

Asian Barometer Survey Wave 5

2018-2020

TECHNICAL REPORT

(MYANMAR)

Asian Barometer Survey

Hu Fu Center for East Asia Democratic Studies

National Taiwan University

January 2020

Contact Information:

Asian Barometer Survey No.1, Sec. 4
Hu Fu Center for East Asia Democratic Studies
College of Social Sciences National Taiwan University
Roosevelt Road, Taipei 10617
Tel: 886-2-3366-8456 Fax: 886-2-2365-7179
Email: asianbarometer@ntu.edu.tw

Myanmar:

Yangon School of Political Science/Myanmar Political Science Association
No. 122, 51st street (middle block),
Pazundaung Township,
Yangon, Yangon Division
Myanmar
Tel: +95 1 292 205
Email: yangonschool@gmail.com

Myanmar Academic Team:

Myat Thu, Yangon School of Political Science, Country Director
Email: yangonschool@gmail.com

Senior Advisor, Bridget Welsh
Email: bridgetwelsh1@gmail.com

1. BASIC INFORMATION

1.1. LOCATION

The 2019 Asian Barometer Survey covered the area of Myanmar, including all fourteen states and regions –Ayerwaddy, Bago, Chin, Kachin, Kayah, Kayin, Magway, Mandalay, Mon, Rakhine, Saigaing, Shan, Tanintharyi and Yangon – and the administrative territory of Nay Pyi Taw. Three areas were excluded due to intense fighting, Northern Shan, Eastern Shan and northern Rakhine. As detailed below, this involved three replacements of sampling points.

1.2. POPULATION

The population of Myanmar in December 2018 was 53.7 million people. The capital is located in Nay Pyi Taw. Additionally, there are two major municipalities, namely Yangon and Mandalay.

1.3 GOVERNMENT

Myanmar is known as the Republic of the Union of Myanmar (formerly Burma). It has a president as the head of state. U Win Myint has held this position since March 2018. Power also rests in the State Counsellor, a position held by Aung San Sui Kyi since March 2016. Myanmar is a hybrid presidential system set out in the 2008 Constitution. Power is concentrated in the executive branch but shared with the legislature branch makes laws and has governance oversight. From 2016, the system has evolved into a more semi-presidential system with greater concentration of power.

Myanmar held a free and fair national election in November 2015, removing a military-led government in power since 1962. The election brought the National League for Democracy (NLD) into power as it secured 57% of the popular vote, and 86% of the seats in the two legislative bodies. As outlined in the 2008 Constitution, the military or Tatmadaw holds 25% of the seats in the legislatures. The upper house, the Amyotha Hluttaw or House of Nationalities, is comprised of 12 representatives from the different states/regions, with one representative from self-administered zones. A 168 of 224 seats are elected. The Pyitaw Hluttaw or House of Representatives is comprised of 440 seats, 330 of which are elected through a first-past-the post system. Myanmar legislatures are comprised of 17 political parties. Besides the NLD, the main political party is the Union Solidarity and Development Party and ethnic-based parties, notably the Arakan National Party, the Shan National League for Democracy, Ta'ang National Party, Mon National Party, Zomi Congress for Democracy and the Pa-O National Organization. The next legislative elections are scheduled in November/December, 2020, from which a president will be indirectly elected.

1.4 ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

Myanmar's economy has experienced rapid economic growth, with a growth of 6.8% in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2018 and is expected to grow by 6.6% in 2019. This comes after 5.9% growth in GDP in 2016, and 6.8% in 2017. Myanmar economy was worth 71.21 billion US dollars in 2018.

According to the World Bank (2019), Myanmar is a lower-middle income economy with a GNI per capita of US\$1,210 in 2017. Strong economic growth translated into a reduction in poverty from 48 to 32 percent between 2005 and 2015. There are significant regional variations across the different states and regions, with those in conflict areas and remote regions experiencing higher levels of poverty. Myanmar remains largely a rural society, with poverty concentrated in rural areas. Strong growth has not been seen to be evenly distributed geographically and across society as a whole. High inflation with a depreciation of the local currency, the kyat, has contributed to the unevenness experienced by more vulnerable communities.

1.5 IMPORTANT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EVENTS

Myanmar has faced a serious crisis in the Western state of Rakhine. While the causes of the crisis are deeply rooted, the crisis escalated from August 2017 with over one million members of the Muslim Rohingya (also known as ‘Bengali’ within Myanmar) being forced to leave the state. The United Nations has characterized the conflict as a genocide and called on Myanmar to reduce the threat of genocide through greater efforts to reduce the persecution of this community and repatriation. In January 2020 the International Court of Justice called on the Myanmar to protect the Rohingya community. The crisis in the Rakhine has been further complicated by the emergence of armed local groups which have escalated the fighting in 2019 in the northern Rakhine.

Despite efforts to promote peace, Myanmar continues to experience high levels of conflict between the military and local ethnic communities. Besides Rakhine, there is fighting in the Shan and Kachin states. This has contributed to over half a million Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and undermined efforts to strengthen the peace process. Ongoing peace agreements with other ethnic communities have come under strain.

Myanmar has faced considerable international criticism for its handling of the Rakhine crisis, which has led to a realignment of its foreign policy and a closer relationship with China, one of the leading investors in Myanmar.

2. TIMETABLE

Activity	Duration
Initial Preparation Meetings	February 15-17, 2019
Supervisor Training	August 30-September 2, 2019
Interviewer Training	September 3-4, 2019
Pre-Test	September 4, 2019
Fieldwork	September 6-October 15, 2019
Quality Control and Re-testing	October 19-October 31, 2019

3. RESPONDENTS

Data was gathered through face-to-face interviews of adult citizen’s aged 18 years old. The baseline information for the sampling for the national survey was drawn from the 2014 National

Survey population data collected by the Myanmar Ministry of Immigration and Population. Monks, prisoners, military personnel stationed on military facilities and individuals in Internal Displaced Persons (IDPs) including Rohingya were not included in the survey.

4. SAMPLING PROCESS AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 ESTABLISHING A FRAMEWORK FOR SAMPLING

The ABS created its own sampling frame. We used the 2014 population data in Myanmar provided by the Ministry of Population and Immigration. The data comprised a total of 317 townships in all 15 of Myanmar's administrative regions (including Nay Pyi Taw). The sample size was set at 1620 to assure a high quality national sample, drawn from 35 randomly selected townships. The findings do not represent any individual state, but speak to the country as a whole. A total of three wards/urban areas or villages were randomly selected per township, with 15 households per ward or village. Sampling was thus carried out in two stages (township and ward/village levels) in accordance with the probability proportional to size (PPS) method. At the third stage for the household selection GPS/GIS assisted PPS sampling was adopted due to the lack of reliable and available population data at the village level. After the households been drawn from GIS/GPS methods, an eligible respondent was randomly selected by using a Kish table in each household

In the first stage, townships were selected in accordance to the PPS principle applied to fifteen states and regions and one administrative territory using the 2014 population data. In the second stage, three wards or villages were selected in each of the 36 townships drawn in the first stage. In the third stage, 15 households were selected in each of the wards/quarters and villages drawn in the second stage. In the second stage sampling, we controlled for the factor of urbanization by adjusting the number of chosen wards or village in accordance to the regional-level ratio of urban population. In total, we selected a total of 1620 interviewees. The sampling framework is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Sampling Framework

State-Region	Chosen Townships	Villages (Rural)	Wards (Urban)	Households
AYEYAWADY	Danubyu	2	1	180
AYEYAWADY	Kyaiklat	2	1	
AYEYAWADY	Mawlamyinegyun	3	0	
AYEYAWADY	Pantanaw	3	0	
BAGO	Kawa	3	0	135
BAGO	Okpho	2	1	
BAGO	Thayarwady	2	1	
CHIN	Thantlang	2	1	45
KACHIN	Putao	2	1	45
KAYAH	Bawlakhe	2	1	45
KAYIN	Myawaddy	2	1	45

MAGWAY	Magway	2	1	135
MAGWAY	Pauk	3	0	
MAGWAY	Yesagyo	3	0	
MANDALAY	Kyaukse	2	1	180
MANDALAY	Myingyan	1	2	
MANDALAY	Pyawbwe	2	1	
MANDALAY	Thabeikkyin	3	0	
MON	Kyaikto	2	1	45
NAYPYITAW	Det-Khi-Na-Thi-Ri	2	1	45
RAKHINE	Gwa	3	0	90
RAKHINE	Thandwe	3	0	
SAGAING	Homalin	2	1	180
SAGAING	Khin-U	3	0	
SAGAING	Pinlebu	3	0	
SAGAING	Ye-U	2	1	
SHAN	Monghsat	1	2	180
SHAN	Nyaungshwe	3	0	
SHAN	Taunggyi	3	3	
TANINTHARYI	Palaw	2	1	45
YANGON	Dagon-Myothit-Seikkan	0	3	225
YANGON	Hlaingtharya	1	2	
YANGON	Kyauktan	2	1	
YANGON	Sanchaung	0	3	
YANGON	Thanlyin	2	1	
TOTAL	Overall	72	36	1620

4.2 SAMPLING STAGES

- A. Systematic sampling on the basis of PPS was used to select the townships. The population information came from the 2014 Ministry of Immigration and Population township-level data.
- B. After selection of the townships, we undertook systematic sampling on the basis of PPS to select wards/urban areas and villages within the townships. The selected wards and villages are shown in Table 2.
- C. After the selection of wards and villages, the population information at the ward/village level was calculated by using the gridded population count datasets which published by WorldPop¹ and the boundary information provided by the Myanmar Information Management Unit. A two-stage GIS/GPS assisted PPS was used to select households in each ward or village. The interviewers are dispensed with 12 small grids, which is about 90m square and randomly chosen from a larger “half-minutes” grid, within ward or village level. The interviewer should reach the small grids and the households within small grids in clock-wise sequence. The

¹ <https://www.worldpop.org/project/>

detailed procedure of GIS/GPS assisted PPS sampling is illustrated in Appendix 1.

- D. After reach the selected of households, we randomly choose an eligible respondent by a Kish Table. The sampling procedure is illustrated in Appendix 2. The map of sampled townships is illustrated in Appendix 3.

Table 2: Wards and Villages Selected

Township	Ward	Village
Bawlakhe	Urban	Nan-Hpe Bawlake
Dagon-Myothit-Seikkan	No68 No88 No94	
Danubyu	No13	La-Man Yae-Twin-Kone
Det-Khi-Na-Thi-Ri	Det-Khi-Na-Thi-Ri	Doe-Nwe Chine
Gwa		Zee-Kone Ya-Haing-Ku-Toet Pauk-Tu
Hlaingtharya	No5 No14	Ka-Sin
Homalin	Urban	Hlwa-Zin-Kone Yae-Kyaw
Kawa		Ma-Kyet-Gyi Ohn-Hne Pin-Ka-Laung
Khin-U		Inn-Pat Gya-Poet Kyoet-Kan
Kyaiklat	No5	Kywe-Ku-Kha-Yar-Yoe Kyan-Khin-Su
Kyaikto	Kyaikto	Kin-Mun-Chaung Kwin-Ka-Lay
Kyaukse	Urban	Ka-Te Taw-Twin
Kyauktan	Urban	Ah-Se Shwe-Pyauk
Magway	Thein-Gar-Gi	Ngar-Saung Gyoe-Gyar-Kan
Mawlamyinegyun		None-Kyun Gway-Kone Ka-Zaung

Monghsat	Wan-Ton-Mong-Twin Urban	Kya-Dei
Myawaddy	Myawaddy	Hpa-Lu Hpar-Ka-Lu
Myingyan	Urban(1) Urban(2)	Ye-Taing
Nyaungshwe		Let-Maung-Kway Tha-Pyay-Pin Inn-Paw-Hkon
Okpho	Okpho	Aye-Mya-Thar-Yar Tein-Myoke
Palaw	No2	Let-Ku Shan-Dut
Pantanaw		Kha-Yae-Gan Pya-Lin Za-Yat-Hla-Gyi
Pauk		Taung-Myint Hmyar-Paing Su-Lay-Kone
Pinlebu		Ka-Thaw Naung-Kin Naung-Mu
Putta-O	Urban	Man-Say Lon-Sha-Yang
Pyawbwe	Urban	Se-Ywar-Let-Pan-Kaing Shan-Su
Sanchaung	Than-Ta-Dar Kyun-Taw-Middle Myay-Ni-Kone	
Taunggyi	Urban(1) Urban(2) Urban(3)	Nawng-Kar Nawng-Hke Pin-Tun
Thabeikkyin		Ohn-Zone Kyauk-Hpyu Khun Hnit Maing Chan Thar
Thandwe		Gwayt-Chaung Pa-De-Kaw Kye-Kan-Ye

Thanlyin	Urban	Let-Yet-San Hpa-Yar-Kone
Thantlang	Urban	Dawn Hnaring
Thayarwady	Thayarwady	Myit-Kyoe Gon-Min-Myaung
Ye-U	Urban	In-Taw Pa-Lu-Za-Wa
Yesagyo		Ywar-Htaung Sin-Te

4.3 ALTERNATE SAMPLES

It preparing the sample frame, we prepared alternative samples at the township and ward/village stages. Unsuccessful interviews are an inevitable part of survey research regardless of the approach used. In order to avoid the problem of the eventual sample size being too small because of unsuccessful interviews, alternate sets of samples provide the solution. The process and methodology for selecting alternate samples was the same as for the original sample set. We replaced two townships: Kyaukme, Shan State and Kyaukpyu, Rakhine State with alternatives in Taunggyi, Shan and Gwa, Rakhine, respectively. Kyaukme was occupied by a local non-official army and the interviewers were not allowed to conduct survey there, while in Kyaukpyu local officials refused to allow the survey. At the ward/village stage, we additionally replaced two chosen village because of inaccessibility. Also, at the ward/village stage, we dispensed an additional 12 “small-grids”, which are about a 100 meter square, so that the team could reach the households within those grids in sequence.

4.4 SAMPLE SIZES AND ERROR MARGINS

An indicator of data quality is the standard error of the estimate, on which the margin for sampling error is based. As survey statistics are mostly proportions, the key measure of data precision is the standard error of a proportion taken from a sample. It is computed as follows:

$$\pm Z^* \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{N}}$$

Where Z, at 95% confidence level is 1.96; p is the sample proportion estimate and n is the sample size. The overall sample size of 1620 voting-age adults gives a maximum error margin of $\pm 2.43\%$ at the 95% confidence level, following a simple random sampling design.

5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK

5.1 PREPARATION

5.1.1. QUESTIONNAIRE The Myanmar-version questionnaire was designed based on the module questionnaire developed by the Asian Barometer Survey for Wave 5 and included Myanmar-specific questions developed in the 2015 Myanmar ABS. A small number of new questions were added, on the environment, China and conflict. In order to deliver the definitive message in the questionnaire, several meetings were held among the team members to discuss the questions and indicators that would accurately evaluate and explore the citizens' attitudes toward democracy. The questionnaire was prepared in both English and Myanmar, with show cards prepared in the ethnic languages of Chin, Shan, Kayin, Kachin and Rakhine. In other ethnic areas, translators were used for the interviews.

5.1.2 PRE-TESTING AND FINALIZING QUESTIONNAIRE

In order to narrow down the perception gap between the questionnaire designers and the respondents and improve clarity for the respondents, a pre-test was needed so that problems, such as unclear wording, conceptually vague words/sentences, recording difficulties etc., could be corrected before the fieldwork began. The pretest took place in Yangon (urban area) and Dala (semi-rural area outside of Yangon) to familiarize the team with Myanmar's different conditions. The team also received feedback about the questionnaire from field supervisors and interviewers after they conducted the pre-test and discussed the lessons of the 2015 ABS tests. The pre-test helped determine the following things: -- The length of interviews (about 45 min. to 2 hours) -- Wording of questions -- Adding new items or eliminating less significant questions -- Question sequence -- Translation -- Coding system -- Questionnaire instructions -- Conception and idea of questions.

5.1.3 TRAINING

5.1.3.1 SUPERVISORS

Two trainings were held to allow the field supervisors to become familiar with the questionnaire and survey procedure. They were instructed on how to supervise their field interviewers and check the questionnaires returned by the field interviewers. Special training was held to review the familiarize the supervisors with the new sampling process. The supervisors were also asked to conduct a pre-test during the training. The problems that the supervisors and interviewers found during the pre-test were discussed together with the national team members and they were also instructed on how to deal with real situations encountered in fieldwork.

5.1.3.2. INTERVIEWERS

The training for field interviewers were conducted in Yangon, Myanmar over three days. In the training, 30 interviewers were given instruction on interview skills and coding. This team was later pared down to 24 interviewers Moreover, they learned to become familiar with questionnaire by reading the questions in Myanmar, in order to deliver the exact meaning that the questions want to convey, and the meaning of different concepts and ethical interview practices. The interviewers were asked to conduct pre-test before going to field and the supervisors were asked to assist their field interviewers when needed. The pretest occurred in

Yangon and in Dala. The interview team also had to familiarize themselves with the use of the sampling process.

5.2 FIELDWORK

5.2.1 WORKERS ON HAND

For the national survey, a total of 38 staff were part of the project. Twenty-four interviewers and four Supervisors were deployed. The project was supervised by the YSPS research team led by Research Coordinator Arkar Soe with the ABS Myanmar Senior Advisor Bridget Welsh and the ABS Myanmar team on hand for the project. Three additional members of staff of YSPS were based in Yangon to work on administrative issues and data entry. Additional interviewers were used to allow for leave for interview staff. All of the teams included at least one member of an ethnic community. Different teams were sent to Shan/Mandalay/Rakhaine, Kayah/Magway/ Mon/Kayin/Thinandaye, Ayerwaddy/Bago/ NayPyi Taw/Kachin, and Saigang/Chin.

The fieldwork was made possible by the cooperation of national and state authorities who assisted with access to all of the states in Myanmar when needed. During the fieldwork, in each village/ward, local authorities (including ethnic representatives) were informed that a survey would be conducted in their area. Throughout officials and, where appropriate, ethnic leaders were asked to allow the fieldwork to proceed independently without interference. Field teams were asked to assess the relationship with local authorities/representatives on a scale from 1-5 (low-high) with local authorities receiving a national median assessment of 4, an average of 4. This high score reflects a positive working relationship with local officials/representatives during the fieldwork. There was only two areas where local authorities did not allow the survey to be conducted.

Each household interview comprised a face-to-face interview lasting for 45 minutes to 2 hours with the sampled respondents. The sampling procedure adopted was a multi-wave, multi-contact approach, which was aimed at increasing the proportion of respondents willing to co-operate in the survey and the chance of contacting the sampled persons in the households selected. The refusal rate for the survey was low, with only 24% of individuals refusing to take part (156 men and 234 women of the 1627 national sample).

For logistical reasons, each team conducted the surveys during the daytime. The teams went to each village/ward as a unit. Team members had meetings in which they share experiences with each other daily or report the problems encountered in the field to the supervisors.

There were two incidents in the field. In Kyaukme, conflict prevented the survey from being carried out as local ethnic armed groups refused to allow the survey to be carried out. In Khakphu in the Rakhine, the local authorities refused to allow the survey to be conducted. In both cases replacements in line with the sampling process was carried out.

5.2.2 SUPERVISION

5.2.2.1 EVALUATION OF INTERVIEWER'S WORK

Supervisors would accompany the interviewers to conduct one or two interviews in the beginning of the survey to observe the interviewers and instruct them on how to improve their skills and avoid refusal from respondents. They also followed up and checked on the field interviewers as well as ensured that field logistics were received promptly and administered properly.

5.2.2.2 SPOT CHECKING

As part of supervision process and quality control, spot checks were conducted by supervisors of the fieldwork, and a third of the surveys in each village/ward were cross-checked with the respondent. Each survey was reviewed for completion before leaving the field. Supervisors were responsible for investigating the failure or success of a case and spot-check in order to retain the survey quality. Field supervisors were also asked to double-check all the surveys for completion before they left the field area. If there were incomplete or missing answers, the supervisors asked the interviewer to re-interview the respondent(s) before they left for the next sampled area.

5.2.2.3 SUPERVISOR REPORTING

Supervisors reported to the research supervisor and the field coordinator who monitored the progress and quality of the survey full-time. During the survey period, supervisors would accompany the interviewers to each village to facilitate access to the village/ward, to assist and observe the interviewers and instruct them on how to improve their skills, to minimize misunderstandings and to engage in quality control. Supervisors served as the liaison with local authorities/representatives. They were tasked to follow-up and check on the field interviewers as well as ensured that field logistics and local sampling were administered properly. The supervisors reported the daily progress and relevant information of survey via sms/phone calls/emails to the project manager. The project manager and the ABS team gave advice and instructions when necessary.

5.2.3 QUALITY CONTROL

The first quality control measure was spot checking by the supervisor. As another cross-check on quality control for the survey, respondents were given a stamped postcard to mail to confirm their participation in the survey. A total of 229 of the respondents returned these postcards. In some instances, some respondents returned the postcard in person, removing the stamp for another matter.

5.2.3 RE-TESTING

In order to test the reliability of sampling, after interviews were completed we selected a sample from successful interviews in order to retest the reliability of responses. The questions in the re-test questionnaires were far fewer than the original survey (25-40 questions) and the same interviewer was not allowed to interview the same respondent he/she interviewed in the previous fieldwork. Supervisors were also sent to different areas.

A total of 25 % of the survey areas or 27 townships were randomly chosen to retest, detailed below. A third of the surveys conducted in one of the three village/wards from the eight

randomly selected townships were retested, for a total of 238 respondents retested, or 14.70% of the national survey. Of those retested, only 1.7% or 4 surveys had major inconsistencies. During the re-testing we found one interviewer did not complete the survey properly and all of the interviewer's surveys were redone. We also sent an academic team member from Taiwan to the field as part of the review process. The retesting that was completed confirmed confidence in the fieldwork process.

Retested Townships	Surveys Retested	Retests with Major Problems
Tharyarwaddy	21	0
Oak Pho	11	0
Kawa	12	0
Dagon Myothit Siekkkan	6	0
Kyauktan	11	1
Hlaingtharyar	5	0
SanChaung	3	0
Mawlamyinekhun	9	1
Danuphyu	13	0
Kyaiklatt	9	0
Pantanaw	12	0
Magway	10	0
Pauk	10	0
Datkhinathiri	15	1
Thabeikkyin	4	0
Kyaukse	5	0
Pinlabu	10	0
KhinU	5	0
YeU	5	0
Bawlakhe	10	0
Myawaddy	6	0
Kyaikhto	10	0
Kyauktalonegyi	2	0
Nyaung Shwe	11	0
Thandwe	5	0
Gwa	5	0

5.2.3 FIELD EDITING AND DATA PROCESSING

The supervisors went over the interviewers' work to check for consistency after the interviews and the Myanmar team conducted final consistency checks on all interviews prior to coding. The Myanmar research team built the coding system, drawing from the 2015 ABS survey. The team members also gathered to discuss the coding for the open-ended questions and decided on the Myanmar codes.

Data was then verified and the consistency of the encoded data was checked by Myanmar team before data tables and analysis were completed.

5.2.4. WEIGHTING INFORMATION

The weighting variable is generated through a two-stage poststratification procedure. The first stage applies region/rural categorization to create 10 strata. The five regions include: North (Kachin, Sagaing, Shan), Middle North (Magway, Mandalay, Naypyitaw), Central (Bago, Yangon), West (Chin, Rakhine, Ayerwaddy), and South (Kayah, Kayin, Tanintharyi, Mon). Then the first-stage weighting variable for each stratum is computed by the ratio of the population percentage (out of the overall population above 18) to the respondent percentage (out of the overall sample). The second state applies gender/age categorization, in which age is divided into three groups: youth adult (18-34), adult (35-49), and senior (50 and above). The second-stage weighting variable is computed with the census and sample information for six gender/age combinations in each stratum. At last, the overall weights at the personal level are generated by multiplying the first-stage and second-stage weighting variables.

6. RELIABILITY ANALYSIS

As part of a full review of the survey, questions were subjected to a reliability analysis. Reliability was measured using Cronbach's alpha, α . It is a common rule of thumb that a Cronbach α value of .6 to .7 is an acceptable value. This Technical Report uses commonly accepted rule of thumb in interpreting Cronbach's α values:

$\alpha \geq 0.9$ *Excellent*
 $0.7 \leq \alpha < 0.9$ *Good*
 $0.6 \leq \alpha < 0.7$ *Acceptable*
 $0.5 \leq \alpha < 0.6$ *Below Standard*
 $\alpha < 0.5$ *Poor*

6.1 PSYCHOLOGICAL INVOLVEMENT

The total Cronbach's α value of the three items was .630. The consistency of each concept is, therefore, acceptable in terms of reliability analysis. No question should be deleted from this battery since doing so will not significantly enhance the Cronbach's α significantly. Overall, the reliability of this set of questions is *acceptable*.

Cronbach's α = .630	Corrected Item-total correlation	Cronbach's α if item deleted
Q49. How interested would you say you are in politics?	.477	.485
Q50. How often do you follow news about politics and government?	.472	.554
Q51. When you get together with your family members or friends, how	.461	.557

often do you discuss political matters?		
---	--	--

6.2 TRADITIONALISM

The total Cronbach's α value of the 12 items was .806. The consistency of each item was *good* in terms of reliability analysis. Q68 and Q69 had the lowest correlations, and, deleting them does not increase Cronbach's α value much. There was no significant difference in the coefficient Cronbach's α when we removed individual items. There are therefore no items that need to be deleted from this perspective.

Cronbach's α = .806	Corrected Item-total correlation	Cronbach's α if item deleted
Q61. For the sake of the family, the individual should put his personal interests second.	.462	.793
Q62. In a group, we should sacrifice our individual interest for the sake of the group's collective interest.	.498	.789
Q63. For the sake of national interest, individual interest could be sacrificed.	.511	.787
Q64. When dealing with others, developing a long-term relationship is more important than securing one's immediate interest.	.486	.793
Q65. Even if parents' demands are unreasonable, children still should do what they ask.	.386	.798
Q66. When a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law come into conflict, even if the mother-in-law is in the wrong, the husband should still persuade his wife to obey his mother.	.442	.794
Q67. Being a student, one should not question the authority of their teacher.	.366	.801
Q68. In a group, we should avoid open quarrel to preserve the harmony of the group.	.590	.780
Q69. Even if there is some disagreement with others, one should avoid the conflict.	.620	.780

Q70. A person should not insist on his own opinion if his co-workers disagree with him.	.606	.779
Q71. Wealth and poverty, success and failure are all determined by fate.	.323	.803
Q72. If one could have only one child, it is more preferable to have a boy than a girl.	.306	.812

6.3 REGIME PREFERENCE

6.3.1 IDEAL SYSTEM OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

This group has a total of eight items. After measuring each main question and supplementary question, the two were grouped together and given a new code. For example, Q82 and Q82a were grouped together as “Strongly agree: Government leaders implement what voters want. (Code 1)”, “Agree: Government leaders implement what voters want. (Code 2)”, “Agree: Government leaders do what they think is best for the people. (Code 3)”, and “Strongly agree: Government leaders do what they think is best for the people. (Code 4)”. Q84+Q84a showed the lowest correlations with the other three items with a figure of .463. The total Cronbach’s α value for the four items was high at .734, which is *good*. Removing each of the items does not heighten the Cronbach’s α significantly. The consistency of each item was therefore good in terms of reliability analysis.

Cronbach's α = .734	Corrected Item-total correlation	Cronbach's α if item deleted
Q85+Q85a. Regime Preference 1: <i>Statement 1. Government leaders implement what voters want. Statement 2. Government leaders do what they think is best for the people.</i>	.552	.657
Q86+Q86a. Regime Preference 2: <i>Statement 1. It is more important for citizens to be able to hold government accountable, even if that means it makes decisions more slowly. Statement 2. It is more important to have a government that can get things done, even if we have no influence over what it does.</i>	.573	.645

Q87+Q87a. Regime Preference 3: <i>Statement 1. The media should have the right to publish news and ideas without government control.</i> <i>Statement 2. The government should have the right to prevent the media from publishing things that might be politically destabilizing.</i>	.463	.720
Q88+Q88a. Regime Preference 4: <i>Statement 1. Political leaders are chosen by the people through open and competitive elections.</i> <i>Statement 2. Political leaders are chosen on the basis on their virtue and capability even without election.</i>	.544	.674

6.3.2 OPERATION OF CURRENT GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

The correlation of each item with the other three items in this set looks good, with a minimum figure of .723. The total Cronbach's α value for the four items was .881. The consistency of each item was *good* in terms of reliability analysis. Removing any one item does not increase Cronbach's α value. Therefore, it is not necessary to delete any items. Overall, the design of this set of questions is good. Each question passed the reliability test.

Cronbach's α = .881	Corrected Item-total correlation	Cronbach's α if item deleted
Q89. Over the long run, our system of government is capable of solving the problems our country faces.	.736	.850
Q90. Thinking in general, I am proud of our system of government.	.723	.855
Q91. A system like ours, even if it runs into problems, deserves the people's support.	.778	.833
Q92. I would rather live under our system of government than any other that I can think of.	.733	.851

6.4 MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

The Cronbach's α value for the four items is .95, which is considered as *excellent*. Each of the

seven items is positively correlated with each of the other questions in this battery. Deleting any of the items from this battery would not have a significant effect on the overall Cronbach's α value, i.e., none of the items would increase the reliability if they were deleted because all values are less than or similar to the overall reliability.

Cronbach's α = .95	Corrected Item-total Correlation	Cronbach's α If Item Deleted
Q94. The court protects the ordinary people from the abuse of government power.	.816	.943
Q95. Politics is clean and free of corruption.	.835	.942
Q96. People have the freedom to take part on protests and demonstrations.	.823	.943
Q97. When making laws, the government seeks advice from religious authorities.	.833	.942
Q98. Political leaders rule by following their own wisdom rather than people's preferences to ensure a society's collective welfare.	.851	.940
Q99. Rule by one party that represents the interests of all classes.	.812	.943
Q100. Qualified candidates are pre-selected by religious leaders.	.843	.941

6.5 PREFERENCE FOR DEMOCRACY

Each of the five questions showed positive correlation with the other four questions. The correlation of each item with the other four items in the set was above .573. The total Cronbach's α value for the five items was .838, which is *good*. There was no significant difference in the coefficient Cronbach's α when we removed any individual items. Overall, the ability of this set to reliably measure democratic legitimacy is fairly adequate.

Cronbach's α = .838	Corrected Item-total correlation	Cronbach's α if item deleted
Q147. Which of the following statements comes closest to your own opinion? (1) Democracy is always preferable to any other kind of government (2) Under some circumstances, an authoritarian government can be preferable to a democratic one	.677	.794

(3) For people like me, it does not matter whether we have a democratic or a nondemocratic regime		
Q148. Which of the following statements comes closer to your own view? (1) Democracy is capable of solving the problems of our society (2) Democracy cannot solve our society's problems	.682	.794
Q149. If you had to choose between democracy and economic development, which would you say is more important?	.573	.822
Q150. If you had to choose between reducing economic inequality and protecting political freedom, which would you say is more important?	.608	.814
Q151. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Democracy may have its problems, but it is still the best form of government."	.671	.797

6.6 LEGITMACY OF DEMOCRACY/ DETACHMENT FROM AUTHORITARIANISM

The Cronbach's α value for the four items is .862, which is considered *good*. Each of the four items is positively correlated with the other three questions in this module. Deleting any of the items from this battery would not have a significant effect on the overall Cronbach's α value. Therefore, all items can be kept in this battery.

Cronbach's α = .862	Corrected Item-total Correlation	Cronbach's α If Item Deleted
Q152. We should get rid of parliament and elections and have a strong leader decide things	.763	.801
Q153. Only one political party should be allowed to stand for election and hold office	.763	.803
Q154. The army (military) should come in to govern the country	.590	.870
Q155. We should get rid of elections and parliaments and have experts make decisions on behalf of the people	.729	.816

6.7 CITIZEN EMPOWERMENT AND POLITICAL SUPPORT

The Cronbach's α value for the five items is .801, which is considered *good*. Each of the five items is positively correlated with each of the other questions in this module. Q141 (.418) has

the lowest corrected item-total correlation. Deleting any of the items from this battery would not have significant effect on the overall Cronbach's α value; all of them can be kept in this battery.

Cronbach's α = .801	Corrected Item-total Correlation	Cronbach's α If Item Deleted
Q159. I think I have the ability to participate in politics	.418	.809
Q160. Sometimes politics and government seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on	.619	.752
Q161. People like me don't have any influence over what the government does	.697	.724
Q162. You can generally trust the people who run our government to do what is right	.581	.766
Q163. A citizen should always remain loyal only to his country, no matter how imperfect it is or what wrong it has done	.618	.754

6.8 AUTHORITARIAN/DEMOCRATIC VALUES

Each of the ten questions showed positive correlation with the other nine questions. Q146 (.475) has the lowest corrected item-total correlation; however, deleting this item will not significantly increase the overall Cronbach's α value. The total Cronbach's α value for the ten items was 0.922, which is considered *excellent*. The consistency of each item was good in terms of reliability analysis. Thus, no items need to be deleted.

Cronbach's α = .922	Corrected Item-total correlation	Cronbach's α if item deleted
Q164. Women should not be involved in politics as much as men.	.475	.924
Q165. The government should consult religious authorities when interpreting the laws.	.709	.913
Q166. People with little or no education should have as much say in politics as highly-educated people.	.615	.918
Q167. Government leaders are like the head of a family; we should all follow their decisions.	.699	.914
Q168. The government should decide whether certain ideas should be allowed to be discussed in society.	.782	.909

Q169. Harmony of the community will be disrupted if people organize lots of groups.	.767	.910
Q170. When judges decide important cases, they should accept the view of the executive branch.	.782	.909
Q171. If the government is constantly checked [i.e. monitored and supervised] by the legislature, it cannot possibly accomplish great things.	.653	.918
Q172. If we have political leaders who are morally upright, we can let them decide everything.	.766	.910
Q173. If people have too many different ways of thinking, society will be chaotic.	.783	.909

6.9 GLOBALIZATION

The Cronbach's α value for the five items is .627, which is considered *acceptable*. Each of the three items is positively correlated with each of the other questions in this module, though the highest corrected item-total correlation is only .524 (Q157+Q157a). Despite this, deleting (Q157+Q157a) would significantly decrease the Cronbach's α value. In addition, deleting any of the other two items from this battery would not have significant effect on the overall Cronbach's α value. In this sense, all items should be kept in this battery.

Cronbach's α = .627	Corrected Item-total correlation	Cronbach's α if item deleted
Q174+Q174a. <i>Statement 1. Our country should do more to defend our way of life. Statement 2. Our country should do more to learn from other countries even if we might lose our country's distinct way of life (or culture).</i>	.410	.567
Q175+Q175a. <i>Statement 1. Our country should limit the imports of foreign goods to protect our farmers and workers. Statement 2. Our country should do more trade with other countries even if the rise of imports might harm our workers and farmers.</i>	.524	.406
Q176. Do you think the government should increase or decrease the inflow of foreigners who come to work in our country?	.394	.609

6.10 REDISTRIBUTION

Each of the four items showed positive correlation with the other three items. The total

Cronbach's α value for the four items was .933, which is considered *excellent*. There was no significant difference in the coefficient Cronbach's α when we removed any individual items. Therefore, it is not necessary to delete any items.

Cronbach's α = .933	Corrected Item-total Correlation	Cronbach's α If Item Deleted
Q178a. Narrow the gap between the rich and poor.	.815	.922
Q178b. Make sure that everyone has affordable housing.	.852	.910
Q178c. Make sure that everyone has access to basic medical care.	.855	.910
Q178d. Make sure that basic necessities such as food and shelters are provided for everyone.	.852	.910

6.11 DEMOCRATIC DECONSOLIDATION

The Cronbach's α value for the six items is .950, which is considered as *excellent*. Each of the six items is positively correlated with each of the other questions in this battery. Deleting any of the items from this battery would not have a significant effect on the overall Cronbach's α value, i.e., none of the items would increase the reliability if they were deleted because all values are less than or almost equal to the overall reliability.

Cronbach's α = .950	Corrected Item-total Correlation	Cronbach's α If Item Deleted
Q190. Under a democratic system, the country endures poor economic performance.	.804	.945
Q191. Democratic regimes are indecisive and full of problems.	.875	.936
Q192. Democratic systems are not effective at maintaining order and stability.	.866	.937
Q193. The citizens in our country are not prepared for a democratic system.	.859	.938
Q194. Democracy negatively affects social and ethical values in our country.	.870	.937
Q195. As long as a government can solve our country's economic problem, it does not matter if it is democratic or not democratic.	.794	.946

7. SAMPLE REPRESENTATIVENESS AND WEIGHTING

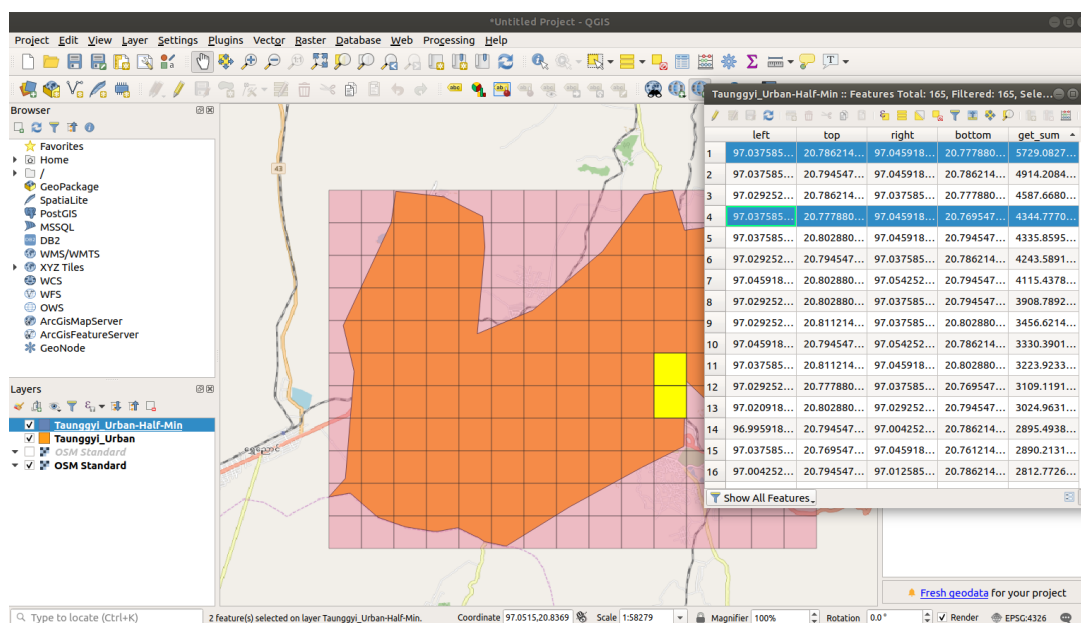
APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Within-Ward/Urban Area/Village GIS/GPS-assisted Household Sampling Procedure

Households will be selected by GIS/GPS assisted PPS Sampling Procedure.

Method of GIS/GPS assisted small grid selection in detail

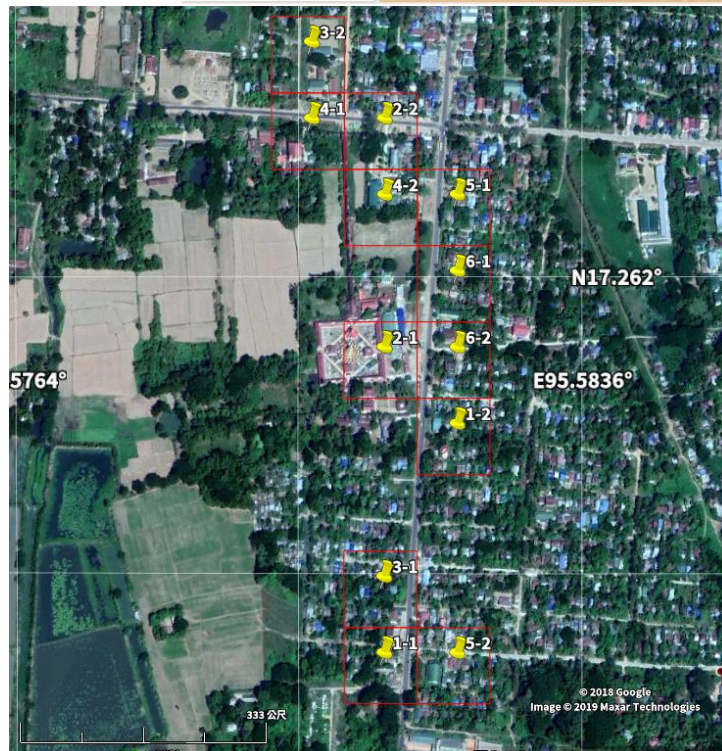
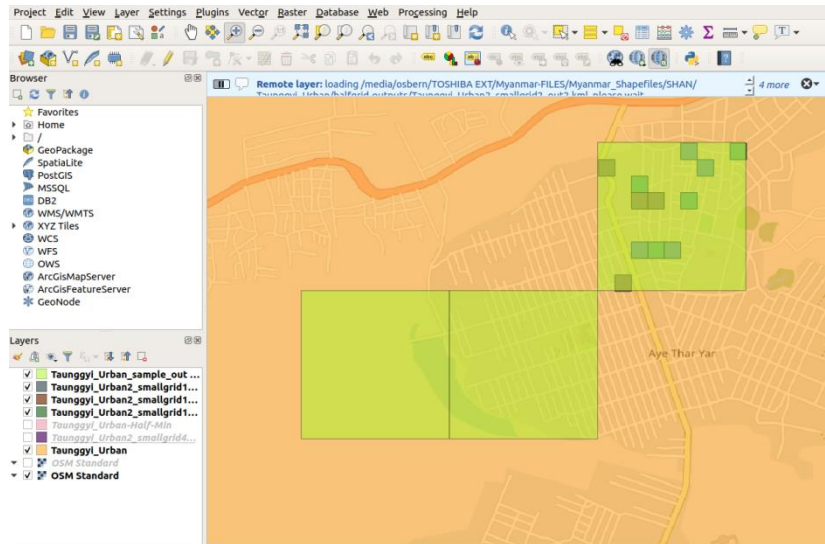
Step 1: We collect the geographical coordinates of the chosen Ward/Urban Area/Village from the The Myanmar Information Management Unit (MIMU)², and the gridded population data from WorldPop. We then encompass the chosen unit with the half-minutes (1/120 degree) grids and calculate the population within each grids.



After obtain the population information within each grids, we then carry out the sampling with PPS method to get the chosen half-minute grid. Next, we separate the half-minutes grid into 81 “small grids”(90m*90m) and conduct simple random sampling after exclude the uninhabited area to obtain chosen 12 small grids.

² <http://geonode.themimu.info/>

Step 2: The interviewers are given 12 numbered small grids and should follow the sequence to visit each small grids.



Step 3: The interviewer utilize the GPS handset or personal cell phone to obtain the exact location of their own. After get the coordinate of current location, the interviewer should go to the Northwest corner of the target grid, number and document all of the households in the grid (the front door should locate within the grid) to the “Addresses Recording Sheet” in clockwise order.

Addresses Recording Sheet														
Region:		Township:		Village Tract/Town:										
Counts	Small-Grid	No.	Addresses or Number in Small Grid	Household			Name	Signing of Interviewer	Date	Cause of Failure			Note	
				Name	Gender	Age				1st	2nd	3rd		
1														
2														
3														
4														
5														
6														
7														
8														
9														
10														
11														
12														
13														
14														
15														
1														
2														
3														
4														

Step 4. The interviewer should visit the households in sequence and conduct the survey with the “Within-Household Respondent Sampling Procedure” in Appendix 2.

Step 5. Carry out interviews in order until the required number (15) of surveys are obtained. If the specified number of samples is not reached, we move onto the next sampling group. If all of the sampling groups have been used, but we have not reached the required number of samples, we move onto the next grid, repeating the process starting from Step 3 above.

Appendix 2: Within-Household Respondent Sampling Procedure

A respondent aged 18 and older is selected from each sample household by the Kish Grid method.

Method of respondent selection in detail

At the selected household, the interviewer checked the questionnaire number. If the last digit of the questionnaire number was an odd number, he/she recorded the names of all adult men (from the oldest to the youngest, aged 18 and older). If the last digit is an even number, he/she recorded the names of all adult women in the same way as in the case of adult men. The purpose is to obtain equal numbers between male and female respondents. Mentally challenged individuals were also included in the grid. If the chosen member was a mentally challenged individual after applying the Kish Grid, the interviewer stopped the interview in the respective household and moved to the next one, using the standard method of household selection.

Sampling procedure: Use the Kish table as shown in Table 4 to find the targeted respondent. In the Kish table, the column number referred to the last digit of the questionnaire number, and the row number referred to the total number of household adult men/women, depending on whether the questionnaire number was an odd or even number. This allowed us to determine the person we randomly draw in a household.

For example: Suppose the questionnaire number at the selected household is 0635, the last digit is 5 (an odd number). So all the adult male members (age 18 and older) of the household are entered in the Kish Grid from the oldest down to the youngest. On consulting the Kish Grid table, the serial number of the respondents falls on No. 4. So, the respondent is Ko Ant Naing (Age 25)

Members aged 15 – 64 years old in the household		KISH GRID											
	(Fill up the names from the oldest to the youngest)	Age		Last digit of questionnaire number									
No.	Full name	Male	Female	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
1	U Hla Naing	55		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	Ko San Naing	30		1	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	2
3	Ko Win Naing	28		2	3	2	2	3	1	3	1	2	1
4	Ko Ant Naing (respondent)	25		3	1	3	4	1	2	3	2	1	4
5	Ko Lay Naing	20		2	5	3	3	4	4	1	1	2	5
6				4	1	1	6	5	1	6	2	3	3
7				1	3	6	7	3	4	7	2	1	5
8				8	1	7	4	3	1	5	2	6	3
9				2	5	6	1	8	5	9	4	3	7
10				2	3	4	1	6	9	3	8	10	7

Excluded from the survey are family members who live elsewhere, visitors temporarily staying in the house, those who are employed by the household such as housemaids, babysitters, drivers and gardeners and those who are mentally challenged. If the interviewer suspects—in the course of the interview—that the respondent might be suffering from some kind of mental disability, he/she was instructed to terminate the interview discreetly.

Rules for household substitution if a refusal is encountered

If a refusal was encountered, the we were able to interview another household within the randomly selected GPS grid.

Appendix 3: Sampled Townships in the 2019 ABS Myanmar Survey

