Election Commission (UEC). More than 10,000 people mobilized to observe election-day and dozens of organizations conducted voter education during the electoral process -- a sign that citizens were finding new ways to be involved compared with past elections. Although the public generally accepted the results of the election, there remain a number of challenges in the country's political transition, including debates around the constitution, negotiations around the peace process, and the democratic culture of the country.

As the new civilian government promised to further the transition to democracy through several reforms, it is crucial for the government, parliament, CSOs and others to understand the public's attitudes, opinions, expectations, and knowledge about democracy, elections and their government. In May 2016, the People's Alliance for Credible Elections (PACE) conducted a nationwide post-election opinion survey to measure the public's attitudes and opinions about democracy and elections, knowledge and views towards priorities for electoral reform, and awareness and expectations on political institutions and newly elected officials.

Even though most people are interested in politics and participated in the last elections, the survey results show that there is still a gap in civic knowledge within the society - especially among women, youth and people living in states. To promote public awareness, civic education programs should focus on the functions of government, the role of MPs, the role of citizens, elections and different political institutions in Myanmar.

As the active participation of the citizen is an important mechanism to promote accountability of elected officials and leaders in democratic governance, PACE asked the respondents how they see the role of citizens. The survey results show that the majority agreed that citizens should be active in questioning their leaders. When PACE gauged the willingness of citizens to engage with their community, the survey results show that there is low communal engagement and less citizen participation, especially among women.

However, the results also show that there is a willingness of women and youth to engage and participate in civic activities if there are opportunities. Therefore, it is important to make sure that women and youth have access to all programs, including community gatherings and civic/voter education trainings.

As transparent, accountable and inclusive elections are fundamental for democratic governance, PACE asked citizens how satisfied they are with the 2015 elections and if they see a need for improvement in future elections. The survey results show that even though there is high satisfaction in the last elections, the public sees aspects in the electoral process which could be improved for future elections – especially the voter list and registration, and election day management.

When PACE asked the respondents about their knowledge about domestic observer groups and their role, the survey results show that there has been an increase in the recognition of role of observer groups to ensure transparency in elections compared to PACE's 2015 pre-election survey. However, there is low recognition on the role of observer groups to provide an objective assessment of the elections.

When PACE asked the respondents about the biggest problems they face at the local level, most respondents referenced development issues as a top priority. PACE also asked about problems faced by Myanmar at the national level that the new government should address. Peace and conflict is the top issue at the national level. While most people are able to identify issues at their local level, half of the people could not identify national issues.

Across the survey questions, there were signs of low levels of knowledge, especially in women and youth, which need to be addressed by key stakeholders such as parliament, government agencies and civil societies. Importantly, more opportunities and space are needed to include citizens, including women and youth, in politics.

## **Key Findings**

### **Interest in Politics**

The majority of people are interested in politics, with 16% saying they are very interested and 42% saying they are somewhat interested. The remainder of respondents said they were not very interested (18%) or not at all interested (15%). A further 9% of respondents said they did not know. Overall, interest in politics has increased since PACE asked the same question one year before in 2015. PACE notes, however, that interest in politics has decreased slightly since the immediate post-election period. During that time, the

International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) conducted a survey that reported that a total of 72% of respondents were very or somewhat interested in politics compared with 58% in PACE's survey conducted four months later.

### **Citizen Participation**

PACE asked respondents if they had attended a community gathering, attended a voter/civic education meeting or signed a petition in the past year. Overall, respondents indicated that they were not very active in these activities, especially in voter/civic education and signing petitions. More than half of respondents had not participated, however the majority said they would if they had the opportunity. In general, citizens show more willingness and interest in the traditional and more common activity of community gathering compared to newer activities like voter education or signing a petition. More than half of citizens said they had never joined a voter or civic education meeting, despite the fact that elections were held last year.

### **Knowledge about Independent Election Observers and Perception of Their Effectiveness**

More than half of respondents (53%) said that they have heard of election observer groups in the 2015 elections. This is a slight increase from PACE's 2015 pre-election survey, in which 46% of respondents had heard of election observers. Respondents from states were less likely than those in regions to know about election observer groups. Similarly, women were less likely than men to know about election observation groups. When PACE asked about perception of the effectiveness of domestic election observer groups contributing to transparent elections, nearly three quarters of respondents said they thought observers could be helpful, with domestic observers seen as slightly more helpful than international observers.

### **Trusted Source of Objective Assessment of Election Process**

The majority of respondents said they did not know who they could trust to provide an objective assessment of the elections. Notably, less than 5% said they look to observers to provide an objective assessment of the election process. While there was no difference between respondents from states and regions, there is a significant gender gap in the number of women respondents who answered they do not know.

## **Public Opinions about Need for Reforms in Election Process**

When PACE asked respondents if there is “any aspect of the 2015 election process that could be improved in the future?” most respondents believe there is need for improvement, with 40% saying there were aspects that could be improved, 32% saying there were not and 26% saying they didn’t know. Among the respondents who said yes, sixty-one percent (61%) of respondents pointed to the voter list/voter registration as an area for improvement, while 37% noted election day management, 35% said civic and voter education needed improvement, and 29% said electoral fraud needed to be improved. Respondents from urban areas were more likely to say there was a need for reform compared to rural respondents. Women were more likely to say that they did not know if there is need.

## **Public Understanding about the Method of Electing the President**

PACE asked respondents if they know how the President of Myanmar is elected. According to the Constitution of Myanmar, the President is elected by the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw. Only 12% of respondents correctly answered, while 19% said that voters directly selected the President, 17% said that the party who won the most seats appoints the President, and 48% said they did not know. Women were less knowledgeable than men about how the president is elected. There was no change in the percentage of people who could correctly answer how the president is elected between 2016 and 2014, when The Asia Foundation (TAF) asked the same question in its national survey.

## **Level of Confidence towards Different Institutions**

When PACE asked respondents about their level of confidence towards different institutions, the survey results show that religious leaders and the President are the top institutions followed by CSOs/CBOs and Union-level Parliament. If we compare level of confidence of respondents from states and regions, respondents in regions have more confidence towards different institutions than those in states.



# Survey Background

## About PACE

The People's Alliance for Credible Elections (PACE) is an independent, non-partisan, non-government domestic election observer group based in Yangon. PACE was founded in 2013 to strengthen democratic institutions in Myanmar through safeguarding citizen rights and promoting public participation in the electoral process. To promote transparency, accountability and inclusiveness in the electoral process, PACE works on civic and voter education, election observation and electoral reform.

Upholding the principles enshrined in “Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” PACE’s work is implemented regardless of race, religion and gender. Moreover, PACE has signed the “Declaration of Global Principles for Nonpartisan Observation and Monitoring by Citizen Organizations,” a document endorsed by more than 260 organizations from 75 countries.

In 2015, PACE observed the election process as an accredited observer organization. In September 2015, PACE observed the nation-wide two-week voter list display process with 110 long-term observers in 110 townships. A total of 129 LTOs were deployed to observe the 60-day campaign period from September 7 to November 6, 2015. On election-day November 8, 2015, PACE deployed more than 2,000 short-term-observers (STOs) to observe the opening, voting, and closing and counting process, conducting the first sample-based observation (SBO) in Myanmar.

## The Goal of Survey

In May 2016, PACE conducted a post-election survey to identify priorities for electoral reform and to identify knowledge gaps in civic education by probing:

- Public’s attitudes and opinions about democracy and elections
- Public knowledge and views towards priority issues on the electoral reform

- Public awareness and expectations towards the political institutions and the newly elected officials

In May 2015, PACE also conducted a pre-election survey to understand the public opinion on elections. Some questions from the 2015 survey were repeated in this 2016 survey to compare changes since the elections.

### **Sampling and Methodology**

To better understand public opinion about democracy, elections, priority issues on the electoral reform, and awareness and expectation toward political institutions and elected officials, PACE surveyed citizens of Myanmar who were over 18 at the time of the survey. To capture the opinions across Myanmar, PACE conducted the survey in all states and regions and in urban and rural locations. PACE's survey was conducted in May 2016 in a total of 187 villages and wards in all states and regions. The survey involved face-to-face interviews with 1,386 respondents for the national sample, and an additional 428 respondents for the oversample, which was drawn to ensure enough interviews for comparisons between states and regions.

The survey was conducted according to internationally recognized methods of random statistical sampling as detailed below.

**Step 1:** Stratification by state and region. Using data from the 2014 Myanmar Population and Housing Census,<sup>1</sup> PACE calculated the proportion of population in each state and region and allocated the same proportion of survey locations in that state and region.

**Step 2:** Stratification by urban and rural. Using population information described above, PACE calculated the proportion of urban populations and rural populations within each state and region. Based on the proportion within each state, PACE allocated the same proportion of survey locations between urban wards and rural villages.

**Step 3:** Random sample of villages and wards. Based on the allocations for each state and region and allocations for urban and rural locations, PACE selected wards and villages using simple random sampling. PACE used a list of wards and villages in each state and region compiled by the Myanmar Information Management Unit (MIMU) as a sample frame. A total of 149 villages and wards were selected as target survey locations for national sample and an additional 56 locations were added for the oversample.

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<sup>1</sup> Data sets from the Census are available on the Myanmar Information Management Unit (MIMU) website.

**Step 4:** Random household selection. Trained enumerators traveled to survey locations where they randomly selected households<sup>2</sup> using a random walk sampling method beginning in a randomly selected starting point. Enumerators selected every 10<sup>th</sup> residence in rural locations (villages) and every 20<sup>th</sup> residence in urban locations (wards).

**Step 5:** Random respondent selection. Once a household had been selected, PACE enumerators randomly selected a resident (male and female alternatively) of that household who was over 18 and a citizen of Myanmar. Respondents were selected using the “lucky draw” method<sup>3</sup>. In total, each PACE enumerator was tasked to interview 10 respondents in each village/ward location.

**Step 6:** Analysis. Following data collection, the data was weighted by non-response in rural urban and states and regions to bring the realized sample in line with the actual distribution in Myanmar. There may be slight variation between numbers presented due to rounding where the difference is never greater than one percent. For all questions, an average of 1% of respondents refused to answer.

PACE SURVEY OVERVIEW	
Estimated population of in Myanmar (Census 2014)	50,272,364
Estimated adult population in Myanmar (Census 2014)	33,126,117
Number of Interviews for Analysis	1,386 (National Sample), plus 428 (Oversample)
Margin of Error	+/- 2.7 percent at 95% level of confidence
Dates of Data Collection	May 5-10, 2016

The calculation of margin of error will increase for any sub-groups analysis: +/- 3.6 percent for ethnic state responses; +/- 3.1 percent for region responses; +/- 4.7 percent for urban, +/- 3.3 percent for rural; and +/- 3.8 percent for gender.

<sup>2</sup> In this survey, “household” was defined as a group of people who presently eat together from the same pot.

<sup>3</sup> Either female or male members of the household were written into a numbered list. The enumerator would use a set of cards to randomly draw a number that corresponded with the selected respondent.

# Survey Implementation

## Recruitment and Training

The 2016 post-electoral survey was the second nationwide survey conducted by PACE<sup>4</sup>. To carry out the survey, PACE recruited and trained 167 volunteers to carry out the survey by randomly selecting households, conducting interviews and returning questionnaires to PACE. Six two-day enumerator trainings were conducted in Yangon and Mandalay and included interview role-plays and practical exercises in household and respondent selection.

Additionally, 17 state/region coordinators were assigned to oversee the work of enumerators. Finally, 15 volunteers were trained to conduct data entry for the survey findings.

All PACE survey volunteers signed a Code of Conduct and confidentiality pledge.

## Deployment

PACE enumerators deployed to conduct the survey over May 5-10, 2016. During deployment, PACE enumerators were supervised and assisted by 17 PACE state and regional coordinators around the country and by PACE's core team in Yangon.

In nearly all locations, PACE was able to deploy with little difficulty. However, in eighteen locations, PACE enumerators were unable to deploy or conduct surveys according to procedures. There were four villages, which had moved or did not exist anymore: three in Kachin state and one in southern Shan state. There is one village in northern Shan state where the village authority did not allow the survey to be conducted. There is one location in Magway where PACE did not conduct the survey because the enumerator dropped out. There were twelve locations dropped due to security problems (3 locations in Kayin, one location in Sagaing, and seven locations in Northern Shan).

## Data Reporting, Entry and Analysis

After deployment, PACE enumerators sent completed interviews to Yangon for data entry and analysis. Fifteen trained PACE data volunteers entered survey findings into a customized database. Data was cleaned by the PACE core team and analyzed by PACE's core team with assistance from international survey experts from the National Democratic Institute.

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<sup>4</sup> In May 13 to 20, 2015, PACE conducted a nation-wide pre-election survey. See detail at [www.pacemyanmar.org](http://www.pacemyanmar.org)

## Demographic Background of Respondents for the National sample

Gender of Respondent	Percentage
Male	51%
Female	49%

Age of Respondents	Percentage
18-25	12%
26-35	19.5%
36-50	35%
Above 50	33%
Don't know/Refused	0.5%

Married	Percentage
Married	73%
Single	18.6%
Divorced	1.7%
Widowed	6%
Missing data	0.5%

Current Occupation	Percentage
Unemployed	8%
Farmer	35%
Laborer, domestic or unskilled worker	15%
School/university teacher	1%
Self-employed	17%
Professional (lawyer, doctor)	1%
Trader	5%
Private sector/NGO	2%
Civil Servant	2%
Student	2%
Housewife	7%
Retired	2%
Other	1%
Missing Data	2%

Education Level	Percentage
Never Went to School	7%
Informal School Only	5%
Primary (some)	18%
Primary (complete)	28%
Secondary (some)	25%
Secondary (complete)	5%
Post-secondary other than university	0.3%
University (some)	3%
University (complete)	7%
Post-graduate	1%
Missing Data	1%

Income Level (Monthly)	Percentage
Less than 50,000 Ks	18%
50,000-100,000 Ks	26%
100,000-200,000 Ks	26%
200,000-300,000 Ks	12%
300,000-400,000 Ks	4%
Over 400,000 Ks	4%
Don't know/Refused to Answer	10%

Living in Urban-Rural	Percentage
Urban	32%
Rural	68%

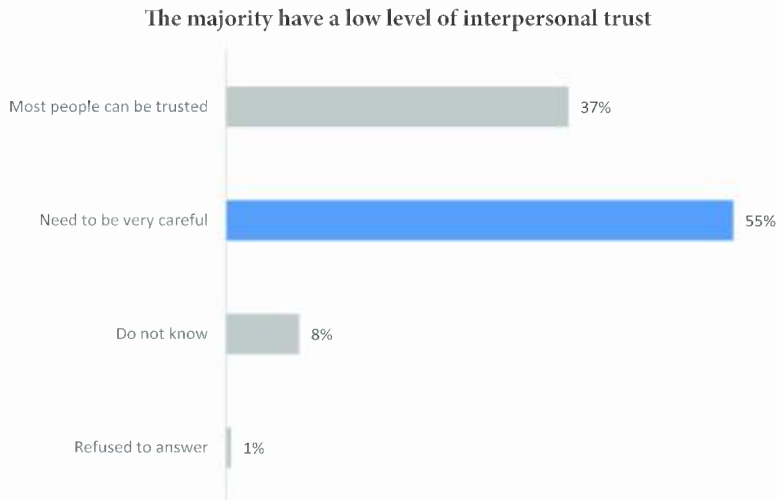
Living in Region-State	Percentage
Region	76%
State	24%



# Attitudes and Opinions about Democracy and Elections

## Interpersonal Trust

The level of interpersonal trust is often measured in public opinion surveys to demonstrate quality of social, economic and political relations between people in a society. PACE asked respondents if they thought “*most people can be trusted OR that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?*”. As shown in Figure 1 below, the majority of respondents (55%) believe that you must be careful with people, while only 37% believe that most people can be trusted and 8% said they did not know.



*Figure 1: Interpersonal trust*

*Responses based on the survey question: “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted OR that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?”*

There are no significant differences in levels of trust between respondents from states and regions, urban and rural, and men and women. However, as shown below, young respondents were less trusting than older respondents. Similarly, higher educated respondents were less trusting than less educated respondents respectively.

## Level of trust in the younger generation is lower than older generation

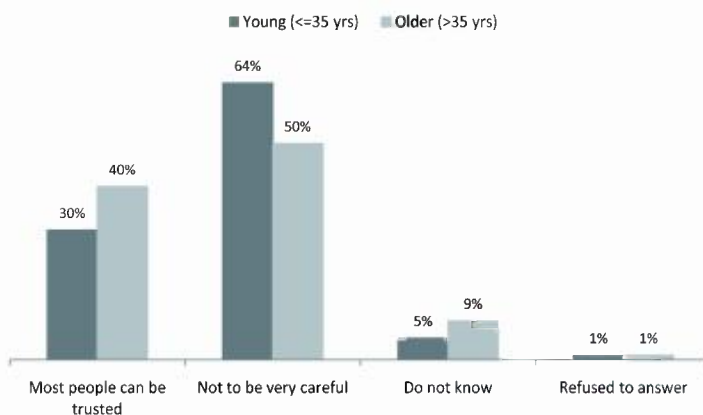


Figure 2: Interpersonal trust by age groups

## Communal Engagement

Respondents were asked how often they participated in community groups, sports groups and worker associations. This question is commonly used to measure levels of communal engagement in surveys conducted in other countries. As the table below shows, more than half of all respondents exhibit a low level of communal engagement, while an average of less than 20% of all respondents demonstrate a high level of engagement.

### Low level of community engagement

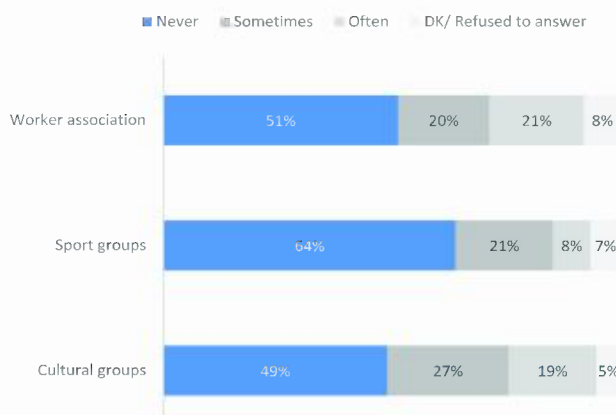


Figure 3: Communal engagement

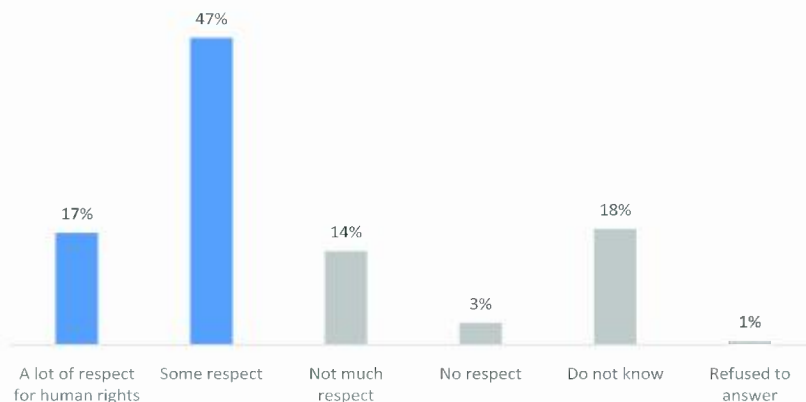
Responses based on the survey question: “Here is a list of groups and organizations; could you please tell me if you have often, sometimes, or never participated in the following types of meetings or activities over the past year.”



## Opinions on the Status of Human Rights

PACE asked respondents “How much respect is there for human rights nowadays in Myanmar?” Most respondents said there was a lot of respect (17%) or some respect (47%) for human rights. Fourteen percent (14%) said there was not much respect for human rights, while 3% of respondents said there was no respect. Eighteen percent (18%) of respondents said they did not know. Notably, there was little difference in respondents from states and regions in their view of the status of human rights in Myanmar.

**More than half believe there's respect for human rights in Myanmar**



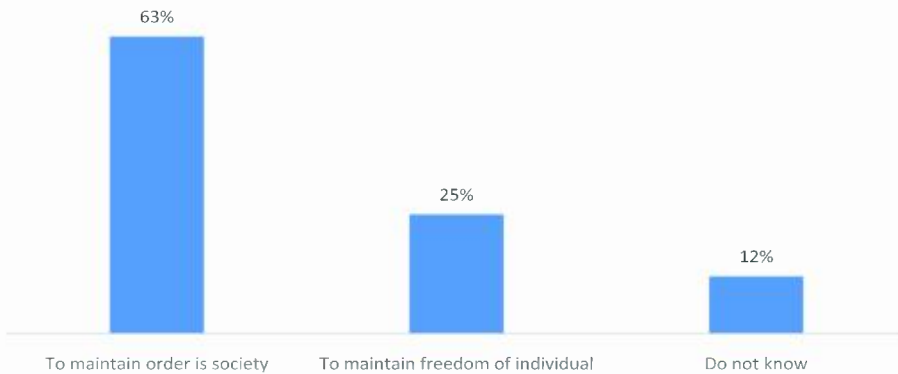
*Figure 4: Opinion on the Status of Human Rights in Myanmar*

Responses based on the survey question: “How much respect is there for human rights nowadays in Myanmar? Would you say there is a lot of respect for human rights, some respect, not much respect, or no respect?”.

## Perceptions of Government Responsibility for Human Rights

To understand citizens’ views of the role of government in maintaining human rights, PACE asked respondents “Which would you say is the government’s most important responsibility: a) To maintain order in society? OR b) To maintain freedom of the individual?”. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of respondents agreed that the government’s most important responsibility was to maintain order in society, while 25% said it was to maintain freedom of the individual, and 12% said they did not know.

**The majority of people say the government's most important responsibility is to maintain order in society**



*Figure 5: Perceptions of Government Responsibility for Human Rights*

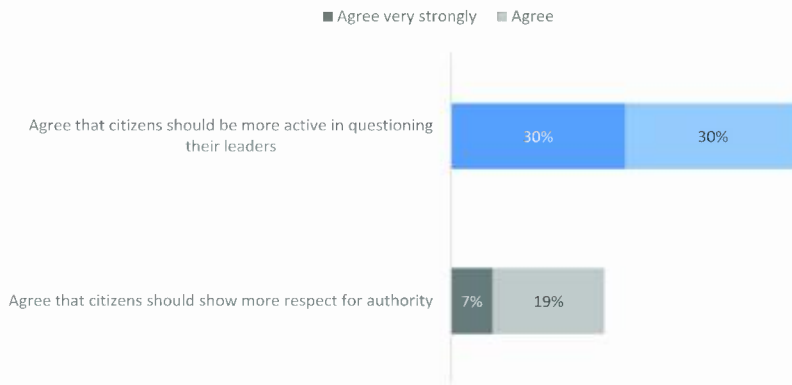
Responses based on the survey question: “If you had to choose, which would you say is the governments’ most important responsibility: a) to maintain order in society? Or b) to maintain freedom of individual?”

Respondents from regions were more likely to say that the government’s primary responsibility was to maintain order in society. Respondents with a lower educational background were more likely to say they did not know, possibly indicating a need for more targeted civic education on the role of government.

## Perceptions about the role of citizens

PACE assessed respondents’ views on the roles of citizens by asking them to choose between the following statements: Statement 1: “Citizens should be more active in questioning the actions of national leaders” and Statement 2: “In our country, citizens should show more respect for authority.” Almost two-thirds of respondents either strongly agreed or agreed that citizens should question their national leaders, while a total of 26% of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that citizens should show respect for authority (See Figure 7). Respondents across all demographics shared the same view on the role of citizens.

## The majority believe that citizens should be more active in questioning their leaders



*Figure 6: Perceptions about the role of citizens*

Responses based on the survey question: “I am going to read out two statements. Please tell me which of the following statements is closest to your view? Chose statement 1 or statement 2. Statement 1: Citizens should be more active in questioning the actions of national leaders. Statement 2: In our country, citizens should show more respect for authority.

## Interest in Politics

Interest in politics is important because it provides the motivation for citizens to become informed. PACE asked all respondents the standard question: “how interested would you say you are in politics?”. As shown in Figure 8 below, the majority of people are interested, with 16% saying they are very interested and 42% saying they are somewhat interested. The remainder of respondents said they were not very interested (18%) or not at all interested (15%). A further 9% of respondents said they did not know.

### The majority of people have an interest in politics

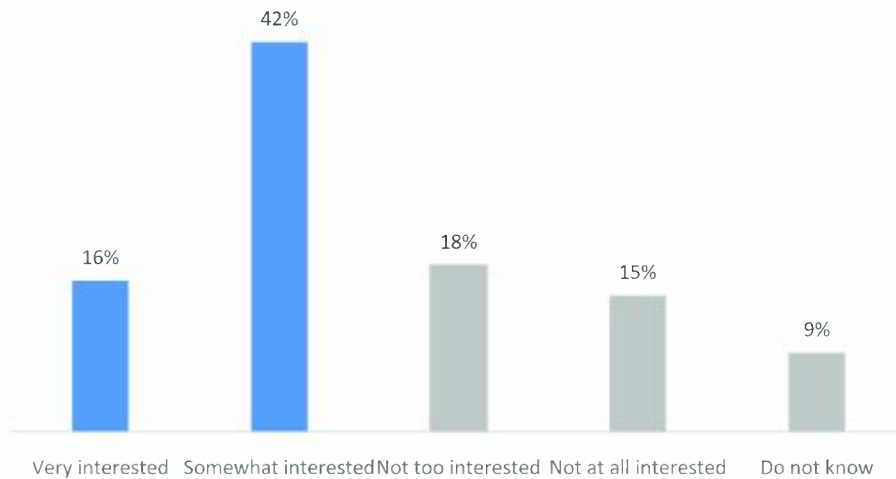


Figure 7: Interest in Politics

Responses based on the survey question: “How interested would you say you are in politics? Are you very interested, somewhat interested, not too interested, or not at all interested?”

Male respondents were more likely to be interested in politics than female respondents.

### Males are more interested in politics than females

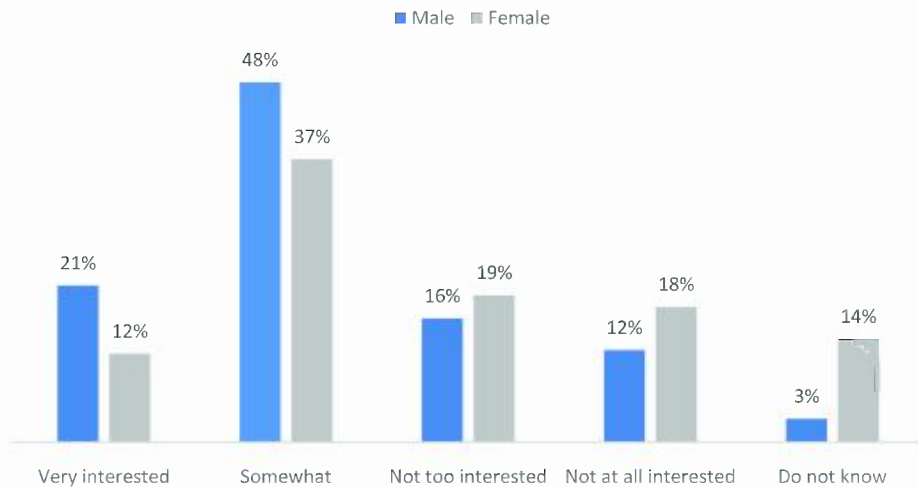
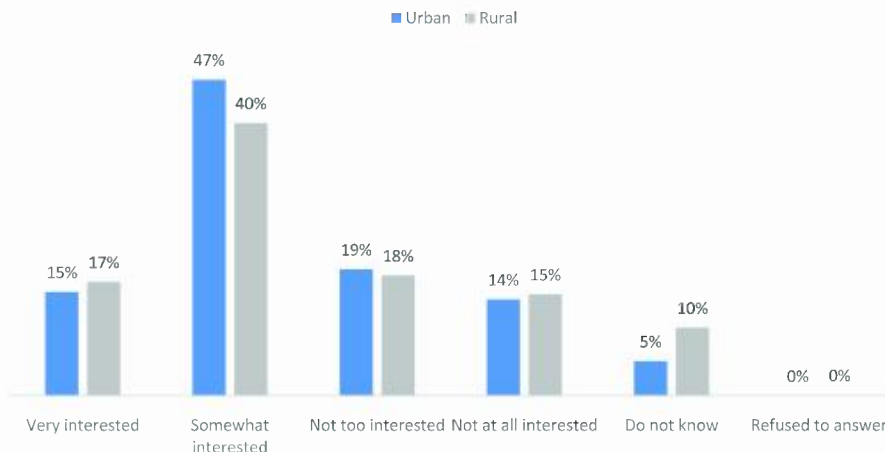


Figure 8: Interest in Politics by gender

Respondents living in urban areas said they are slightly more interested in politics compared with rural respondents.

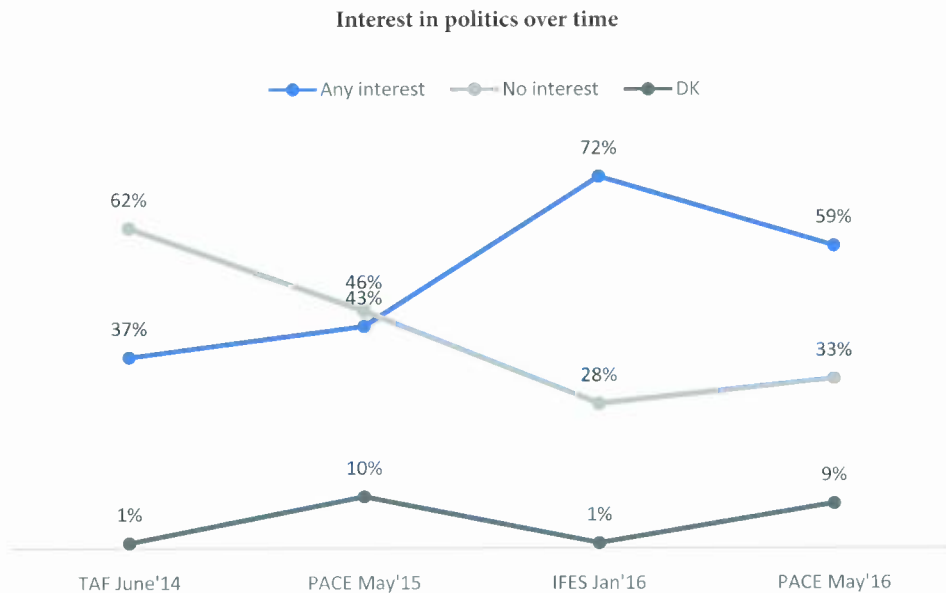
#### Urban people have slightly more interest in politics than rural people



*Figure 9: Interest in Politics by Urban and Rural Respondents*

Overall, interest in politics has increased since PACE asked the same question one year before in 2015. (See Figure 11 below). PACE notes, however, that interest in politics has decreased slightly since the immediate post election period. Immediately after the election, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) conducted a survey from December 2015-January 2016<sup>5</sup> that reported that a total of 72% of Myanmar citizens reporting to be very or somewhat interested in politics compared with 58% in PACE's survey conducted four months later.

<sup>5</sup> International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), "Public Opinion in Myanmar following the 2015 Elections", 2016.



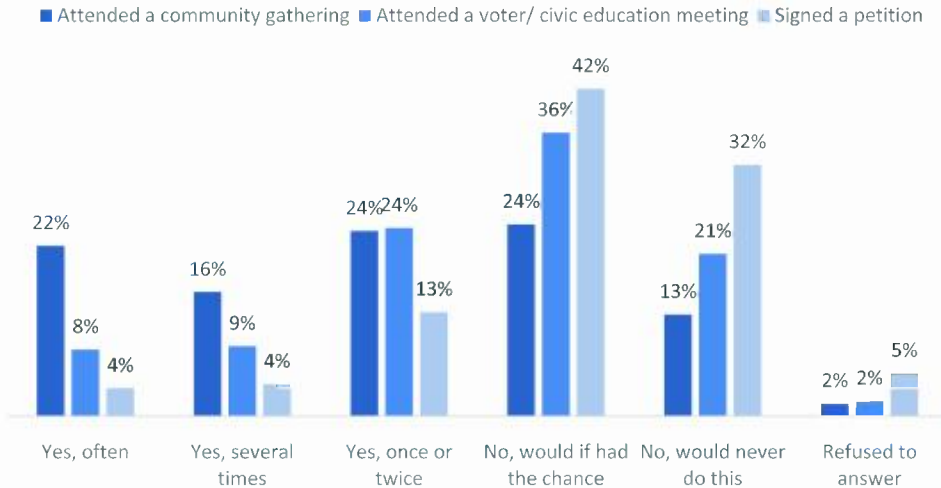
*Figure 10: Interest in Politics over time*

Comparison between The Asia Foundation Survey - Myanmar 2014; Civic Knowledge and Values in a Changing Society; PACE 2015 pre-election survey; IFES 2016 post-election survey; and PACE 2016 post-election survey.

## Citizen Participation

PACE wanted to measure how active and interested citizens were in political and civic activities in their community. They asked respondents if they had attended a community gathering, attended a voter/civic education meeting or signed a petition in the past year. Figure 12 below shows the level of citizen participation in each activity.

## Participation in civic activities



*Figure 11: Citizen Participation*

Responses based on the survey question: “Here is a list of actions that citizens sometimes take. For each of these, please tell me whether you personally have done any of these things during the past year? If not would you do this if you had the chance? After the respondent answer, the enumerator will ask again: if yes, does it often, several times, or once/ twice. And if no, would you go if you had the chance or would you never do this?”

Overall, respondents indicated that they were not very active in these activities over the past year, especially in voter/civic education and signing petitions. More than half of respondents had not participated, however the majority said they would if they had the opportunity. In general, citizens show more willingness and interest in the traditional and more common activity of community gathering compared to newer activities like voter education or signing a petition. More than half of citizens said they had never joined a voter or civic education meeting, despite the fact that elections were held last year.

Rural respondents were more likely to engage in community gathering than urban respondents (See Figure 13) as were older respondents compared with youth respondents (See Figure 14).

### Rural respondents attended community gatherings more than urban respondents

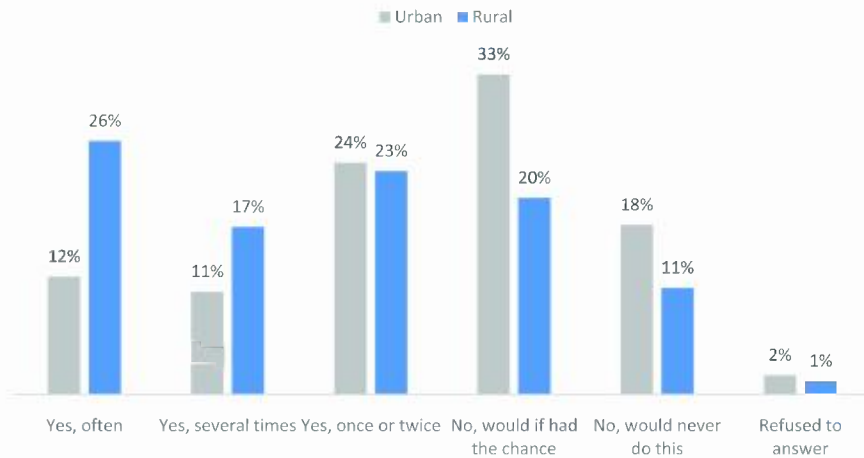


Figure 12: Participation in community gatherings in urban and rural

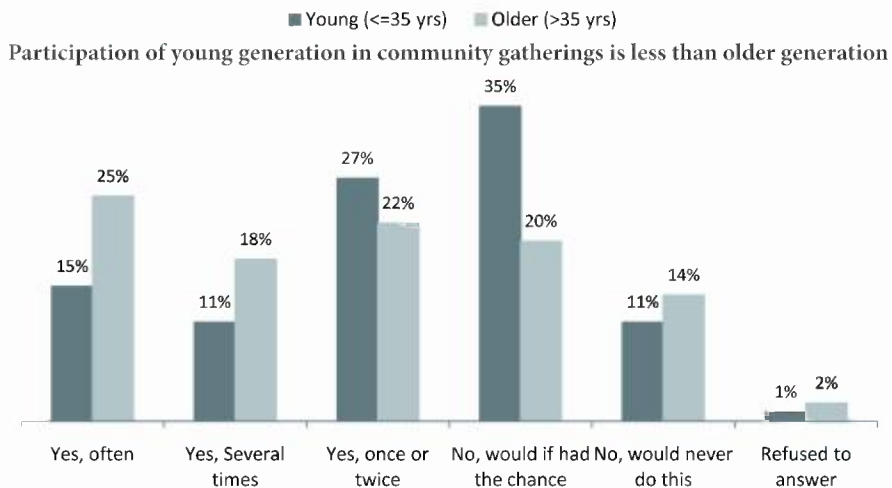


Figure 13: Participation in community gathering by different age groups

As shown below, women were less likely than men to participate in community gatherings, potentially showing the need for greater promotion of their participation.



### There is a gender gap in participation in community gatherings

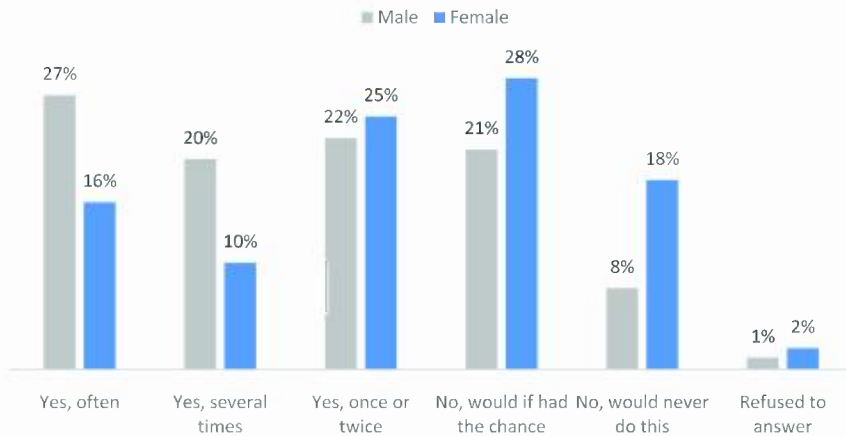


Figure 14: Participation in community gathering by gender

Respondents who said they are interested in politics were more likely to attend a voter education meeting.

### Interest in politics increases participation in a civic/ voter education activities

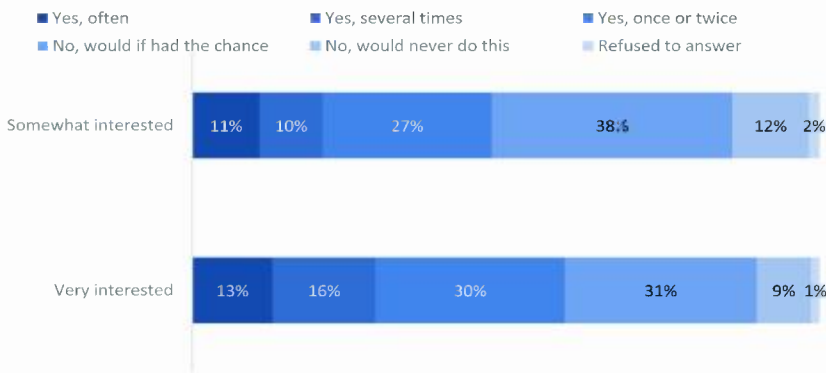
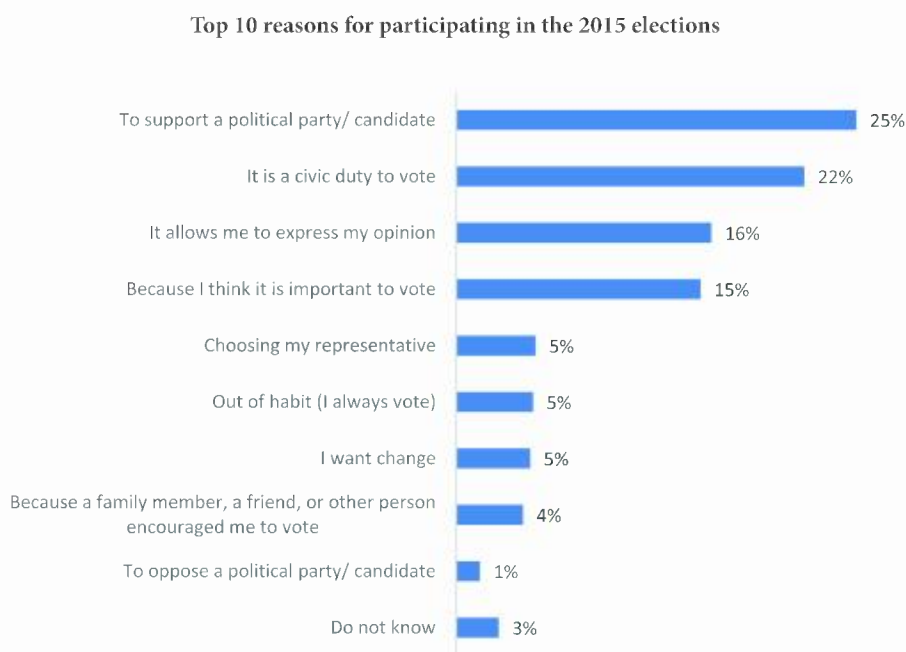


Figure 15: Respondents interested in politics compared with their participation in voter/ civic education meetings

## Participation in the 2015 Elections

According to the Union Election Commission, 69% of voters cast a ballot in the election. PACE asked respondents why they did or did not vote.

Among respondents who said they voted, PACE asked “*What was the main reason you voted in this election?*” Most voters saw the election as a means to express their political view: either to support a party or candidate that they like (25%), express their opinion (16%), or choose their representative (5%). Others saw voting as an important role of citizens: 22% said they voted because it is a civic duty, while another 15% said it is important to vote. See Figure 17 below for all responses.

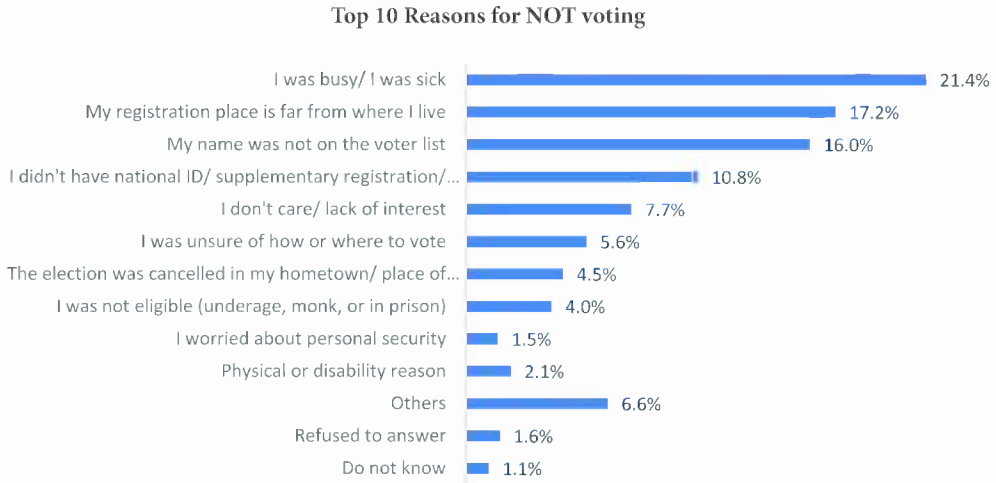


*Figure 16: Main reasons for voting in the 2015 elections*

Responses based on the survey question: “What as the main reason you voted in this elections?”. Enumerators did not read out options, but matched the response to the closest option provided.

There was no notable difference in the motivation of voters between ethnic states and regions or between men and women.

Among respondents that said they did not vote, PACE asked “*What was the main reason you DID NOT vote?*” Less than one third of respondents said they did not vote for reasons of apathy: 21% said they did not vote because they were sick or busy, while nearly 8% said they did not care. Other respondents said they did not vote due to issues accessing the electoral process, with 17% saying that they were registered far away from where they lived, 16% saying their name was not on the voter list,<sup>6</sup> and 10% saying they lacked required identity documentation. See Figure 18 below for all responses.



*Figure 17: Main reasons for NOT voting in the 2015 elections*

Responses based on the survey question: “What as the main reason you did not vote?”. Enumerators did not read out options, but matched the response to the closest option provided.

There were differences for non-voting in states - where respondents more often noted issues in accessing the election process - compared to regions - where respondents more often noted reasons of apathy.

<sup>6</sup>Although 16% of respondents said they did not have a name on the voter list, this number simply represents people’s belief or reasoning for not voting. PACE cannot determine if respondents’ names were on the voter list in that location or any other location. The actual percentage of eligible citizens who do not have a name on the voter list is unknown at this time.

### Top 7 reasons for NOT voting by States/ Regions

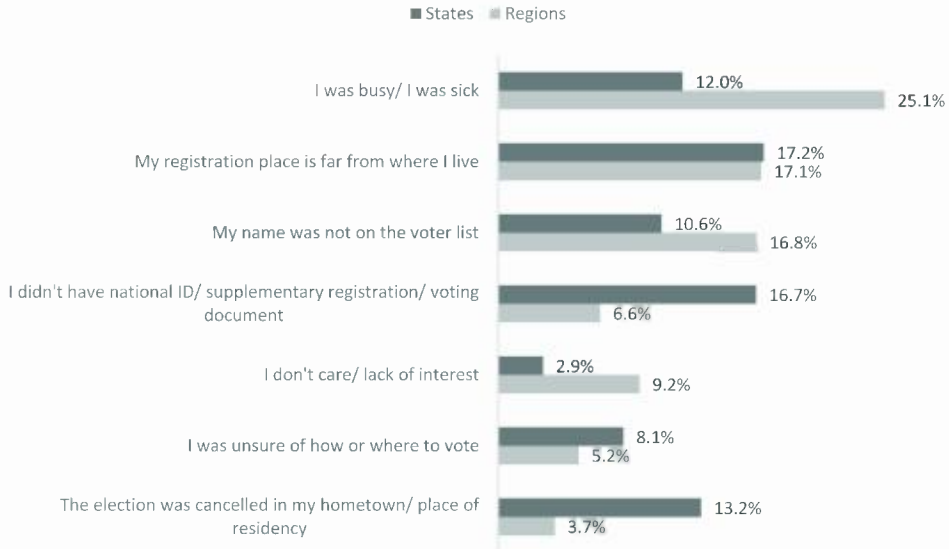


Figure 18: Main reasons for NOT voting in the 2015 elections by States/ Regions

Notably, women were much more likely to say they did not vote because they were busy or sick on election day.

### Top 7 Reasons for NOT voting by gender

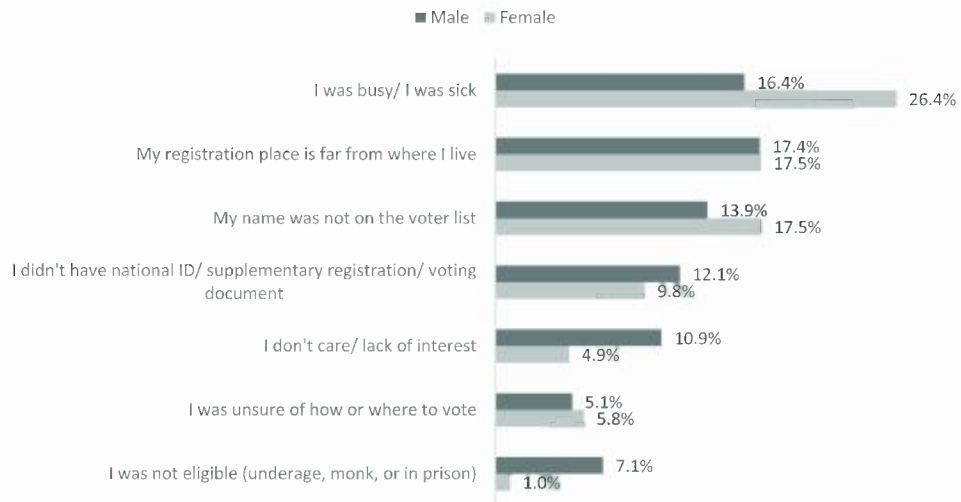
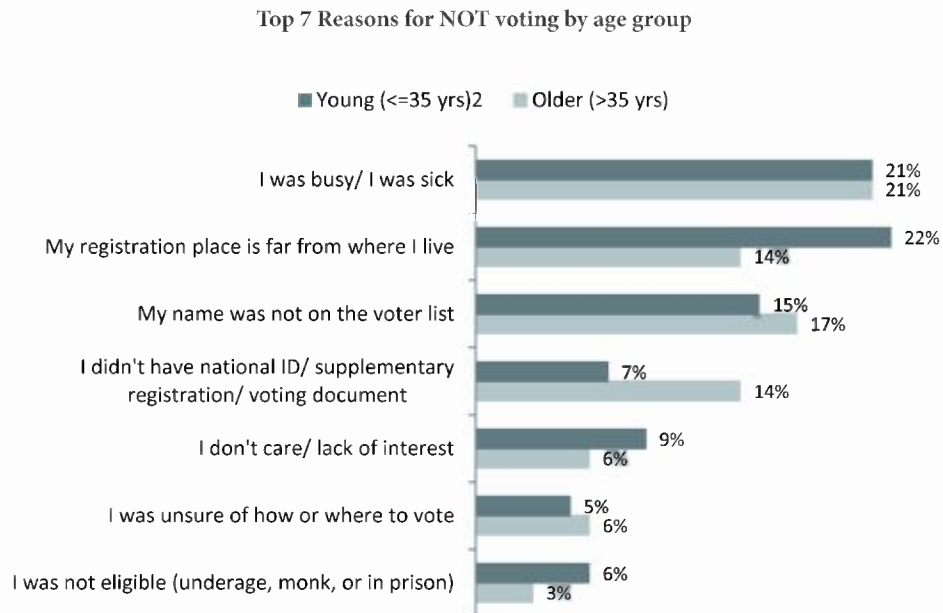


Figure 19: Main reasons for not voting in the 2015 elections by gender

Among respondents who did not vote, twenty-two percent (22%) of youth respondents said they did not vote because their registration place was far from where they live compared with 14% of older respondents. This could be related to the number of youth who live far from their home of origin due to work or study. On the other hand, older voters were more likely to say that they lacked sufficient identity documents.



*Figure 20: Main reasons for not voting in the 2015 elections by young and older respondents*



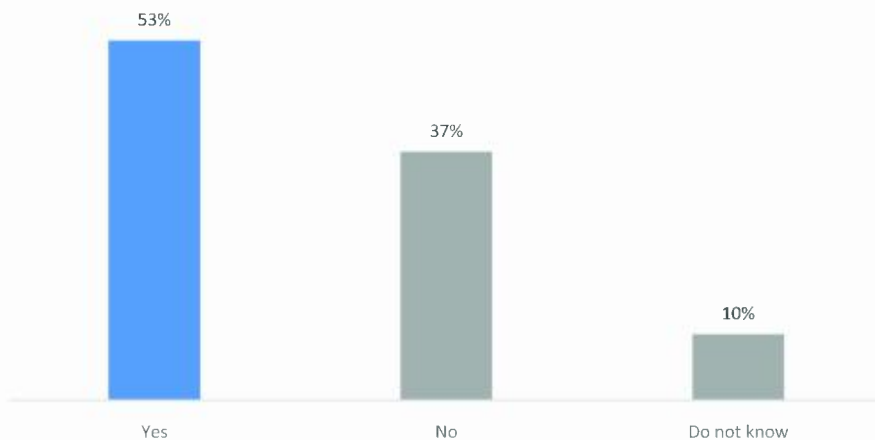
## Knowledge and Opinions on Priority Issues for Reforms

In order to measure public knowledge and views towards priority issues for electoral reform, PACE asked respondents a number of questions about their views of the 2015 elections and their priorities moving forward.

### Knowledge about Independent Election Observers

PACE measured the public's knowledge of independent election observers by asking if respondents "recall hearing of any independent civil society election groups in the last 2015 elections?" More than half of respondents (53%) said they had heard of independent civil society election observer groups, while 37% said they had not and 10% said they didn't know. This is a slight increase from PACE's 2015 pre-election survey, in which 46% of respondents had heard of election observers.

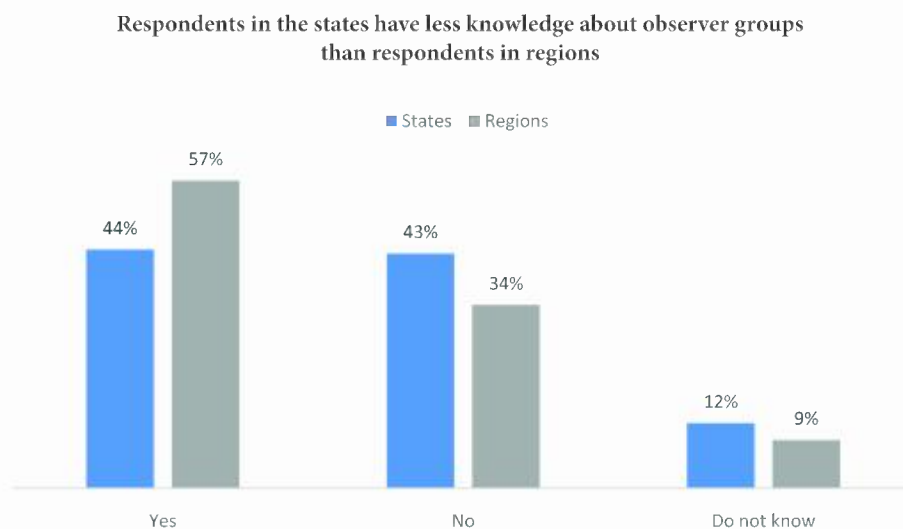
**More than half of adult Myanmar citizens heard about independent election observation groups in the 2015 elections**



*Figure 21: Public knowledge about election observers*

Responses based on the survey question: “In many countries, independent civil society groups observe elections. Do you recall hearing any of them in the last 2015 elections?”

As shown in Figure 23 below, respondents from states were less likely than those in regions to know about election observer groups. Similarly, women were less likely than men to know about election observation groups.



*Figure 22: Public knowledge about election observers by States/ Regions*

## Perceptions of the Effectiveness of Election Observers

PACE also asked respondents if they believed that the involvement of domestic observers and international observers could “*help guarantee transparent elections.*” More than two thirds of respondents said they thought observers could be helpful, with domestic observers seen as slightly more helpful than international observers (see Figure 24 below).



### The majority of people believe that observers can help guarantee the transparent elections

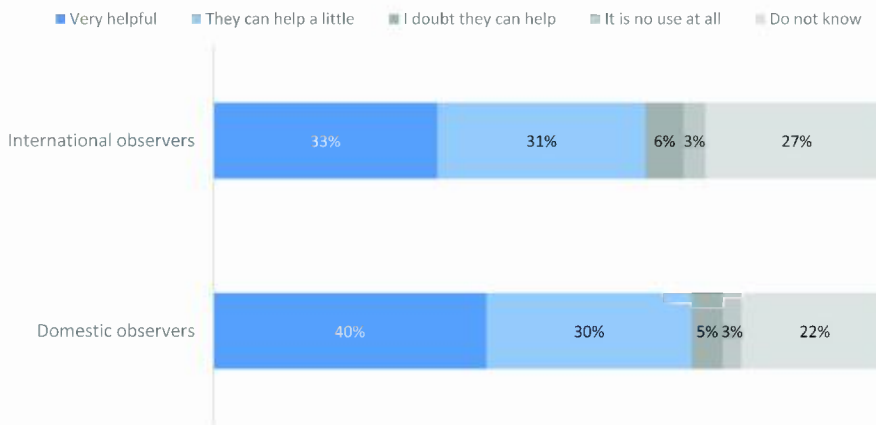


Figure 23: Perception about the effectiveness of observers to guarantee transparency in elections

Responses based on the survey question: “Do you think that the involvement of domestic election observers helps guarantee transparent elections?” and “Do you think that the involvement of international election observers helps guarantee transparent elections?”

As shown in the figure below, there was a significant increase in the percentage of the public who believe that independent election observers can guarantee transparent elections since PACE asked citizens in May 2015.

### Significant increase of the percentage of the public who believe that the domestic observers can help guarantee transparent elections

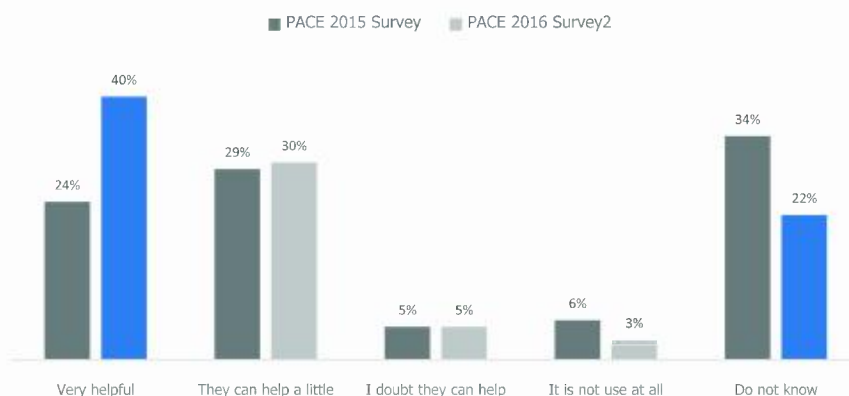
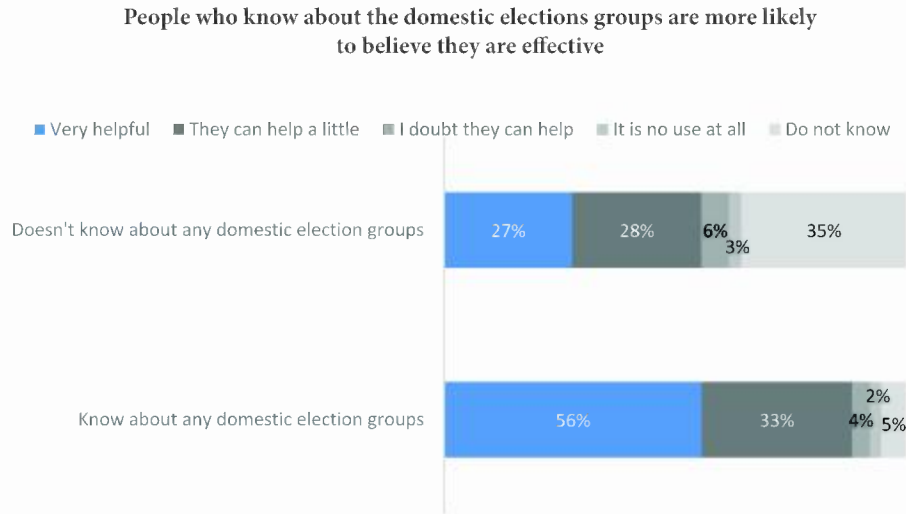


Figure 24: Perception about the effectiveness of observers to guarantee transparency in elections: 2015 vs. 2016

There was no significant difference between socio-demographic groups on the perceived effectiveness of observers. However, if respondents already knew about election observation groups, they were more likely to consider them useful for guaranteeing transparency in elections (see figure 26).

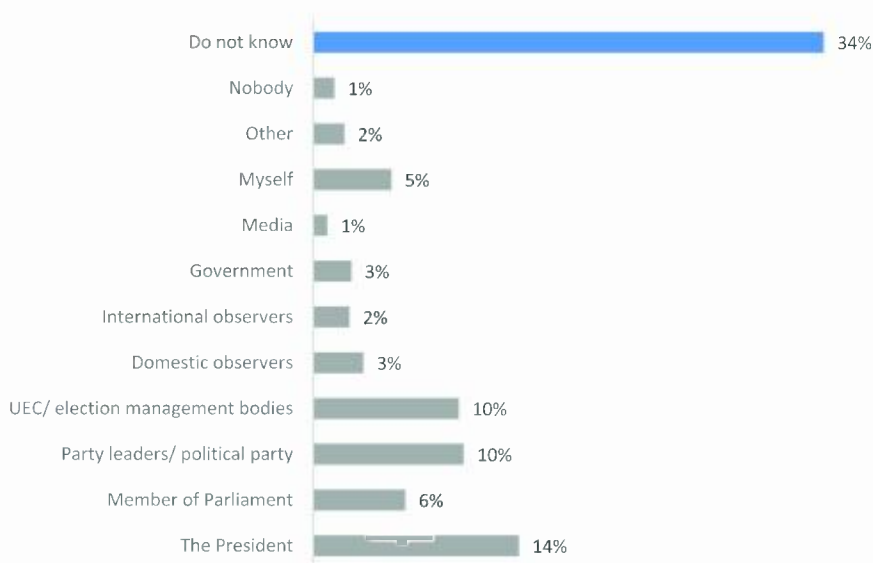


*Figure 25: Perception about the effectiveness of observers to guarantee transparency in elections:  
Respondents who know observation vs. Respondents who don't know observation*

## Trusted Sources of an Objective Assessment of the Election Process

To learn where citizens look to decide the quality of the election process, PACE asked respondents “Who do you trust most to provide you with an objective assessment of the election processes?”. Most respondents said they did not know who they could trust to provide an objective assessment of the elections. Notably, less than 5% said they look to observers to provide an objective assessment of the election process.

**Most people don't know who they can trust to give an objective assessment about the electoral process**



*Figure 26: Trusted sources to provide an objective assessment of the election process*

Responses based on the survey question: “Who do you trust the most to provide you with an objective assessment about the electoral processes?”. Enumerators did not read out options, but matched the response to the closest option provided.

While there was no difference between respondents from states and regions, there is a significant gender gap in the number of women respondents who said they do not know.

### Trusted entities to give an objective assesment about the electoral processes, between male and female

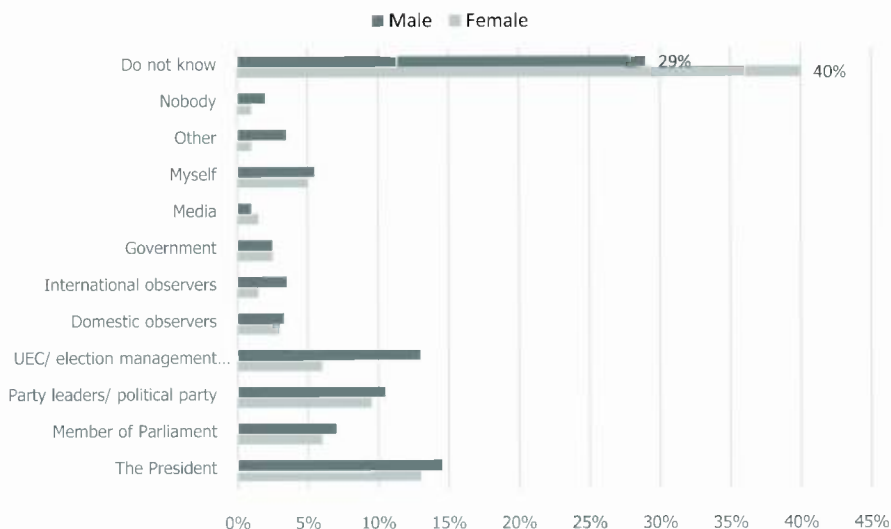


Figure 27: Trusted sources to provide an objective assessment of the election process by gender

## Levels of Satisfaction with the 2015 Elections

PACE asked respondents “How satisfied are you with the 2015 elections?”. Overall, respondents were very positive about the elections: More than half of respondents (52%) said they were very satisfied with the elections while 35% said they were somewhat satisfied. Only 5% of respondents were somewhat or very unsatisfied, while 8% said they did not know.

## High satisfaction with the 2015 elections

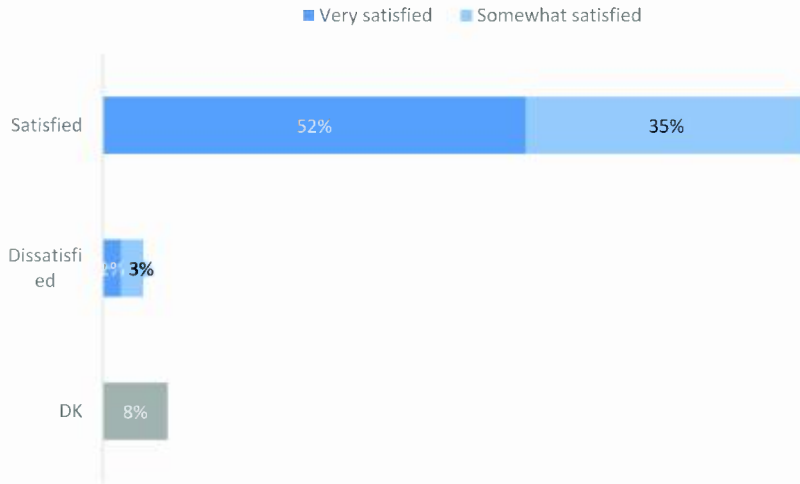


Figure 28: Levels of satisfaction with the 2015 elections

Responses based on the survey question: “How satisfied are you with the 2015 elections? Are you: very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied”.

However, among respondents from states, there was a slightly lower level of satisfaction with the elections compared to respondents from regions.

## Respondents in states are slightly less satisfied with the 2015 elections than those in regions

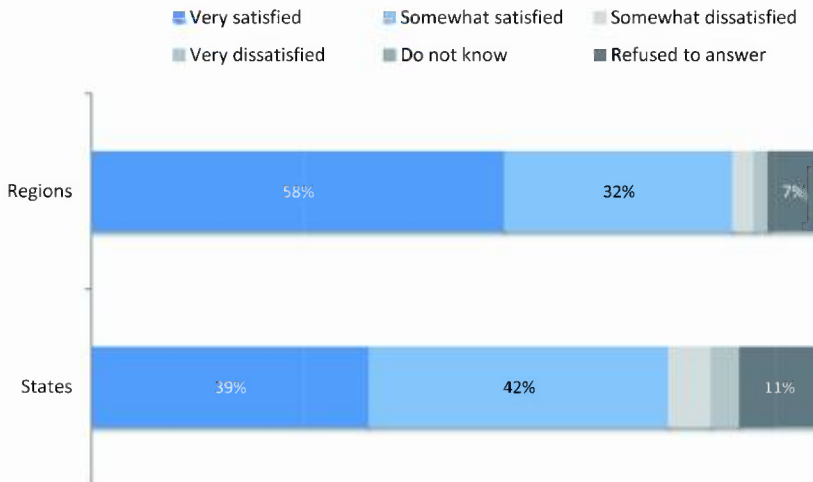


Figure 29: Level of satisfaction with the 2015 elections by States and Regions

Men were more likely to say they were satisfied than women.

Level of satisfaction towards the 2015 elections between male and female respondents

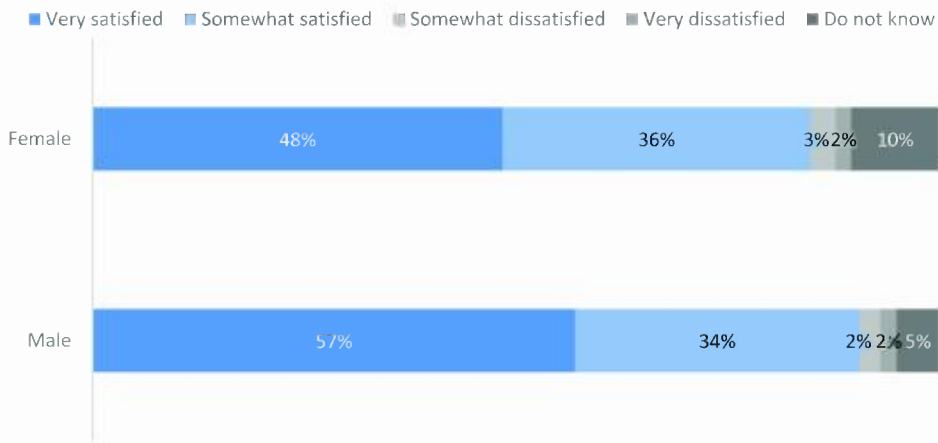


Figure 30: Levels of satisfaction towards the 2015 elections by gender

## Public Opinions about Need for Reforms in Election Process

PACE also asked respondents if there is “*any aspect of the 2015 election process that could be improved in the future?*”. More respondents believed there is need for improvement, with 40% saying there were aspects that could be improved, 32% saying there were not and 26% saying they didn’t know.

### More people believe that the electoral process could be improved in the future

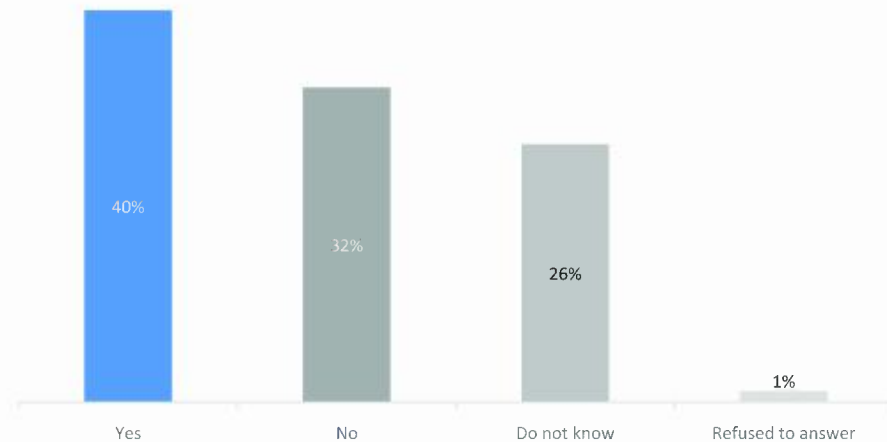


Figure 31: Public opinion on the need for improvements to election process

Responses based on the survey question: “In your opinion, is there any aspect of the 2015 electoral processes that could be improved in the future?”

Respondents from urban areas were more likely to say there was a need for reform compared to rural respondents.

### More urban respondents believe that further improvement could be done to the electoral processes than rural respondents

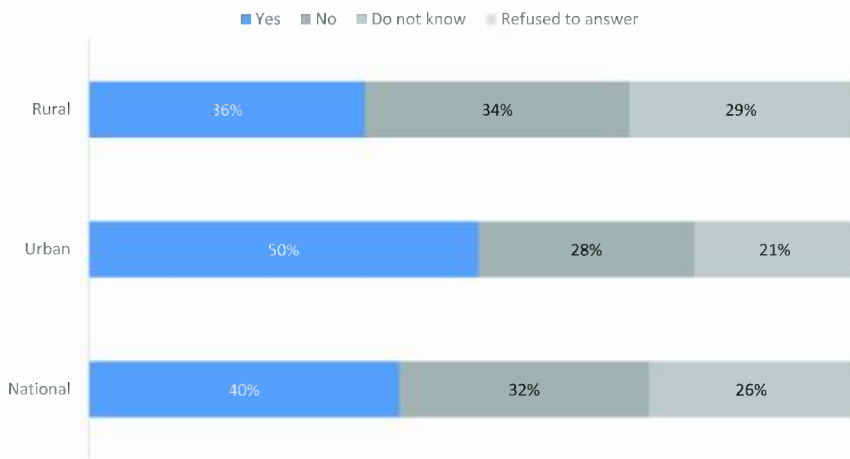
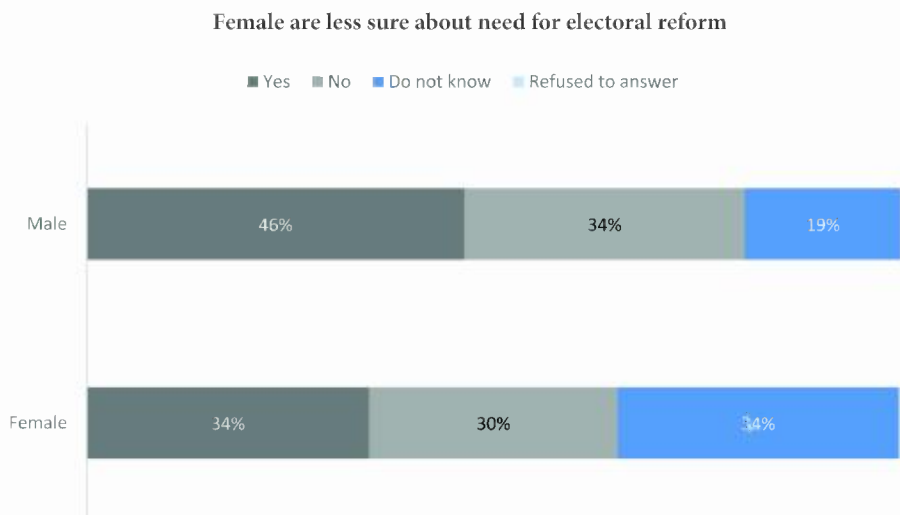


Figure 32: Public opinion on the need for improvements to election process by urban and rural

Women were more likely to say that they did not know if there is need.



*Figure 33: Public opinion on the need for improvements to election process by gender*

Of those respondents who noted a need for improved election processes, PACE asked “*what specifically do you think could be improved in the future?*” recording up to three answers. Sixty-one percent (61%) respondents pointed to the voter list/voter registration as an area for improvement, while 37% noted election day management, and 35% said civic and voter education needed improvement. Electoral fraud and the structure and appointment of the UEC and its sub-commissions were also frequently mentioned. See Figure 35 below to see other priority reform areas for citizens. Although they said there was a need to improve elections, a quarter of respondents said they did not know what specifically could be improved (not shown in chart).



### Electoral aspects that could be improved in the future in order of priority, according to respondents

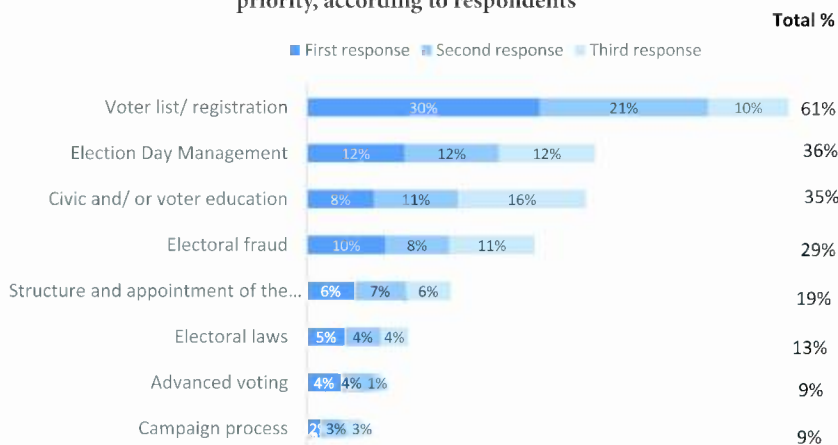


Figure 34: Public opinion on the priorities for improvements to election process

This question was asked only to those respondents who said there's a room for improvement for the next elections. Responses based on the survey question: "What specifically do you think could be improved in the future?" Enumerators were asked to write down the verbatim answers, collecting up to three responses of most important issues.

As the figure below shows, state and regions have different priorities for electoral reform. Regions are more concerned with the voter list and civic education than respondents from states. On the other hand, respondents from states were more concerned with advanced voting than citizens from regions.

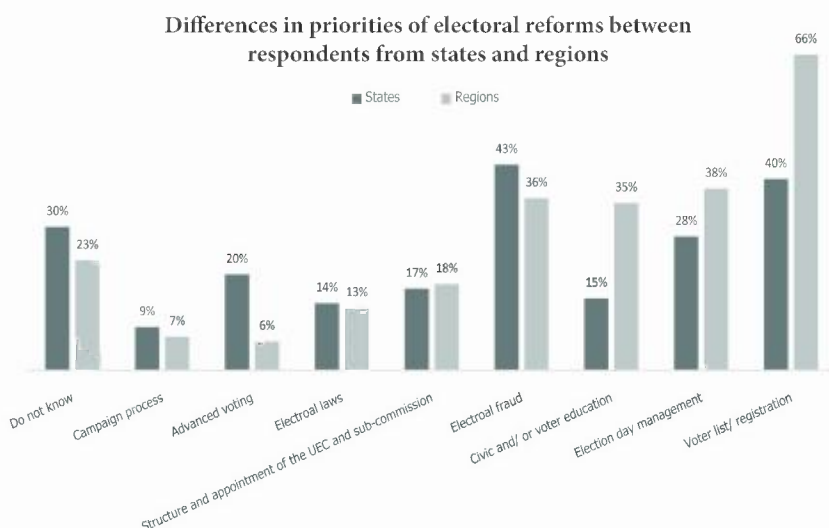
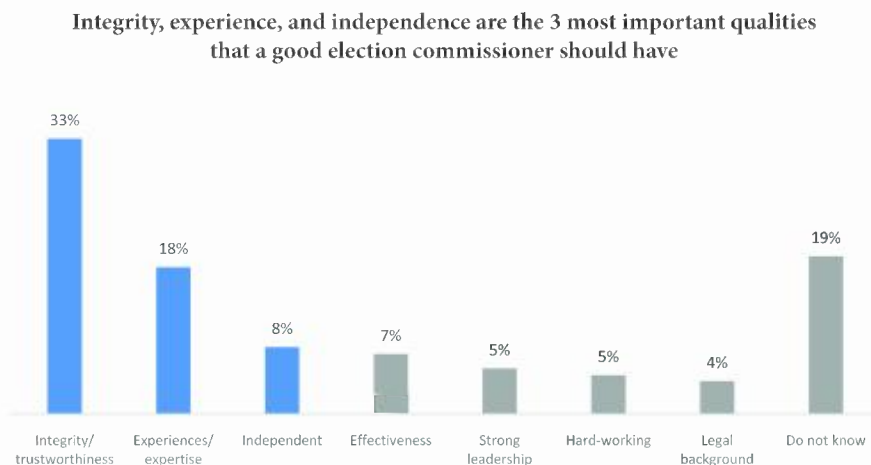


Figure 35: Public opinion on the priorities for improvements to election process by States and Regions

## Views on Important Qualities for Election Commissioners

As the new Union Election Commission is forming at the national and subnational level, PACE measured the public's views on qualities that are important in that role. PACE asked respondents *"What do you think are the most important qualities that a good election commissioner should have?"*. As Figure 37 shows below, one third of respondents said that integrity and trustworthiness are most important, while 18% said experience and expertise were most important and 8% said independence.



*Figure 36: Important qualities for Election Commissioners*

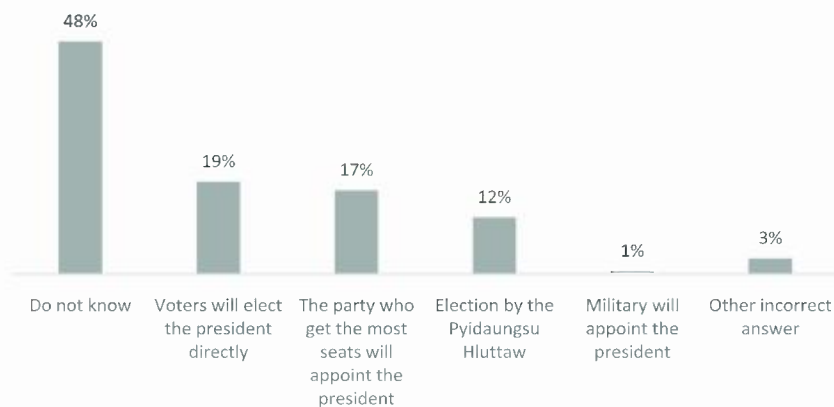
Responses based on the survey question: "What do you think are the most important qualities that a good election commissioner should have?"

# Awareness and Expectations towards the Political Institutions and Newly-elected Officials

## Public Understanding about the Method of Electing the President

To gauge the level of civic knowledge Myanmar's executive branch, PACE asked respondents if they know how the President of Myanmar is elected. Only 12% of respondents correctly answered that the President is elected by the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, while 19% said that voters directly elected the President, 17% said that the party who won the most seats appoints the President, and 48% said they did not know. Women were less knowledgeable than men about how the president is elected.

Only twelve percent can correctly answer how the President is elected



*Figure 37: Public knowledge of the method to elect the President*

Responses based on the survey question: "Do you happen to know how the President is elected?"

There was no change in the percentage of people who could correctly answer how the president is elected between 2016 and 2014, when The Asia Foundation (TAF) asked the same question in its national survey<sup>7</sup>.

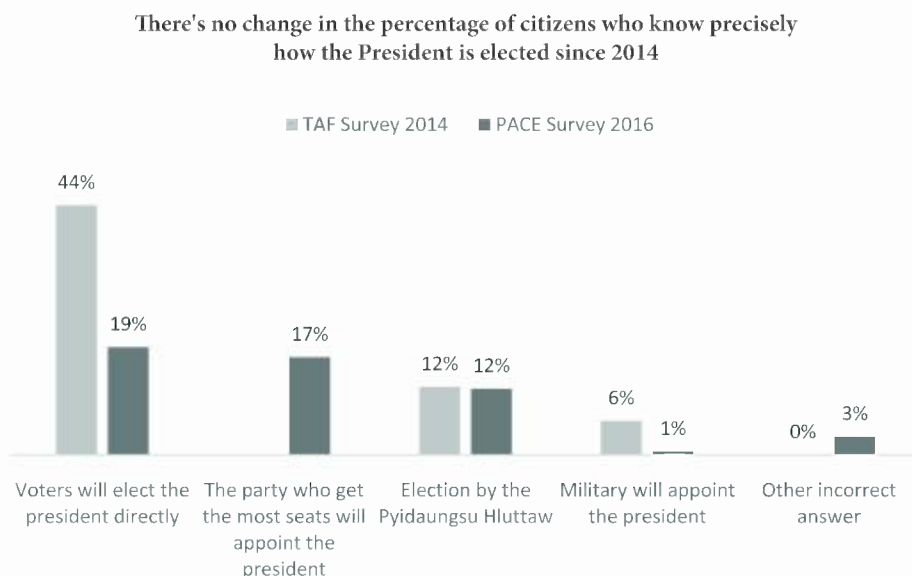


Figure 38: Public knowledge of the method to elect the President: 2014 vs. 2016

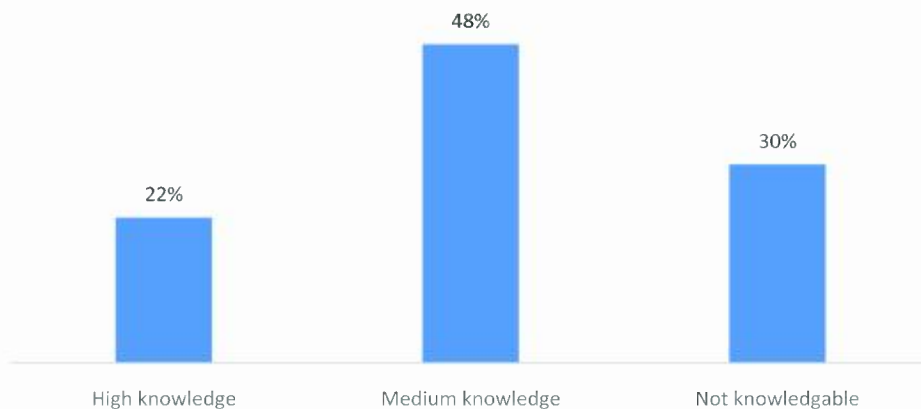
## Knowledge of Government Officials

To measure citizen knowledge of their government representatives and officials, PACE asked respondents: “Do you happen to recall the name of (a) the ward/village tract administrator; and (b) the newly elected member of Pyithu Hluttaw for this constituency?”

Less than a quarter have high-knowledge of their officials, correctly naming both their representative in the Pyithu Hluttaw and their local administrator. Male respondents have a slightly higher knowledge index than female respondents.

<sup>7</sup> The Asia Foundation, *Myanmar 2014: Civic Knowledge and Values in a Changing Society*, 2014. <https://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/MyanmarSurvey20141.pdf>

### Less than a quarter have high knowledge about the names of their government officials

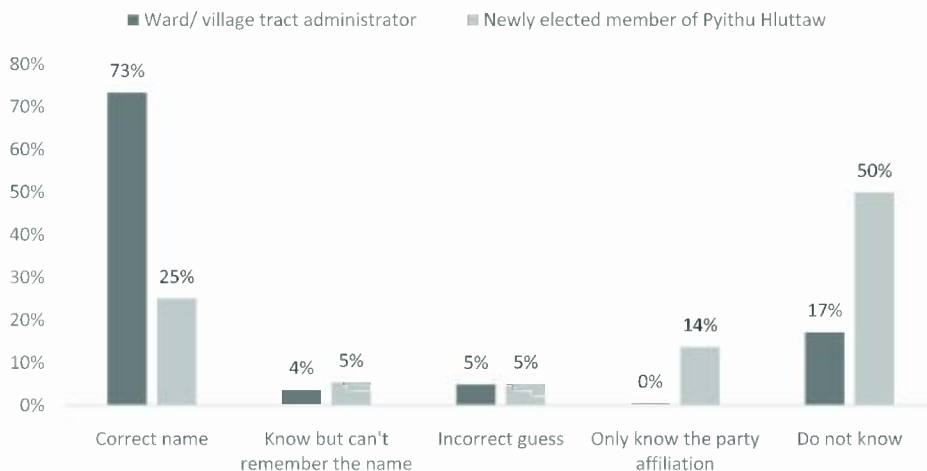


*Figure 39: Knowledge about the names of the government officials*

Responses based on the survey questions: “Do you happen to recall the name of the ward/ village-tract administrator?” and “Do you happen to recall the name of the newly elected member of the Pyithu Hluttaw for this constituency?”. Enumerators and PACE head office later check the accuracy of their answers. Those who answer correctly in both questions would be categorized as high knowledgeable, those who answered only one correct would be categorized as medium knowledge.

The majority of people can name their local administrator (73%), while only 25% can name their member of the Pyithu Hluttaw.

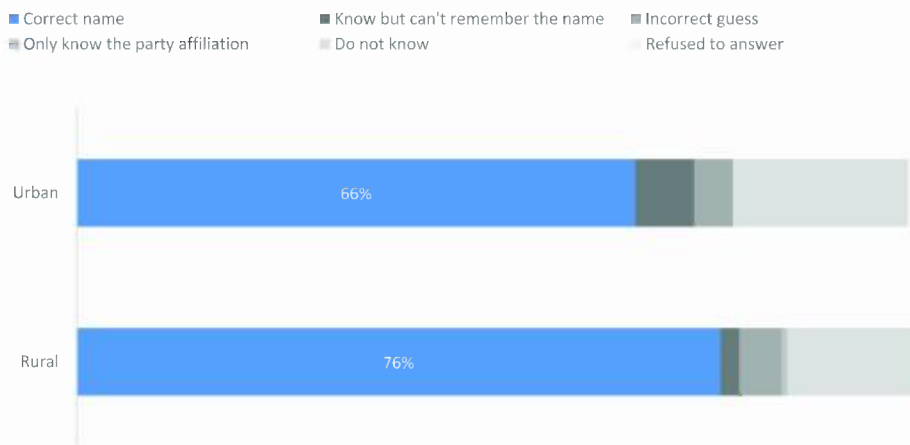
**More people know the names of their ward/ village tract administrator than their representative in the Pyithu Hluttaw**



*Figure 40: Knowledge about the names of the government officials: ward/ village tract administrator vs. Pyithu Hluttaw representative*

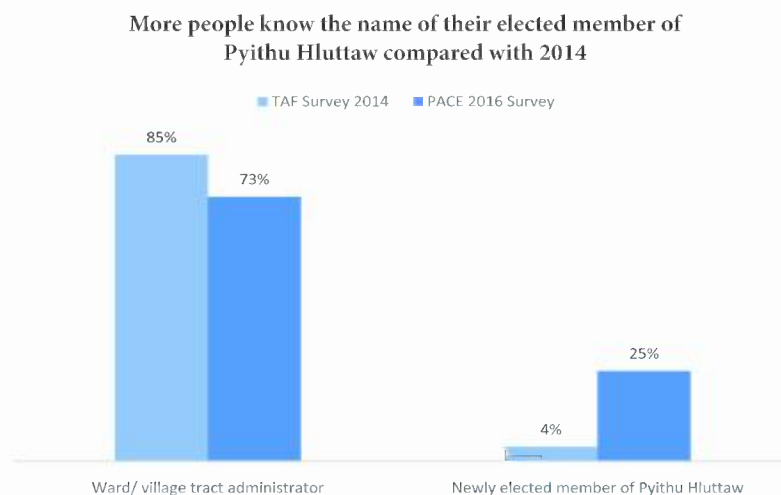
More rural people could name their local official than urban.

**The majority of people could correctly named their ward/ village tract administrator**



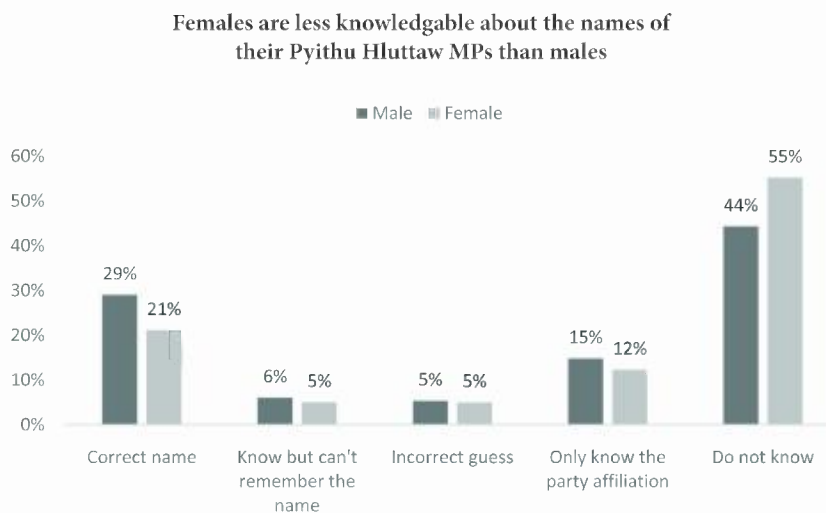
*Figure 41: Knowledge about the names of the government officials: urban vs. rural*

More people could name their MP in 2016 than people in 2014, when The Asia Foundation (TAF) asked a similar question in its national survey<sup>8</sup>. The percentage of people who can name their local administrator decreased slightly since 2014. PACE believes there was a slight decrease because a number of ward and village tract administrators were recently appointed during the time the PACE survey was conducted.



*Figure 42: Knowledge about the names of the elected Pyithu Hluttaw: 2014 vs 2016*

Men were more likely to know the name of their MP than women.



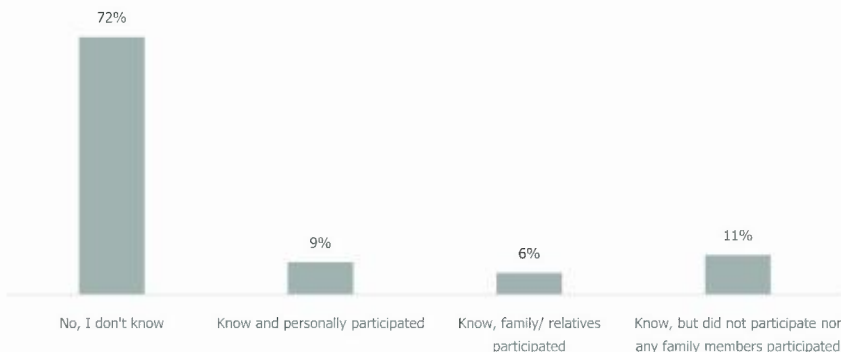
*Figure 43: Knowledge about the names of the Pyithu Hluttaw representatives: men vs. women*

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

## Awareness of MP Activities

PACE asked respondents if they “are aware of any meetings/activities organized by your newly elected MPs in the past 5 months?”. Only one quarter of respondents said they had heard of activities by the MP in the last 5 months (January-May 2016). Nine percent (9%) said they participated personally.

**More than a quarter respondents know about meetings/ activities by their MPs from Jan - May 2016**

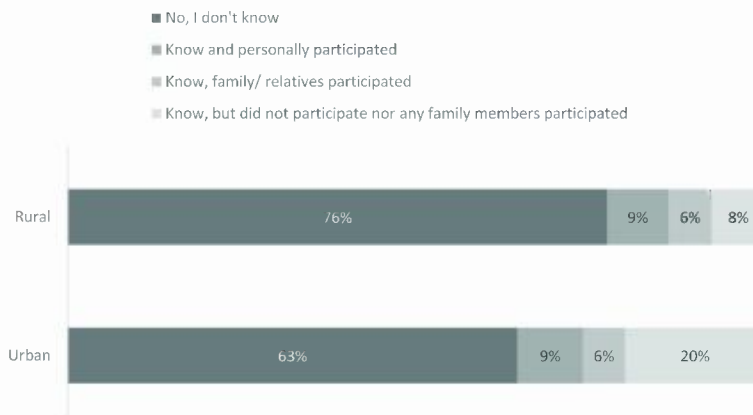


*Figure 44: Public awareness of events by the Members of Parliament*

Responses based on the survey questions: “Are you aware of any meetings/ activities organized by your newly elected MPs in the past 5 months? If yes, did you participate in these meetings/ activities?”.

Urban respondents were more aware of activities of MPs than rural respondents.

**Knowledge about their MP's activities by urban and rural**

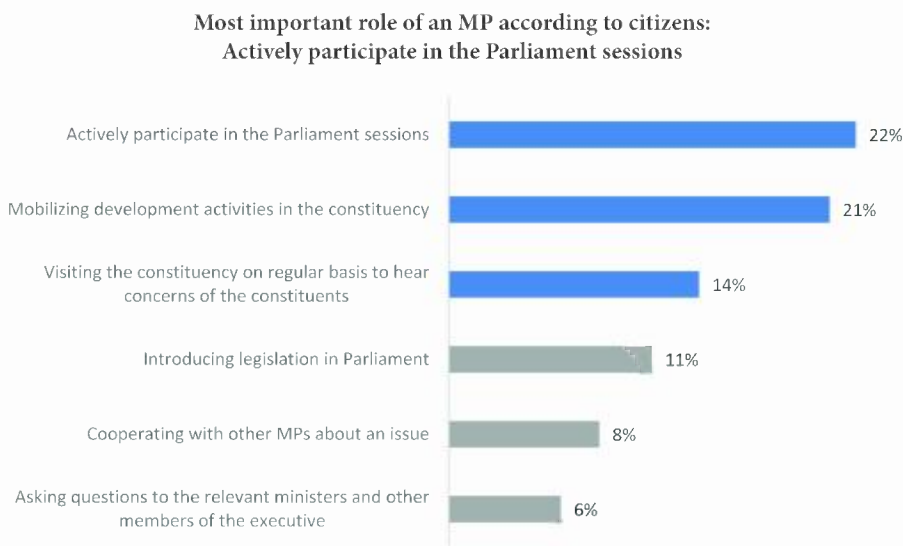


*Figure 45: Public awareness of events by the Members of Parliament: Urban vs. Rural*



## Public Expectations about the Role of MPs

PACE wanted to know how citizens view the role of Members of Parliament. PACE gave respondents a list of ways in which Members of Parliament spend their time and asked them to identify which was most important and which was least important. Twenty-two percent (22%) of respondents said that actively participating in parliament sessions was the most important role of Members of Parliament, while 21% said mobilizing development activities in their constituency was most important, and 14% said visiting and hearing from their constituency was most important.

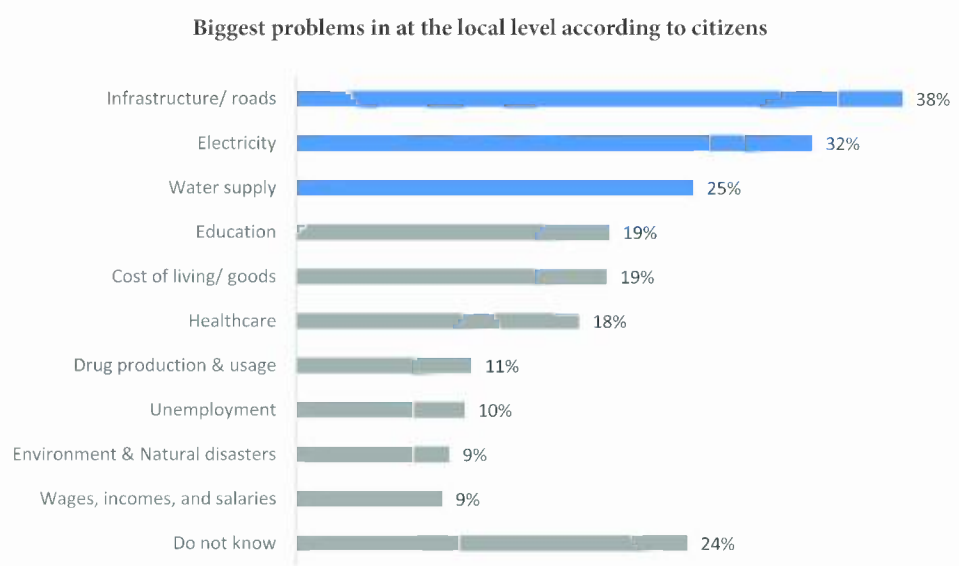


*Figure 46: Public expectations about the roles of Members of Parliament*

Responses based on the survey question: “I am going to read you a list of ways in which Members of Parliament spend their time. I want you to tell me which one do you think is the most important role to the overall performance of an MP?” A show card was used to help the respondents.

# Public Perceptions of Problems that Affect Everyday Life

PACE asked respondents about the problems they faced in their everyday life. Figure 48 below shows the trends of their responses.



*Figure 47: Top 10 Issues of local problems*

Responses based on the survey question: “Thinking about your local community, what are the biggest problems that affects you in your everyday life?” Enumerators would write down the verbatim answers of the respondent, collecting up to three answers in their order of priority.

Looking more closely at the order in which respondents answered, many mentioned issues close to their every-day life. As shown in Figure 49 below, respondents mentioned electricity, cost-of-living, and infrastructure/roads before their mentioned other issues.

### Biggest problems at the local level in order of priority according the respondents

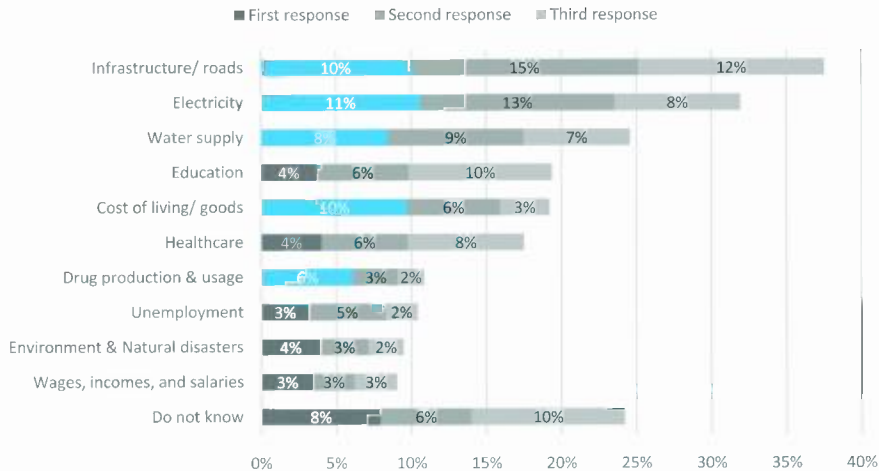


Figure 48: Ranking of priorities of local problems

Respondents in urban areas had different priorities than those in rural areas. By comparing Figure 50 and 51 below, it is clear that urban and rural respondents have different needs at the local level.

### Biggest problems at the local level according to urban respondents

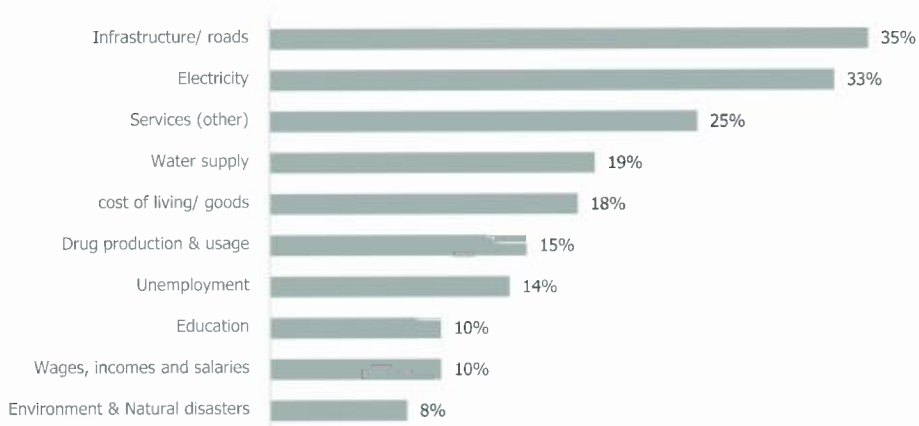
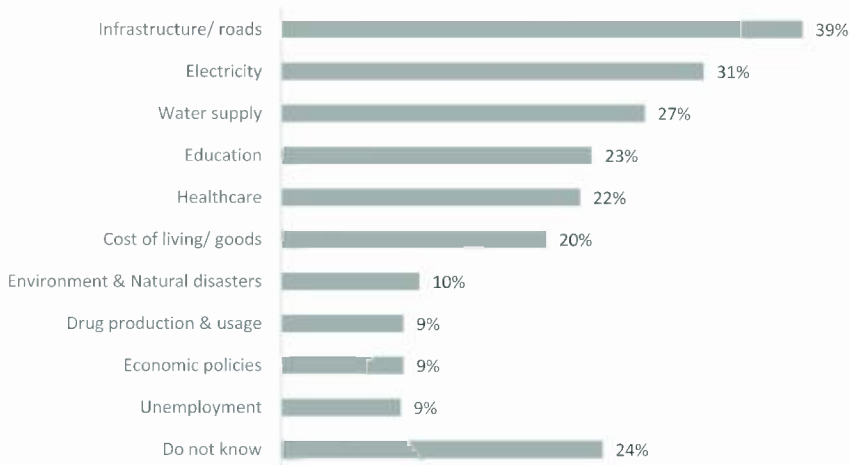


Figure 49: Top 10 of local problems according to urban respondents

### Biggest problems at the local level according to the rural respondents



*Figure 50: Top 10 of local problems according to rural respondents*

## Public Opinion on Priority Issues for the New Government

PACE also asked respondents about problems faced by Myanmar as a whole that the new government should address. Most respondents said that peace and armed conflict was the top priority facing the country (41%), while education (23%) and infrastructure (18%) were also common issues.

### National issues that should be prioritized by the new government in order of priority according to the respondents

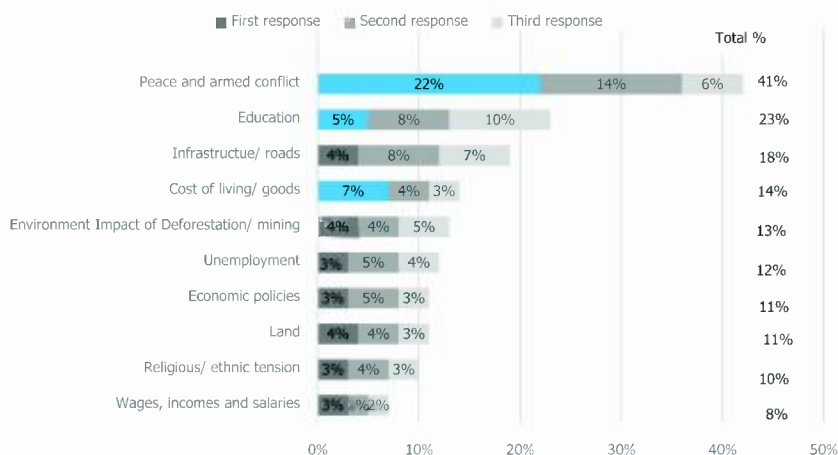


Figure 51: Top 10 of national issues by order of priorities

Responses based on the survey question: “In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing Myanmar as a whole that the new government should address?”. Enumerators would write down the verbatim answers of the respondent, up to three answers in their order of priority.

Figure 53 below shows the trends of their responses. It is notable that 50% of respondents said they “Do not know” which national issues should be addressed, compared with 25% of people who answered “Do not know” for local issues. Rural respondents, women and people from ethnic states were more likely to answer “do not know” about national issues.

### Top 10 priorities national issues that should be prioritized by the new government

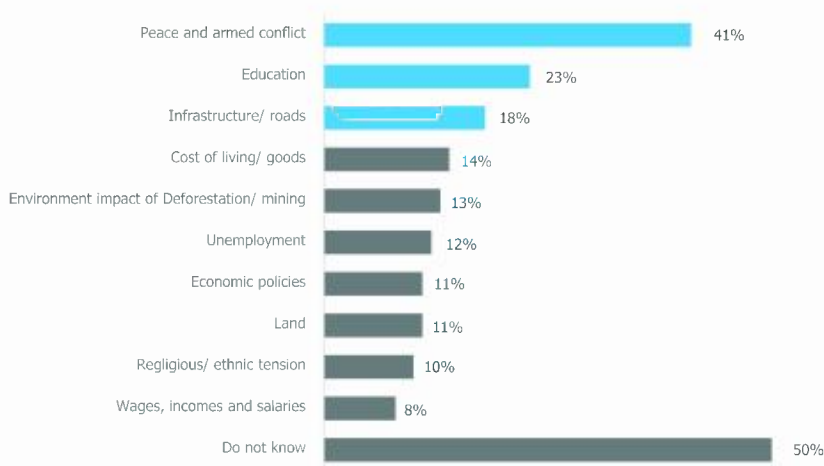
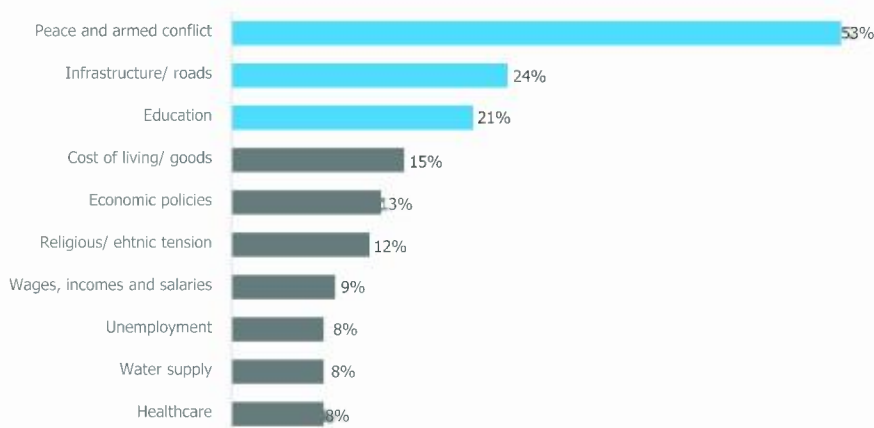


Figure 52: Top 10 of national problems that the New Government should address

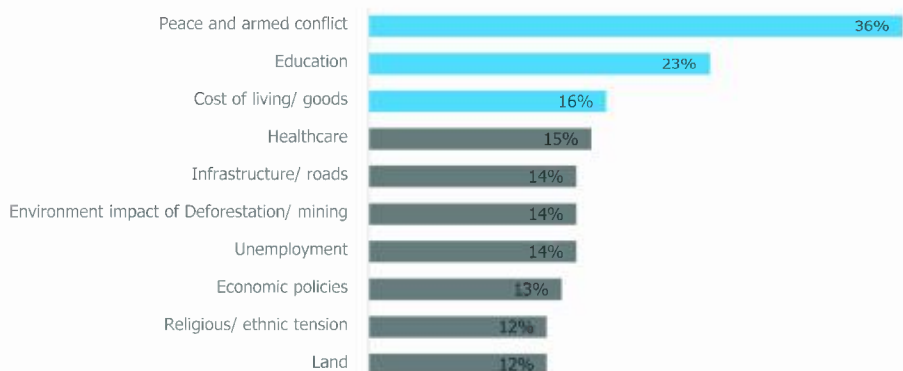
Respondents from states and regions mentioned different priorities, with people in states giving higher priority to peace and armed conflict and infrastructure than those from regions. At the same time, respondents in regions placed higher priority on environmental impact of industries, unemployment and land issues.

**Top 10 priorities of national issues that should be prioritized by the government according to the respondents in the states**



*Figure 53: Top 10 of national problems: according to respondents in the Stat*

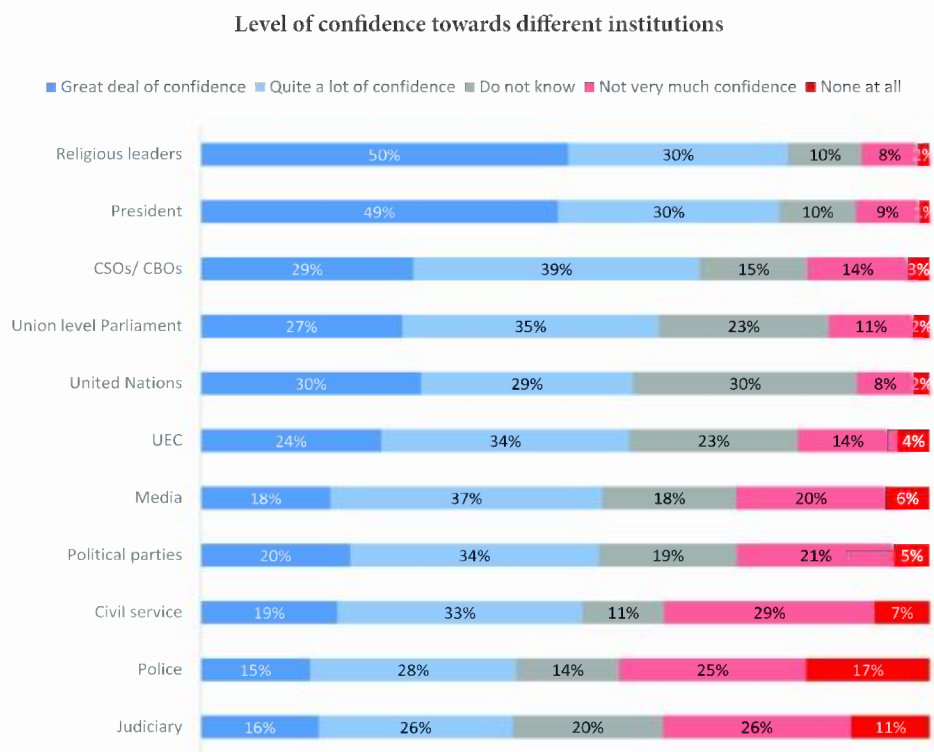
**Top 10 prioritized of national issues that should be prioritized by the government according to the respondents in the regions**



*Figure 54: Top 10 of national problems: according to respondents in the Regions*

## Public Confidence in Institutions

PACE asked citizens how much confidence they had in public and private institutions. Respondents had the most confidence in religious leaders (80%) and the President (79%). Civil society and community-based organizations held the confidence of 68% of respondents, while the Union level parliament held the confidence of 62% of respondents.



*Figure 55: Public confidence towards different institutions*

Responses based on the survey question: "I am going to name a number of institutions. For each one, can you tell me how much confidence you have in them: it is a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence, or none at all?". A show card was used to help respondents.

When looking more closely at how electoral stakeholders are perceived between demographics, different groups had varying levels of confidence in institutions. For example, respondents in states indicated they had less confidence in electoral actors than respondents in regions.

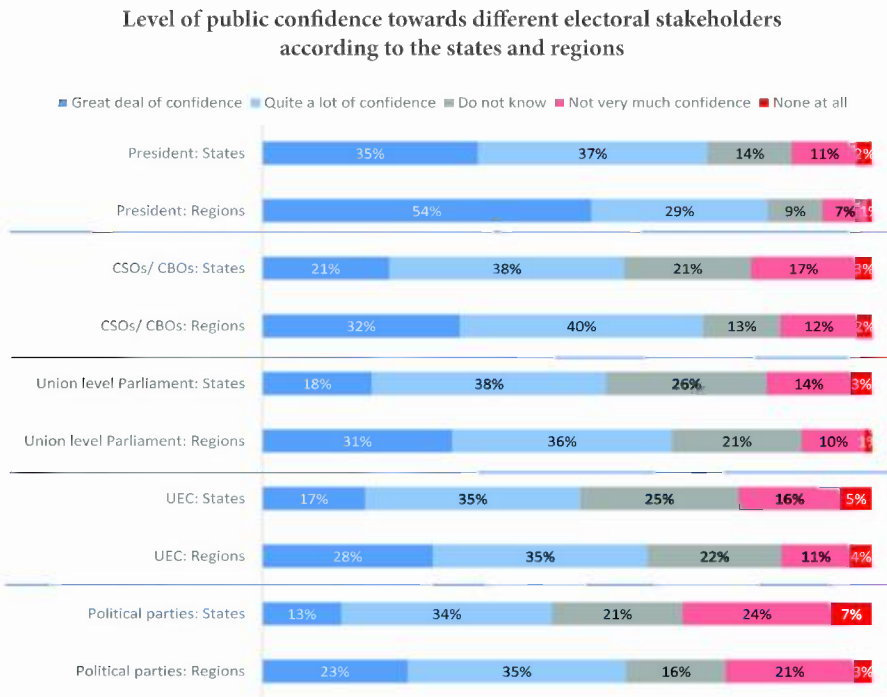
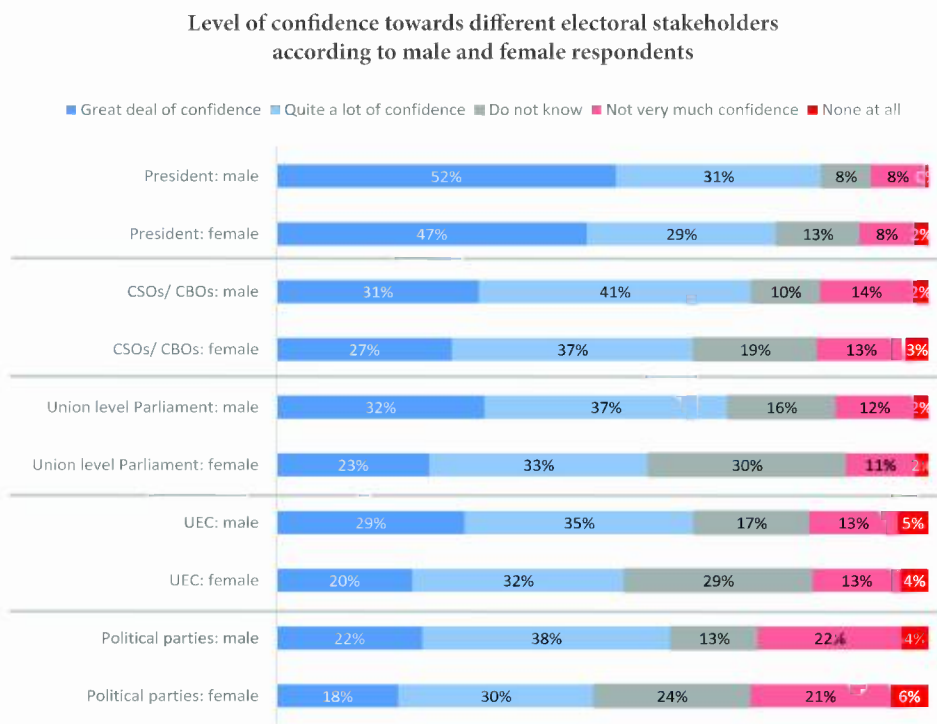


Figure 56: Public confidence towards different electoral stakeholders: by States/ Regions



Women were also less confident in key institutions, such as Union-level parliament and the UEC, and they were more likely than men to say they did not know how to answer.



*Figure 57: Public confidence towards different electoral stakeholders: by gender*



# Appendix 1: Code of Conduct and Statement of Confidentiality

## Code of Conduct and Statement of Confidentiality

I, \_\_\_\_\_ (*print name*), agree to work as an enumerator for the PACE Post-Electoral Survey and hereby pledge to work on in accordance with the guidelines and restrictions specified as follow:

1. I will attend all part of training sessions, participate in the fieldwork, and fully understand my duties as an enumerator;
2. I will not engage in any activities that could be construed as interest for a political party, either directly or indirectly;
3. I will execute my duties professionally, impartially, accurately and timely;
4. I agree to treat as confidential all information obtained while working on this survey and I will keep information confidential during and after my assignment

To fulfill confidentiality obligations, I will:

- a. Only discuss confidential survey information with authorized PACE staff
- b. Store and safeguard confidential survey information as specified by survey protocols
- c. Not photocopy or record by any other means any confidential survey
- d. Not in any way compromise the confidentiality of survey participants
- e. Not allow access to any confidential survey information to unauthorized persons

I will report any lost or misplaced of confidential survey information to my Coordinator immediately.

5. That I further vow to resign from my role as a enumerator if I should develop any conflicts of interest that would hinder me from fulfilling impartially, accurately and in a timely manner my activities or in case of breaching the PACE Code of Conduct.

I understand that compliance with the terms of this agreement is a condition of my employment agreement with PACE and that failure to comply with these terms may result in termination of the employment agreement between me and the PACE.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_



## Appendix 2: Survey Questionnaire

### PACE Post-election Survey Questionnaire Public's Opinions on Elections and Expectations to the New Government

To be completed by PACE Office:

Form Number					

Data Clerk No.

PSU [circle one]	
Urban	1
Rural	2

To be completed by Enumerator

<b>A</b>	Enumerator ID					<b>E</b>	State/Region	
<b>B</b>	PACE Location ID					<b>F</b>	Township	
<b>C</b>	Enumerator Name					<b>G</b>	Ward/ Village tract	
<b>D</b>	Respondent No. (1-10)					<b>H</b>	Village	

#### Step 1: Verifying the selected village

Please make sure that you arrived at the right village.

#### Step 2: Selecting a starting point in the village

- Know the boundaries of your assigned village, draw a sketch of it. You are not allowed to interview people from outside/ different village.
- Know your starting point. Any location ID that its last digit is an odd number (1, 3, 5, 7, or 9) should use one of the landmark in the village boundaries as their starting point. And any location ID that its last digit is an even number (2, 4, 6, 8, or 0) should use one of the landmark in a central location.
- Write down the exact address of the landmark where you started in the map information form.

#### Step 3. Selecting a random household:

- It is your job to select a random (this means any) household. A household is a group of people who presently eat together from the same pot.
- Face the landmark building, turn to your right side and begin walking. Start counting houses/residences using intervals. Use a 10 (for rural village) or 20 (for urban ward) interval pattern to select a household.
- Draw a sketch map of your walk & buildings in the map information form. Identify the houses that you have selected and write down the address.
- If you reach the boundary of the village and there are no more houses, turn at right or left (randomly) and keep walking, continuing to count until finding the tenth dwelling.

#### Step 4a: Approach the household and introduce yourself

When you find a household with someone home, please introduce yourself using the following script. You must learn this introduction so that you can say it exactly as it is written below.

Good day. My name is \_\_\_\_\_. I am from the People's Alliance for Credible Elections (PACE), a non-partisan civil society organization. I do not represent the government or any political party. We are doing a survey about how citizens think about the last elections and democracy in general. We would like to discuss these issues with a member of your household. All information will be kept confidential. Every person in the country has an equal chance of being included in this study. Your household has been chosen by chance. We would like to choose an adult from your household. Would you help us pick one?

**Step 4b. If a visit is unsuccessful or if a consent was not given**

*If a visit is unsuccessful, use the table below to record your progress until you make a successful visit. If no one is at home (i.e., premises empty), return to the house later in the day. If they still are not home, substitute that house by counting to another 10 or 20 households at the end of your walk. If the interview is refused, use your interval (rural or urban) to select a substitute household, counting houses on both the right and the left.*

Household Visits	HH 1	HH 2	HH 3	HH 4	HH 5	HH 6	HH 7
Numbers from the interval process	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Completed interview	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Partly completed interview	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
<b>Reason for failure:</b>							
Refused to be interviewed	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Person selected was never at home after at least two visits	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Household/ premises empty for survey period after at least two visits	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Not a citizen/ spoke only a foreign language	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Deaf/ did not speak a survey language	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
No adults in household	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Other [specify] _____	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
Not applicable	89	89	89	89	89	89	89

*Note: The person must give his or her informed consent by answering positively. If participation is refused, walk away from the household and record this in the above table on "Household Visits." Substitute the household using your interval (10 or 20) to select the next household. If consent is secured, proceed to Step 4 Respondent Selection.*

**Step 5: Identifying eligible respondents**

*Interviewer: Within the household, it is your job to randomly (this means any) select an individual who is 18 years or older. This individual becomes the interview Respondent. Ask for the names of adults in the household by saying:*

A1	This interview must be with a	1. Male	2. Female
----	-------------------------------	---------	-----------

**Please tell me the names of all adults' males/ females [select correct gender] who are citizens of Myanmar, and who presently live in this household. I only want the names of males/ females [select correct gender] who are 18 years and older (including yourself), Please tell me their name even if they are not currently home but who will return to the house later in today or by [your final deployment day].**

**A household is a group of people who presently eat together from the same pot. Could you please list those adults?**

*[Interviewer: If this interview must be with a female, list only woman's names. If this interview is with a male, list only men's names. List all eligible household members of this gender who are 18 years or older (by April 30, 2016), even those not presently at home but will return to the house during your deployment periods. The name of the head of the household will be used for back-check.]*

Name of the Head of Household:	
Men's Names	Woman's names
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
4.	4.
5.	5.
6.	6.
7.	7.
8.	8.
9.	9.
10.	10.

**Step 6: Selecting a respondent in the household**

*[INTERVIEWER! Take out your deck of numbered cards with their numbers representing the names of the people listed above. Present them face-down so that the numbers cannot be seen. Ask the person who is selecting respondents to pick any card, by saying:]*

**Please choose a card. The person who corresponds to the number chosen will be the person interviewed.**

[Interviewer: REMEMBER to circle the code number of the person selected on the table above.]

<b>The person I need to speak to is [insert name] _____. Is this person presently at home?</b>			
Yes	1	No	2
If yes:	<b>May I please interview this person now?</b>		
If no:	<b>Will this person return here at any time today [or tomorrow or the day after tomorrow]? (Interviewer: Only say according to the remaining deployment day)</b>		
	Yes	1	No 2
	<b>If yes:</b> <b>Please tell this person that I will return for an interview at [insert convenient time].</b>  <i>If this respondent is not present when you call back, replace this household with another by doing one more interval count after the last household on your random walk.</i>		<b>If no:</b> <b>Thank you very much. I will select another household.</b>  <i>You can't substitute an alternate member of a household for the selected respondent.</i>

#### Step 7: Asking permission for an interview

*If the selected respondent is not the same person that you first met, repeat Introduction:*

**Good day. My name is \_\_\_\_\_. I am from the People's Alliance for Credible Elections (PACE), a non-partisan civil society organization. I do not represent the government or any political party. We are doing a survey about how citizens think about the last elections and democracy in general. We would like to discuss these issues with a member of your household.**

*The following scripts need to be read for all respondents including the one that you have given the introduction before.*

**All information will be kept confidential. They will be put together with 2,000 other people we are talking to, to get an overall picture. So it will be possible to pick you out from what you say. So please feel free to tell us what you think.**

**This survey should take about 20-30 minutes to complete. There is no penalty for refusing to participate and you can refuse to answer any question if you want to, or stop the interview at any time. There are not direct benefits to taking part but no risks either, and we hope that by contributing to this survey you will contributing to Myanmar's future. There are no right or wrong answers. Do you wish to proceed?**



You can continue with the interview, if the person must give his or her informed consent by answering positively.

**A2 Visits.** How many visits were made to the household where the interview actually took place?

Circle number		
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>

**A3 Date of interview**

[Interviewer: Enter day, month, and year. Here is an example how to enter in. If the interview is on 9 April 2016, then you enter 09 in day, 04 in month, and 2016 in year]

--	--

Day

--	--

Month

--	--	--	--

Year

**A4 Time when the interview started**

[Interviewer: Enter hour and minutes, use 24 hr. clock and be exact.]

--	--

Hour

--	--

Minute

**A5 Gender** [Interviewer: Do not ask. Enter respondent's gender]

Male <b>1</b>	Female <b>2</b>
------------------	--------------------

## **START THE INTERVIEW**

Now, I would like to start by asking some general questions about democracy and elections.

**Q1 How interested would you say you are politics? Are you: very interested, somewhat interested, not too interested, or not at all interested?**

*[Circle correct response number]*

Very interested	1
Somewhat interested	2
Not too interested	3
Not at all interested	4
Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	98
Refused to answer <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

**Q2 Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted OR that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?** *[Circle correct response number]*

Most people can be trusted	1
Need to be very careful	2
Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	98
Refused to answer <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

**Q3 Here is a list of groups and organizations; Could you please tell me if you have often, sometimes, or never participated in the following types of meetings or activities over the past year.** *[Interviewer: read choices. Circle correct response number]*

	Often	Sometimes	Never	Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	Refused to answer <i>[Do not read]</i>
<b>(a) Cultural groups</b>	1	2	3	98	99
<b>(b) Sport groups</b>	1	2	3	98	99
<b>(c) Worker associations</b>	1	2	3	98	99

- Q4** Here is a list of actions that citizens sometimes take. For each of these, please tell me whether you personally have done any of these things during the past year [if yes, read out options 5, 4, and 3]. If not, would you do this if you had the chance? [For no, read out option 2 and 1].

	Yes			No		Refused to answer [DNR]
	Often	Several times	Once or twice	Would if had the chance	Would never do this	
<b>(a) Attended a community gathering</b>	5	4	3	2	1	99
<b>(b) Attended a voter/civic education meeting</b>	5	4	3	2	1	99
<b>(c) Signed a petition</b>	5	4	3	2	1	99

- Q5** How much respect is there for human rights nowadays in Myanmar? Would you say there is: a lot of respect for human rights, some respect, not much respect, or no respect? [Circle correct response number]

A lot of respect for human rights	1
Some respect	2
Not much respect	3
No respect	4
Do not know [Do not read]	98
Refused to answer [Do not read]	99

- Q6** If you had to choose, which would you say is the governments' most important responsibility:

- a) To maintain order in society? OR  
b) To maintain freedom of individual?

[Circle correct response number]

A. To maintain order in society	1
B. To maintain freedom of the individual	2
Do not know [Do not read]	98
Refused to answer [Do not read]	99

**Q7 I am going to read out two statements. Please tell me which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2**

*[Interviewer: Probe the strength of opinion by asking 'Do you agree or agree very strongly?']*

<b>Statement 1: Citizens should be more active in questioning the actions of national leaders.</b>		<b>Statement 2: In our country, citizens should show more respect for authority.</b>	
Agree very strongly with statement 1	Agree with Statement 1	Agree with Statement 2	Agree very strongly with Statement 2
1	2	3	4
Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>			98

**Q8 I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, can you tell me how much confidence you have in them: it is a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence, or none at all. *[Interviewer: You can use***

*showcard. Note that this question pertains to the current/ new institutions.]*

	Great deal of confidence	Quite a lot of confidence	Not very much confidence	None at all	Do not know <i>[DNR]</i>	Refused to answer <i>[DNR]</i>
<b>(a) President</b>	1	2	3	4	98	99
<b>(b) Union-level Parliament</b>	1	2	3	4	98	99
<b>(c) Judiciary</b>	1	2	3	4	98	99
<b>(d) Civil service/ bureaucracy</b>	1	2	3	4	98	99
<b>(e) Political parties</b>	1	2	3	4	98	99
<b>(f) Police</b>	1	2	3	4	98	99
<b>(g) Media</b>	1	2	3	4	98	99
<b>(h) CSOs/ CBOs</b>	1	2	3	4	98	99
<b>(i) UEC</b>	1	2	3	4	98	99
<b>(j) Religious leaders</b>	1	2	3	4	98	99
<b>(k) The United Nations</b>	1	2	3	4	98	99

**Q9** In the 2015 elections, some people voted and some people did not for various reasons. Can you please tell me if you voted or not?

Yes	→[Go to Question 11]	1
No	→[Go to Question 10]	2
Refused to answer	[Do not read]	99

**Q10** [Only for those who did not vote] What was the main reason you DID NOT vote? [Interviewer: Do not read response. Try to match response to one of these categories. Otherwise, use "other"]

The election was cancelled in my hometown/ place of residency	1
I was unsure of how or where to vote	2
I don't care/ lack of interest	3
I didn't have national ID or supplementary registration/ voting document	4
My registration place is far from where I live	5
I was busy/ I was sick	6
Physical or disability reason	7
I didn't like any of the parties/ candidates (no choice)	8
Inconvenient hours or polling place/lines too long	9
I worried about personal security	10
My name was not on the voter list	11
I was not eligible (underage, monk, or in prison)	12
Other, specify	13
Do not know [Do not read]	98
Refused to answer [Do not read]	99

[Continue to Question 12]

**Q11** [Only for those who voted] What was the main reason you voted in this election? [Interviewer: Do not read response. Try to match response to one of these categories. Otherwise, use "other"]

To support a political party/ candidate	1
To oppose a political party/ candidate	2
It is a civic duty to vote	3
Because I think it is important to vote	4
Out of habit (I always vote)	5
Choosing my representative	6
Because a family member, a friend, or other person encouraged me to vote	7
It allows me to express my opinion	8
Other, specify	9
Do not know [Do not read]	98
Refused to answer [Do not read]	99

- Q12 In many countries, independent civil society groups observe elections. Do you recall hearing any of independent civil society groups observe the 2015 elections?**

Yes	1
No	2
Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	98
Refused to answer <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

- Q13 Do you think that the involvement of domestic election observers helps guarantee transparent elections?**

Very helpful	1
They can help a little	2
I doubt they can help	3
It is no use at all	4
Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	98
Refused to answer <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

- Q14 Do you think that the involvement of international election observers helps guarantee transparent elections?**

Very helpful	1
They can help a little	2
I doubt they can help	3
It is no use at all	4
Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	98
Refused to answer <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

- Q15 How satisfied are you with the 2015 elections? Are you: very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied.**

*[Circle correct response number]*

Very satisfied	1
Somewhat satisfied	2
Somewhat dissatisfied	3
Very dissatisfied	4
Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	98
Refused to answer <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

**Q16 Who do you trust the most to provide you with an objective assessment about the electoral processes?** [Interviewer: Do not read options. If respondent only answer one answer, ask 'Who is the other body/ institution?']

The president	1
Member of Parliament	2
Party leaders/ political party	3
UEC/ election management bodies	4
Domestic observers	5
International observers	6
Government	7
Media	8
Myself	9
Other	10
Nobody	11
Do not know [Do not read]	98
Refused to answer [Do not read]	99

**Q17 In your opinion, is there any aspect of the 2015 election processes that could be improved in the future?** [Interviewer: Circle correct response number]

Yes [Go to Question 17b]	1
No	2
Do not know [Do not read]	98
Refused to answer [Do not read]	99

Q17  
→ (b)

[Only for those who answer yes] **What specifically do you think could be improved in the future?** [Interviewer: Write down the verbatim answer of the respondent. Accept up to three answers. If respondent offers more than three options, ask "Which of these are the three most important? If respondent offers one answer, ask "Anything else?"]

First response	
Second response	
Third response	

- Q18 What do you think are the most important qualities that a good election commissioner should have?** *[Interviewer: Do not read options. Try to match response to one of these categories. Note that this question pertains to both commissioner at the national level and the sub-commissions.]*

Independent	1
Experiences/ expertise	2
Hard-working	3
Legal background	4
Integrity/ trustworthiness	5
Effectiveness	6
Strong leadership	7
Other, specify _____	8
Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	98
Refused to answer <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

- Q19 Do you happen to know how the President is elected?** *[Interviewer: Do not read options. Try to match response to one of these categories.]*

Voters will elect the president directly	1
The party who get the most seats will appoint the president	2
Election by the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw	3
Military will appoint the president	4
Other incorrect answer	5
Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	98
Refused to answer <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

- Q20 Do you happen to recall the name of:** *[Interviewer: Write down respondent's answer. Then circle correct code. You do not need to circle the code during the interview. If you do not know correct name, consult your supervisor, fill in the correct name, tell the respondent, and circle relevant code]*

	Correct name	Know but can't remember the name	Incorrect guess	Only know the party affiliation	Do not know [DNR]	Refused to answer [DNR]
<b>(a) The ward/ village-tract administrator?</b>						
Name: _____	1	2	3	4	98	99
<i>[Correct answer is: _____]</i>						
<b>(b) The newly elected member of Pyithu Hluttaw for this constituency?</b>						
Name: _____	1	2	3	4	98	99
<i>[Correct answer is: _____]</i>						



**Q21** I am going to read you a list of ways in which Members of Parliament spend their time. I want you to tell me which one do you think is:

- a) The most important role to the overall performance of an MP; and
- b) The least important priority of an MP.

*[Use showcard. Tick in the respondent's answer as the most important and least important – tick one answer for most important and tick answer for least important. Note that this question pertains to both Pyithu and Amoytha Hluttaw]*

	Most important	Least Important
<b>(a) Actively participate in the Parliament sessions</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>(b) Introducing legislation in Parliament</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>(c) Cooperating with other MPs about an issue</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>(d) Asking questions to the relevant ministers and other members of the executive</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>(e) Visiting the constituency on regular basis to hear concerns of the constituents</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>(f) Mobilizing development activities in the constituency</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Q22** Are you aware of any meetings/ activities organized by your newly elected MPs  
(a) in the past 5 months? *[Interviewer: Circle correct response number]*

Yes, I am aware	1
No, I don't know	2
Refused to answer <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

**Q22** *[Only for those who answer yes]* Did you participate in these meetings/  
(b) activities? *[Interviewer: probe whether they attend the meetings or their relatives attend it]*

Yes, I personally participated	1
My family/ relatives did	2
No	3
Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	98
Refused to answer <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

- Q23 Thinking about your local community, what are the biggest problems that affects you in your everyday life?** *[Write down the verbatim answer of respondent's answers. Accept up to three answers. If respondent offers more than three options, ask "Which three of these are the most important? If respondent offers one or two answers, ask "Is there anything else?"]*

(1) First mention	
(2) Second mention	
(3) Third mention	

- Q24 In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing MYANMAR as a whole that the new government should address?** *[Write down the verbatim answer of respondent's answers. Accept up to three answers. If respondent offers more than three options, ask "Which three of these are the most important? If respondent offers one or two answers, ask "Is there anything else?"]*

(1) First mention	
(2) Second mention	
(3) Third mention	

**Before we end this interview, I want to ask a few questions about your own background. This will help us to make sure that the data we have is representative.**

**Could you please tell me, in what year were you born?**

- Q25** *[Interviewer: Enter a four digit number. If they don't know the year of their birth, ask for their age. Don't know/ refused to answer = 995]*

Year of birth

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Age

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**Q26 What is the highest level of education you have completed?***[Interviewer: Code from answer. Do not read options]*

Never went to school	1
Informal school only	2
Some primary schooling	3
Primary school completed	4
Some secondary school/ high school	5
Secondary school/ high school completed	6
Post-secondary qualifications, other than university, e.g. diploma or degree from a polytechnic or college	7
Some university	8
University completed	9
Post-graduate	10
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	98
Refused to answer <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

**Q27 What is your current occupation?***[Interviewer: Code from answer. Do not read options]*

Unemployed	1
Farmer	2
Laborer, domestic, or unskilled worker	3
School/ university teacher	4
Self-employed	5
Professional (ex. lawyer, doctor)	6
Trader	7
Employed in private sector/ NGOs	8
Civil servant	9
Military/ police	10
Student	11
Housewife	12
Retired	13
Other, <i>specify:</i> _____	14
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	98
Refused to answer <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

**Q28 What is your marital status?** *[Interviewer: Do not read options]*

Married	1
Single	2
Divorced	3
Widowed	4
Refused to answer <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

**Q29 Here is a list of family monthly income categories. Which categories come closest to representing the total income for your household?**

*[Interviewer: READ OUT OPTIONS]*

Under 50,000 Ks	1
50,000 Ks – 100,000 Ks	2
100,000 Ks – 200,000 Ks	3
200,000 Ks – 300,000 Ks	4
300,000 Ks – 400,000 Ks	5
Over 400,000 Ks	6
Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	98
Refused to answer <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

**That completes the interview. Thank you for taking the time to participate in this survey.**

### **END THE INTERVIEW**

**B1 Time when the interview ended**

*[Interviewer: Enter hour and minutes, use 24 hr. clock and be exact.]*

--	--

Hour

--	--

Minute

#### **INTERVIEWER ONLY**

All subsequent questions should be answered immediately after the interview is concluded. Do NOT ask the respondent the questions below. Complete on your own.

**B2** Were there any other people immediately present who might be listening during the interview?

No one	1
Spouse only	2
Children only	3
A few others	4
Small crowd	5
Do not know	98

**B3 Please complete the following assessment**

	Yes	No
(a) Did the respondent check with others for information to answer any question?	1	2
(b) Do you think anyone influenced the respondent's answers during the interview?	1	2
(c) Were you approached by community and/ or government agents?	1	2
(d) Did you feel intimidated during the interview?	1	2
(e) Were you physically threatened during the interview?	1	2

*Please make sure that every single questions have any answer circled. If you haven't received the name of the ward/ village-tract administrator from your supervisor during the training, please get the name from the village administration office AFTER the interview.*

#### **SIGNATURE PAGE**

**Interviewer:** Do you have any other comments on the interview? For an example, did anything else significant happen during the interview?

Yes, explain:	1
No	2

I hereby certify that this interview was conducted in accordance with instructions received during training. All responses recorded here are those of the respondent who was chosen by the appropriate selection method.

Enumerator Signature:

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ပြည်သူများပူးပေါင်းလှုပ်ရှားမှုအဖွဲ့

PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE FOR CREDIBLE ELECTIONS

# Post Elections Survey 2016

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