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PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE FOR CREDIBLE ELECTIONS

Electoral Environment in Myanmar-2015

A Survey by the People's Alliance for Credible Elections (PACE)

Conducted May 2015

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Executive Summary

Since 2010, Myanmar has been experiencing massive changes in its social, political and economic sphere. Civil society organizations are mushrooming, media freedoms have been much improved and more than 90 political parties have registered with the Union Election Commission (UEC) to contest the 2015 elections. However, many continue to question the democratic path of the country. Recent crack downs on student protests, the arrest of more than one hundred land and minimum wage activists, and the reserved power of military in politics demonstrate the country needs further democratization. The country's political transition is still very far from full-fledged democracy.

Amid these factors, the UEC has set a date for the general elections to be held in November 8, 2015 and will allow domestic and international observer groups to observe the elections. On the one hand these general elections have been widely perceived as another turning point for Myanmar political transition. On the other hand, the uncertainty of the current peace negotiations and millions of refugees staying in IDPs camps bring to question the views of ethnic nationalities on the upcoming elections. Moreover, the widely criticized 2010 elections are still lingering in the memory of the people and some question if similar or more structured fraud will be repeated in 2015. Given this circumstance, the public awareness, knowledge on elections and confidence in the electoral process are still big question marks for the country.

In other transitional democracies, a lack of public confidence in the transition, in the election process and election management bodies are the one of the most important factors to affect the willingness of the public to cast their vote. In this context, raising civic awareness and building public confidence in elections are more important than ever before. Building public confidence in elections is not only to increase voter turnout but also to maintain stability around the election.

Political leaders and local civil society leaders have developed different programs to raise public awareness and build public confidence on elections but may not reach to all areas of the country, especially rural places. Under these circumstances voter mobilization is very strategic not only for political parties to garner their votes but also for country's political transition to raise civic awareness of the general public. However, as the country have been ruled by the military regime and locked up for more than five decades, very few survey projects are implemented and information has always been inefficient to understand local needs. As elections are so new to local CSOs and their communities, there are very few election-focused organizations and the information of public understanding on elections is still a need for local CSOs as well as international agencies.

In order to gauge the level of knowledge and awareness of the people about elections, and to assess the geographical needs and the infrastructure of the country for election observation projects, PACE has conducted a nation-wide survey to assess the electoral

environment from May 13 to 20, 2015. PACE asked how people have been associated with their communities, how they understand democratic elections, how they see the upcoming elections, and how they see the role of election observation groups. More than 3000 face-to-face interviews were conducted in 14 states and regions. Among those, 72% of the respondents are from Burman majority regions and 28% are from ethnic states. In contrary, 72% are from rural and 28% are from urban.

The findings show that people who are often associated with their communities are generally interested in politics, intend to vote and agree with the basic criteria of democratic elections. When it comes to non-partisan elections observation, half of the people agree that domestic or international observation can contribute to the integrity of the upcoming election. When people were asked if they have intention to vote in the upcoming elections, most people show that they have intention to vote, even though some had doubts about the quality of the upcoming election.

Communal engagement

PACE was interested to know how often people have engaged with their communities, which is crucial and healthy for democratic society. The findings show that people are less associated with their communities. When people are asked if they have involved in any association within their communities, more than half of citizens exhibit low levels of engagement.

Interest in politics

Interest in politics is always matter for Myanmar and generally, people of Myanmar are seen as politically motivated. PACE has asked if they are interested in politics, 43% said that they are interested.

Intention to vote

PACE has asked a standard question, which have been asked widely in Myanmar polls recently: if citizens have an intention to vote in upcoming general elections. The majority of the respondent (81%) said they have planned to vote.

Awareness of election observers

Non-partisan election observers are one of the most important factors to build public confidence and contribute to the integrity of the elections. PACE have asked if they have heard that independent observer groups are observing elections, 46% said they have heard of them, and 27% said no. When it comes to the role of domestic and international observers in elections, people support domestic groups more than international groups. 53% of the respondents said domestic groups are helpful for transparency of the elections and only 45% said international groups are helpful.

Factors of democratic elections

To gauge the level of understanding on the factors contributing to democratic elections, PACE has asked how important are seven factors in elections, such as secrecy of ballot, neutrality of the election commission, no fraud, proper vote count, announcement of correct

results, equal chance to campaign and no intimidation for the elections. 51% to 65% responded that those are important factors to assess the quality of the elections.

Opinions mattered to decide the quality of the elections

When it comes to decide whether the elections went well, PACE was interested to know how the perception of people has been shaped. PACE has asked “Whose opinion matters to decide if elections went well” out of eight categories. The first and second most important for them is “Myanmar government” followed by “Independent observers.” 18% and 15% said Myanmar government is what matters most and 15 % and 12 % said independent observers are what matters most.

Expectation of elections

PACE’s interviewers asked the respondents if Myanmar is ready for elections, and 63% said they agreed with the statement. When PACE asked the question “2015 elections will be free and fair,” only 64% agreed. When people are asked about negative scenarios like “it will be fine if there is no election in 2015,” only 38% agreed with this.

Views on Politicians

PACE asked citizens to what extent politicians are trustworthy. PACE has asked its respondents that if politicians care about ordinary peoples’ interests, 59% said they agreed that politicians cared about them. And when we asked differently, “politicians make promises at election time but do not fulfill them afterwards,” 45% agreed with this statement.

In a transitional country like Myanmar, for the elections to reflect the will of the people and to promise democratic changes, people need to be well informed and motivated to engage in the electoral process. PACE hopes that these findings can at least partly contribute to the work of political parties, local NGOs, the Myanmar government, like UEC, and the international community to meet the local needs and complement the findings of others. PACE also hopes that Myanmar CSOs carry out additional surveys and other research in the future to inform civic and voter education efforts.

Survey Background

About PACE

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

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

The Goal of Survey

While a number of electoral surveys were conducted in 2014 and 2015, PACE was interested in gathering information that would directly inform its observation strategies and implementation. PACE aimed to gather more information about public opinion about elections and to assess the logistical environment and level of access around the country. Specifically, PACE conducted the survey with the following goals:

- To examine public knowledge and engagement with elections and to understand how the public assesses the quality of elections; and to
- Conduct an assessment of the communication, transport, security and level of openness around the country that would inform planning for election observation.

Sampling and Methodology

To better understand public opinion about elections, PACE surveyed citizens of Myanmar who were over 18 at the time of the survey. To capture the opinions across Myanmar, PACE conducted the survey in all states and regions and in urban and rural locations. PACE's survey was conducted in May 2015 and involved face-to-face interviews with over 4125 respondents in 467 villages and wards in all states and regions. To determine findings for public opinion, a sub-sample of 3127 interviews in 363 villages was used; the entire sample was used to determine findings for the logistical survey.

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

Step 1: Stratification by state and region. As a first step in the sampling process, PACE developed population estimates using multiple sources of recent data about adults in Myanmar, including: the 2010 voter list, General Administration Department (GAD) estimates, and the preliminary results from the national census conducted in 2014. Using this data, PACE calculated the proportion of population in each state and region and allocated the same proportion of survey locations in that state and region.

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

Step 3: Random sample of villages and wards. Based on the allocations for each state and region and allocations for urban and rural locations, PACE selected wards and villages using simple random sampling. PACE used a list of wards and villages in each state and region compiled by the Myanmar Information Management Unit (MIMU) as a sample frame. A total of 481 villages and wards were selected as target survey locations.

Step 4: Random household selection. Trained interviewers traveled to survey locations where they randomly selected households¹ using a random walk sampling method beginning in a randomly selected starting point. Interviewers selected every 10th residence in rural locations (villages) and every 20th residence in urban locations (wards).

Step 5: Random respondent selection. Once a household had been selected, PACE interviewers randomly selected a resident of that household who was over 18 and a citizen of Myanmar. Respondents were selected using the “lucky draw” method². In total, each PACE interviewer was tasked to interview 9 respondents in each village/ward location.

Step 6: Analysis. As mentioned above, PACE had two goals for the survey: 1) to measure public opinion and, 2) to assess the logistical environment around the country. To measure public opinion, a sub-sample of 363 surveyed locations (3127 interviews) was analyzed to produce the findings below. To assess the logistical environment, PACE analyzed the entire sample of 481 locations.

PACE SURVEY OVERVIEW	
Estimated Population of Adults in Myanmar (Census 2014)	33,126,117
Number of Interviews for Analysis	3127
Margin of Error	+/- 1.9% at a 95% level of confidence

¹ In this survey, “household” was defined as a group of people who presently eat together from the same pot.

² All members of the household were written into a numbered list. The enumerator would use a set of cards to randomly draw a number that corresponded with the selected respondent.

Survey Implementation

Recruitment and Training

The 2015 electoral survey was the first nationwide activity conducted by PACE. To carry out the survey, PACE recruited over 577 volunteers to carry out the survey. Four hundred ninety-six volunteers were trained as enumerators to randomly select households, conduct interviews and return questionnaires to PACE. Two-day enumerator trainings were conducted in 17 locations across Myanmar and included interview role-plays and practical exercises in household and respondent selection.

An additional 49 spot-checkers assigned to oversee the work of enumerators were trained in a two-day training in Yangon. Finally, 15 volunteers were trained to conduct data entry for the survey findings.

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

Deployment

PACE enumerators deployed to conduct the survey from May 13-20, 2015. During deployment, PACE enumerators were supervised and assisted by 17 PACE state and regional coordinators around the country and by PACE's core team in Yangon.

In nearly all locations, PACE was able to deploy with little difficulty. However, in some locations, PACE enumerators were unable to deploy or conduct surveys according to procedures due to security problems (1 location in Eastern Shan and 6 locations in Northern Shan), interference by local authorities (2 locations in Rakhine and 3 in Mandalay), or refusal of the local community (1 location in Kayin and 1 location in Rakhine).

Immediately following the deployment of enumerators, 49 spot checkers deployed to confirm the work of enumerators in 116 locations. All spot checkers confirmed that enumerators went to the selected village as assigned. Spot checkers also measured the extent to which enumerators followed survey procedures and reported any problems to the PACE core team.

Data Reporting, Entry and Analysis

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

Survey Findings—Public Opinion on Elections

Demographic Background of Respondents

Gender of Respondent	Percentage
Male	50%
Female	50%

Head of Household	Percentage
Head of HH	51%
Not Head of HH	48%
Missing Data	1%

Employed	Percentage
Yes	76%
No	23%
Missing Data	1%

Education Level	Percentage
None	10%
Primary (some)	23%
Primary (complete)	27%
Secondary (some)	19%
Secondary (complete)	5%
University (some)	3%
University (complete)	6%
Graduate Studies	1%
Other	5%
Missing Data	1%

Marital Status	Percentage
Married	72%
Single	17%
Divorced	1%
Widowed	7%
Missing data	1%

Age of Respondents	Percentage
18-25	11%
26-35	18%
36-50	33%
Above 50	29%
Don't know/Refused	5%
Missing Data	3%

Living in Urban-Rural	Percentage
Urban	28%
Rural	72%

Living in Region-State	Percentage
Region	72%
State	28%

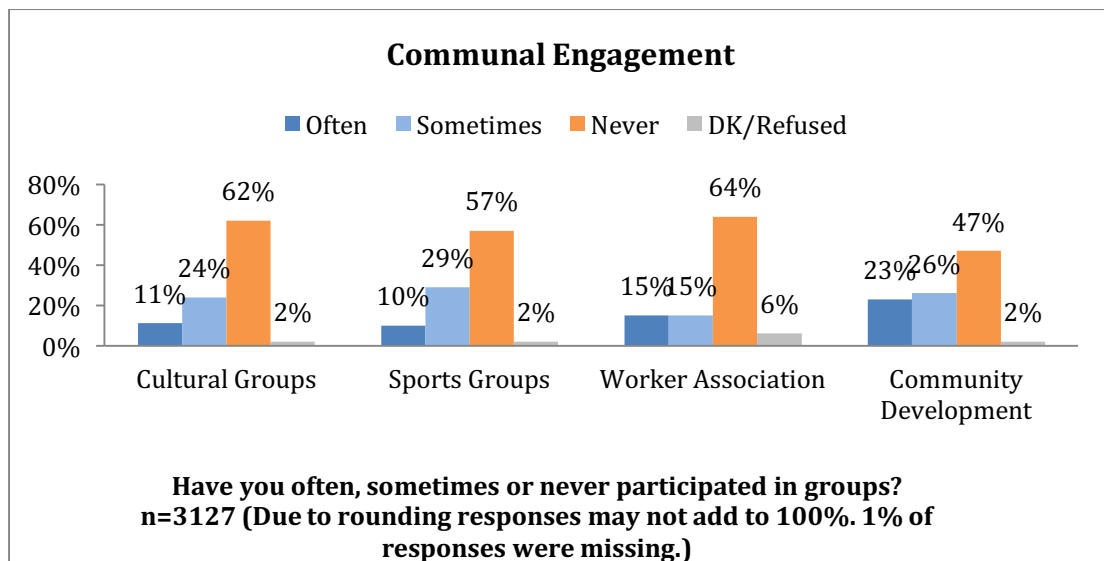
Income Level (Monthly)	Percentage
Less than 50,000 Ks	24%
50,000-100,000 Ks	28%
100,000-200,000 Ks	17%
200,000-300,000 Ks	6%
300,000-400,000 Ks	2%
Over 400,000 Ks	3%
Don't know/Refused to Answer	17%
Missing Data	1%

Public Engagement and Interest in Elections

Communal Engagement

Respondents were asked how often they participated in community groups. This question is commonly used to measure levels of communal engagement in surveys conducted in other countries. As the table below shows, more than half of all respondents exhibit low level of communal engagement, while less than 25% demonstrate a high level of engagement.

Figure 1. Communal Engagement



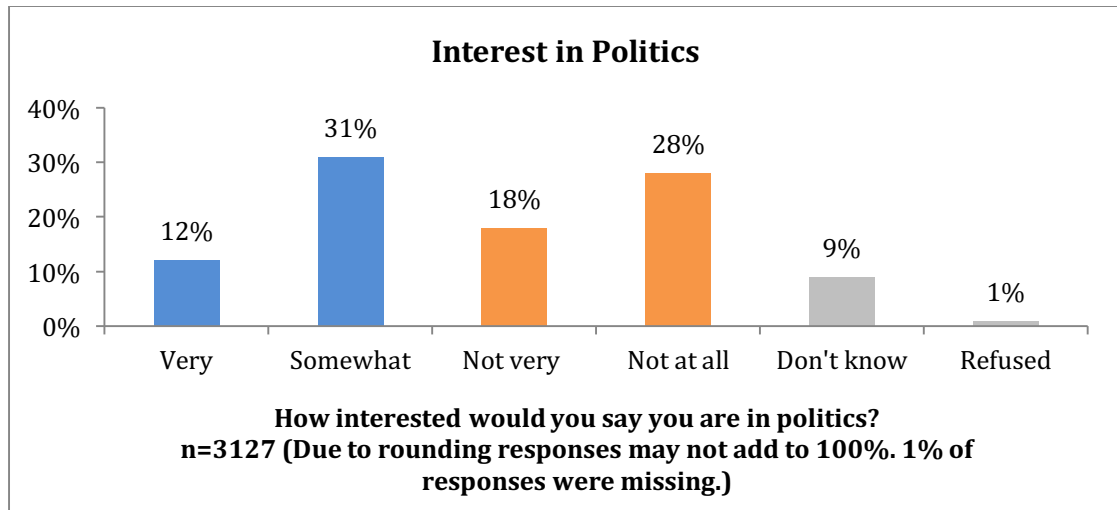
The most active respondents tend to be young, have higher levels of formal education and income, live in rural areas and in ethnic states. The findings show a gender gap, with women showing lower levels of communal engagement, while men are more than twice as likely as women to be very active in their communities.

Interest in Politics

Interest in politics is important because it provides the motivation for citizens to become informed. The PACE survey asked all respondents the same standard question: “how interested would you say you are in politics?” As shown in Figure 2 below, a minority of respondents were very interested, while nearly half are mildly interested. Nearly one third of respondents were not at all interested and an additional 10% claimed to not know or refused to answer the question.³

³ The proportion that is completely disengaged is not unusual. As the World Values Survey data repeatedly show, politics ranks as a very low priority in the lives of the vast majority of people in 84 countries surveyed.

Figure 2. Interest in Politics

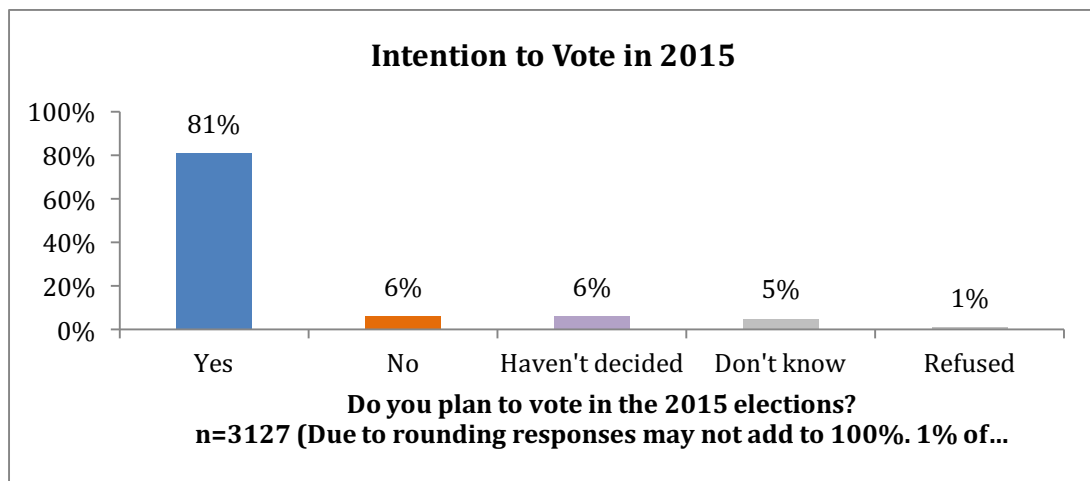


Interest in politics is higher among those with higher levels of education. There is also a gender gap: men are more likely than women to say that they are interested in politics. Those with low levels of income and education and those in urban areas and Burman regions were the least interested. There was no evidence of that age impacted the level of interest in politics.

Intention to Vote

PAGE asked respondents if they planned to vote in the 2015 elections. As other recent surveys have demonstrated, the intention to vote remains high, with over 80% indicating they plan to vote. A small minority (6%) plans not to vote, while a slightly larger group (11%) hasn't decided or doesn't know.

Figure 3. Intention to Vote



Myanmar youth (18-25) were much more likely to say they will not vote than those over fifty years old. Women were more likely than men to say they did not plan to vote. Those living in ethnic states were more likely than those living in Burman regions to say they did not plan to vote.

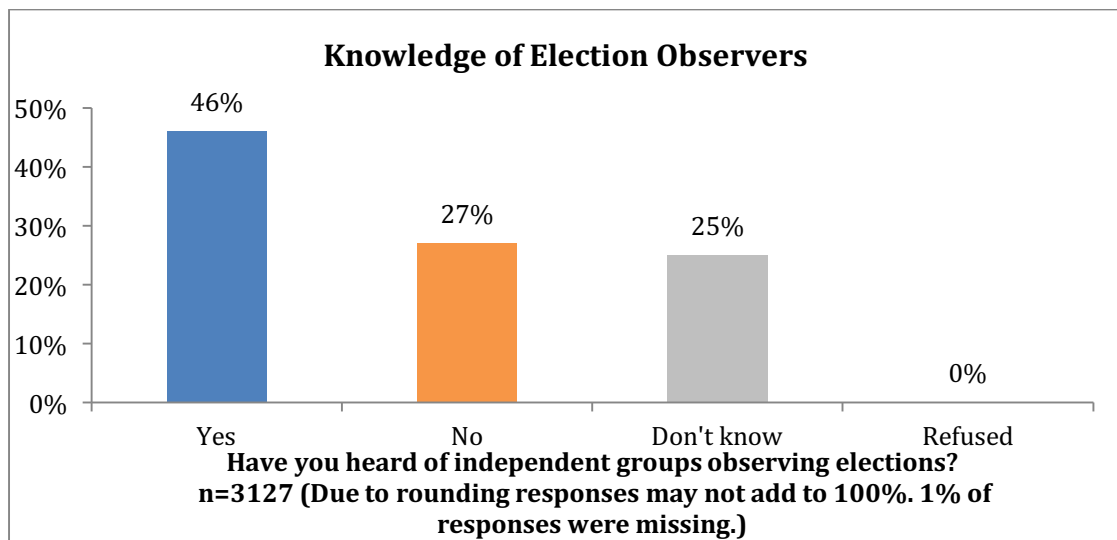
Knowledge and Opinion of Election Observers

Knowledge of Observers

Although it is a well-established practice in other democratic countries, the practice of official election observation is a new development in Myanmar. PACE wanted to measure the extent to which citizens were aware of election observers and how effective citizens believed they would be.

PACE asked survey respondents if they were aware that independent organizations observed elections. As demonstrated in Figure 4, nearly half of respondents knew about election observation.

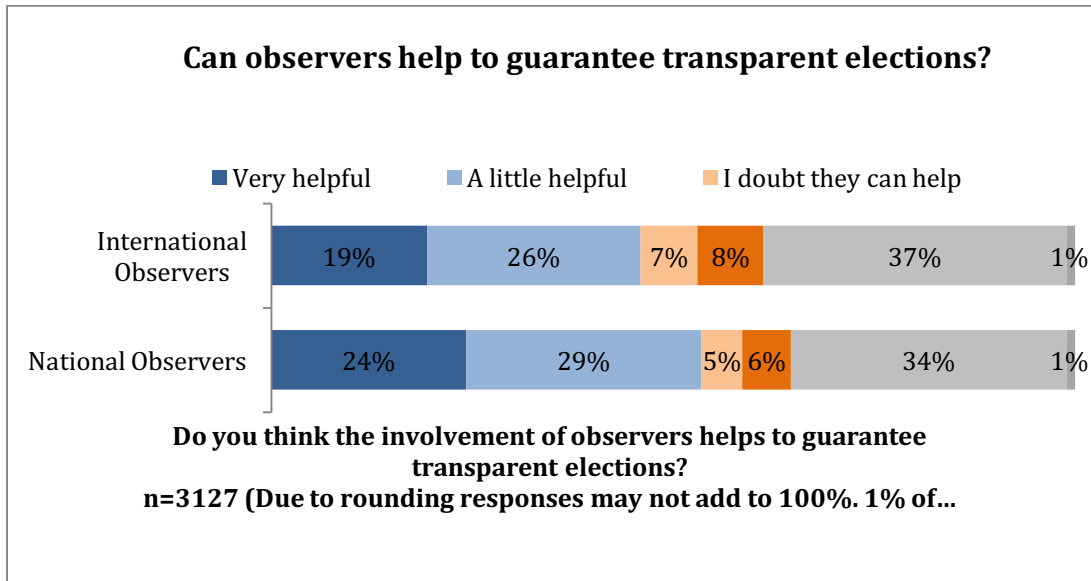
Figure 4. Knowledge of Election Observers



Effectiveness of Observers

PACE also asked respondents if they thought that observers can be effective to help guarantee transparent elections. PACE asked the question about international and about national observers. As shown in Figure 5, 45% thought that international observers would be helpful, while 53% thought that national observers would be helpful. For both international and national observation, over 30% of respondents said they did not know if observers could help guarantee transparent elections.

Figure 5. Can observers help for transparent elections

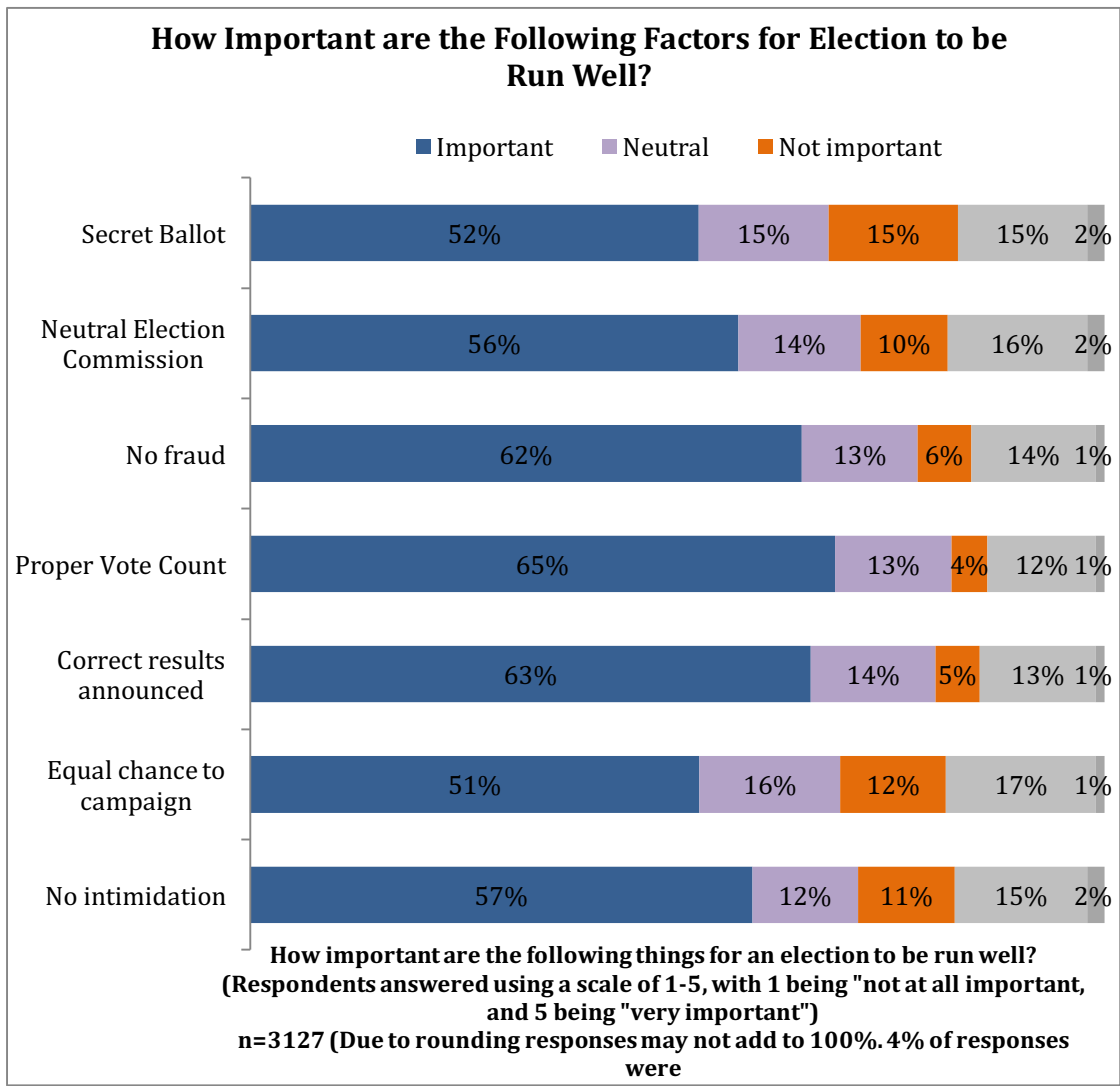


Factors and Opinion Leaders in Deciding the Quality of the Election

Perception of Factors for a Well-Run Election

PACE was interested to know how citizens conceived of and understood the quality of an election. To learn more, PACE asked respondents to rate the importance of a number of factors that are commonly looked to as international measures for election integrity. Respondents were asked to rate whether or not indicators, like secret ballot or absence of fraud, were important for an election to be run well. Respondents demonstrated a strong support for these common indicators for good elections, with each factor being considered “important or very important” by more than 50% of respondents. (See Figure 6.)

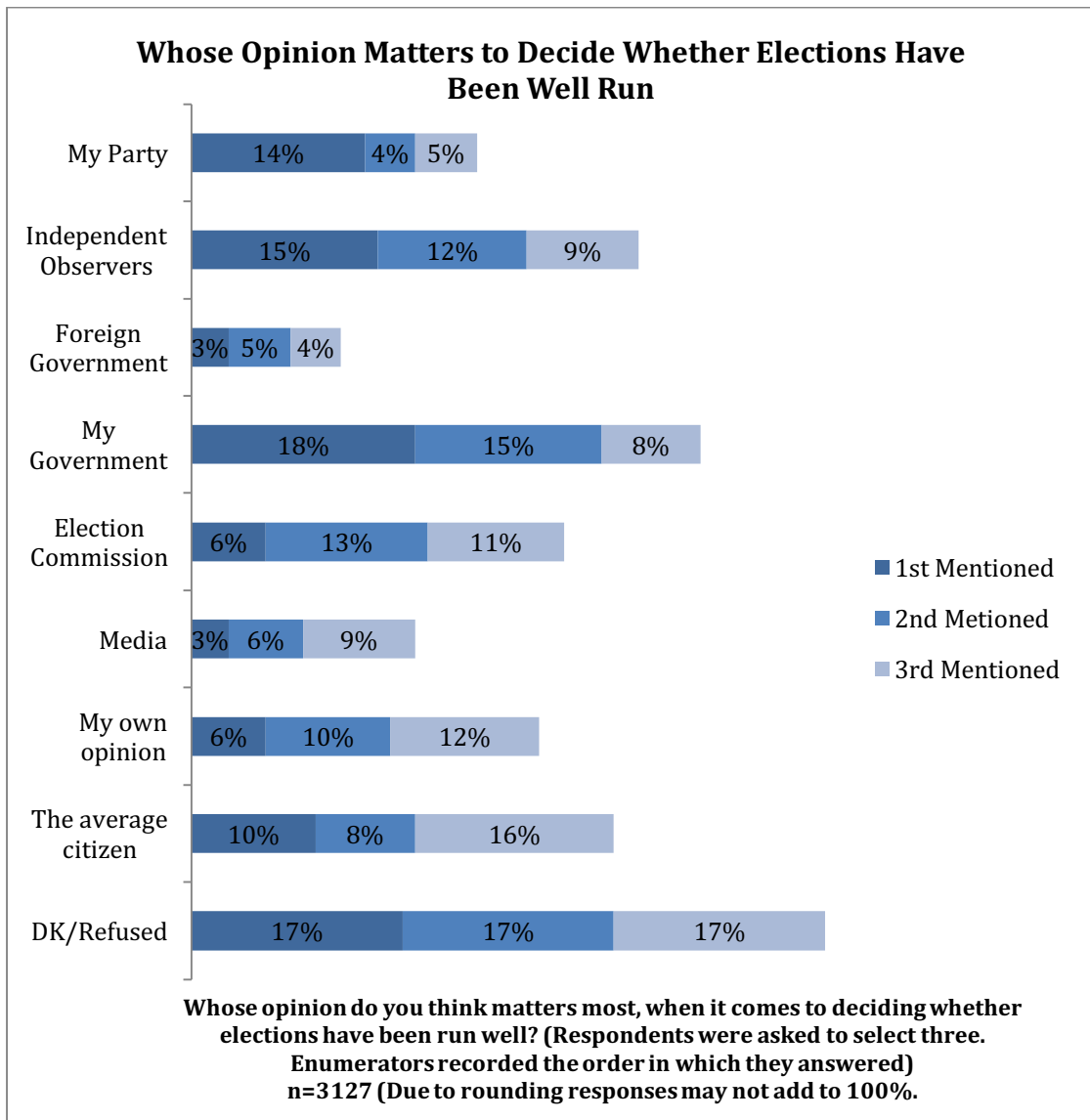
Figure 6. Factors for a Well-Run Election



Sources of Opinion about a Well-Run Election

PACE was interested to know which actors citizens would look to when deciding the quality of the election. Respondents were given a list of actors in the elections and asked to select which three were most important in deciding the quality of the election. Figure 7 below shows how voters responded. Most respondents said that the opinion of the Myanmar government “matters most,” followed closely by the opinion of election observers and the average citizen. The opinion of the media and foreign governments were considered the least important.

Figure 7. Sources of opinion about a well-run election

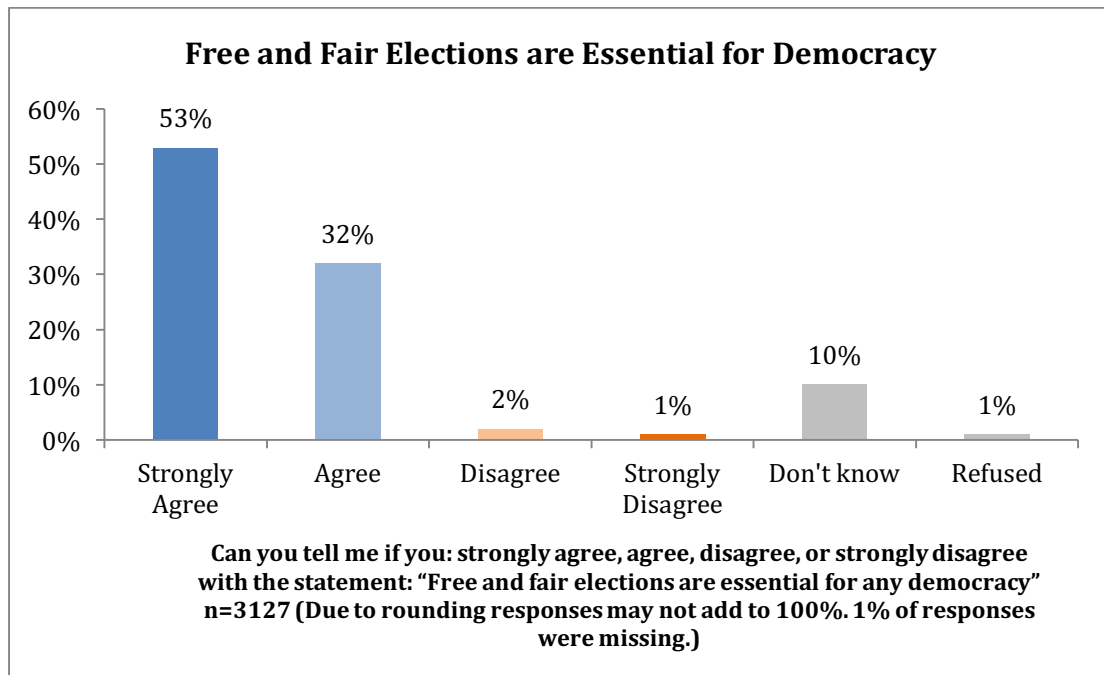


Views on Democratic Elections and Expectations for the 2015 Elections

Democratic Elections

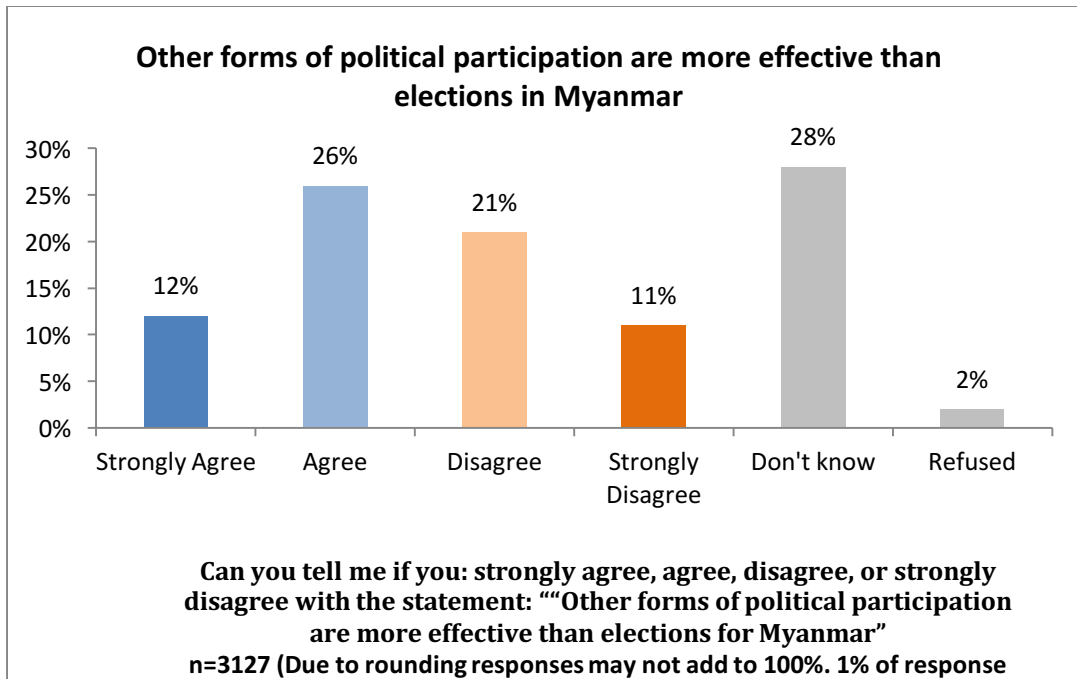
PACE was interested to learn how the public viewed democratic elections in general. PACE asked respondents if “free and fair elections are essential for democracy.” There is a virtual consensus on the matter: 85% of all respondents either “strongly agreed” or “agreed” with that statement (See Figure 8). Predictably, those with higher levels of formal education were slightly more inclined to “strongly agree” with the statement. Those with low levels of education were less likely to agree with the statement. Urban dwellers and men are more likely to strongly agree than are rural dwellers and women.

Figure 8. Democratic Elections Essential for Democracy



Elections are only one form of political participation. Citizens have other ways of registering their preferences and making demands. PACE enumerators asked a question to probe citizens' inclinations to turn to alternatives other than electoral participation: "other forms of political participation are more effective than elections for Myanmar (Agree/Disagree)?" The public is quite divided on the matter. Nearly 40% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, while 33% disagreed or strongly disagreed and 28% said they did not know. Older respondents are more inclined to "strongly agree" than their young counterparts, as are rural residents compared to urban dwellers. Those with the highest level of formal education are more likely to disagree with that statement than are those with the lowest levels of education. There was no difference between men and women or between respondents from Burman regions and Ethnic states.

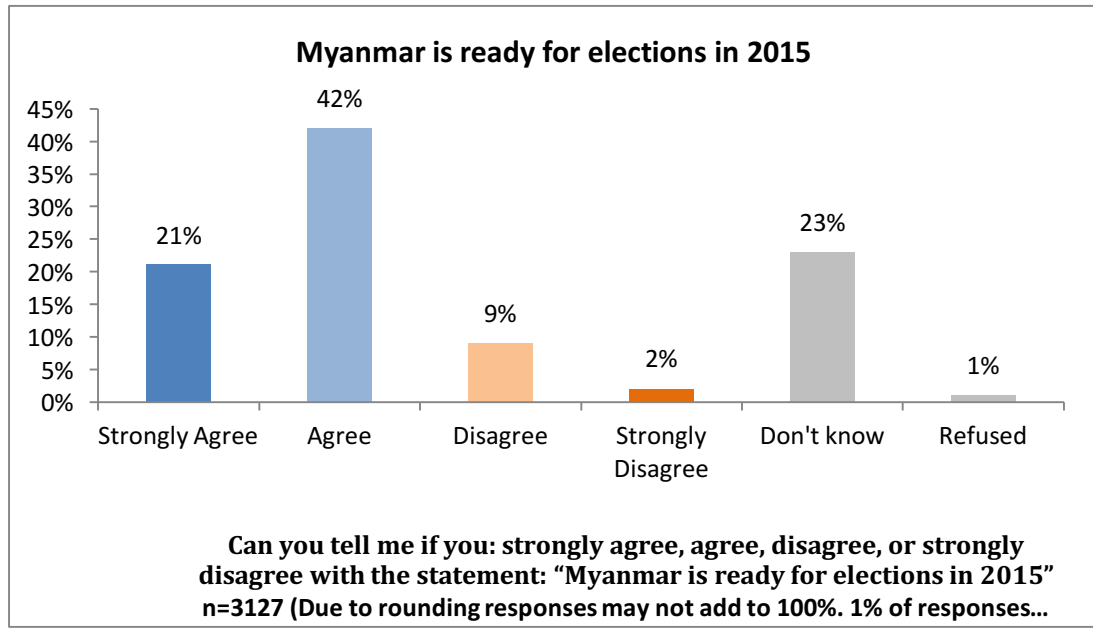
Figure 9. Other forms of political participation



Expectations for the 2015 Elections

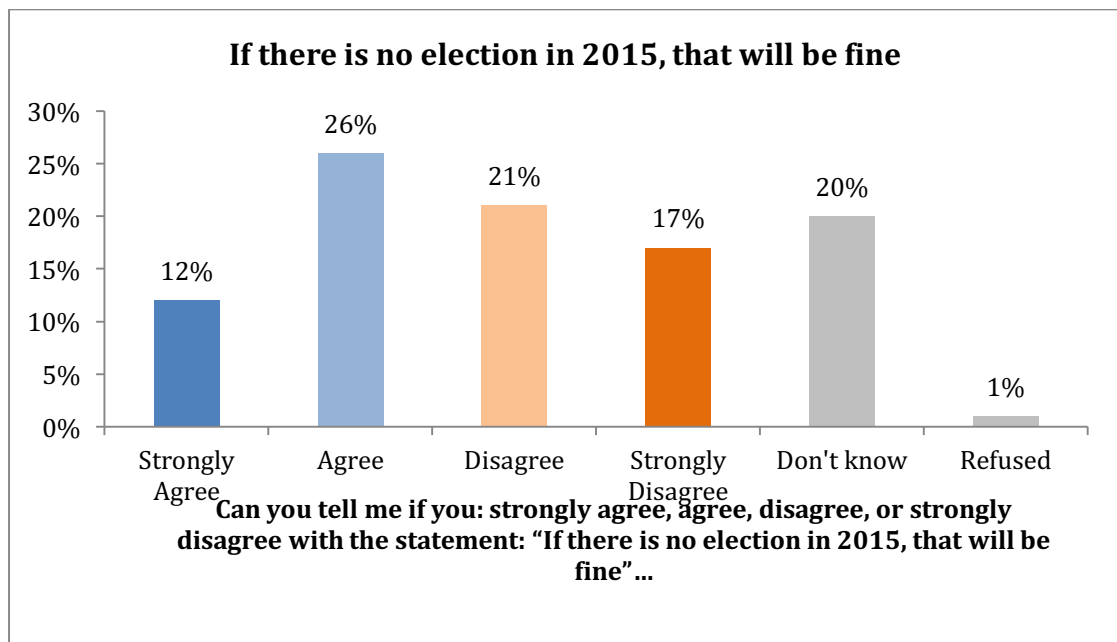
PACE also asked respondents about their expectations for the upcoming 2015 elections. Enumerators asked if respondents agreed or disagreed that "Myanmar is ready for election in 2015." Citizens seem fairly optimistic. Sixty-three percent (63%) of all respondents either "strongly agree" or "agree" that Myanmar is "ready for elections in 2015". Only 2% "strongly disagree" with that statement, while 23% said they did not know. The most optimistic were those with lower levels of formal education, and those living in rural parts of the Burman regions. Female respondents were unlikely to speculate either way.

Figure 10. Ready for Elections



When asked if they agreed or disagreed with a statement capturing a more negative scenario: "if there are no elections that will be fine," opinions fragment. As Figure 11 shows, some 38% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed, while 38% of the population agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. Twenty percent (20%) said they did not know. That scenario elicited strongest disagreement from those with higher levels of formal education, from women, and from those living in urban areas.

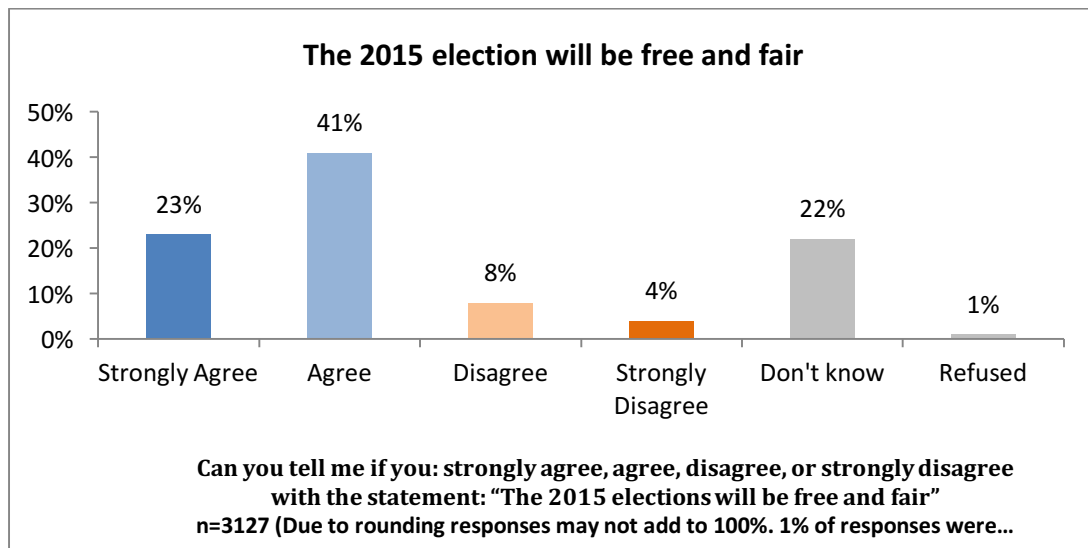
Figure 11. Elections held in 2015



PACE asked respondents if they agreed or disagreed that the "2015 elections will be free and fair." As figure 12 shows, the public is optimistic that the 2015 election will meet the

standards of “free and fair.” Sixty-four percent (64%) of those interviewed either “strongly agree” or “agree” with that statement, while 22% reserved judgment and said they do not know. Males, those with higher education and income, those in urban centers and those living in the ethnic states are more likely to disagree with the statement.

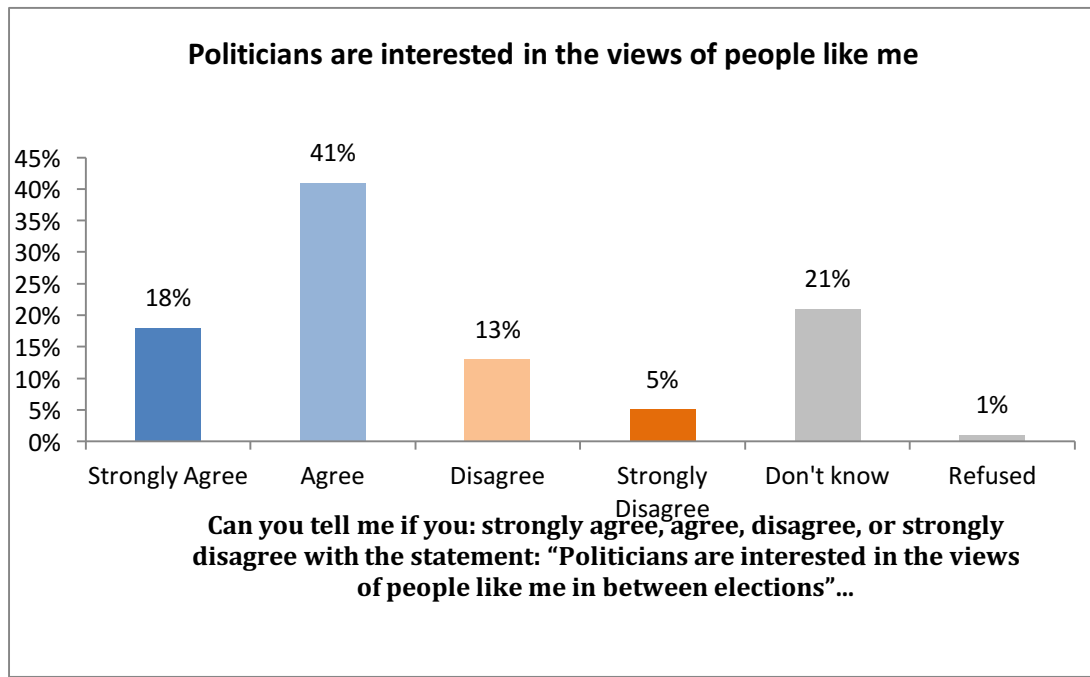
Figure 12. Free and Fair Elections in 2015



Views on Politicians

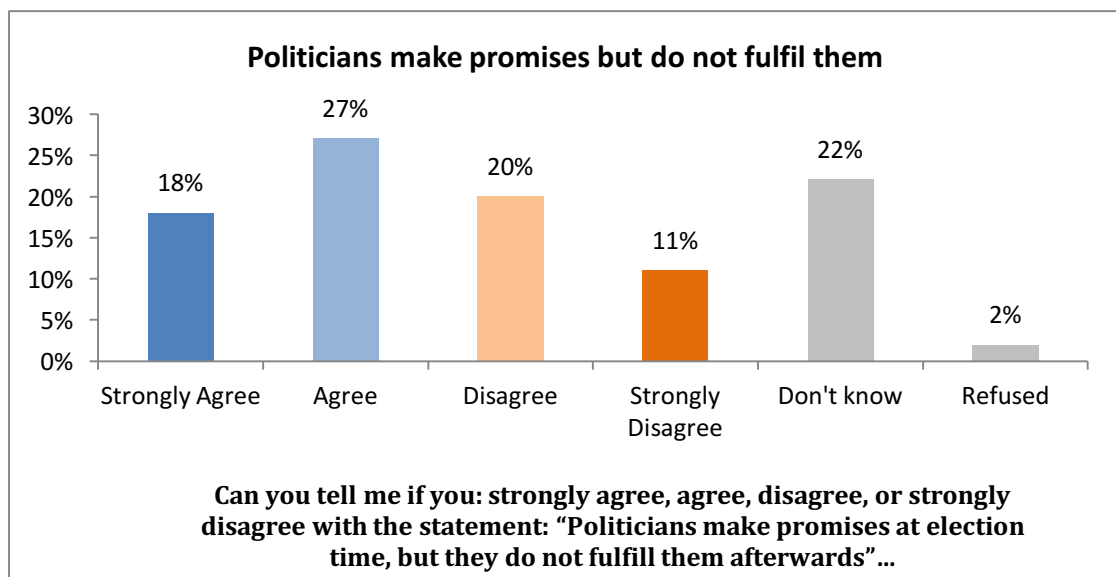
PACE was also interested in how citizens view politicians. PACE enumerators asked if respondents agreed or disagreed that “politicians are interested in the views of people like me.” Nearly 60% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed. A modest 18% report that they disagree or strongly disagree, while 21% of people said they do not know. The most skeptical about politicians’ interest in people are those with higher levels of formal education and income. People who are residents of ethnic states are also somewhat more skeptical, as are older respondents. The least skeptical type of respondent includes those with lower levels of education, lower income, younger, and residents of Burman regions.

Figure 13. Politicians Interested in people like me



PACE also measured how trustworthy citizens consider politicians. As shown in Figure 14, 45% of respondents either agree or strongly agree with the statement that “politicians make promises at election time, but do not fulfill them afterwards”. Just over 30% disagree, while 22% do not know. Those with the highest level of formal education, as well as urban residents and those in Burman regions were more likely to see politicians as untrustworthy.

Figure 14. Politicians make promises



Survey Findings – Logistical Assessment

In addition to public opinion survey, PACE enumerators also conducted a logistical assessment of the 467 locations where they did the survey. They tracked the strength of signal for their mobile phone. See Figure 15 for more detail. They also tracked the transportation infrastructure in those locations, including the type of road access. See Figure 16 for more detail.

Figure 15. Mobile Phone Coverage

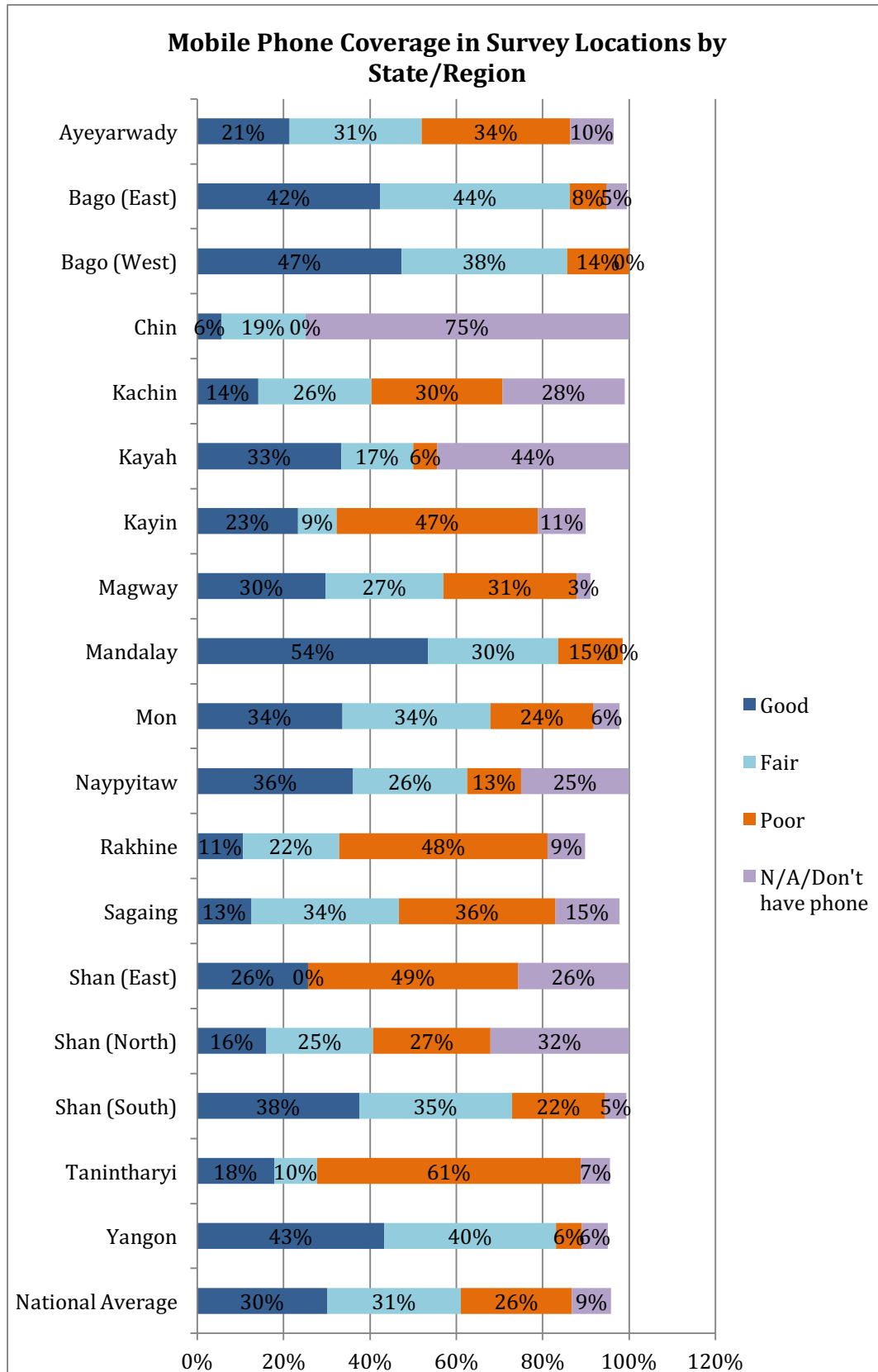
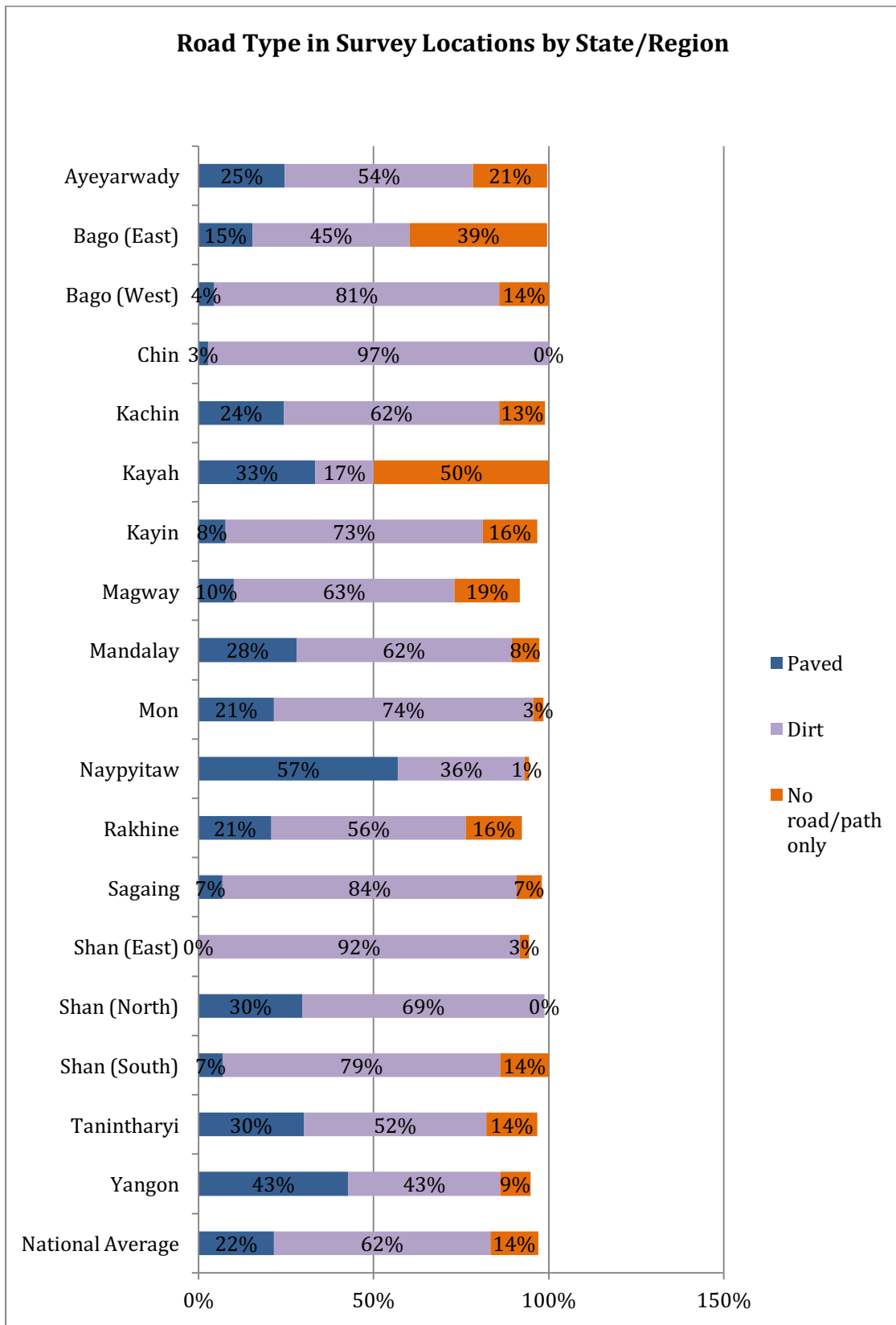


Figure 16. Road Type



Appendix 1. Survey Questionnaire

To be completed by PACE Office:

Form Number						

Data Clerk No.	

PSU [circle one]	
Urban	1
Rural	2

To be completed by Enumerator

A	PACE Enumerator ID						D	State/Region		
B	Enumerator Name					E	Township			
C	Respondent No. (1-9)					F	Ward/ Village			

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

The person I need to speak to is [insert name] _____. Is this person presently at home?			
Yes	1	No	2
If yes:	May I please interview this person now?		
If no:	Will this person return here at any time today [or tomorrow]? (Interviewer: Only say "tomorrow" on your first day of deployment)		
	Yes	1	No 2

VISITS.	Circle number
---------	---------------

How many visits were made to the household where the interview actually took place?	1	2	3
---	---	---	---

DATEINTR.	Day		Month		Year	
Date of interview [Interviewer: Enter day, month, and year]						

STRTIME.	Hour		Minute	
Time interview started [Interviewer: Enter hour and minute, use 24 hr. clock and be exact]				

I'd like to ask start with some general questions

Q1. Are you the head of the household?

[Interviewer: Read Choices. Circle correct response number]

Yes	1
No	2
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

Q2. Here is a list of groups and organizations; I'd like you to tell me if you have often, sometimes, or never participated in the following types of meetings or activities over the past year.

[Interviewer: Read Choices. Circle correct response number]

(a) Cultural Groups (such as literary talks, entertainment events, music concerts)	
Often	1
Sometimes	2
Never	3
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

(b) Sports Groups (involve physically yourself or as audience)	
Often	1
Sometimes	2
Never	3
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

(c) Worker Associations (groups related with a job)	
--	--

Often	1
Sometimes	2
Never	3
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

(d) Community Development Groups	
Often	1
Sometimes	2
Never	3
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

(e) Other Gatherings, Groups, Organizations or Collective Activities	
(Please indicate what kind of other gatherings they attend: _____)	
Often	1
Sometimes	2
Never	3
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

Q3. How interested would you say you are in politics?

[Interviewer: Read Choices. Circle correct response number]

Very interested	1
Somewhat interested	2
Not very interested	3
Not interested at all	4
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

Q4. In many countries, independent groups observe elections. Have you heard of this?

[Interviewer: Read Choices. Circle correct response number]

Yes	1
No	2
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

Q5. Sometimes, international groups observe elections. Do you think that the involvement of international observers helps guarantee transparent elections?

[Interviewer: Read Choices. Circle correct response number]

Very helpful	1
They can help a little	2
I doubt they can help	3
It is of no use at all	4
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

Q6. Sometimes, national groups observe the elections. Do you think the involvement of national observers helps guarantee transparent elections?

[Interviewer: Read Choices. Circle correct response number]

Very helpful	1
They can help a little	2
I doubt they can help	3
It is of no use at all	4
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

Q7. On a scale of 1 to 5 where '1' means "not important at all" and '5' means "very important," how important are the following things for an election to be run well...

[Interviewer: Use Scale for Q7 card]

		Not imp 1	2	3	4	Very Imp. 5	Don't Know	refuse
(a)	Ballot is secret/Secrecy while voting	1'	2	3	4	5	-8	-9
(b)	Election commission is neutral	1	2	3	4	5	-8	-9
(c)	There is no fraud	1	2	3	4	5	-8	-9
(d)	The votes are counted properly	1	2	3	4	5	-8	-9
(e)	The correct results are announced	1	2	3	4	5	-8	-9
(f)	Every party has an equal chance to	1	2	3	4	5	-8	-9

	campaign							
(g)	Voters are free from intimidation or pressure	1	2	3	4	5	-8	-9

Q8. Whose opinion do you think matters most, when it comes to deciding whether elections have been run well? Please pick up to three.

[Interviewer: Read Choices. Circle correct response number for their top three selections]

	1 st Mention	2 nd Mention	3 rd Mention
The party I support	1	1	1
Independent election observers	2	2	2
Foreign governments	3	3	3
The Myanmar Government	4	4	4
The Election Commission	5	5	5
The Media	6	6	6
My own opinion	7	7	7
Opinion of the average citizen	8	8	8
[Don't read out :]			
Don't Know	-8		
Refused to Answer	-9		

Q9. Do you plan to vote in the 2015 election?

[Interviewer: Read Choices. Circle correct response number]

Yes	1
No	2
I haven't decided	3
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

Q10. Here are some statements some people make about elections in the country. For each one, can you tell me if you: strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement.

[Interviewer: Read Choices. Circle correct response number]

(a) "Free and fair elections are essential for any democracy"	
Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Strongly Disagree	4
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8

Refused to Answer	-9
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(b) "If there are no elections in 2015, that will fine"	
Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Strongly Disagree	4
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

(c) "Other forms of political participation are more effective than elections for Myanmar"	
Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Strongly Disagree	4
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

(d) "The 2015 elections will be free and fair"	
Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Strongly Disagree	4
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

(e) "Myanmar is ready for elections in 2015"	
Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Strongly Disagree	4
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

Q11. I will read two statements about politicians. For each one, please tell me if you: strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement.

[Interviewer: Read Choices. Circle correct response number]

(a) "Politicians are interested in the views of people like me in between elections"	
Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Strongly Disagree	4
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

(b) "Politicians make promises at election time, but they do not fulfill them afterwards"	
Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Strongly Disagree	4
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

Now I want to ask a few questions about your own background. This will help us to make sure that the data we have is representative.

Q12. Do you have a job?

[Interviewer: DO NOT READ OUT]

Yes	1
No	2
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

Q13. What is the highest level of formal education that you have completed?

[Interviewer: DO NOT READ OUT]

No formal schooling	1
Other schooling	2
Some primary schooling	3
Primary school completed	4
Some secondary school / high school	5

Secondary school / high school completed	6
Post-secondary qualifications, other than university e.g. a diploma or degree from a polytechnic or college	7
Some university	8
University completed	9
Post-graduate	10
(Don't know)	-8
(Refuse to answer)	-9

Q14. What is your marital status?

[Interviewer: DO NOT READ OUT]

Married	1
Single	2
Divorced	3
Widowed	4
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

Q15. Here is a list of family monthly income categories. Which categories come closest to representing the total income for your household?

[Interviewer: READ OUT OPTIONS]

Under 50,000 Ks	1
50,000 Ks –100,000 Ks	2
100,000 Ks – 200,000 Ks	3
200,000 Ks – 300,000ks	4
300,000 Ks – 400,000 Ks	5
Over 400,000 Ks	6
[Don't read out :]	
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

Q16. In what year were you born?

Write in YEAR:	__ __ __
	__
Don't Know	-8
Refused to Answer	-9

That completes the interview. I would like to inform you that a supervisor from PACE may come to ask you about the quality of this survey interview.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME!

	Hour		Minute	
ENDTIME. Time interview ended [Interviewer: Enter hour and minute, use 24 hr. clock]				
