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# 2018 Opinion Poll of Myanmar: Sampling Method and Descriptive Statistics



Wint Wint Aung Khaing (Waseda University)

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#### 2018 Opinion Poll of Myanmar: Sampling Method and Descriptive Statistics

Wint Wint Aung Khaing (Waseda University)

#### Introduction

As part of the research project "Relational Studies on Global Crises," we conducted an opinion poll in Myanmar in 2018. The aim of the poll was to understand how people in Myanmar perceive state institutions and the sociopolitical situation in this democratizing society. We employed a common survey questionnaire that is based on an opinion poll from Indonesia, conducted by Group A01 ("State and Institutions"), and opinion polls from Syria, Iraq, and Bosnia-Herzegovina conducted by Group B02 ("Cross-border Non-State Networks").

The objectives of our research project can be summarized in the following two points: First, we seek to understand how democratization is related to people's perception of state institutions, their identity, and threat perception in a post-conflict societies like Indonesia and Myanmar; second, by exploring people's perceptions of discrimination, intolerance, and persecution against religious minorities, which have been occurring in Indonesia and Myanmar, we aim to reveal the relationships between the majority, minorities, and the state (the government and military, in this article), which should provide a comparative perspective for reconsidering an actor-centered approach.

We have conducted an original and innovative opinion poll to achieve these objectives. One of the primary focuses of the survey was how Myanmar people perceive elections, democracy, and political institutions such as the government, military, and political parties. As for state institutions, we inquired not only about people's trust in each institution but also about how each actually functions in society. We also inquired about the national and religious identities of the Myanmar people, how social media is used, and internal and external threats, as well as about discrimination against and the intolerance and persecution of minorities.

In this research report, we present the details of the sampling method (Section I) as well as the descriptive statistics of the survey results (Section II).

#### I. Sampling Method

Data was collected via face-to-face interviews conducted by the research team of Myanmar Survey Research (MSR) in Myanmar in December 2018.

1. Schedule

- The first draft of the questionnaire was created by Emi Suzuki (Waseda University) based on questionnaires from Indonesia. This draft was sent to MSR in October 2018.
- MSR gave Emi Suzuki feedback on the draft, which was revised and translated into the Burmese by Wint Wint Aung Khaing. The final version was completed in November 2018.
- The field survey began on December 5 and was completed on December 11, 2018.
- MSR finished data processing in December 2018.
- 2. Survey Respondents
- A total sample size of n = 500 (in both urban and rural areas) Minimum age of 18; 50/50 gender split
- 3. Survey Method

- Face-to-face interviews using computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) devices that use text in the Myanmar language.
- Number of staff employed: 26 (20 interviewers, 5 supervisors, and 1 quality control manager)
- 4. Sampling Method
- Over the past year, Myanmar has experienced an upsurge in fighting and conflict within many ethnically diverse areas of the country. The immediate result of these conflicts has been to make access to many townships either very difficult or impossible. In addition, local authorities have become reluctant to allow public opinion surveys (or any type of research) to be conducted without government permission.
- Thus, all samples acquired had these following characteristics in common.
  - 1) Sample distributions were taken from non-ethnic areas and ethnic areas.
  - 2) The government had stabilized the situation and generated a positive climate in the area.
  - 3) The area was not restricted and easily accessible.
  - 4) Respondents in the area were not afraid to share their honest opinions, especially about their political beliefs.
  - 5) The respondents selected by MSR represented an equal distribution of age and gender.

State	Township	Urban	Rural	Total
Mon	Mawlamyine	20	40	60
Mandalay	Amarapura	20	60	80
Nay Pyi Taw	Tatkon	20	40	60
Magway	Magway	20	40	60
Rakhine	Sittwe	20	40	60
Shan	Taunggyi	20	40	60
Yangon	Hlegu	20	20	
	Mingalartaungnyunt	40		120
	Dala	20	20	
	Total		300	500

• Sample locations and distributions are shown in the following tables.

• Urban and rural proportions: Urban and rural areas are officially defined by the government.

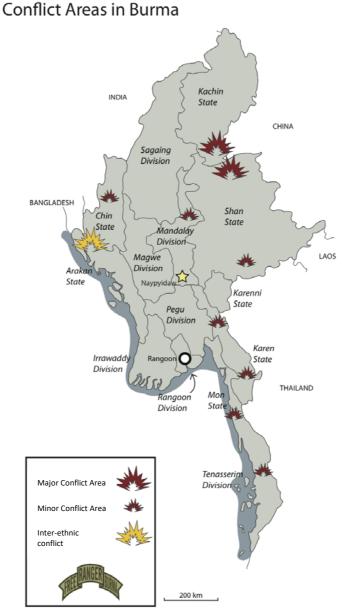
	N = 500	
	Number	%
Urban sample	200	40
Rural sample	300	60
Total	500	100

• Definition of urban and rural areas:

Urban and rural areas are officially defined by the Myanmar government. Urban areas are made up of wards, while rural areas are made up of villages. Each township in Myanmar, except for townships in Yangon and Mandalay, include both urban and rural areas. On average, each township contains about 5 wards and 80 villages.

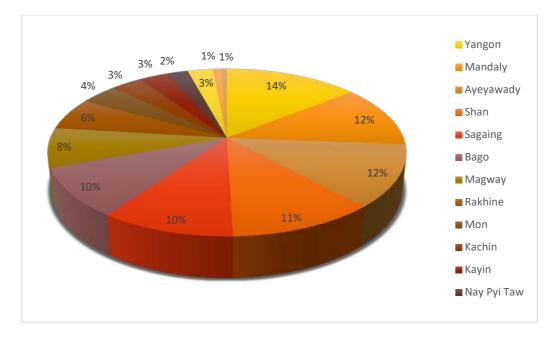
• Sample and target populations:

We encountered difficulties in collecting samples because of conflicts between the federal army and ethnic groups. Thus, we were unable to collect data in the states of Kachin, Kayah, Kayin, and Chin because of the severity of conflicts in these areas. Please see the map below, which explains the circumstances of internal conflict in Myanmar.

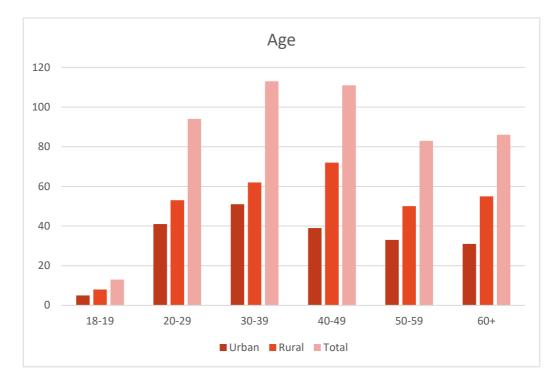


Source: https://www.freeburmarangers.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Burma-Conflict-Map-copy.png, accessing date: 11 December 2019.

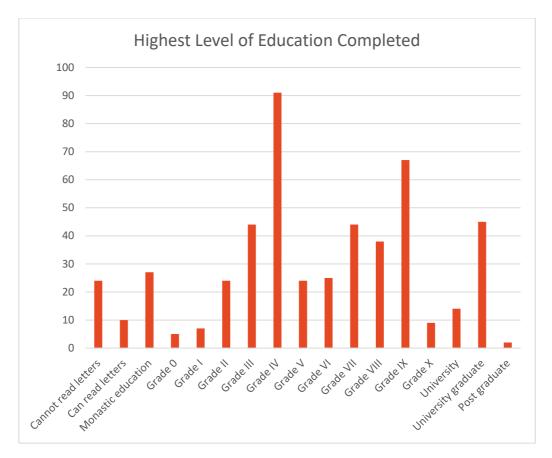
## • Population distribution



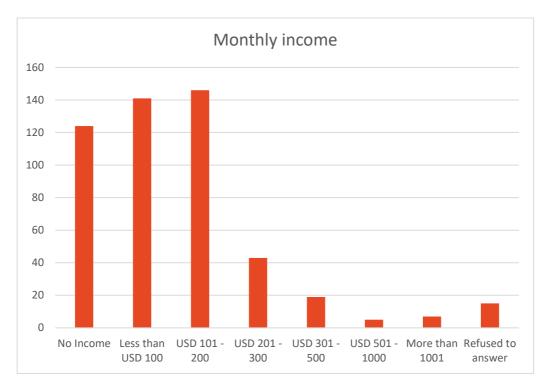
## • Age of survey respondents



• Educational backgrounds of survey respondents



• Monthly Income of survey respondents: This graph was based on the exchange rate in 2018 of 1 dollar (USD) per 1400 kyats (MMK).



#### **II.** Descriptive Statistics

This section reports the basic results of the opinion poll, displaying the frequencies of responses for each survey question. The survey is divided into the following seven sections.

Section	Topics
1	Attitudes toward the elections and political parties
2	Reliability of state agencies and society
3	Exposure to the media
4	Knowledge about democracy
5	Attitudes toward identity, discrimination, intolerance, and persecution
6	Attitudes toward external actors (countries and international organizations)
7	Demographic variables

#### 1. Attitudes toward the elections and political parties

## 1-1 If a parliamentary election were held now, which party would you vote for?

	Number	%
Specified a party	229	45.8
Undecided	240	48.0
Did not answer	31	6.2
Total	500	100

Specified a party	Number	%
National League for Democracy (NLD)	154	67.2
Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP)	49	21.4
National Unity Party	2	0.9
Arakan National Party	15	6.6
Inn National Development Party	1	0.4
Rakhine Nationalities Development Party	5	2.2
Kaman National Development Party	3	1.3
Total	229	100

## 1-2 Why would you vote for this party?

	Number	%
1-2-1. Because I like the influential people of the party.	53	21.0
1-2-2. Because many people support the party.	8	3.1
1-2-3. Because the party leader is the same ethnicity as me.	10	3.9
1-2-4. Because the party members are the same ethnicity as me.	7	2.8
1-2-5. Because I like the party's policies.	115	45.3
1-2-6. Because there is no corruption within the party.	2	0.8
1-2-7. Because the party's ideology is close to my own.	8	3.1
1-2-8. Because the party's religion is the same as my own.	2	0.8
1-2-9. I was instructed by my boss or regional boss to do so.	1	0.4
1-2-10. Because I have an acquaintance/friend in the party.	10	3.9
1-2-11. Because I often watch the party on TV.	1	0.4
1-2-12. Other reason.	27	10.6
1-2-13. Did not answer.	10	3.9

Total		
10(a)	254	100

1-3 Which party did you vote for in the 1990 election?

	Number	%
Specified a party.	128	25.6
Eligible but did not vote.	67	13.4
Not eligible to vote.	289	57.8
Did not answer.	16	3.2
Total	500	100

Specified a party	Number	%
National League for Democracy (NLD)	36	28.1
Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP)	27	21.1
National Development Party (NDP)	1	0.8
Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP)	3	2.3
National Democratic Force (NDF)	5	3.9
National Unity Party	6	4.7
Arakan National Party	2	1.6
Union Party (Burma) led by U Nu	1	0.8
Rakhine Nationalities Development Party	1	0.8
Kaman National Development Party	4	3.1
I don't remember.	42	32.8
Total	128	100

# 1-4 Which party did you vote for in the 2010 election?

	Number	%
Specified a party.	297	59.4
Eligible but did not vote.	125	25.0
Not eligible to vote.	61	12.2
Did not answer.	17	3.4
Total	500	100

Specified a party	Number	%
National League for Democracy (NLD)	89	30.0
Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP)	113	38.0
National Democratic Force (NDF)	9	3.0
National Unity Party	5	1.7
Arakan National Party	9	3.0
Rakhine Nationalities Development Party	6	2.0
Kaman National Development Party	7	2.4
I don't remember.	59	19.9
Total	297	100

# 1-5 Which party did you vote for in the 2015 election?

	Number	%
Specified a party.	382	76.4
Eligible but did not vote.	95	19.0

Not eligible to vote.	17	3.4
Did not answer.	6	1.2
Total	500	100

Specified a party	Number	%
National League for Democracy (NLD)	255	66.7
Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP)	69	18.1
National Unity Party	4	1.0
Arakan National Party	13	3.4
Inn National Development Party	1	0.3
Pa'O National Party	1	0.3
Union Danu League for Democracy Party	1	0.3
Rakhine Nationalities Development Party	4	1.0
Kaman National Development Party	5	1.3
I don't remember.	29	7.6
Total	382	100

1-6 Who would be the most suitable for the president? (First choice)

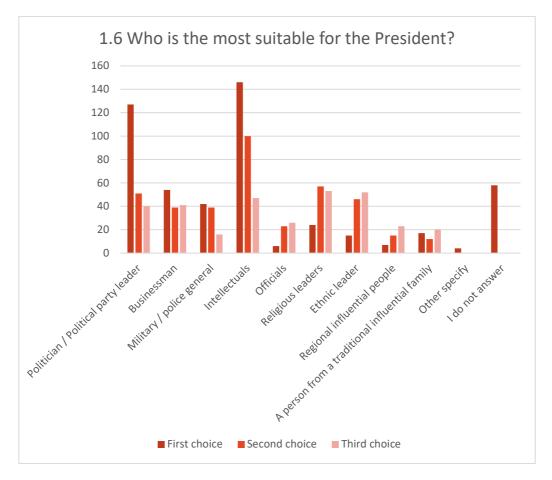
	Number	%
Politician / political party leader	127	25.4
Businessperson	54	10.8
Military personnel / police officer	42	8.4
Intellectual	146	29.2
Official	6	1.2
Religious leader	24	4.8
Ethnic leader	15	3.0
Regionally influential person	7	1.4
A person from a traditionally influential family	17	3.4
Other (specify)	4	0.8
Did not answer	58	11.6
Total	500	100

## 1-6-1 Who would be the most suitable for the president? (Second choice)

	Number	%
Politician / political party leader	51	13.4
Businessman	39	10.2
Military personnel / police officer	39	10.2
Intellectual	100	26.2
Official	23	6.0
Religious leader	57	14.9
Ethnic leader	46	12.0
Regionally influential person	15	3.9
A person from a traditionally influential family	12	3.1
Other (specify)	0	0
Did not answer	0	0
Total	382	100

1-6-2 Who would be the most suitable for the president? (Third choice)

	Number	%
Politician / political party leader	40	12.6
Businessman	41	12.9
Military personnel / police officer	16	5.0
Intellectual	47	14.8
Official	26	8.2
Religious leader	53	16.7
Ethnic leader	52	16.4
Regionally influential person	23	7.2
A person from a traditionally influential family	20	6.3
Other (specify)	0	0
Did not answer	0	0
Total	318	100



#### 1-7 Who would be the most suitable for a member of parliament? (First choice)

	Number	%
Politician / political party leader	113	22.6
Businessman	43	8.6
Military personnel / police officer	34	6.8
Intellectual	144	28.8
Official	15	3.0
Religious leader	24	4.8
Ethnic leader	36	7.2

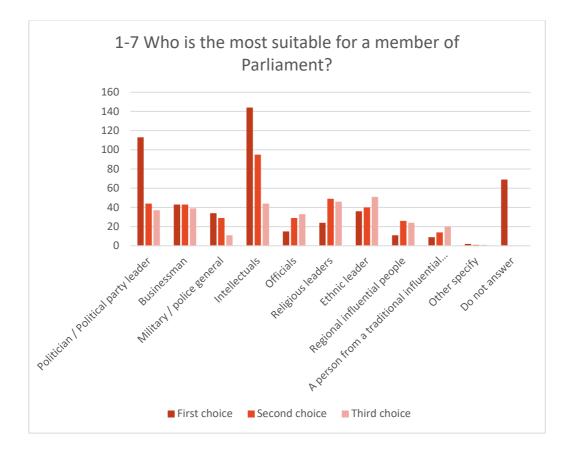
Regionally influential person	11	2.2
A person from a traditionally influential family	9	1.8
Other (specify)	2	0.4
Did not answer	69	13.8
Total	500	100

## 1-7-1 Who would be the most suitable for a member of parliament? (Second choice)

	Number	%
Politician / political party leader	44	11.9
Businessman	43	11.6
Military personnel / police officer	29	7.8
Intellectual	95	25.7
Official	29	7.8
Religious leader	49	13.2
Ethnic leader	40	10.8
Regionally influential person	26	7.0
A person from a traditionally influential family	14	3.8
Other (specify)	1	0.3
Did not answer	0	0
Total	370	100

# 1-7-2 Who would be the most suitable for a member of parliament? (Third choice)

	Number	%
Politician / political party leader	37	12.1
Businessman	39	12.7
Military personnel / police officer	11	3.6
Intellectual	44	14.4
Official	33	10.8
Religious leader	46	15.0
Ethnic leader	51	16.7
Regionally influential person	24	7.8
A person from a traditionally influential family	20	6.5
Other (specify)	1	0.3
Did not answer	0	0
Total	306	100



1-8 Is it important for the candidates for chief minister and vice minister to have the same religion?

	Number	%
Important	276	55.2
Not important	199	39.8
Did not answer	25	5.0
Total	500	100

1-9 Is it important for the candidates for chief minister and vice minister to be of the same ethnicity?

	Number	%
Important	282	56.4
Not important	192	38.4
Did not answer	26	5.2
Total	500	100

## 2. Reliability of state agencies and society

#### 2-1 Degree of trust

	(1) I trust very much.	(2) I trust	(3) I don't trust	(4) I completely distrust	(5) Neither.	(6) I don't know.	Total
2-1-1 Do you trust the president?							
Number	206	141	31	11	46	65	500
%	41.2	28.2	6.2	2.2	9.2	13.0	100
2-1-2 Do you trust the central government?							
Number	173	128	29	12	44	114	500

%	34.6	25.6	5.8	2.4	8.8	22.8	100
2-1-3 Do you	trust the loca	l government?			•		
Number	214	143	23	16	39	65	500
%	42.8	28.6	4.6	3.2	7.8	13.0	100
2-1-4 Do you	ı trust parliame	ent?					
Number	157	141	22	16	40	124	500
%	31.4	28.2	4.4	3.2	8.0	24.8	100
2-1-5 Do you	ı trust the polit	tical parties?					
Number	108	133	37	32	64	126	500
%	21.6	26.6	7.4	6.4	12.8	25.2	100
2-1-6 Do you	ı trust the supr	eme court?					
Number	145	108	36	44	45	122	500
%	29.0	21.6	7.2	8.8	9.0	24.4	100
2-1-7 Do you	ı trust the distr	ict courts?					
Number	126	116	47	43	49	119	500
%	25.2	23.2	9.4	8.6	9.8	23.8	100
2-1-8 Do you	trust the arm	y?					-
Number	234	111	29	30	47	49	500
%	46.8	22.2	5.8	6.0	9.4	9.8	100
2-1-9 Do you	a trust the polic	ce?					
Number	133	136	47	70	54	60	500
%	26.6	27.2	9.4	14.0	10.8	12.0	100
2-1-10 Do yo	ou trust Aung S	San Suu Kyi (s	state counsello	or of Myanmar	·)?		
Number	282	97	14	28	31	48	500
%	56.4	19.4	2.8	5.6	6.2	9.6	100

2-2 If you were robbed of your money or belongings, who would you call for help? Please rank your choices from first to third. (First choice)

First choice	Number	%
President	2	0.4
Central government	5	1.0
Local government	6	1.2
Political party	12	2.4
Military	6	1.2
Police	238	47.6
Traditionally influential person	0	0
Regionally influential person	0	0
Religious leader	0	0
Court	1	0.2
NGO	2	0.4
Social organization	5	1.0
Armed ethnic group	0	0
Member of parliament	0	0
Friends and family	67	13.4
Civil society organization	2	0.4
Ward administration	100	20.0
Other (specify)	0	0
Township administration	1	0.2
Business owner	0	0
Employment agency	0	0
Self-reliance	22	4.4
Did not answer	31	6.2

Total	500	100

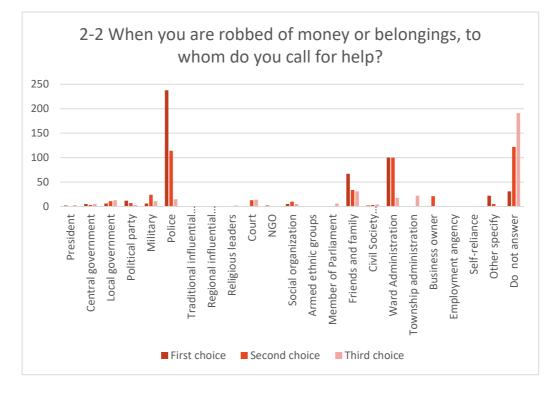
2-2-1 If you were robbed of your money or belongings, who would you call for help? Please rank your choices from first to third. (Second choice)

	Number	%
Central government	3	0.6
Local government	11	2.3
Political party	7	1.5
Military	24	5.1
Police	114	24.3
Traditionally influential people	0	0
Regionally influential people	0	0
Religious leaders	0	0
Court	13	2.8
NGO	1	0.2
Social organization	10	2.1
Armed ethnic group	0	0
Member of parliament	1	0.2
Friends and family	34	7.2
Civil society organization	3	0.6
Ward administration	100	21.3
Other (specify)	0	0
Township administration	21	4.5
Business owner	0	0
Employment agency	0	0
Self-reliance	5	1.1
Did not answer	122	26.0
Total	469	100

2-2-2 If you were robbed of your money or belongings, who would you call for help? Please rank your choices from first to third. (Third choice)

	Number	%
President	3	0.9
Central government	5	1.4
Local government	13	3.8
Political party	3	0.9
Military	11	3.2
Police	15	4.3
Traditionally influential people	0	0
Regionally influential people	1	0.3
Religious leader	2	0.6
Court	14	4.1
NGO	0	0
Social organization	5	1.4
Armed ethnic group	0	0
Member of parliament	6	1.7
Friends and family	31	9.0
Civil society organization	4	1.2

Ward administration	18	5.2
Township administration	22	6.4
Business owner	0	0
Employment agency	0	0
Self-reliance	1	0.3
Other (specify)	0	0
Did not answer	191	55.4
Total	345	100



2-3 If you needed a job, who would you call for help? Please rank your choices from first to third. (First choice)

	Number	%
President	6	1.2
Central government	10	2.0
Local government	11	2.2
Political party	9	1.8
Military	4	0.8
Police	4	0.8
NGO	2	0.4
Social organization	5	1.0
Member of parliament	2	0.4
Friends and family	127	25.4
Civil society organization	3	0.6
Ward administration	20	4.0
Other (specify)	1	0.2
Township administration	5	1.0
Business owner	67	13.4
Employment agency	18	3.6

Self-reliance	86	17.2
Did not answer	120	24.0
Total	494	100

2-3-1 If you needed a job, who do you call for help? Please rank your choices from first to third. (Second choice)

	Number	%
President	1	0.3
Central government	3	0.8
Local government	3	0.8
Political party	2	0.5
Military	2	0.5
Police	2	0.5
Religious leader	3	0.8
Court	1	0.3
NGO	1	0.3
Social organization	6	1.6
Member of parliament	2	0.5
Friends and family	54	14.2
Civil society organization	2	0.5
Ward administration	12	3.2
Other (specify)	1	0.3
Township administration	2	0.5
Business owner	27	7.1
Employment agency	11	2.9
Self-reliance	24	6.3
Did not answer	221	58.2
Total	380	100

2-3-2 If you needed a job, who do you call for help? Please rank your choices from first to third. (Third choice)

	Number	%
President	1	0.6
Central government	1	0.6
Local government	4	2.5
Political party	2	1.3
Military	1	0.6
Traditionally influential people	1	0.6
Regionally influential people	1	0.6
Armed ethnic group	1	0.6
Member of parliament	1	0.6
Friends and family	7	4.4
Civil society organization	3	1.9
Ward administration	4	2.5
Township administration	7	4.4
Business owner	5	3.2
Employment agency	5	3.2
Self-reliance	6	3.8

Did not answer	108	68.4
Total	158	100



2-4 If your area were in need of a school, road, or hospital, who would you call for help? Please rank your choices from first to third. (First choice)

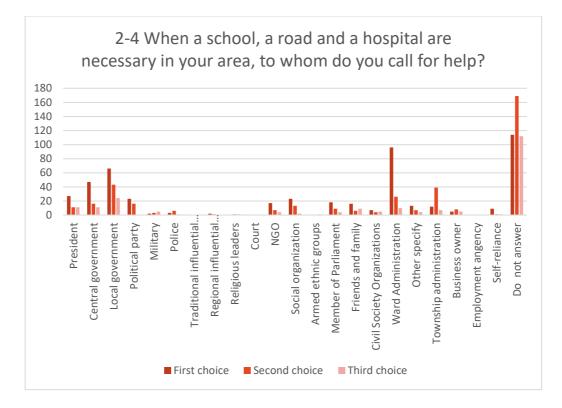
	Number	%
President	27	5.4
Central government	47	9.4
Local government	66	13.2
Political party	23	4.6
Military	2	0.4
Police	3	0.6
Regionally influential people	2	0.4
NGO	17	3.4
Social organization	23	4.6
Member of parliament	18	3.6
Friends and family	16	3.2
Civil society organization	7	1.4
Ward administration	96	19.2
Other (specify)	13	2.6
Township administration	12	2.4
Business owner	5	1.0
Self-reliance	9	1.8
Did not answer	114	22.8
Total	500	100

2-4-1 If your area were in need of a school, road, or hospital, who would you call for help? Please rank your choices from first to third. (Second choice)

	Number	%
President	11	2.8
Central government	16	4.1
Local government	43	11.1
Political party	16	4.1
Military	3	0.8
Police	6	1.6
Regionally influential people	1	0.3
Religious leader	1	0.3
NGO	7	1.8
Social organization	13	3.4
Member of parliament	9	2.3
Friends and family	6	1.6
Civil society organization	4	1.0
Ward administration	26	6.7
Other (specify)	7	1.8
Township administration	39	10.1
Business owner	8	2.1
Self-reliance	1	0.3
Did not answer	169	43.8
Total	386	100

2-4-2 If your area were in need of a school, road, or hospital, who would you call for help? Please rank your choices from first to third. (Third choice)

	Number	%
President	11	5.1
Central government	11	5.1
Local government	24	11.1
Military	5	2.3
Police	1	0.5
Religious leader	1	0.5
NGO	4	1.8
Social organization	2	0.9
Armed ethnic group	1	0.5
Member of parliament	4	1.8
Friends and family	9	4.1
Civil society organization	5	2.3
Ward administration	10	4.6
Other (specify)	4	1.8
Township administration	7	3.2
Business owner	5	2.3
Self-reliance	1	0.5
Did not answer	112	51.6
Total	217	100



2-5 If conflict or violence were to occur where you live, who would you call for help? Please rank your choices from first to third. (First choice)

	Number	%
President	2	0.4
Central government	5	1.0
Local government	7	1.4
Political party	5	1.0
Military	20	4.0
Police	157	31.4
Religious leader	1	0.2
Court	2	0.4
NGO	1	0.2
Social organization	3	0.6
Friends and family	27	5.4
Civil society organization	3	0.6
Ward administration	219	43.8
Township administration	9	1.8
Self-reliance	3	0.6
Did not answer	36	7.2
Total	500	100

2-5-1 If conflict or violence were to occur where you live, who would you call for help? Please rank your choices from first to third. (Second choice)

	Number	%
President	1	0.2
Central government	3	0.6
Local government	14	3.0

Political party	2	0.4
Military	23	5.0
Police	151	32.5
Religious leader	5	1.1
Court	3	0.6
Social organization	6	1.3
Member of parliament	4	0.9
Friends and family	19	4.1
Civil society organization	9	1.9
Ward administration	70	15.1
Township administration	27	5.8
Business owner	1	0.2
Self-reliance	1	0.2
Did not answer	125	26.9
Total	464	100

2-5-2 If conflict or violence were to occur where you live, who would you call for help? Please rank your choices from first to third. (Third choice)

	Number	%
President	2	0.6
Central government	6	1.8
Local government	21	6.2
Political party	2	0.6
Military	18	5.3
Police	39	11.5
Regionally influential people	2	0.6
Court	9	2.7
NGO	1	0.3
Social organization	1	0.3
Armed ethnic group	1	0.3
Member of parliament	5	1.5
Friends and family	14	4.1
Ward administration	17	5.0
Township administration	15	4.4
Self-reliance	3	0.9
Did not answer	183	54.0
Total	339	100



2-6 During an eviction,	who would you	call for help? I	Please rank your	choices from first to
third. (First choice)				

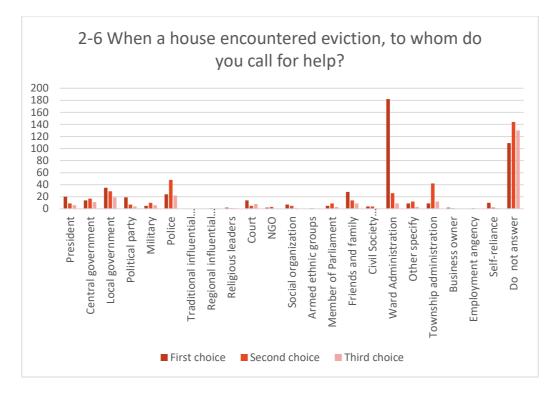
	Number	%
President	20	4.0
Central government	14	2.8
Local government	35	7.0
Political party	19	3.8
Military	5	1.0
Police	24	4.8
Religious leader	2	0.4
Court	14	2.8
NGO	2	0.4
Social organization	7	1.4
Member of parliament	5	1.0
Friends and family	28	5.6
Civil society organization	4	0.8
Ward administration	182	36.4
Other (specify)	9	1.8
Township administration	9	1.8
Business owner	2	0.4
Self-reliance	10	2.0
Did not answer	109	21.8
Total	500	100

2-6-1 During an eviction, who would you call for help? Please rank your choices from first to third. (Second choice)

President	9	2.3
Central government	17	4.3
Local government	29	7.4
Political party	7	1.8
Military	10	2.6
Police	48	12.3
Regionally influential people	1	0.3
Religious leader	1	0.3
Court	5	1.3
NGO	3	0.8
Social organization	5	1.3
Armed ethnic group	1	0.3
Member of parliament	9	2.3
Friends and family	14	3.6
Civil society organization	4	1.0
Ward administration	26	6.6
Other (specify)	12	3.1
Township administration	42	10.7
Business owner	1	0.3
Employment agency	1	0.3
Self-reliance	2	0.5
Did not answer	144	36.8
Total	391	100

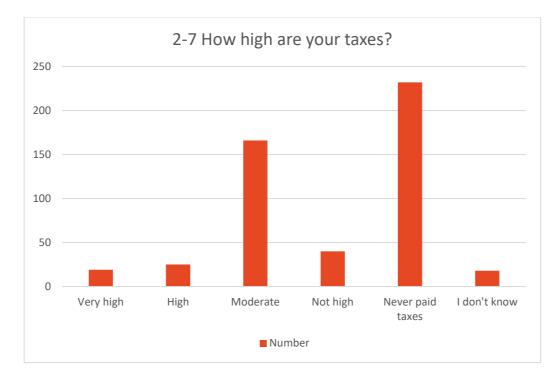
2-6-2 During an eviction, who would you call for help? Please rank your choices from first to third. (Third choice)

	Number	%
President	6	2.4
Central government	11	4.5
Local government	19	7.7
Political party	4	1.6
Military	6	2.4
Police	22	8.9
Regionally influential people	1	0.4
Religious leader	1	0.4
Court	8	3.2
Social organization	1	0.4
Member of parliament	3	1.2
Friends and family	9	3.6
Civil society organization	1	0.4
Ward administration	9	3.6
Other (specify)	3	1.2
Township administration	12	4.9
Self-reliance	1	0.4
Did not answer	130	52.6
Total	247	100



#### 2-7 How high are your taxes?

	(1) Very high	(2) High	(3) Moderate	(4) Not high	(5) Never paid taxes	(6) I don't know	Total
Number	19	25	166	40	232	18	500
%	3.8	5.0	33.2	8.0	46.4	3.6	100



#### 2-8 Do you think that the way the central government uses taxes is appropriate?

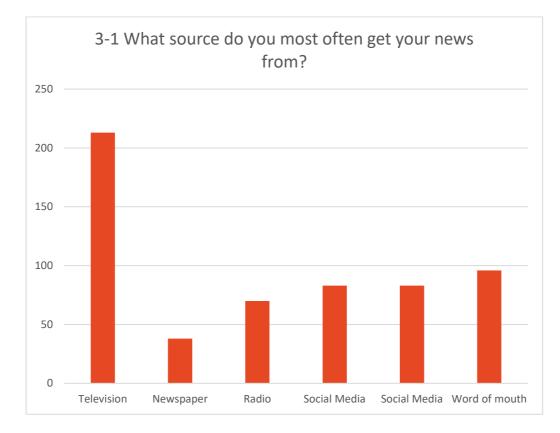
	(1) Very appropriate	(2) Appropriate	(3) Not that appropriate	(4) Inappropriate	(5) I don't know	(6) Did not answer	Total
Number	84	126	19	37	223	11	500

%	16.8	25.2	3.8	7.4	44.6	2.2	100

## 3. Exposure to the media

3-1 What source do you most often get your news from?

	Number	%
Television	213	42.6
Newspaper	38	7.6
Radio	70	14.0
Social media	83	16.6
Word of mouth	96	19.2
Total	500	100



	Number	%
MRTV-4	74	24.5
MRTV	60	19.9
DVB	50	16.6
Channel 7	42	13.9
MWD	32	10.6
MNTV	15	5.0
5 Plus	11	3.6
Channel 9	6	2.0
Skynet	4	1.3
Mahar	2	0.7
PSI TV	1	0.3
Mahar Bawdi	1	0.3

ME TV Channel	1	0.3
VOA	1	0.3
Channel K	1	0.3
I don't remember	1	0.3
Total	302	100

## 3-1-2 Which news source do you rely on most? (Newspaper) (Free answer)

	Number	%
San Taw Chain Newspaper	9	19.6
Myanmar Ah Lin Newspaper	8	17.4
Yadanarbon Newspaper	7	15.2
7day	7	15.2
Kyay Mone	6	13.0
Eleven	3	6.5
Crime news	2	4.3
Political news	1	2.2
Myawaddy Newspaper	1	2.2
Myanmar Maya Journal	1	2.2
Mizima Newspaper	1	2.2
Total	46	100

## 3-1-3 Which news source do you rely on most? (Radio) (Free answer)

	Number	%
MRTV radio	41	47.1
Shwe FM	9	10.3
Thazin FM	7	8.0
Cherry FM	7	8.0
BBC	7	8.0
Badamyar FM	5	5.7
Mandalay FM	2	2.3
DVB	2	2.3
RFA	1	1.1
Bagan FM	1	1.1
I don't remember	5	5.7
Total	87	100

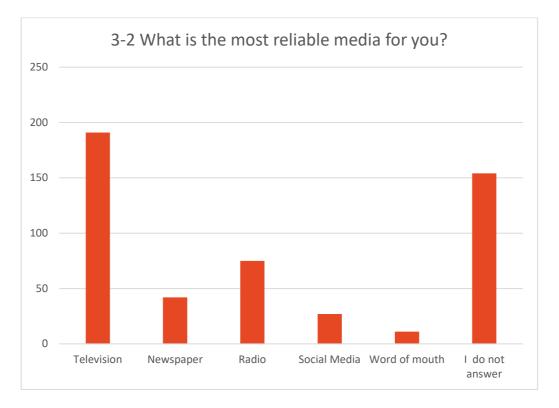
## 3-1-4 Which news source do you rely on most? (Social media) (Free answer)

	Number	%
Facebook	83	100
Total	83	100

## 3-2 What do you find the most reliable news source?

	Number	%
Television	191	38.2
Newspaper	42	8.4
Radio	75	15.0
Social media	27	5.4
Word of mouth	11	2.2

Did not answer	154	30.8
Total	500	100



## 3-2-1 What news source do you find the most reliable? (Television) (Free answer)

	Number	%
MRTV	64	28.8
DVB	45	20.3
MRTV-4	41	18.5
MWD	26	11.7
Channel 7	23	10.4
MNTV	7	3.2
Channel 9	4	1.8
Skynet	3	1.4
Mahar	3	1.4
5 Plus	3	1.4
BBC	2	0.9
Democratic Voice of Burma	1	0.5
Total	222	100

## 3-2-2 What news source do you find the most reliable? (Newspaper) (Free answer)

	Number	%
Myanmar Ah Lin Newspaper	15	31.9
Kyay Mone	10	21.3
Crime news	4	8.5
San Taw Chain Newspaper	4	8.5
Yadanarbon Newspaper	3	6.4
Political news	2	4.3

7 day	2	4.3
Myawaddy Newspaper	2	4.3
Mizima Newspaper	2	4.3
Eleven	2	4.3
Manaw Maya Journal	1	2.1
Total	47	100

## 3-2-3 What news source do you find the most reliable? (Radio) (Free answer)

	Number	%
MRTV radio	42	45.2
BBC	10	10.8
Thazin FM	9	9.7
Shwe FM	8	8.6
Badamyar FM	8	8.6
Cherry FM	7	7.5
RFA	2	2.2
Naypyitaw FM	2	2.2
DVB	2	2.2
Mandalay FM	1	1.1
Bagan FM	1	1.1
I don't remember.	1	1.1
Total	93	100

## 3-2-4 What news source do you find the most reliable? (Social media) (Free answer)

	Number	%
Facebook	26	96.0
Viber	1	4.0
Total	27	100

## 3-3 Do you use the internet?

	Number	%
Yes	181	36
No	319	64
Total	500	100

## 3-3-1 If yes, what kind of site do you visit most often?

	Number	%
News	50	27.6
Social media	76	42.0
Sports	8	4.4
Religion	6	3.3
Games	2	1.1
Film	6	3.3
Entertainment gossip	15	8.3
Other (specify)	17	9.4
Did not answer	1	0.6
Total	181	100

#### 3-4 Do you use social media?

	Number	%
Yes	89	85.0
No	16	15.0
Total	105	100

## 3-5 How often do you use social media?

	Number	%
Several times a day	94	57.0
Once a day	33	20.0
Several times a week	21	12.7
Once a week	13	7.9
Several times a month	2	1.2
Once a month	2	1.2
Total	165	100

## 3-6 What social media platform do you use most often?

	Number	%
Facebook	158	95.8
WeChat	1	0.6
Viber	6	3.6
Total	165	100

## 3-7 Whose social media do you view most often?

	Number	%
President	2	1.2
Politicians	14	8.5
Military / police	1	0.6
Entertainers	23	13.9
Athletes	14	8.5
Religious leaders	9	5.5
Cultural figures / intellectuals	9	5.5
Friends of acquaintances	35	21.2
Other (specify)	39	23.6
Did not answer	19	11.5
Total	165	100

## 3-8 How often do you post on social media?

	Number	%
Several times a day	17	10.3
Once a day	5	3.0
Several times a week	16	9.7
Once a week	23	13.9
Several times a month	11	6.7
Once a month	15	9.1
I rarely post	25	15.2
I never post	51	30.9

Did not answer	2	1.2
Total	165	100

3-9 Why do you post on social media?

	Number	%
Share ideas about politics and society	19	14.8
Talk with family and friends	9	7.0
For business	2	1.6
Display my activities and photos	42	32.8
Disseminate information	52	40.6
Did not answer	4	3.1
Total	128	100

3-10 Do you agree with using social media to mobilize people for demonstrations or elections?

	(1) Agree	(2) Disagree	(3) Did not answer	Total
Number	215	157	128	500
%	43.0	31.4	25.6	100

3-11 Do you agree with using social media to share your opinions with the president or officials?

	(1) Agree	(2) Disagree	(3) Did not answer	Total
Number	345	61	94	500
%	69.0	12.2	18.8	100

#### 3-12 Are you afraid that social media is used to spread fake news?

	(1) I am scared.	(2) I'm not scared.	(3) Did not answer.	Total
Number	401	71	28	500
%	80.2	14.2	5.6	100

#### 4. Knowledge about democracy

#### 4-1 Do you think that democracy is necessary in Myanmar?

	(1) Necessary	(2) Not necessary	(3) Did not answer	Total
Number	404	18	78	500
%	80.8	3.6	15.6	100

#### 4-2 If democracy is not necessary, what political system is?

	Number	%
Military regime	7	38.9
Religious regime	1	5.6
Socialism	2	11.1
Did not answer	8	44.4
Total	18	100

#### 4-3 Democracy

	(1) Strongly agree	(2) Agree	(3) Not so agree	(4) Disagree	(5) I don't know	Total
4-3-1 Do you think that democracy means free and fair elections?						
Number	320	123	3	6	48	500
%	64.0	24.6	0.6	1.2	9.6	100

4-3-2 Do yo	u think that demo	cracy means fre	edom of express	ion and freedom	of the press?	
Number	309	117	12	6	56	500
%	61.8	23.4	2.4	1.2	11.2	100
4-3-3 Do yo	u think that demo	cracy means fre	edom to particip	ate in demo or s	trikes?	
Number	167	78	48	119	88	500
%	33.4	15.6	9.6	23.8	17.6	100
4-3-4 Do you nation?	u think that demo	ocracy means the	will of the peop	le is reflected in	the policies and	laws of the
Number	261	105	20	18	94	500
%	52.2	21.0	4.0	3.6	19.2	100
4-3-5 Do yo	u think that demo	cracy means red	lucing or eradica	ting human righ	ts violations?	
Number	232	90	45	48	85	500
%	46.4	18.0	9.0	9.6	17.0	100
4-3-6 Do yo	u think that demo	cracy means red	lucing or eradica	ting corruption?	)	
Number	297	102	18	33	50	500
%	59.4	20.4	3.6	6.6	10.0	100
4-3-7 Do yo	u think that demo	cracy means red	lucing or eradica	ting poverty?		
Number	297	82	30	37	54	500
%	59.4	16.4	6.0	7.4	10.8	100
4-3-8 Do yo	u think that demo	cracy means con	ntrolling power?			
Number	220	75	33	66	106	500
%	44.0	15.0	6.6	13.2	21.2	100
4-3-9 Do yo	u think that demo	cracy means pea	aceful resolution	of conflict?		
Number	345	92	8	15	40	500
%	69.0	18.4	1.6	3.0	8.0	100

# 4-4 What does democracy mean to you? (Free answer)

	Number	%
Rights for citizens / justice and freedom.	256	48.0
Solidarity and peace.	39	7.3
I think everyone should have equal rights.	37	6.9
Democracy means transparency.	16	3.0
The country is developed and peaceful.	14	2.6
Decreasing poverty.	12	2.3
I think democracy means being systematic and organized.	12	2.3
I think that democracy would exist if the leaders rule with righteousness and morality.	9	1.7
Peacefully coexisting with kindness and affection in society, economics, and religion.	6	1.1
A country led through collaboration.	6	1.1
A bad system. <sup>1</sup>	5	0.9
Its actions are right. <sup>2</sup>	2	0.4
Human rights.	2	0.4
Governed by people of the same nationality.	2	0.4
Eradication of corruption.	1	0.2
Balance of power.	1	0.2
Loss of rights.	1	0.2
The prices of commodities are lower.	1	0.2
Individuals should act in democratic ways.	1	0.2
I don't understand. / I don't know.	110	20.6

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It means that democracy is unsuitable for Myanmar.
 <sup>2</sup> It means that the approaches or activities under the democracy system are right.

<b>Total</b> 533 100			
	Total	533	100

#### 4-5 What is the current status of democracy in Myanmar?

	(1) Good	(2) Good enough	(3) Normal	(4) Not very good	(5) Did not answer	Total
Number	125	39	165	97	74	500
%	25.0	7.8	33.0	19.4	14.8	100

## 4-5-1 Why is democracy in this state?

	Number	%
Because democracy exacerbates corruption.	10	8.4
Because democracy disrupts security and the social order.	18	15.1
Because Myanmar has been Westernized.	5	4.2
Because democracy does not conform to religious values.	3	2.5
Because democracy is cannot protect the state.	9	7.6
Because democracy produces economic disparities.	25	21.0
Other.	35	29.4
Did not answer.	14	11.8
Total	119	100

4-6-1 What means do you think is best for people to communicate their intentions? (First choice)

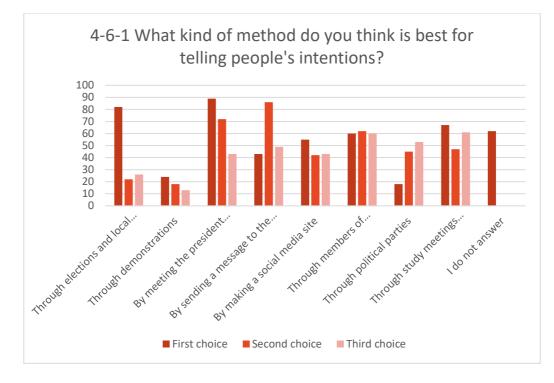
	Number	%
Through general and local elections	82	16.4
Through demonstrations	24	4.8
By meeting the president and officials	89	17.8
By sending a message to the president	43	8.6
By creating a social media site	55	11.0
Through members of parliament	60	12.0
Through political parties	18	3.6
Through study meetings organized by the state counsellor of Myanmar	67	13.4
Did not answer	62	12.4
Total	500	100

4-6-2 What means do you think is best for people to communicate their intentions? (Second choice)

	Number	%
Through general and local elections	22	5.6
Through demonstrations	18	4.6
By meeting the president and officials	72	18.3
By sending a message to the president	86	21.8
By creating a social media site	42	10.7
Through members of parliament	62	15.7
Through political parties	45	11.4
Through study meetings organized by the state counsellor of Myanmar	47	11.9
Total	394	100

4-6-3 What means do you think is best for people to communicate their intentions? (Third choice)

	Number	%
Through general and local elections	26	7.5
Through demonstrations	13	3.7
By meeting the president and officials	43	12.4
By sending a message to the president	49	14.1
By creating a social media site	43	12.4
Through members of parliament	60	17.2
Through political parties	53	15.2
Through study meetings organized by the state counsellor of Myanmar	61	17.5
Total	348	100



#### 4-7 Degree of approval

	(1) Strongly agree	(2) Agree	(3) Not so agree	(4) Disagree	(5) I don't know	Total	
4-7-1 Do you	4-7-1 Do you agree with the opinion that, if there is a strong capable leader, there is no need for elections?						
Number	286	83	20	68	43	500	
%	57.2	16.6	4.0	13.6	8.6	100	
4-7-2 Do you agree with the opinion that it is not a problem for human rights violations occur in order to ensure security?						n order to	
Number	153	91	45	132	79	500	
%	30.6	18.2	9.0	26.4	15.8	100	
4-7-3 Do you	agree with the	opinion that laws	s and policies mu	ist be based on r	eligious teaching	s?	
Number	259	97	18	44	82	500	
%	51.8	19.4	3.6	8.8	16.4	100	
4-7-4 Do you agree with the opinion that a person's religion should be indicated on a national certificate?							
Number	402	58	6	16	18	500	
%	80.4	11.6	1.2	3.2	3.6	100	

4-8-1 Have you ever received money or items/gifts from parliamentary, presidential, or gubernatorial candidates or their supporters.

Number %

Yes	5	1.0
No	495	99.0
Total	500	100

#### 4-8-2 If so, what did you receive?

	Number	%
T-shirts / hats	2	40.0
Lamps / torches	2	40.0
Food	1	20.0
Total	5	100

#### 4-8-3 Why?

	Number	%
For the campaign.	3	60.0
Because we were in a difficult situation.	1	20.0
I don't know.	1	20.0
Total	5	100

4-9-1 Have you ever heard of anyone receiving money or items / gifts from parliamentary, presidential, or gubernatorial candidates or their supporters?

	Number	%
Yes	59	11.8
No	430	86.0
Did not answer	11	2.2
Total	500	100

## 4-9-2 If so, what did they receive?

	Number	%
T-shirt / hats	10	16.9
Lamps / torches	1	1.7
Money	27	45.8
Solar battery	2	3.4
Lunch box / ballpoint pens / books	2	3.4
Food	5	8.5
Car	1	1.7
Business permits	1	1.7
I don't know	10	16.9
Total	59	100

## 5. Attitudes toward identity, discrimination, intolerance, and persecution

## 5-1 Strength of identity

	(1) Very strong	(2) Strong	(3) Not so strong	(4) Not strong	(5) I don't know	Total
5-1-1 How st	trong is your reli	gious identity?				
Number	481	16	1	0	2	500
%	96.2	3.2	0.2	0	0.4	100
5-1-2 How st	trong is your eth	nic identity?				
Number	438	37	8	9	8	500
%	87.6	7.4	1.6	1.8	1.6	100

5-1-3 How strongly do you identify with the area where you live?						
Number	384	64	24	18	10	500
%	76.8	12.8	4.8	3.6	2.0	100
5-1-4 How s	trong is your nati	ional (Myanmar)	identity?			
Number	442	39	7	2	10	500
%	88.4	7.8	1.4	0.4	2.0	100

# 5-2-1 Which do you identify with most? (First choice)

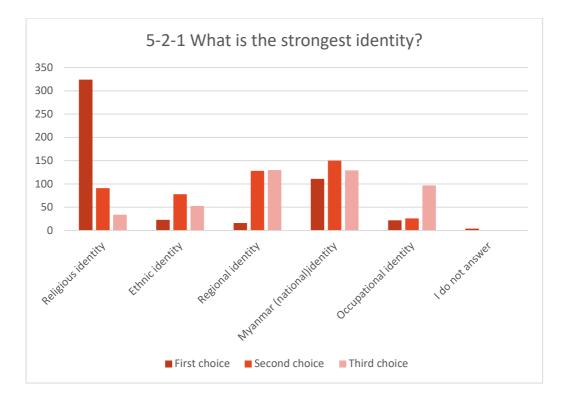
	Number	%
Religious identity	324	64.8
Ethnic identity	23	4.6
Regional identity	16	3.2
Myanmar (national) identity	111	22.2
Occupational identity	22	4.4
Did not answer	4	0.8
Total	500	100

# 5-2-2 Which do you identify with most? (Second choice)

	Number	%
Religious identity	91	19.2
Ethnic identity	78	16.5
Regional identity	128	27.1
Myanmar (national) identity	150	31.7
Occupational identity	26	5.5
Total	473	100

# 5-2-3 Which do you identify with most? (Third choice)

	Number	%
Religious identity	34	7.7
Ethnic identity	53	12.0
Regional identity	130	29.3
Myanmar (national) identity	129	29.1
Occupational identity	97	21.9
Total	443	100



#### 5-3-1 Do you think there is discrimination in Myanmar?

	Number	%
Yes	269	53.8
No	175	35.0
Did not answer	56	11.2
Total	500	100

## 5-3-2 If yes, please indicate what types of discrimination people experience.

	Number	%
Religious	92	24.2
Ethnic	17	4.5
Racial	69	18.2
Poor People	143	37.6
Physical disabilities	8	2.1
Foreigners/migrants	2	0.5
Other	33	8.7
Did not answer	16	4.2
Total	380	100

## 5-4-1 Do you think there is intolerance in Myanmar?

	Number	%
Yes	243	48.6
No	170	34.0
Did not answer	87	17.4
Total	500	100

5-4-2 If yes, please indicate what people are intolerant of.

			Number	%
--	--	--	--------	---

Religion	127	37.2
Ethnicity	24	7.0
Race	71	20.8
Poverty	61	17.9
Physical disabilities	6	1.8
Foreigners	5	1.5
Other	15	4.4
Did not answer	32	9.4
Total	341	100

#### 5-5-1 Do you think there is persecution in Myanmar?

	Number	%
Yes	204	40.8
No	220	44.0
Did not answer	76	15.2
Total	500	100

5-5-2 If yes, please indicate reasons why people experience discrimination.

	Number	%
Religion	39	15.1
Ethnicity	9	3.5
Race	36	13.9
Poverty	80	30.9
Physical disabilities	6	2.3
Being an immigrant/foreigner	3	1.2
Other	44	17
Did not answer	42	16.2
Total	259	100

## 5-6-1 Have you ever seen or heard of acts of discrimination?

	Number	%
Yes	219	43.8
No	264	52.8
Did not answer	17	3.4
Total	500	100

#### 5-6-2 If so, during which period of time did these acts occur?

	Number	%
Neo-Independence era (1948-1961)	35	6.9
Revolutionary Council and Socialist era (1962-1988)	73	14.6
Military government (1989-2010)	121	24.2
U Thein Sein government (2011-2015)	119	23.8
NLD government (2015-present)	153	30.5
Total	501	100

## 5-7-1 Have you ever seen or heard of acts of intolerance?

	Number	%
Yes	160	32.0

No	313	62.6
Did not answer	27	5.4
Total	500	100

5-7-2 If so, during which period of time did these acts occur?

	Number	%
Neo-Independence era (1948-1961)	23	6.6
Revolutionary Council and Socialist era (1962-1988)	47	13.5
Military government (1989-2010)	81	23.2
U Thein Sein government (2011-2015)	85	24.4
NLD government (2015-present)	113	32.4
Total	349	100

#### 5-8-1 Have you ever seen or heard of acts of persecution?

	Number	%
Yes	167	33.4
No	305	61.0
Did not answer	28	5.6
Total	500	100

## 5-8-2 If so, during which period of time did these acts occur?

	Number	%
Neo-Independence era (1948-1961)	27	7.8
Revolutionary Council and Socialist era (1962-1988)	55	15.9
Military government (1989-2010)	81	23.3
U Thein Sein government (2011-2015)	71	20.5
NLD government (2015-present)	113	32.6
Total	347	100

5-9 To what extent do you agree with the following solutions to the problems of discrimination, intolerance, and persecution?

	(1) Strongly agree	(2) Agree	(3) Not so agree	(4) Disagree	(5) I don't know	Total
5-9-1 The majority should restrain itself, respecting the minority's freedom and faith.					d faith.	
Number	299	133	6	17	45	500
%	59.8	26.6	1.2	3.4	9.0	100
5-9-2 A mine	ority should restr	ain itself and res	pect the emotion	ns of the majority	/.	
Number	287	148	6	15	44	500
%	57.4	29.6	1.2	3.0	8.8	100
5-9-3 The go	overnment should	l take resolute ac	tion against into	lerance, discrimi	ination, and perso	ecution.
Number	375	73	7	6	39	500
%	75.0	14.6	1.4	1.2	7.8	100
5-9-4 The army should solve the problem.						
Number	276	79	28	54	63	500
%	55.2	15.8	5.6	10.8	12.6	100

#### 6. Attitudes toward external actors (countries and international organizations)

6-1 Opinion of foreign countries and organizations

	(1) I like it very much.	(2) I like it.	(3) I don't like it.	(4) I don't like it at all.	(5) Neither.	(6) I don't know.	Total
6-1-1United	States of Ame	rica					

Number	88	118	64	61	23	146	500
%	17.6	23.6	12.8	12.2	4.6	29.2	100
6-1-2 United	Kingdom		•		•		
Number	48	96	77	71	27	183	500
%	9.2	19.2	15.4	14.2	5.4	36.6	100
6-1-3 China				•			
Number	38	77	99	123	29	134	500
%	7.6	15.4	19.8	24.6	5.8	26.8	100
6-1-4 Japan							
Number	96	118	69	57	26	134	500
%	19.2	23.6	13.8	11.4	5.2	26.8	100
6-1-5 India							
Number	51	94	90	100	29	136	500
%	10.2	18.8	18.0	20.0	5.8	27.2	100
6-1-6 Singap	oore						
Number	101	129	65	50	29	126	500
%	20.2	25.8	13.0	10.0	5.8	25.2	100
6-1-7 Thaila	nd						
Number	68	131	79	77	32	113	500
%	13.6	26.2	15.8	15.4	6.4	22.6	100
6-1-8 Indone	esia						
Number	24	54	119	109	32	162	500
%	4.8	10.8	23.8	21.8	6.4	32.4	100
6-1-9 Bangla	adesh						
Number	17	26	106	178	26	147	500
%	3.4	5.2	21.2	35.6	5.2	29.4	100
6-1-10 ASEA	AN			-	-		
Number	123	163	36	28	17	133	500
%	24.6	32.6	7.2	5.6	3.4	26.6	100
6-1-11 Unite	d Nations			•	•	•	
Number	127	155	26	30	23	139	500
%	25.4	31.0	5.2	6.0	4.6	27.8	100

## 6-2 Level of threat

	(1) Major threat	(2) Minor threat	(3) No threat	(4) I don't know	Total
6-2-1 To what	at extent do you thin	k the United States	of America is a thre	at?	
Number	35	52	174	239	500
%	7.0	10.4	34.8	47.8	100
6-2-2 To wh	at extent do you thin	nk the United Kingd	lom is a threat?		
Number	6	23	210	281	500
%	1.2	4.6	42.0	52.2	100
6-2-3 To wh	at extent do you thin	k China is a threat?			
Number	67	56	156	221	500
%	13.4	11.2	31.2	44.2	100
6-2-4 To wh	at extent do you thin	k Japan is a threat?			
Number	8	8	264	220	500
%	1.6	1.6	52.8	44.0	100
6-2-5 To wh	at extent do you thin	k India is a threat?			
Number	15	18	240	227	500
%	3.0	3.6	48.0	45.4	100
6-2-6 To wh	at extent do you thin	k Singapore is a thr	eat?		
Number	3	8	266	223	500
%	0.6	1.6	53.2	44.6	100
6-2-7 To what	at extent do you thin	k Thailand is a three	at?		
Number	10	41	238	211	500
%	2.0	8.2	47.6	42.2	100

6-2-8 To what	6-2-8 To what extent do you think Indonesia is a threat?						
Number	5	17	231	247	500		
%	1.0	3.4	46.2	49.4	100		
6-2-9 To what extent do you think Bangladesh is a threat?							
Number	56	67	154	223	500		
%	11.2	13.4	30.8	44.6	100		
6-2-10 To w	hat extent do you thi	ink the ASEAN is a	threat?				
Number	7	17	260	216	500		
%	1.4	3.4	52.0	43.2	100		
6-2-11 To w	hat extent do you thi	ink the United Natio	ons is a threat?				
Number	18	37	221	224	500		
%	3.6	7.4	44.2	44.8	100		

## 6-3 If you answered 1 or 2 in the above question, why did you answer this way? 6-3-1 United States of America

	Number	%
Because part of the territory of Myanmar may come under this country's control.	4	3.7
Because this country may steal Myanmar's natural resources.	5	4.6
Because of the possibility that Myanmar people would be subject to discrimination and persecution in this country.	1	0.9
For having too much influence on the government.	12	11.1
For interfering in Myanmar's economy.	27	25.0
For interfering in Myanmar's domestic politics.	34	31.5
Other reason.	6	5.6
Did not answer.	19	17.6
Total	108	100

## 6-3-2 United Kingdom

	Number	%
Because part of the territory of Myanmar may come under this country's control.	2	5.9
Because this country may steal Myanmar's natural resources.	5	14.7
Because of the possibility that Myanmar people would be subject to discrimination and persecution in this country.	1	2.9
For having too much influence on Myanmar's government.	3	8.8
For interfering in Myanmar's economy.	4	11.8
For interfering in Myanmar's domestic politics.	8	23.5
Other reason.	3	8.8
Did not answer.	8	23.5
Total	34	100

## 6-3-3 China

	Number	%
Because part of the territory of Myanmar may come under this country's control.	31	16.8
Because this country may steal Myanmar's natural resources.	36	19.6
Because many companies from this country are flooding into Myanmar.	14	7.6
Many workers and refugees from this country are flooding into Myanmar.	2	1.1
Because of the possibility that Myanmar people would be subject to discrimination and persecution in this country.	7	3.8
For having too much influence on Myanmar's government.	8	4.3

For interfering in Myanmar's economy.	58	31.5
For interfering in Myanmar's domestic politics.	11	6.0
Other reason.	7	3.8
Did not answer.	10	5.4
Total	184	100

## 6-3-4 Japan

	Number	%
Because part of the territory of Myanmar may come under this country's control.	2	11.1
Because this country may steal Myanmar's natural resources.	2	11.1
For having too much influence on Myanmar's government.	1	5.6
For interfering in Myanmar's economy.	4	22.2
For interfering in Myanmar's domestic politics.	4	22.2
Other reason.	4	22.2
Did not answer.	1	5.6
Total	18	100

## 6-3-5 India

	Number	%
Because part of the territory of Myanmar may come under this country's control.	9	24.3
Because this country may steal Myanmar's natural resources.	3	8.1
Many workers and refugees from this country are flooding into Myanmar.	9	24.3
For interfering in Myanmar's economy.	4	10.8
For interfering in Myanmar's domestic politics.	1	2.7
Other reason.	4	10.8
Did not answer.	7	18.9
Total	37	100

## 6-3-6 Singapore

	Number	%
Because part of the territory of Myanmar may come under this country's control.	1	7.7
Because this country may steal Myanmar's natural resources.	2	15.4
Because many companies from this country are flooding into Myanmar.	1	7.7
Because of the possibility that Myanmar people would be subject to discrimination and persecution in this country.	1	7.7
For interfering in Myanmar's economy.	6	46.2
For interfering in Myanmar's domestic politics.	1	7.7
Other reason.	1	7.7
Total	13	100

## 6-3-7 Thailand

	Number	%
Because part of the territory of Myanmar may come under this country's control.	10	15.9
Because this country may steal Myanmar's natural resources.	3	4.8
Because many companies from this country are flooding into Myanmar.	1	1.6
Many workers and refugees from this country are flooding into Myanmar.	1	1.6

Because of the possibility that Myanmar people would be subject to discrimination and persecution in this country.	27	42.9
For having too much influence on Myanmar's government.	1	1.6
For interfering in Myanmar's economy.	8	12.7
Other reason.	7	11.1
Did not answer.	5	7.9
Total	63	100

# 6-3-8 Indonesia

	Number	%
Because part of the territory of Myanmar may come under this country's control.	2	6.7
Because this country may steal Myanmar's natural resources.	2	6.7
Many workers and refugees from this country are flooding into Myanmar.	3	10.0
Because of the possibility that Myanmar people would be subject to discrimination and persecution in this country.	7	23.3
For having too much influence on Myanmar's government.	1	3.3
For interfering in Myanmar's economy.	2	6.7
For interfering in Myanmar's domestic politics.	5	16.7
Other reason.	4	13.3
Did not answer.	4	13.3
Total	30	100

## 6-3-9 Bangladesh

	Number	%
Because part of the territory of Myanmar may come under this country's control.	46	30.5
Because this country may steal Myanmar's natural resources.	3	2.0
Because many companies from this country are flooding into Myanmar.	1	0.7
Many workers and refugees from this country are flooding into Myanmar.	54	35.8
Because of the possibility that Myanmar people would be subject to discrimination and persecution in this country.	2	1.3
For having too much influence on Myanmar's government.	2	1.3
For interfering in Myanmar's economy.	3	2.0
For interfering in Myanmar's domestic politics.	8	5.3
Other reason.	17	11.3
Did not answer.	15	9.9
Total	151	100

## 6-3-10 ASEAN

	Number	%
Because part of the territory of Myanmar may come under this organization's control.	2	6.5
Because this organization may steal Myanmar's natural resources.	2	6.5
For having too much influence on Myanmar's government.	6	19.4
For interfering in Myanmar's economy.	4	12.9
For interfering in Myanmar's domestic politics.	12	38.7
Other reason.	2	6.5
Did not answer.	3	9.7
Total	31	100

# 6-3-11 United Nations

	Number	%
Because part of the territory of Myanmar may come under this organization's control.	2	2.9
Because this organization may steal Myanmar's natural resources.	3	4.4
Because of the possibility that Myanmar people would be subject to discrimination and persecution in this organization.	1	1.5
For having too much influence on Myanmar's government.	17	25.0
For interfering in Myanmar's economy.	4	5.9
For interfering in Myanmar's domestic politics.	30	44.1
Other reason.	4	5.9
Did not answer.	7	10.3
Total	55	100

#### 6-4 Level of Threat

	(1) Major threat	(2) Minor threat	(3) No threat	(4) I don't know	Total	
6-4-1 To what	6-4-1 To what extent is the separatist movement a threat to Myanmar?					
Number	194	91	80	135	500	
%	38.8	18.2	16.0	27.0	100	
6-4-2 To what	at extent is terrorism	a threat to Myanma	ar?			
Number	261	100	56	83	500	
%	52.2	20.0	11.2	16.6	100	
6-4-3 To what	at extent is religious	extremism a threat	to Myanmar?			
Number	218	83	99	100	500	
%	43.6	16.6	19.8	20.0	100	
6-4-4 To what	at extent are religiou	is heretics (cults) a t	hreat to Myanmar?			
Number	133	84	197	86	500	
%	26.6	16.8	197	86	100	
6-4-5 To what	at extent is violence	a threat to Myanma	r?			
Number	77	128	236	59	500	
%	15.4	25.6	47.2	11.8	100	
6-4-6 To what	at extent is excessive	e freedom a threat to	o Myanmar?			
Number	239	107	87	67	500	
%	47.8	21.4	17.4	13.4	100	
6-4-7 To what extent is online flaming or lynching fueled by social media a threat to Myanmar?						
Number	189	152	79	80	500	
%	37.8	30.4	15.8	16	100	
6-4-8 To what extent is the division in society caused by fake news a threat to Myanmar?						
Number	311	105	36	48	500	
%	62.2	21.0	7.2	9.6	100	

# 6-5 Do you know about the ASEAN?

	Number	%
I have never heard of it.	85	17.0
I only know the name.	246	49.2
I know that that ASEAN is a organization.	168	33.6
Did not answer.	1	0.2
Total	500	100

# 7. Demographic variables

## D1. Sex

	Total		Urban		Rural	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Male	250	50.0	100	50.0	150	50.0
Female	250	50.0	100	50.0	150	50.0
Total	500	100	200	100	300	100

## D2. Age

	То	tal	Ur	ban	Ru	ıral
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
18-19	13	2.6	5	2.5	8	2.6
20-29	94	18.8	41	20.5	53	17.7
30-39	113	22.6	51	25.5	62	20.7
40-49	111	22.2	39	19.5	72	24.0
50-59	83	16.6	33	16.5	50	16.7
60+	86	17.2	31	15.5	55	18.3
Total	500	100	200	100	300	100

## D3. Education

	Number	%
I did not graduate from elementary school, and I cannot read letters.	24	4.8
I did not graduate from elementary school, but I can read letters.	10	2.0
Monastic education	27	5.4
Grade 0	5	1.0
Grade 1	7	1.4
Grade 2	24	4.8
Grade 3	44	8.8
Grade 4	91	18.2
Grade 5	24	4.8
Grade 6	25	5.0
Grade 7	44	8.8
Grade 8	38	7.6
Grade 9	67	13.4
Grade 10	9	1.8
Incomplete undergraduate / bachelor's degree (Specify highest year)	14	2.8
Undergraduate / bachelor's degree	45	9.0
Masters or doctoral degree	2	0.4
Total	500	100

#### D4. Daily Use Languages

	Number	%
Burmese	422	84.0
Karen	1	0
Danu	1	0
Mon	10	1.5
Shan	1	0
Inntar	14	2.0
Pa'O	10	1.5
Gawrakhar	3	0

Rakhine	56	11.0
Kaman (Kamein)	4	0
Total	522 <sup>3</sup>	100

#### **D.5** Occupation

	Number	%
Labor, casual laborer	57	11.4
Skilled workers (e.g. Carpenter, masonry, welding, goldsmith, tailor, etc.)	46	9.2
Farmer	98	19.6
Professional (lawyer, doctor, engineer, computer technician)	5	1.0
Private paid employee	24	4.8
NGO/ CSO/ CBO staff	2	0.4
Civil servant/ Government	23	4.6
Trader	9	1.8
Student	8	1.6
Dependent	89	17.8
Retired (without salary)	4	0.8
Pensioner, retired (with salary)	11	2.2
Self-employed (business owner)	19	3.8
Family business, including family-run convenience store	59	11.8
Street hawker/ Vendor	24	4.8
Unemployed	22	4.4
Total	500	100

#### D6. Income

	Number	%
No income	124	24.8
Less than USD 100	141	28.2
USD 101–200	146	29.2
USD 201–300	43	8.6
USD 301–500	19	3.8
USD 501–1,000	5	1.0
More than 1,001	7	1.4
Refused to answer	15	3.0
Total	500	100

1 USD = 1,400 kyats (the exchange rate between USD and MMK in 2018)

#### D7. Religion

	Number	%
Buddhism	422	84.4
Christianity (Catholic)	1	0.2
Christianity (Baptist)	2	0.4
Hinduism	1	0.2
Islam	74	14.8
Total	500	100

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In Myanmar, most people use Burmese as daily usage. At the same time, they also use their ethnic language. So, we counted all languages which are used by the people in their daily life. Therefore, the total number of languages is more than the number of interviewees.

#### D8. Ethnicity

	Number	%
Bamar	330	66.0
Karen Bamar	2	0.4
Tamil	1	0.2
Poe-Karen	1	0.2
Muslim <sup>4</sup>	38	7.6
Mon	14	2.8
Shan	2	0.4
Danu Bamar	1	0.2
Inn Tar	29	5.8
Pa'O	10	2.0
Gawakhar	5	1.0
Rakhine	43	8.6
Ko Kant	1	0.2
Danu	2	0.4
Pa'O Bamar	1	0.2
Karen	2	0.4
Kaman (Kamein)	18	3.6
Total	500	100

 $<sup>^4</sup>$  The Burmese-Muslim ethnic who are living inside of Myanmar and they identify themselves as "Muslim".