# Audit of Political Engagement, 2019: A Health-check for Myanmar's Democracy

Photo: Noel Aung















### About the Audit

This Audit of Political Engagement (APE) is a health check on Myanmar's democratic heartbeat. The first study of its kind conducted in Myanmar, the audit gauges public attitudes towards politics, measures knowledge about the political system, and provides a baseline assessment of the general health of democracy in the country.

This APE report presents findings from an in-person public opinion survey conducted in 2019 among respondents aged 18 and older and interviews with key informants across six states and regions.

The APE survey was designed and conducted as a collaboration between seven partner organizations - Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation (EMReF-Yangon Region), Hluttaw Lane (Magway Region), Karen Affairs Committee (KAC-Karen State), Naushaung Development Institute (NDI-Kachin State), Stars Do Shine (SDS-Shan State), and Tavoyan Women's Union (Tanintharyi Region). Data collection was conducted between July and August 2019. Throughout, EMReF worked closely with the Hansard Society (UK) - a research charity working in the UK and around the world to promote democracy and strengthen parliaments.

This report covers five key themes – (1) Satisfaction with infrastructure provision, economic status and security; (2) Public Perceptions of the present government, MPs' performance and trust in armed actors; (3) Public Knowledge about the political system; (4) Political Participation; (5) Sources of political information.

Details of the survey methodology and of crosstabulation analysis, accounting for key demographics, are presented at the end of this report.

Having lived for many decades under highly authoritarian systems of government, the majority of citizens of Myanmar have only recently begun to participate in democratic politics. This Audit of Political Engagement is thus an exercise in civic participation. By repeating the exercise in future years, EMReF's intention is to contribute to the culture and practice of citizens' engagement in politics in Myanmar.

### Myanmar Audit of Political Engagement, 2019: Five Key Findings

1.Satisfaction with infrastructure, economic status and security

People are mostly positive about improvements in local infrastructure and the economic status of their household. Most people in non-conflict areas feel secure in their neighborhoods. 2. Public Perceptions of the present government, MPs' performance, and trust in armed actors

While people are satisfied with improvements under the present government, the audit identified low levels of communication between individual MPs and their constituents. To a significant extent, people expressed a lack of trust in armed actors. 3. Public Knowledge about the political system

People lack basic political knowledge; a majority do not know how parliaments can help them. 4. Political Participation

While most respondents said they were certain to vote in the 2020 election, levels of participation in political campaigns and demonstrations remain low. 5. Sources of Political Information

Facebook is the most widely used source of political information. Family members and friends serve as the main source for local news.

#### 1. Satisfaction with infrastructure, economic status and security



People are mostly positive about improvements in local infrastructure and the economic status of their household. Most people in non-conflict areas feel secure in their neighborhoods.

- 81% of survey respondents said infrastructures in their locality had improved to a moderate or high extent.
- 77% of survey respondents said the economic status of their household had improved to a moderate or high extent in the last year.
- Overall 66% of respondents reporting feeling highly secure in their residential area; a figure that rises to 77% in non-conflict areas.

2. Public Perceptions of the present government, MPs' performance, and trust in armed actors



While people are satisfied with improvements under the present government, the audit identified low levels of communication between individual MPs and their constituents. To a significant extent, people expressed a lack of trust in armed actors.

- 81% of survey respondents reported moderate or high levels of satisfaction with improvements brought about under the current government
- Only 41% of respondents say that their MP keeps in touch with the people of the constituency; 57% say MPs are not in touch with the people.
- 37% of respondents don't think their MP would respond to an individual request for help.
- 43% of respondents said they had no trust in armed actors such as the Tamadaw, police and ethnic armed organizations.



3. Public Knowledge about the political system

People lack basic political knowledge; a majority do not know how parliaments can help them.

- 45% of respondents could identify the name of the current president; but only 6% could correctly say the names of the speakers of their respective state/region parliaments.
- 61% of respondents were unaware of how MPs can help them; 52% do not know how their respective state/region parliaments can help the public.
- 35% of respondents were aware that Hluttaw meetings are open to be observed by the general public; 59% were aware that parliamentary plenary meetings are open to be observed by journalists and media.



While most respondents said they were certain to vote in the 2020 election, levels of participation in political campaigns and demonstrations remain low.

- 80% of respondents said that they were certain to vote in the 2020 election. Even in conflict-affected and tension areas, certainty to vote was high 75% and 83% respectively.
- 53% of respondents said they were very interested in participating in activities that would benefit the country. Involvement in political activities was widely agreed to be beneficial for the development of Myanmar.
- 4% of respondents reported having participated in demonstrations or political campaigns
- 15% said that they have either met in person or sent letters to key political figures and authorities to request policy change or improvements.



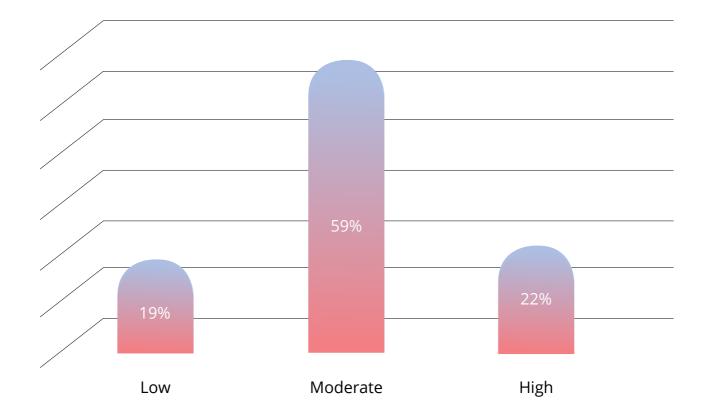
Facebook is the most widely used source of political information. Family members and friends serve as the main source for local news.

- 25% of respondents the largest percentage use Facebook as their primary source of political information. 15% say they do not use any information source.
- Overall, 40% of respondents received political information via Facebook while 25% said it was their primary source of political information.
- 56% of respondents say they primarily receive local information (what's happening in their towns) through family members or friends.
- 93% who use Facebook say they mainly use Burmese for their communication.

### **Key Finding 1** Satisfaction with infrastructure, economic status and security

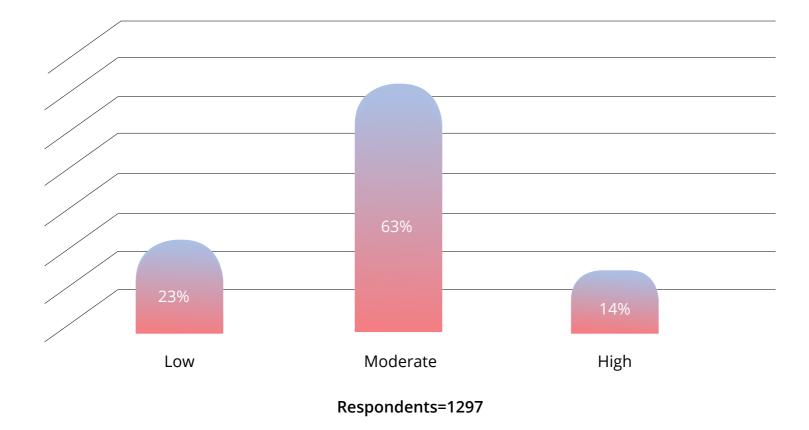
• People are mostly positive about improvements in local infrastructure and the economic status of their household. Most people in non-conflict areas feel secure in their neighborhoods.

# 81% of survey respondents said infrastructures in their locality had improved to a moderate or high extent



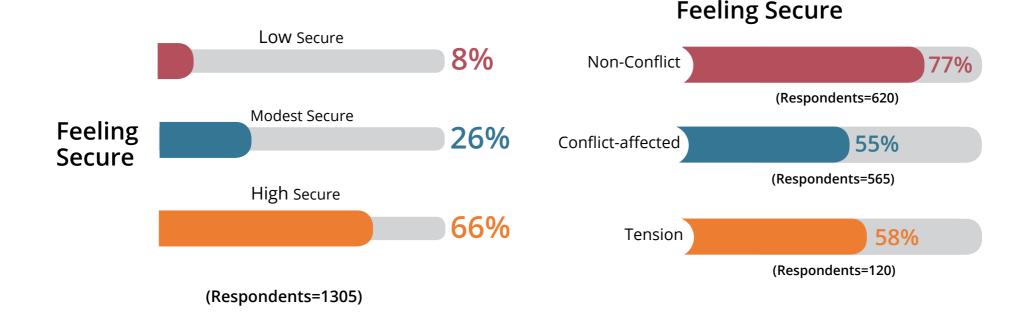
Q: Respondents are asked about their perception of improvements in local infrastructure including (1) Electricity (2) Telephone connections. (3) Road infrastructure in communities and neighborhoods. A Likert scale ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 10 (totally agree) is used to identify respondents' level of agreement or disagreement on the statements.

# 77% of survey respondents said the economic status of their household had improved to a moderate or high extent



Q: Respondents were shown the statement: "my household's economy status is improved within this year." A Likert scale ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 10 (totally agree) is used to identify respondents' level of agreement or disagreement on the statements.

# 66% feel highly secure in their residential area; in non-conflict areas this rises to 77%.



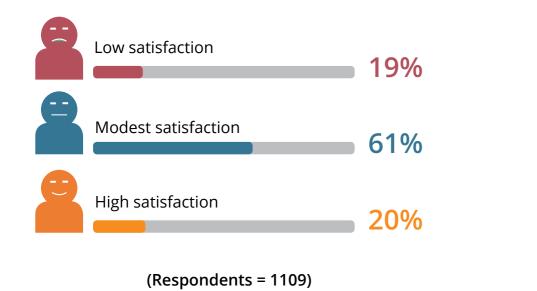
Q: Respondents were shown the statement: "I feel secure in my residential ward or village. A Likert scale ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 10 (totally agree) is used to identify respondents' level of agreement or disagreement on the statements. Level of feeling safety is coded "Low" for scores of 1 to 4, modest for scores 5 to 7, and high for scores 8 to 10.

### **Detailed findings 2:**

Public Perceptions of the present government, MPs' performance, and trust in armed actors

 While people are satisfied with improvements under the present government, the audit identified low levels of communication between individual MPs and their constituents. To a significant extent, people expressed a lack of trust in armed actors.

#### 81% of survey respondents reported moderate or high levels of satisfaction with improvements brought about under the current government

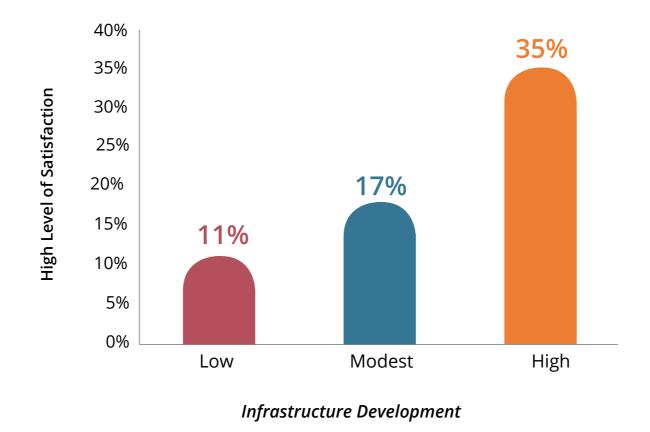


They [MPs] say that they will visit, but then they don't turn up. It is for sure that they have not kept pace with political change and the transition to democracy.

(Spokesperson from a local CSO, Dawei, Tanintharyi Region)

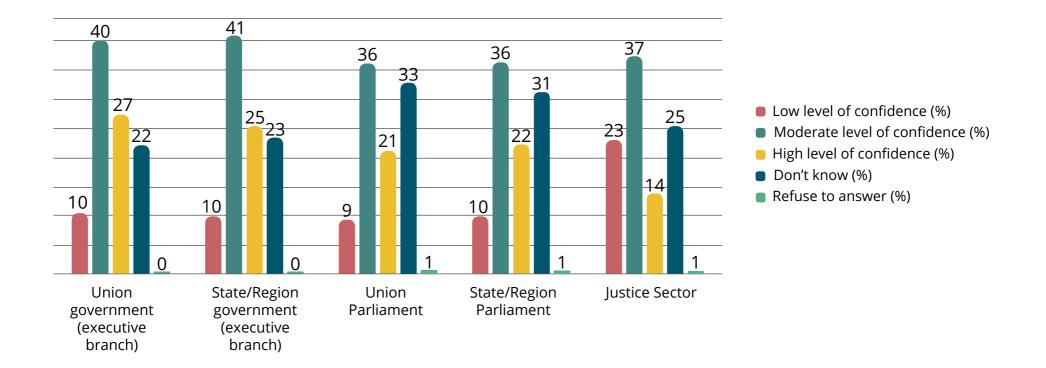
Q: Respondents were shown the statements: (1) State/Region government is effectively working on its development activities. (2) The rule of law is improved in States/Regions. (3) State/Region Government is transparently implementing its development projects. (4) The country's peace process is improving. (5) The country's economic situation is improving. (6) Combating corruption in Myanmar is improving. (7) The Union government is transparent. A Likert scale ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 10 (totally agree) is used to identify respondents' level of agreement or disagreement on the statements.

#### Respondents who reside in communities with good infrastructure were more likely to express their satisfaction with improvements carried out by under the present government.



(Respondents=1105)

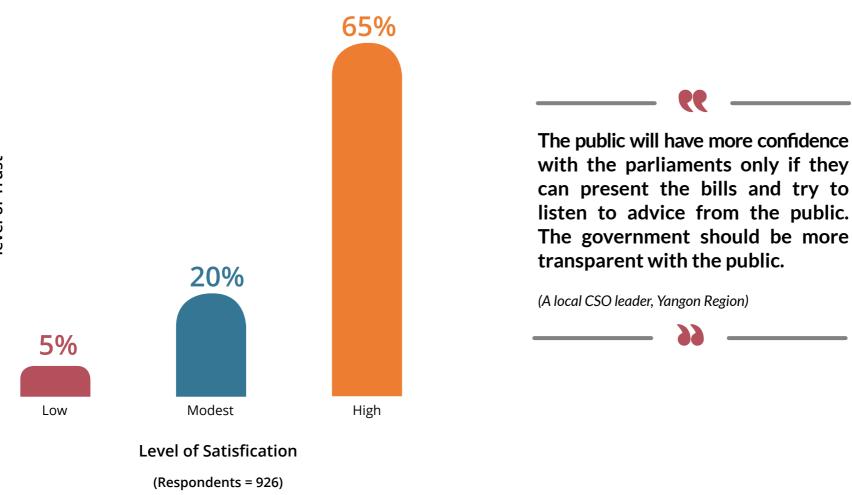
#### 67% of respondents expressed moderate or high levels of confidence in the Union Government; for the Justice Sector this figure falls to 51%.



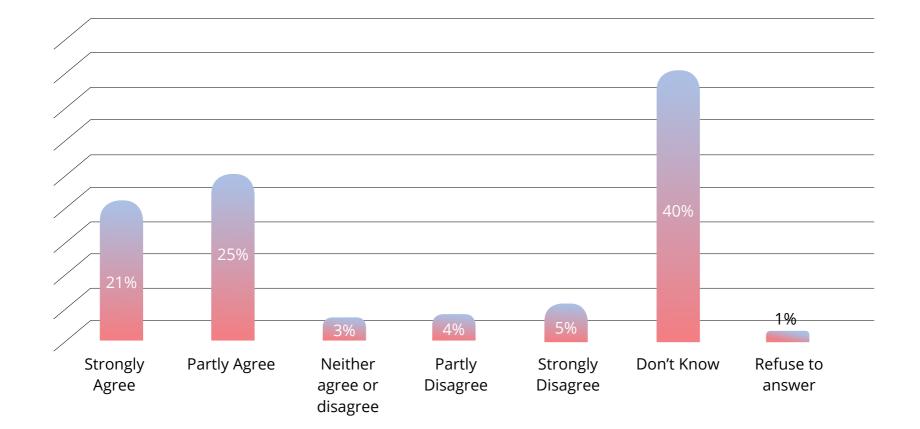
Q: Respondents were shown the statements: (1) The Union government is doing right things (2) The State/Region government is doing right things. (3) The Union Hluttaw is doing right things. (4) The State/Region Hluttaw is doing right things. (5) The judicial branch is doing right things. A Likert scale ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 10 (totally agree) is used to identify respondents' level of agreement or disagreement on the statements.

## Level of confidence in the government is correlated to the perception of improvement under the present government

level of Trust

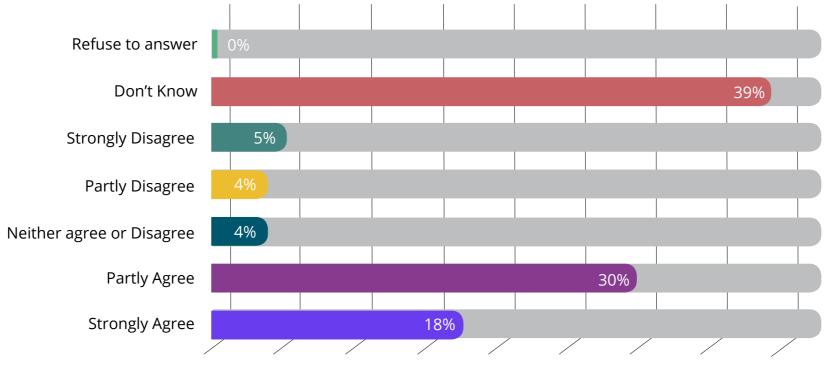


40% of respondents did not know whether their state/region parliament was meeting its oversight role in holding the executive branches of state/region government to account.



Q: Respondents were shown the statement: "State/Region Hluttaw is doing check and balance to hold state/region government accountable".

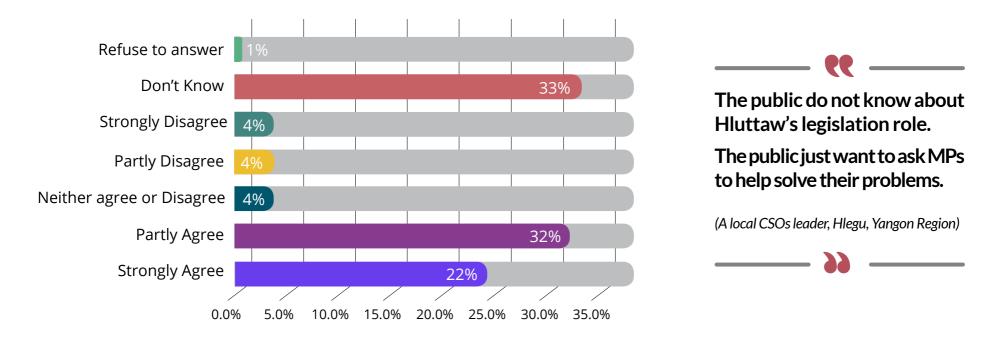
# 39% of respondents said that they did not know if there was a supportive relationship between executive and legislative pillars of government.



(Respondents = 1318)

Q: Respondents were shown the statement: "The state/region hluttaw and government are working supportively to each other."

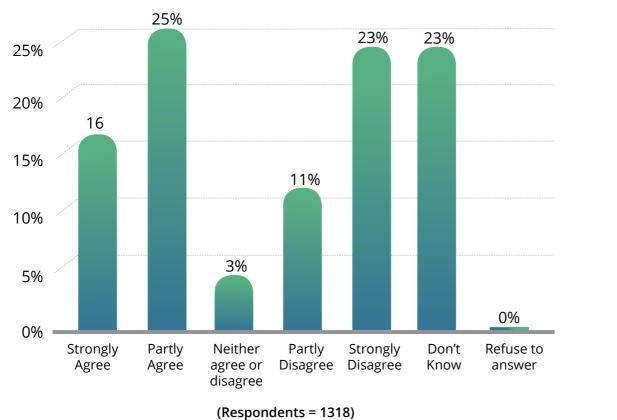
## 33% of respondents were unaware that law making is one of the primary duties of parliaments.



(Respondents = 1318)

Q: Respondents were shown the statement: "A primary duty of state/region hluttaw is making laws for the betterment of the people."

#### Only 41% of respondents say that their MP keeps in touch with the people of the constituency; 57% say MPs are not in touch with the people.



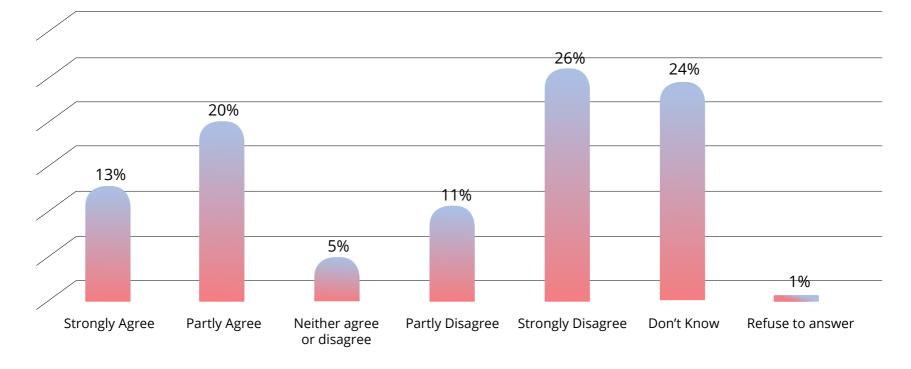
Members of parliament are weak to visit the public for the sake of keeping in touch. The public ask them to do the development of community; but the MPs cannot do that because of budget limitations. This gradually leads to loss of trust by the public and in turn, the MPs do not have the confidence to go to the public as they cannot keep their promises.

(A local CSO leader, Myitkyina, Kachin State)



Q: Respondents were shown the statement: "The MP of this constituency keeps in touch with people he/she represents.".

# 37% of respondents don't think their MP would respond to an individual request for help.

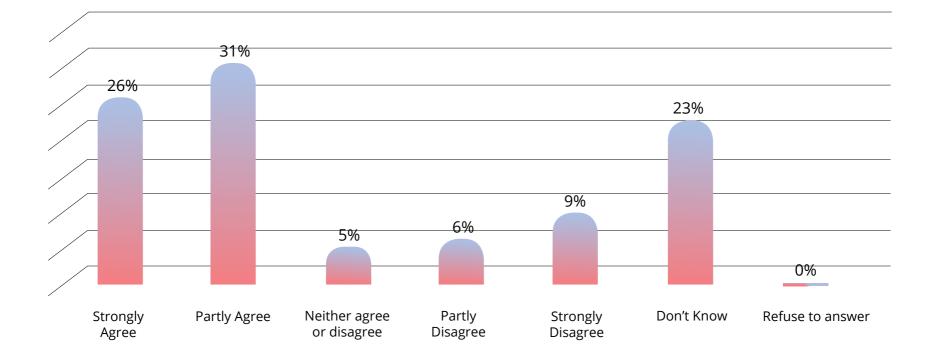




Q: Respondents were shown the statement: "The MP representing this constituency would help you if you and your family contact him or her for addressing issues/problems you have been facing with".

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# 57% of respondents agree that their MP would provide help if requested by a ward/village administrator.

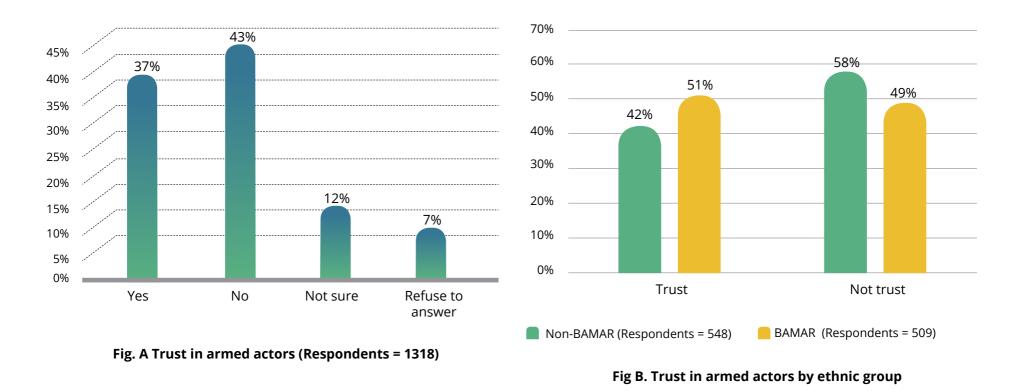




Q: Respondents were shown the statement: "The MP representing this constituency would provide help if the administrator of this ward/village contact him or her for addressing issues/problems you have been facing".

Audit of Political Engagement, 2019: a health-check for Myanmar's Democracy

43% of respondents said they had no trust in armed actors such as the Tamadaw, police and ethnic armed organizations. Levels of trust in armed organizations are higher among Bamar respondents compared to non-Bamar respondents.



Q: Respondents were asked: "Do you trust any armed organization (such as Tamadaw, Police force, Ethnic armed organizations)?"

#### Government armed actors have the highest level of trust. However, levels of trust in government and non-government armed actors are substantially differentiated by ethnicity.

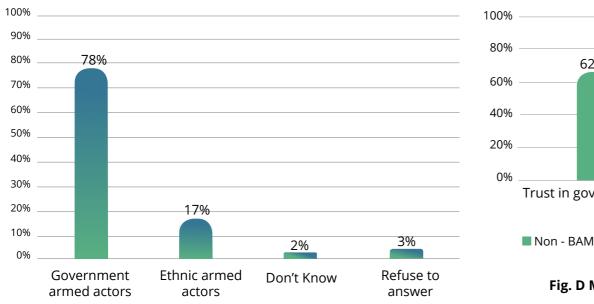


Fig. C Most trusted armed actors (Respondents = 492)

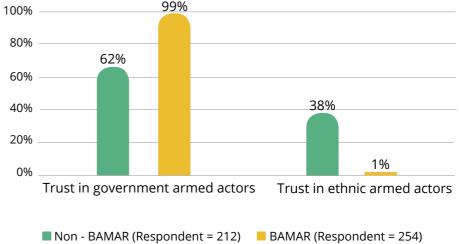
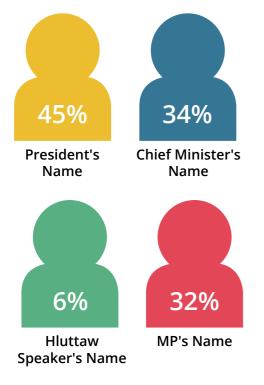


Fig. D Most trusted armed actors by ethnic group

### **Detailed findings: 3** *Public Knowledge about the political system*

• People lack basic political knowledge; a majority do not know how parliaments can help them

45% of respondents could identify the name of the current president; but only 6% could correctly say the names of the speakers of their respective state/region parliaments.



#### (Respondents = 1318)

To be honest, the general population, especially at the grassroots, do not know the activities of the Hluttaw. There might be only about 10 out of 100 people who have been keeping an eye on what the Hluttaw would do or wait for a change. But grassroot people have to make a living...They also don't know the news of the Hluttaw as they have no interest in it. This is the reality."

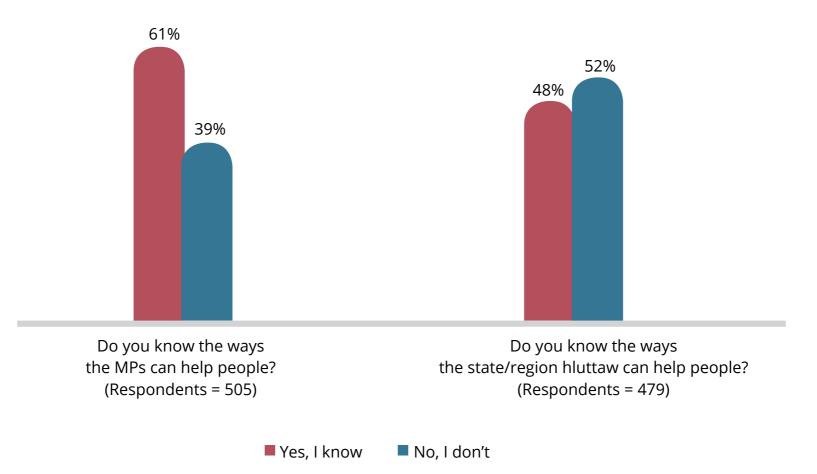
(An MP from Yangon Region Parliament)

"Now parliaments have Facebook pages and they also posted a lot of photos, showing what they're doing. Then, they never tell enough about context, what these activities really are, or which bill is important for who and why? People won't get it just looking at tons of photos!"

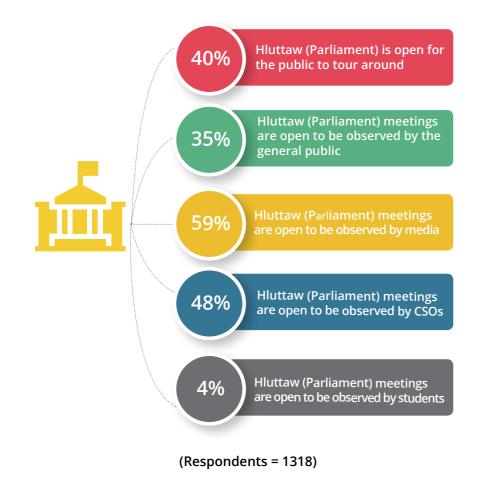
(A local CSO leader, Myitkyina, Kachin State)

Q: Respondents were asked the following questions: "Who is the current president of Myanmar? Who is the current Chief Minister of your State or Region? Who is the current Speaker of your State or Region? Who is one of the current elected representatives of your constituency?". The name cards with multiple choices is shown when respondent faced a hard time to pronounce the names.

61% of respondents say that they know the ways MPs can help them while 52% do not know how their respective state/region parliaments can help the public.



35% of respondents were aware that Hluttaw meetings are open to be observed by the general public; 59% were aware that parliamentary plenary meetings are open to be observed by journalists and media.





(A local journalist, Taunggyi, Southern Shan State)



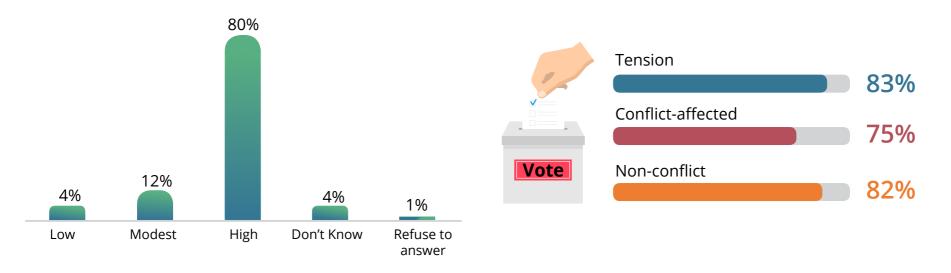
"If college students were asked if they want to make a visit to the state parliament, they would say yes, but if they were asked how they would make a visit, then they would have no idea at all"

(A local CSO leader, Myit-kyina, Kachin State)

### **Detailed findings 4:** *Political Participation*

• While most respondents said they were certain to vote in the 2020 election, levels of participation in political campaigns and demonstrations remain low.

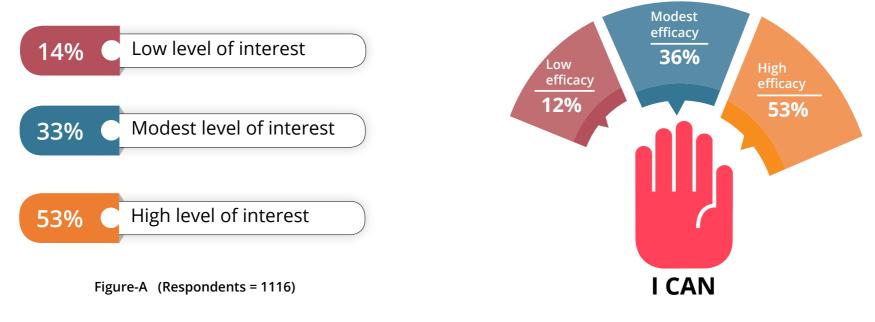
80% of respondents said that they were certain to vote in the 2020 election. Even in conflict-affected and tension areas, certainty to vote was high - 75% and 83% respectively.



(Respondents = 1318)

Q: Respondents were asked: "To what extent you are certain to vote in upcoming (2020) general elections?". A Likert scale ranging from 1 (totally uncertain) to 10 (totally certain) is used to identify respondents' level of certainty or uncertainty to vote.

53% of respondents said they were very interested in participating in activities that would benefit the country. Involvement in political activities was widely agreed to be beneficial for development.



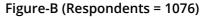


Figure-A. Q: Respondents were asked: "To what extent you are interested to participate in efforts for the betterment of country?". A Likert scale ranging from 1 (No interest at all) to 10 (Highest level of interest) is used.

Figure-B. Q: Respondents were asked to respond to the statement: "If people like me actively involved in politics, things in Myanmar would obviously be improved". A Likert scale ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 10 (totally agree) is used to identify respondents' level of agreement or disagreement on the statement.

# 4% of respondents had participated in demonstrations or political campaigns.

Participating in political campaign or demonstration in last year (Respondents=1318)



Playing main role in political campaign or demonstration in last year (Respondents =55)



Participating in political trainings (Respondents=1309)



8%

Writing political articles in news journal or digital media (Respondents = 1202)

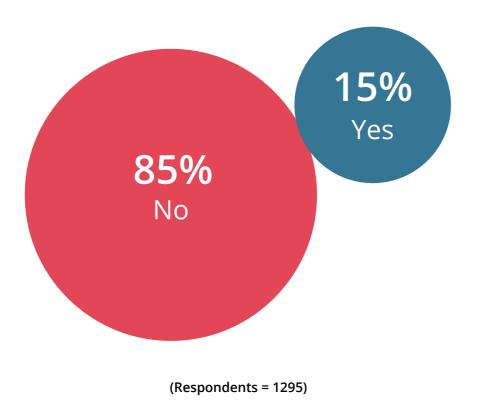




Most students love the country. But time is wasted by doing other things. and students have grown up with fear. So, they are afraid to do political activities.

<sup>(</sup>A student leader from a student union.)

#### 15% said that they have either met in person or sent letters to key political figures and authorities to request policy change or improvements.



Generally people don't know they can send letters to parliaments. I sent a letter to the new regional minister of Immigration (and Human Resource) Ministry (who is also a MP in the regional parliament of Tanintharyi) once it was formed. Then he contacted me and arranged a meeting at the (Tanintharyi regional) parliament. So, I myself and some other CSOs leader from my town presented difficulties we're facing with making national IDs (identity cards). Immigration officers also attended the meeting (held at the regional parliament), and we had a good discussion. We can even consider it as a brief public hearing on the issue of national identity card.

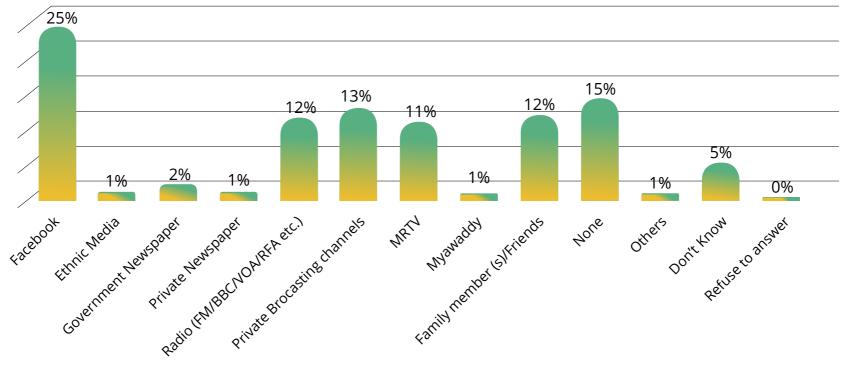
(A local CSO leader, Myeik, Tanintharyi)

Q: Respondents were asked: "In the last twelve months, have you either met in person with or sent letters to key political figures and authorities to have a policy change or improvements?"

### **Detailed findings 5:** *Sources of political information*

• Facebook is the most widely used source of political information. Family members and friends serve as the main source for local news.

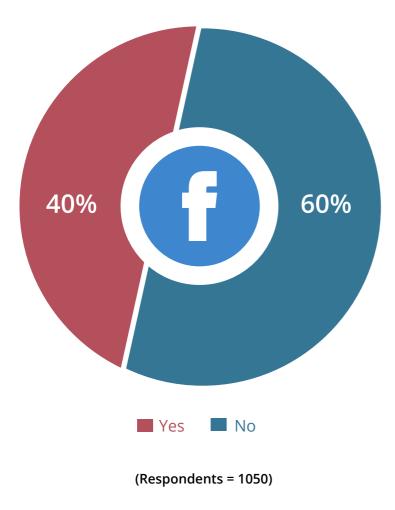
#### 25% of respondents - the largest percentage - use Facebook as their primary source of political information. 15% say they do not use any information source.



(Respondents = 1318)

Q: Respondents were asked, "What is your primary source of information if you want to know about politics of Myanmar?" and then asked to rank their top sources of political information.

#### Overall, 40% of respondents received political information via Facebook while 25% said it was their primary source of political information.

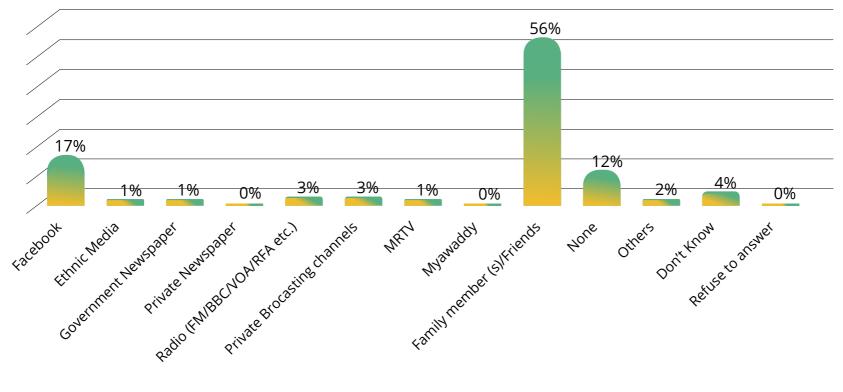




"There are groups on Facebook that discuss issues in Tanintharyi. We have peace group and land group. .... Facebook is very important. We need to use it in beneficial ways. Is it being like a fire or an umbrella? A sword or a force? It all depends on the user. News dissemination on Facebook is easy. So, decision making is easy."

(A local CSO leader, Dawei, Tanintharyi)

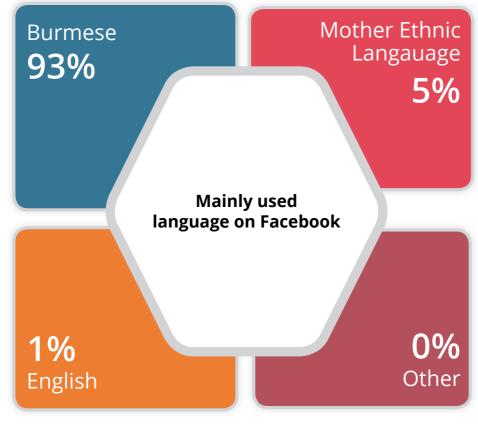
#### 56% of respondents say they primarily receive local information (what's happening in their towns) through family members or friends.



(Respondents = 1318)

Q: Respondents were asked, "What is your primary source of information if you want to know about local news?" and then asked to rank their top sources of local information.

## 93% who use Facebook say they mainly use Burmese for their communication.



(Respondents = 409)

Q: Respondents were asked, "Which languages do you mostly use to communicate on Facebook?"

### Methods

The study adopted a mixed methods approach which combined a quantitative tablet-based survey with qualitative interviews with key informants, including members of parliamentarians (MPs), local CSO leaders, and local media personnel. The study was conducted in a total of six States and Regions.

 Interviews were conducted to support the quantitative findings. In each state or region face-toface interviews were held with MPs, CSOs and media in the selected townships. The interviews covered 12 MPs, 14 CSO leaders and 8 personnel from a local media.



#### Sampling: geographical selection



• The states and regions are purposively selected in order to cover different ethnicities and conflict contexts. The selected geographical areas in line with the criteria for the study are Kachin, Karen, Shan, Yangon, Magway and Tanintharyi. Kachin, Karen and Shan are currently or recently affected by armed conflict although their degrees of conflict contexts are different, whilst Yangon and Magway have not suffered from any types of active armed conflicts. Regarding Tanintharyi, it resides in a category of the cannot be identified as the highly conflict-affect areas, it is suffering from the tension between armed actors.

#### Sampling: geographical selection

The study applies a multistage stratified cluster random ٠ sampling method. In the first stage, the required sample size was proportionately allocated into the purposively selected areas based on their population proportion. After that, those areas were stratified as rural and urban strata. According to the rural-urban ration derived from the 2014 census, interviews were held with the 70% of the required sample size in the rural areas of each state and region and the rest 30% in the urban areas. In the second stage, township clusters were selected from each state and region in terms of without replacing simple random sampling method using the list of township obtained from MIMU16. Village/ward clusters were chosen in the same way. Replacement method for the village/ward clusters which were not accessible (due to security reason and concerns for transportation during the rainy season) were replaced by the village/ward located closest to the first selected cluster.



#### Sampling: household selection



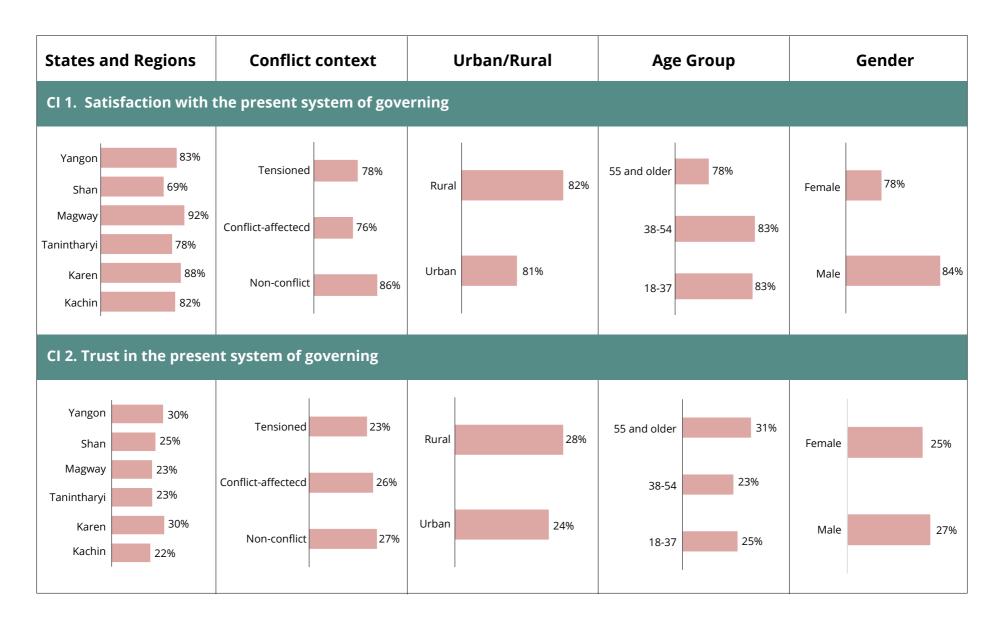
Regarding household selection, the study utilized the systematic random sampling method, where the sampling frame is determined using the household list provided by the community leader or administration. In cases where household lists were not available, the survey team practiced the right-hand rule method to identify sample households in clusters. The face-to-face interviews were conducted with one household member aged 18 and older who was eligible and willing to answer, while the study made sure to have equal gender proportion, and different age groups were almost fairly represented in interviews. The survey questionnaire is composed of 93 questions and mostly took 20 minutes, but in certain cases it took 45 minutes at the most.

#### Analysis methods

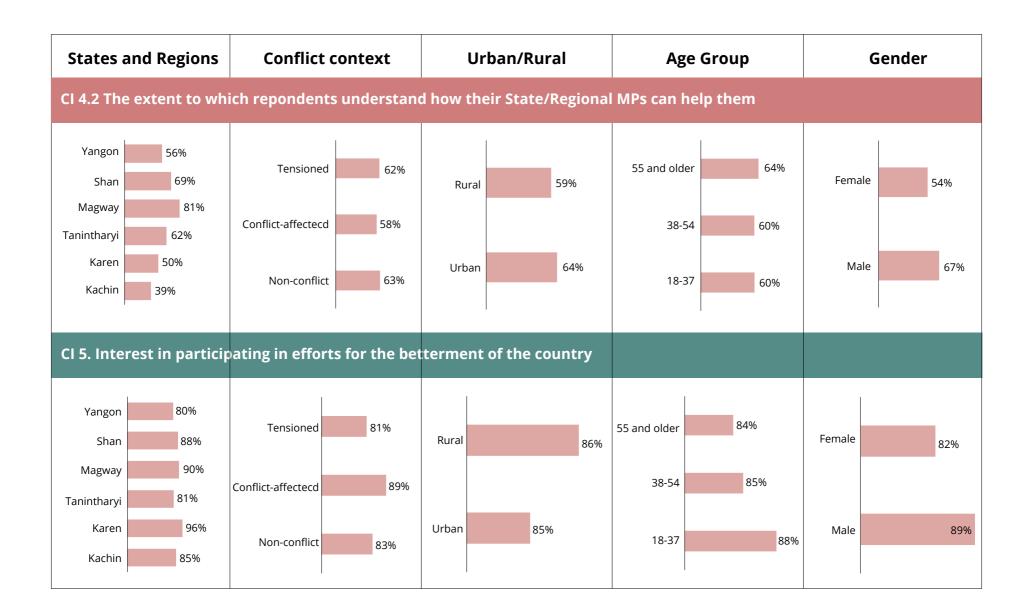
The required sample size of the • whole study is determined by using the statistical formula for infinite population based on 95% confidence level and 6% of margin of error or precision, 4 for design effect to reduce error raised due to sampling design and cushion rate of 5%. Accordingly, the sample of 1120 households is required to be visited for interviews. As described above, this sample is proportionately allocated to the state and regions based on their population size, and 30% of the sample households is allocated to urban areas and 70% to rural areas. In each village/ ward cluster, it was determined to visit 27 households selected for interview. In addition, when performing practical field work, survey teams carried out extra household visits in order to insure that response rates were met. Thus, a total sample of 1318 households were completed.

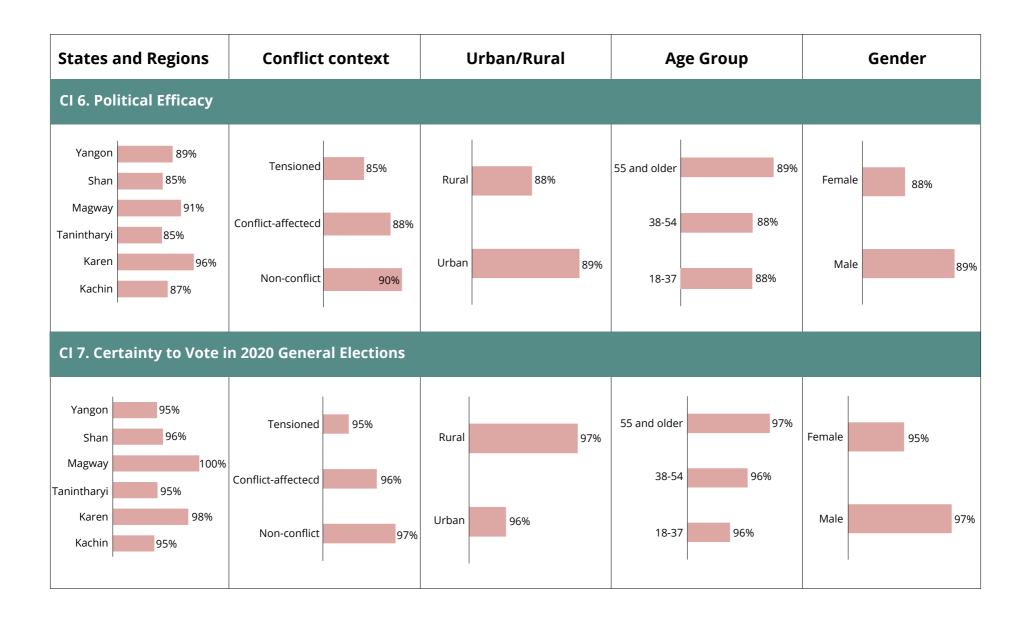


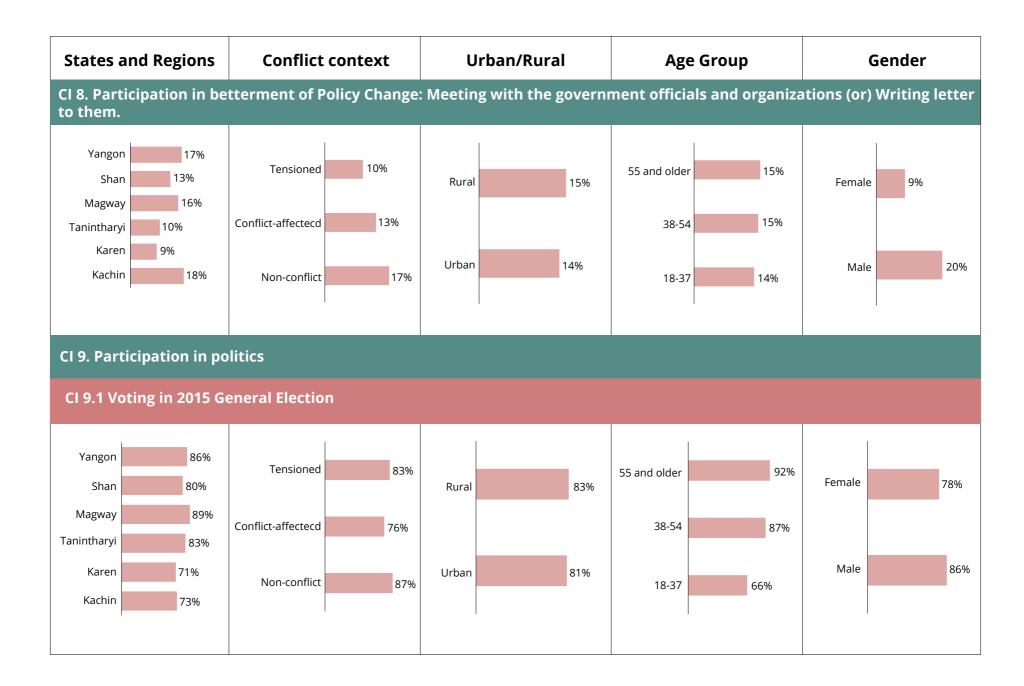
#### **Cross-tabulation Analysis on Key Indicators through Important Variables**

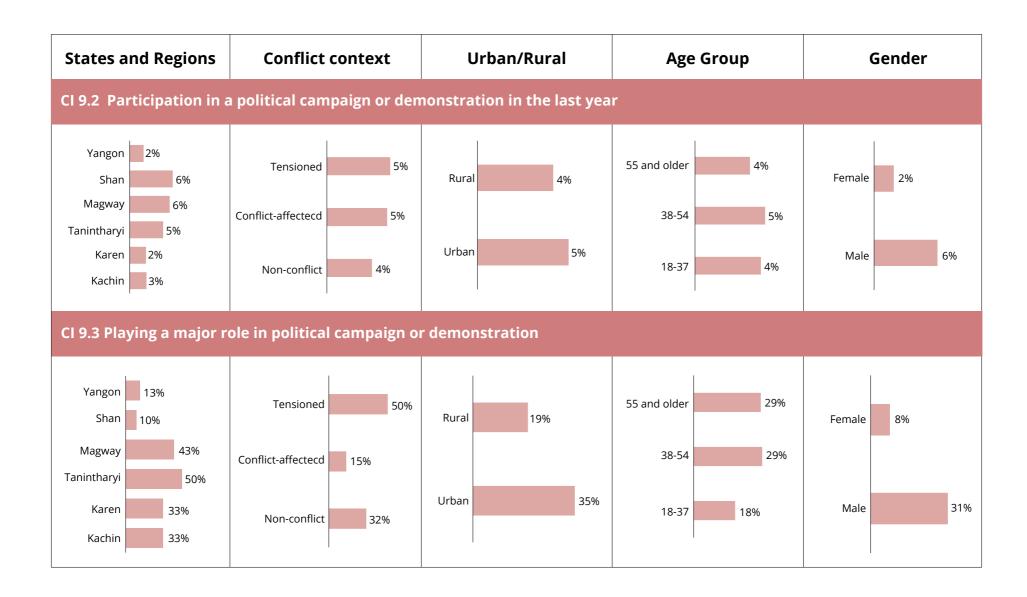


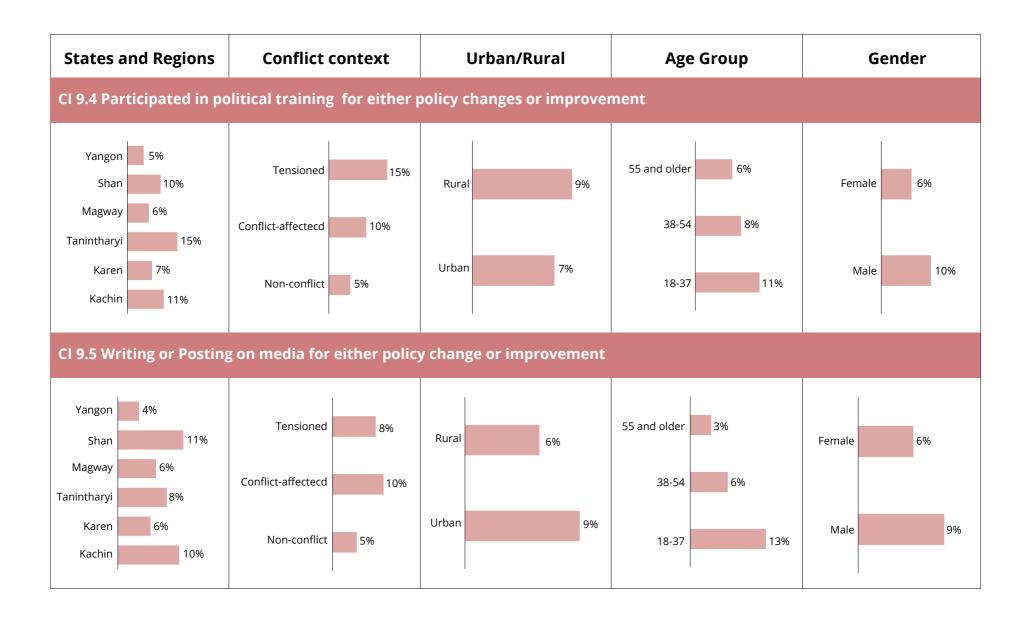


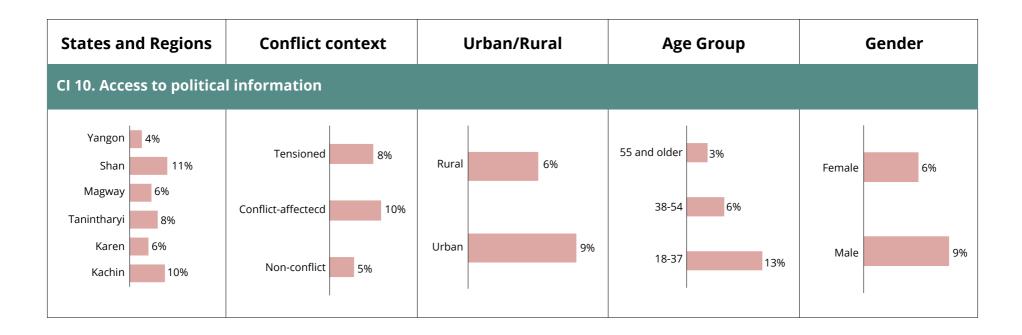












### AUDIT OF POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT, MYANMAR, 2019

APE Myanmar was devised and coordinated by Myat The Thitsar (EMReF) and Dr. Ruth Fox (Hansard Society) and conducted by a team including research manager Dr. Khin Myo Wai, Thawng Phaizawng, Nyein Thiri Swe, Zaw Min Oo, Su Htet, Pyae Phyo Kyaw, Zaw Min Kyi, Htoi Lat, Zaw Moon Ra, Lwin Lwin Aye, Kyaw Min Htike, Cho Cho Hmwe, Margaret Mary, Kyaw Moe Htwe, Naw Eh Tha Blay, Mi Mi Lwin, Si Thu Aung, Noel Aung and Nyein Charm Myo.

EMReF is an independent non-profit research institution working for development of evidence-based policy making and revitalization of independent research culture in Myanmar.

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Throughout the audit, EMReF and the collaborative partner organizations worked closely with Hansard Society (UK) - a research charity working in the UK and around the world to promote democracy and strengthen parliaments.

EMReF and APE team give special thanks to Dr. Richard Axelby, Global Research Network on Parliaments and People Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, SOAS, and Dr. Cristina Leston-Bandeira, Professor of Politics, University of Leeds, for their review and advice on the report.

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# A Health-check for Myanmar's Democracy

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