

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

Background of Selected Political Parties and Vote Shares

Arakan National Party (ANP)



GE Year	Total number of candidates in all parliaments	Vote share in the election (%)
2015	77	2.2%
2020	15	1.3%

The Arakan National Party (ANP) was the product of a merger between the Rakhine National Development Party (RNDP) and the Arakan League for Democracy (ALD) and was registered with the Union Election Commission (UEC) on 6 March 2014.¹ At the time of their founding, ANP's goals were "federalism", "democratisation", and "development", but in practice the party has had a strong focus on Rakhine nationalism.² Previously, the RNDP, led by Dr Aye Maung, was registered on 6 May 2010 and won a total of 32 seats in the 2010 elections.³ The ALD was founded in 1989 and ran in the 1990 election, winning 11 seats.⁴ The ALD re-registered with the UEC in 2012, before combining with the RNDP to form the ANP in 2014. The party claimed to have township executive committees (TECs) in 17 townships and more than 20,000 members in 2020.⁵

Kachin State Democracy Party (KSDP)



GE year	Total number of candidates in all parliaments	Vote share in the election (%)
2015	55	0.1%
2020	8	0.7%

Dr Manam Tu Ja, former vice president of the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO), attempted to register the Kachin State Progressive Party with the UEC for the 2010 elections. He was controversially prevented from doing so, like the other ethnic Kachin parties.⁶ He then founded the Kachin State Democracy Party (KSDP) in 2013, and, at the second attempt, on 13 January 2014.⁷ The KSDP claimed to have around 13,000 members in 2015.⁸ The KSDP was merged with three other ethnic Kachin parties to form the Kachin State People's Party.⁹

Lisu National Development Party (LNDP)



GE Year	Total number of candidates in all parliaments	Vote share in the election (%)
2015	53	0.4%
2020	12	1%

The LNDP was registered with the UEC on 17 December 2013, with the aim of representing the Lisu people in Myanmar and promoting the development of that ethnicity.¹⁰ The LNDP has a close cooperative relationship with the USDP.¹¹ The party claimed to have TECs in 18 townships and around 11,000 members in 2020.¹²

Mon National Party (MNP)



GE year	Total number of candidates in all parliaments	Vote share in the election (%)
2015	27	0.1%
2020	2	0.17%

The Mon Democratic Front was established in 1988 and ran in the 1990 elections, winning 5 seats.¹³ The party re-registered with the UEC after the 2010 elections, using the name the Mon Democratic Party. In 2014, the party joined with a few MPs from the All Mon Region Democracy Party and changed its name to the Mon National Party.¹⁴ In 2018 (overlapping the start of our field research) the MNP merged with other ethnic Mon parties to form the Mon Party.¹⁵

National League for Democracy (NLD)



General election year	Total number of candidates in all parliaments	Vote share in the election (%)
2015	1130	57.1%
2020	920	82%

The NLD was established in late 1988, in the wake of the popular uprising against the military government. Aung San Suu Kyi (known as Daw Suu) became the focal point of the protest movement and one of the party's founders.¹⁶ The NLD won a landslide victory in the 1990 election, winning 80.8 per cent of the available seats, but the military government did not recognize the result of the election.¹⁷ Daw Suu spent most of the 1990s and 2000s under house arrest; many other NLD leaders

and ordinary members were also imprisoned during this period. NLD decided not to compete in the 2010 general election, believing that it was not free and fair, including objecting to the requirement that parties must expel all members who were imprisoned or under detention orders.¹⁸ Aung San Suu Kyi was released from house arrest in 2010, and the party participated in the 2012 by-elections, winning 43 out of 44 of the seats it contested.¹⁹ The party claimed to have TECs in around 300 townships and at least 3 million members in 2020.²⁰

Pa-O National Organization (PNO)



GE year	Total number of candidates in all parliaments	Vote share in the election (%)
2015	22	1.0%
2020	11	1.0%

The PNO was established in 1949, and its armed wing—the Pa-O National Army (PNA)—fought against the central government for much of the next five decades. However, in 1991 the PNO/PNA made a ceasefire agreement with the military government, under which the PNA became a “People’s Militia Force”, meaning it was closely allied with the Tatmadaw.²¹ The 2008 constitution established a Pa-O Self-Administered Zone (SAZ), consisting of three townships in southern Shan State: Hopong, Hsiseng, and Pinlaung. The PNO competed in the 2010 and 2015 elections. In both, it won all the seats for constituencies located in the Pa-O SAZ, meaning that it also occupied all of the elected seats on the SAZ leading body.²² The party claimed to have TECs in 17 townships and more than 80,000 members in 2020.²³

Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD)



GE Year	Total number of candidates in all parliaments	Vote share in the election (%)
2015	1128	28.3%
2020	71	6.4%

The SNLD registered with the UEC in 1998 and ran in the 1990 election, winning 23 seats.²⁴ The party re-registered with the UEC on 12 June 2012.²⁵ At the time of the 2015 elections, the SNLD focused on appealing to ethnic Shan people, but in March 2019 the party announced that they “are trying to change into a state-oriented or policy-oriented party”.²⁶ The party claimed to have TECs in more than 40 townships and around 60,000 members in 2020.²⁷

Ta’ang National Party (TNP)



General election Year	Total number of candidates in all parliaments	Vote share in the election (%)
2015	27	0.4%
2020	12	1.0%

The Ta’ang National Party was registered with the UEC on 24 May 2010.²⁸ The TNP seeks to represent the Ta’ang ethnic group and to work with other ethnicities to establish a federal system of government in Myanmar.²⁹ In the 2010 election, the party won 6 seats,³⁰ increasing its tally to 12 in 2015.³¹ The party claimed to have TECs in 12 townships and more than 30,000 members in 2020.³²

Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP)



GE year	Total number of candidates in all parliaments	Vote share in the election (%)
2015	158	1.6%
2020	42	3.8%

The Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA) was founded in 1993. It claimed to be a mass social organization, but was led by Than Shwe—then chairman of the ruling military State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) government—with other top positions filled by SLORC government ministers. Membership of the USDA “was essentially compulsory for civil servants and those who sought to do business with or receive services from the state”.³³ In 2010 the USDA was reorganized into a political party, registering with the UEC as Union Solidarity and Development Party on 8 June.³⁴ In the 2010 general election, USDP won 883 out of 1,154 total available elected seats.³⁵ USDP fared much worse in 2015, taking only 117 seats.³⁶ The party claimed to have TECs in all of Myanmar’s townships.³⁷

APPENDIX TWO

Survey Questions

Section (3) Political and Social Attitudes

1. Please tell me how you feel about the following statements. Would you say you (1) strongly agree, (2) somewhat agree, (3) somewhat disagree, or (4) strongly disagree? (7) *Do not understand the question, (8) *Can't choose, (9) *Decline to answer
 - 1) In a group, we should sacrifice our individual interest for the sake of the group's collective interest.
 - 2) I think I have the ability to participate in politics.
 - 3) When a mother-in-law and 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.
 - 4) If one could have only one child, it is more preferable to have a boy than a girl.
 - 5) In politics, women should not be involved as much as men.
 - 6) If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems.
 - 7) I would support my daughter to join parties and participate in politics if she so wished.
 - 8) When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.

2. I prefer to have neighbours who are of the same religion than to have neighbours who are from a different religion.
 - 1) Strongly agree
 - 2) Agree
 - 3) Neither agree nor disagree
 - 4) Disagree
 - 5) Strongly disagree
 - 6) Refuse to answer

Section (4) Political Knowledge and Attitudes

1. I am going to name a number of institutions. For each one, please tell me how much trust do you have in them? Is it (1) a great deal of trust, (2) quite a lot of trust, (3) not very much trust, (4) none

at all? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]

- 1) The president
- 2) State/Region government
- 3) Political parties (not any specific party)
- 4) National Parliament
- 5) Civil service
- 6) The military
- 7) The police
- 8) Ward/Village/Tract Administrator
- 9) Health care administration
- 10) Education professionals (teachers, etc.)

2. Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group (1) completely, (2) somewhat, (3) not very much, (4) not at all? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]

- 1) Your neighborhood
- 2) People of another religion
- 3) People of another nationality

3. Who elects the president in this country? [Note to enumerator: do not list options. Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]

- 1) Voters directly
- 2) The party that gets most seats in Parliament
- 3) The Pyidaungsu Hluttaw
- 4) The military
- 5) Others

4. On the whole, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way democracy works today in Myanmar? Are you: [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]

- 1) Very satisfied
- 2) Fairly satisfied
- 3) Not very satisfied
- 4) Not at all satisfied
- 5) Do not understand the question

5. How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) Very important
 - 2) Somewhat important
 - 3) Little important
 - 4) Not at all important

6. How much influence do you think someone like you can have over the national government’s decisions? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) A lot
 - 2) Some
 - 3) A little
 - 4) None at all

7. On the whole, how free and fair would you say the last national election was? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) Not free and fair/very dishonest
 - 2) Free and fair but with several major problems/somewhat dishonest
 - 3) Free and fair with some minor problems/somewhat honest
 - 4) Completely free and fair/very honest
 - 5) Do not understand the question

8. In your view, do you think the following sentences are accurate descriptions of Myanmar’s last general elections? (1) YES (2) NO (7) Do not understand (97) Don’t know/No Answer (98) Refuse to answer
 - 1) Votes are counted fairly.
 - 2) Opposition candidates are prevented from running.
 - 3) Voters are bribed.
 - 4) Election officials are fair.
 - 5) Rich people buy elections.
 - 6) Voters are offered a genuine choice in the elections.
 - 7) Voters are threatened with violence at the polls.

9. In the last national election, were opposition candidates/parties/campaign workers subjected to repression, intimidation, violence, or harassment by the government, the ruling party, or their agents? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) Yes
 - 2) No
10. Did you vote in the 2015 election? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) Yes
 - 2) No
11. Do you plan to vote in the 2020 election? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) Yes
 - 2) No
12. What was the nature of your household’s participation in the most recent elections for Village Tract/Ward Administrator? (MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE) [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) No participation
 - 2) Voted for/nominated 10 Household
 - 3) Voted for/nominated 100 Household Head
 - 4) Voted for/nominated Village Tract/Ward Administrator
 - 5) Others (please specify)
13. Are you a member of a political party? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) Yes
 - 2) No
14. What is the most important reason for you in choosing a political candidate? Please choose one only [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) Party Platform
 - 2) Party Leader
 - 3) Quality of candidate

- 4) Ethnicity
 - 5) Family ties
 - 6) Gender
 - 7) Others: _____
15. Have you ever voted for a female candidate? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No
16. What made you support her? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
- 1) Party she ran with
 - 2) Personal traits (likability)
 - 3) Proposals she made during campaign
 - 4) I know her personally
 - 5) The fact that she is a woman
 - 6) My relatives were voting for her
 - 7) Others: please (specify)
17. What is the most important reason for you in choosing a political candidate? [answer one only] [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
- 1) Party platform
 - 2) Party leader
 - 3) Quality of candidate
 - 4) Ethnicity
 - 5) Family ties
 - 6) Gender
 - 7) Others: _____
18. What is the most important reason for you in choosing a political party? [answer one only] [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
- 1) Party platform
 - 2) Party leader
 - 3) Quality of candidate
 - 4) Ethnicity

- 5) Family ties
 - 6) Gender
 - 7) Others: _____
19. What is the name of a member of parliament for this Township in the State/Region Pyithu Hluttaw? [Note to enumerator: if they say yes, please write down the name. Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No
20. What is the name of a member of parliament for this Township in the Pyithu Hluttaw? [Note to enumerator, if they say yes, please write down the name. For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No
21. Whose decisions affect your life more? The national government in Nay Pyi Taw, the State/region government, the Township government, or your Village Tract/Ward administrator? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
- 1) National government in Nay Pyi Taw
 - 2) State/Region government
 - 3) Township authorities
 - 4) Village Tract/Ward administrator
 - 5) No one

Section (5) Gender Knowledge

1. In general, who do you think makes a better political leader? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
- 1) Men can be much better
 - 2) Same for men and women
 - 3) Women can be much better

2. In general, who do you think make a better business leader? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) Men can be much better
 - 2) Same for men and women
 - 3) Women can be much better

3. Is university education more important for men or for women? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) More important for men
 - 2) Equally important for men and women
 - 3) More important for women

4. Who should be the decision maker about important issues in the family? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) This household has a single parent.
 - 2) The husband
 - 3) Mutual decisions made by husband and wife together.
 - 4) The wife
 - 5) Not important
 - 6) Slightly important

5. How important is it that a wife obeys her husband even when she does not agree with him? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) Very important
 - 2) Somewhat important
 - 3) Not important at all

6. How often do women openly discuss political issues in public spaces? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) Always
 - 2) Often
 - 3) Rarely
 - 4) Never

7. Do you think there should be more, less, or roughly the same number of women representatives in politics? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) More
 - 2) Roughly the same
 - 3) Less
 - 4) Don’t know

8. Do you think a woman should make her own choice for voting, or do you think men should advise her on her choice? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) Woman always make their own choice.
 - 2) Woman sometimes follow man’s advice.
 - 3) Woman always follow man’s advice.

9. How often should women tolerate violence in order to keep the family together (e.g. beating, spanking, hair pulling) [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) Never
 - 2) Occasionally (once or twice a year at most)
 - 3) Sometimes
 - 4) Always when necessary

Section (6) Gender Base Violence and Actors

1. Before you turned 18 years old, how often have you ever seen or heard your mother being beaten by her husband or male friends? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) Often
 - 2) Occasionally
 - 3) Never

2. Before you turned 18 years old, were you ever been beaten at home? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) Often
 - 2) Occasionally
 - 3) Never

3. Before you turned 18 years old, were you ever been beaten at school by teachers/adults (NOT school friends)? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as "No answer/Don't know" and 98 as "Refuse to answer"]
 - 1) Often
 - 2) Occasionally
 - 3) Never

Section (7) Security and Problem-Solving Actors

1. Do you feel safe to travel through your Township during the daytime? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as "No answer/Don't know" and 98 as "Refuse to answer"]
 - 1) Yes
 - 2) No
 - 3) Somewhat
 - 4) Not sure
2. Do you feel safe to travel through your Township during the night time? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as "No answer/Don't know" and 98 as "Refuse to answer"]
 - 1) Yes
 - 2) No
 - 3) Somewhat
 - 4) Not sure
3. In the last 30 days, how many times did you travel outside of your XX (for rural areas XX = village, for urban areas XX = Township)? If you live in a farm, how many times did you travel to a village that is not the closest one to the farm? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as "No answer/Don't know" and 98 as "Refuse to answer"]
 - 1) Never
 - 2) Once
 - 3) A few times
 - 4) Nearly everyday/everyday
4. In the past 12 months, how often have you contacted any of the following people about an important problem, or to give them your views (for each person, options are: (1) once; (2) a few times

(4) once a week; (5) more than once a week; (6) never; (97) don't know; (98) refused to answer)

- 1) 10 Household Heads
- 2) 100 Household Heads/Village Heads
- 3) Ward/Village Tract Administrator
- 4) Ward/Village Elders
- 5) Local Religious Leaders
- 6) Township Administrator
- 7) Local MPs

Section (8) Media

1. How interested would you say you are in politics?
 - 1) Very interested
 - 2) Somewhat interested
 - 3) Not too interested
 - 4) Not at all interested

2. How often do you follow news about politics?
 - 1) Everyday
 - 2) Several times a week
 - 3) Once or twice a week
 - 4) Not even once a week
 - 5) Practically never

3. How do you normally get information about what is happening in the country? [then ask] Is there any other way you get information about what is happening in the country? (DO NOT READ OUT RESPONSES. RECORD TOP TWO RESPONSES FOR THE FOLLOWING).
 - 1) Television
 - 2) Radio
 - 3) Newspaper
 - 4) Internet/Facebook/Mobile Phone/Computer
 - 5) Religious Leader
 - 6) Friends
 - 7) Family and Neighbours
 - 8) Ward/Village Tract Leader
 - 9) 10 or 100 Household Heads
 - 10) Other (please specify)

4. How often do you discuss politics with friends?
 - 1) Everyday
 - 2) Several times a week
 - 3) Once or twice a week
 - 4) Not even once a week
 - 5) Practically never

5. Do you have a Facebook or Instagram account? [For the enumerator: Mark 97 as “No answer/Don’t know” and 98 as “Refuse to answer”]
 - 1) Yes
 - 2) No

6. Do you ever see posts about ethnic or religious conflicts in Myanmar on Facebook/IG?
 - 1) Yes, frequently
 - 2) Sometimes
 - 3) Rarely
 - 4) Never
 - 5) Don’t know

7. Do you ever see posts about sexual violence in Myanmar on Facebook/Instagram?
 - 1) Yes, frequently
 - 2) Sometimes
 - 3) Rarely
 - 4) Never
 - 5) Don’t know

8. Have you asked a Facebook/IG/Reddit friend not to share graphic information related to ethnic or religious conflict?
 - 1) Yes, frequently
 - 2) Sometimes
 - 3) Rarely
 - 4) Never
 - 5) Don’t know

9. Have you asked a Facebook/IG/Reddit friend not to share graphic information related to sexual violence?
 - 1) Yes, frequently
 - 2) Sometimes
 - 3) Rarely
 - 4) Never
 - 5) Don't know

10. When it comes to the content you see on Facebook, to what extent do you think it is true?
 - 1) Almost all of it is true.
 - 2) Most of it is true.
 - 3) Most of it is fake.
 - 4) All of it is false.
 - 5) Don't know

APPENDIX THREE

Focus Group Guide for Field Data Collection

1. Ice-breaking question: Please describe the changes you have seen in your ward/village over the last five years.
(ရွာမှာလွန်ခဲ့တဲ့ငါးနှစ်အတွင်း ဘယ်လိုပြောင်းလဲမှုတွေရှိခဲ့လဲ။)
2. Ice-breaking question: Please describe the festivals that you celebrate in your ward/village every year.
(နှစ်စဉ် ရွာ/ရပ်ကွက် မှာဘယ်လိုမျိုးဘာသာရေးပွဲတွေလုပ်လေ့ရှိလဲ)
3. Please describe how communal decisions are made in this ward/village. *(Note for facilitator—probe on which people have more and which people have less opportunity to participate in and influence decision-making.)*
(ရပ်ထဲရွာထဲမှာ ရပ်ရွာနဲ့ဆိုင်တဲ့ ဆုံးဖြတ်ချက်တွေကို ဘယ်လိုပုံစံ ချမှတ်ကြသလဲ)
(ပံ့ပိုးကူညီသူ မှတ်သားရန် - ဆုံးဖြတ်ချက်ချတဲ့အခါ ဘယ်သူတွေက ပိုပြီးပါဝင်နိုင်၊ ဩဇာလွှမ်းမိုးနိုင်ပြီး၊ ဘယ်သူတွေကတော့ ပါဝင်မှုနည်း၊ ဩဇာလွှမ်းမိုးမှုနည်းသလဲဆိုတာ နောက်ဆက်တွဲ မေးမြန်းရန်)
4. Can you, as a group, think of any ways to give more people opportunities to participate in village decision-making?
(အခု အုပ်စုအနေနဲ့ ရပ်ရွာနဲ့ဆိုင်တဲ့ ဆုံးဖြတ်ချက်ချတဲ့ကိစ္စတွေမှာ လူအများ ပိုပြီး ပါဝင်လာနိုင်ဖို့ ဘယ်လိုနည်းလမ်းတွေ သုံးသင့်တယ်လို့ တွေးမိသလဲ)
5. Please discuss what issues are most important for your ward/village? *(Note for facilitator—probe on whether they think everyone in the village agrees on what issues are most important, if not what differences are there e.g. between different wealth/income, age, occupation, religion etc.)*
(ကိုယ့်ရပ်ရွာမှာ ဘယ်ကိစ္စတွေဟာ အဓိကအရေးအကြီးဆုံး အကြောင်း အရာလဲဆိုတာ ဆွေးနွေးစေလိုပါတယ်။ ပံ့ပိုးကူညီသူ မှတ်သားရန် - ရပ်ရွာမှာ ဘယ်ကိစ္စက အရေးအကြီးဆုံးလဲဆိုတာကို အားလုံးက တညီတညွတ်တည်း သဘောတူ၊ မတူ လေ့လာပါ။ မတူလျှင် ဘာတွေ ကွာ ခြားသလဲဆိုတာ ကြည့်ပါ။ ဥပမာ - ဆင်းရဲ/ချမ်းသာ ဝင်ငွေကွာဟမှု၊ အသက်၊ အလုပ်အကိုင်၊ ဘာသာရေး စသဖြင့် ကွာဟချက်များ)

6. Please work together as a group to describe what your Ward/ Village Tract Administrator /Village Head /100 Household Head /10 Household Head do for your community.

(၁၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ၁၀၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ရွာ/ရပ်ကွက်/ကျေးရွာအုပ်စု အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးမှူး/ ရပ်ရွာခေါင်းဆောင်ဟာ ကိုယ့်ရပ်ရွာ အတွက် ဘယ်လိုကိစ္စတွေကိုဆောင်ရွက်ပေါ်နေလဲဆိုတာ အဖွဲ့လိုက် ဆွေးနွေးသုံးသပ်ပေးပါ။ (ရာထူးတစ်ခု စီတိုင်းအ တွက်သီးခြားစွာမေးရန်)

7. Please discuss if there are other things that you think that it would be good if your Ward/ Village Tract Administrator /Village Head /100 Household Head /10 Household Head did for your community.

(၁၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ရွာ/ရပ်ကွက်/ကျေးရွာအုပ်စု အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးမှူး/ ရပ်ရွာခေါင်းဆောင်က ရပ်ရွာအတွက် ဘာတွေထပ်လုပ်ပေးရင်ပိုကောင်းမယ်လို့ ထင်တာတွေရှိလား)

8. Please discuss the characteristics of a good Ward/ Village Tract Administrator.

(ရပ်ရွာခေါင်းဆောင်ကောင်းတစ်ယောက်ရဲ့ သွင်ပြင်လက္ခဏာတွေက ဘယ်လိုမျိုးလဲဆိုတာ ဖော်ပြပါ) (မေးခွန်းပါ ရပ်ရွာခေါင်းဆောင်ဆိုတာ ရပ်ကွက်/ကျေးရွာအုပ်စု အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးမှူး တို့ကိုဆိုလိုသည်)

9. a) Are there any women Ward/ Village Tract Administrator / Village Head /100 Household Head /10 Household Head in your community?

ရွာမှာအမျိုးသမီး ၁၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ၁၀၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ရွာ/ရပ်ကွက်/ကျေးရွာအုပ်စု အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးမှူး ရှိလား။ ဘယ်နှစ်ယောက်လောက်ရှိလဲ။

b) Please discuss if the current number of women in leadership positions in your 10 households/100 households/ward/village tract leadership positions is satisfactory? Why do you think it is/is not satisfactory?

(လက်ရှိ ၁၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ရာအိမ်မှူး၊ ရွာ/ရပ်ကွက်/ကျေးရွာအုပ်စု အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးမှူး/ ရပ်ရွာခေါင်းဆောင်နေရာမှာ ရှိနေတဲ့အမျိုးသမီး အရေအတွက်က အားရကျေနပ်ဖွယ် ကောင်းသလား၊ ဘာကြောင့် အားရကျေနပ်/ အားရမကျေနပ်တာပါလဲ)

10. Please work together as a group to describe the most active women’s group in your village/ward? What do they do? What do you think of their role in your village/ward?

(ကိုယ့်ရပ်ရွာထဲမှာ အတက်ကြွဆုံး အမျိုးသမီးအဖွဲ့ရှိ၊ မရှိခြင်းအပေါ် အစုအဖွဲ့အနေနဲ့ စဉ်းစားပြီး ပြောပြပေးပါ။ ရပ်ရွာမှာ သူတို့ရဲ့ အခန်းကဏ္ဍက ဘာတွေလဲ)

11. Do you think women and men have the same ability to be THE village/ward leader? Why is that? Please discuss. (Note for facilitator – probe on: do women and men have the same opportunities/face the same challenges to become a leader? Please highlight leadership abilities mention by participants in your notes.)

(ရပ်ရွာခေါင်းဆောင် ဖြစ်ဖို့ အမျိုးသားနဲ့ အမျိုးသမီး စွမ်းရည်အတူတူရှိတယ်လို့ ထင်ပါသား။ ဘာကြောင့်လဲ ထင်/ မထင် ဆိုတာ ဆွေးနွေးပေးပါ။ ပံ့ပိုးကူညီသူ မှတ်သားရန် - ခေါင်းဆောင်တစ်ယောက်ဖြစ်ဖို့ အမျိုးသားနဲ့ အမျိုးသမီးတို့ အခွင့်အရေးအတူတူရကြသလား၊ ကြုံရတဲ့ စိန်ခေါ်မှုတွေ တူသလားဆိုတာ နောက်ဆက်တွဲ မေးမြန်းပါ။ ခေါင်းဆောင်မှု အရည်အချင်းနဲ့ ပတ်သက်ပြီး ပါဝင်ဆွေးနွေးသူတို့ အဓိကထားပြောကြားချက်တွေကို မှတ်သားပေးပါ)

APPENDIX FOUR

Interview Guide Used for Field Data Collection

1. How many years have you held your current position?
(အခုလက်ရှိနေရာမှာတာဝန်ထမ်းဆောင်နေတာ ဘယ်နှနှစ်ရှိပြီလဲ)
 a. Did you hold any community leadership positions before that?
 If yes, please give dates and positions.
 (အရင်တုန်းကရော ရပ်ရွာဒေသရဲ့ ခေါင်းဆောင်မှုနေရာ တစ်နေရာရာ တာဝန်ယူခဲ့တာမျိုး ရှိသလား၊ ရှိခဲ့ရင် ဘယ်တုန်းကလဲ၊ ဘယ်နေရာလဲဆိုတာ ကျေးဇူးပြုပြီး ပြောပြပေးပါ)

2. What is your current main occupation?
 လက်ရှိအဓိက အလုပ်အကိုင်ကဘာလဲ။ (တကယ်လို့အလုပ်အကိုင်တစ်ခုထက်ပိုရှိနေလျှင် အချိန်လည်းပိုပေးရပြီး၊ ဝင်ငွေလည်းပို ရတဲ့အလုပ်ကိုင်အဓိကထားမေးရန်။)

3. What is the highest level of education you have obtained?
 (အမြင့်ဆုံးတက်ရောက်အောင်မြင်ခဲ့တဲ့ ပညာအရည်အချင်းကို ပြောပြပါ)

4. What were your main motivations for becoming a community leader?
 (ရပ်ရွာဒေသရဲ့ ခေါင်းဆောင်ဖြစ်ဖို့ လူကြီးမင်းကို အဓိကစေ့ဆော်တိုက်တွန်းခဲ့တဲ့ အချက်တွေက ဘာတွေလဲ)

5. Were there any role models that inspired you to engage in community affairs?
 (ရပ်ရွာဒေသ ကိစ္စတွေကို ဆောင်ရွက်တဲ့အခါ ကိုယ်လေးစားအားကျ အတုယူခဲ့ရတဲ့ စံပြုပုဂ္ဂိုလ်တွေက ဘယ်သူတွေလဲ)

6. Has anyone else in your family or relatives been involved in community affairs? If so, please give details. (*Note to interviewer – this includes all relatives e.g. cousins, uncles, grandparents etc., not just their immediate family*)
 (ကိုယ့်မိသားစုထဲ၊ ဒါမှမဟုတ် ဆွေမျိုးတွေထဲ မှာရော ရပ်ရေးရွာရေးကိစ္စတွေမှာ ဝင်လုပ်နေတဲ့သူတွေ ရှိလား၊ ရှိရင် အသေးစိတ် ပြောပြပါ။ အကယ်၍သေ ဆုံးသွားရင်လည်းထည့်မေးရန်။ မေးမြန်းသူမှတ်သားရန် - ဆွေမျိုးသားချင်းထဲတွင် ဥပမာ - ဝမ်းကွဲများ၊ ဦးလေးများ၊ အဖိုးအဖွားများ အစရှိသူတို့ ပါဝင်သည်။ သွေးသားအရင်းအချာ တစ်ခုတည်းမဟုတ်ပါ)

7. When did you first stand for election as a 10 Household leader/Village head/100 Household Head/Ward/Village Tract Administrator?
(၁၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ၁၀၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ရွာ/ရပ်ကွက်/ကျေးရွာအုပ်စု အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးမှူးအဖြစ် ဘယ်တုန်းက ပထမဆုံးအကြိမ် ရွေးကောက်ပွဲဝင်ခဲ့တာလဲ)

8. a. Did you need to use your own financial resources to become a 10 Household leader/Village head/100 Household Head/Ward/Village Tract Administrator/community leader?
(၁၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ၁၀၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ရွာ/ရပ်ကွက်/ကျေးရွာအုပ်စု အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးမှူး/ရပ်ရွာခေါင်းဆောင် ဖြစ်ဖို့ ကိုယ့်ရဲ့ ငွေကြေးတွေသုံးစွဲရခဲ့တာ ရှိသလား)

- b. Do you have to spend your own financial resources in your role as a 10 Household leader/Village head/100 Household Head/Ward/Village Tract Administrator/community leader?
ယခုလက်ရှိတာဝန်ထမ်းဆောင်နေတဲ့နေရာကို ထိန်းသိမ်းထားဖို့ ငွေကြေးသုံးစွဲနေရတာရှိပါသလား။

9. What skills and abilities helped you to become a 10 Household leader/Village head/100 Household Head/Ward/Village Tract Administrator/community leader?
(၁၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ၁၀၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ရွာ/ရပ်ကွက်/ကျေးရွာအုပ်စု အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးမှူး/ ရပ်ရွာခေါင်းဆောင် ဖြစ်ဖို့ ဘယ်လိုအရည်အချင်းတွေက အထောက်အကူပြုသလဲ)

10. When you were running as a candidate for the village/10 Household leader/Tract Administrator position, what kind of response did you get from your community?
(၁၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ရွာ/ရပ်ကွက်/ကျေးရွာအုပ်စု အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးမှူး/ ရပ်ရွာခေါင်းဆောင် အဖြစ် ဝင်ရောက် အရွေးချယ်ခံတုန်းက ရပ်ရွာဒေသကလူတွေက ဘယ်လို တုန့်ပြန်ကြသလဲ) (၁ကြိမ်အထက်ဝင်ရောက်အရွေးချယ်ခံခဲ့ လျှင်လည်း အကြိမ်တိုင်းအတွက်မေးရန်)

11. Has your participation in community life resulted in any difficulties or challenges in your home life?
(ရပ်ရွာဒေသကိစ္စတွေမှာ ပါဝင်တဲ့အတွက် ကိုယ့်မိသားစုဘဝမှာ အခက်အခဲဖြစ်တာတွေ၊ စိန်ခေါ်မှုတွေ ရှိလာတာတွေ ရှိသလား) (၁ ကြိမ်အထက်ဝင်ရောက်အရွေးချယ်ခံခဲ့လျှင်လည်း အကြိမ်တိုင်းအတွက် မေးရန်)

- 12. Did you face any harassment or intimidation or strong competition during your election? If so, please elaborate.
(ရပ်ကျေးရွေးကောက်ပွဲဝင်တုန်းက ကိုယ့်ကို စော်ကားနှိမ့်ချတာတွေ၊ သိက္ခာချ နှောက်ယှက်တာတွေ ကြုံခဲ့ဖူးသလား။ ကြုံခဲ့ဖူးရင် အကျယ်ချဲ့ ပြောပြပါ)

Community Leadership and Governance

(ရပ်ရွာဒေသ ခေါင်းဆောင်မှုနှင့် အုပ်ချုပ်မှု)

- 13. In your opinion, what kind of leader does your community prefer?
(သင့်အမြင်အရ၊ သင့်ရဲ့ ရပ်ရွာဒေသက လူတွေက ဘယ်လိုခေါင်းဆောင်မျိုးကို ပိုသဘောကျတယ်လို့ ထင်သလဲ) (သူတို့ ဆီကအဖြေပဲလိုချင်တာ၊ ဥပမာအရင်ပေးလို့ မရ)
- 14. How do you make decisions for your community?
(ရပ်ရွာဒေသအတွက် ဆုံးဖြတ်ချက်တွေကို ဘယ်လိုချမှတ်လေ့ရှိသလဲ (၁၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ၁၀၀ အိမ်မှူး တွေဆိုရင်မိမိအပိုင်တွေကိုရည်ညွှန်းပြီးမေးသာရန်)
- 15. What opportunities do your community have to participate in decision-making?
(ရပ်ရွာဒေသက လူထုကိုယ်တိုင် ဆုံးဖြတ်ချက်ချတဲ့အပိုင်းတွေမှာ ဝင်ပါနိုင်တဲ့ ဘယ်လိုအခွင့်အရေးမျိုးတွေ ရှိသလဲ)
- 16. Are community meetings held in your ward/village? If so, how regular are they? Who attends the meetings?
(ကိုယ့်ရပ်ကွက်/ကျေးရွာမှာ လူထုအစည်းအဝေးပွဲတွေ ကျင်းပသလား၊ ကျင်းပရင် ဘယ်လိုပုံမှန် ကျင်းပသလဲ။ ဘယ်သူတွေ တက်ရောက်သလဲ၊ ဘယ်သူတွေကပိုပြီးဆွေးနွေးကြလေ့ရှိလဲ)
- 17. Do you do anything to promote a close relationship between village/ household leaders and community?
(ကျေးရွာခေါင်းဆောင်/အိမ်ထောင်စုခေါင်းဆောင်တွေနဲ့ ရပ်ရွာလူထုအကြား ရင်းနှီးတဲ့ ဆက်ဆံရေးဖြစ်အောင် ကြိုးစားတည်ဆောက်ပေးတာမျိုးရှိလား (ဥပမာပေးလို့ရ၊ သို့သော် အရင်မပေးရ။ ဥပမာပေးခဲ့ရင်ရေးမှတ်ထားရန်)

Political Ambition of Community Leaders

(ရပ်ရွာလူထုခေါင်းဆောင်များ၏ နိုင်ငံရေးရည်မှန်းချက်)

18. As a community leader/village leader/10 Household leader/100 Household leader/Tract/Ward Administrator, what do you think is your most important role?

(၁၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ၁၀၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ရွာ/ရပ်ကွက်/ကျေးရွာအုပ်စု အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးမှူး/ ရပ်ရွာခေါင်းဆောင်အနေနဲ့ ကိုယ့်ရဲ့ အဓိကအရေးအကြီးဆုံး အခန်းကဏ္ဍက ဘာလို့ ထင်သလဲ)

19. As a female village leader/10 Household leader/Tract Administrator, do you think you have a particular role to play?

အမျိုးသမီး ၁၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ရွာ/ရပ်ကွက်/ကျေးရွာအုပ်စု အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးမှူး/ ရပ်ရွာခေါင်းဆောင်အနေနဲ့ သီးခြားလုပ်ဆောင်ရတဲ့ အခန်းကဏ္ဍ ရှိပါသလား (ဖြေဆိုသူကအမျိုးသမီး ဖြစ် နေမှသာမေးရန်၊ အမျိုးသမီးထုအတွက်သီးသန့် လုပ်ဆောင်ပေးရတာ ရှိမရှိကိုအသားပေးမေးရန်)

20. Do you think that women and men have the same opportunities and face the same challenges to become a community leader/village leader/10 Household leader/Tract Administrator?

(အမျိုးသမီးနဲ့ အမျိုးသားဟာ ၁၀ အိမ်မှူး၊ ရွာ/ရပ်ကွက်/ကျေးရွာအုပ်စု အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးမှူး/ ရပ်ရွာခေါင်းဆောင်ဖြစ်ဖို့ အခွင့်အရေးအတူတူရှိတယ်လို့ ထင်ပါသလား၊ ပြီးတော့ သူတို့ရင်ဆိုင်ရတဲ့ စိန်ခေါ်မှုတွေကရော အတူတူလို့ ထင်ပါသလား)

21. In the future, would you be interested in joining a political party? What kind of position would you be interested in the party?

(အနာဂတ်မှာ နိုင်ငံရေးပါတီတခုခုမှာ ပါတီဝင်ဖို့ စိတ်ဝင်စားပါသလား၊ ပါတီမှာ ဝင်လုပ်မယ်ဆိုရင် ဘယ်လိုနေရာ/ ရာထူးတွေမှာလုပ်ဖို့ စိတ်ဝင်စားပါသလဲ)

22. Can you imagine yourself ever becoming a member of parliament? Will you want to run for elections at the national level?

(ကိုယ့်ကိုယ်ကိုယ် လွှတ်တော်ကိုယ်စားလှယ်တစ်ဦး ဖြစ်လာဖို့ စိတ်ကူးဖူးပါသလား။ နိုင်ငံအဆင့် ရွေးကောက်ပွဲတွေမှာ ပါဝင်ယှဉ်ပြိုင်မလား)

23. On hindsight, what do you think is the best experience or accomplishment in your community leadership career?

(နောက်ဆုံးအနေနဲ့ ကိုယ့်ရပ်ရွာဒေသအတွက် ခေါင်းဆောင်မှု ပေးခဲ့တဲ့နေရာမှာ အကောင်းဆုံးလုပ်ဆောင်နိုင်ခဲ့တဲ့ အတွေ့အကြုံနဲ့ ပြီးမြောက်ခဲ့တဲ့အလုပ်တွေက ဘာတွေ ဖြစ်မလဲ)

APPENDIX FIVE

Samples of Elite Interview Questions

Party Recruitment, Candidate Selection and Attitudes Towards Political Leadership (Gatekeepers)

Personal Political Experiences

1. Please describe your occupational/educational background (*Ice-breaking question*).
2. Did you have any experience participating in politics or public life before joining party?
3. What were your main motivations for becoming involved in politics/ party?
4. Has anyone else in your family been involved in politics? If so, please give details.
5. How many years have you been an active member of _____ party? (*ask only if you cannot get the information publicly*)
6. Has your participation in politics resulted in any difficulties or improvements in your home life?
7. Did you face any harassment or intimidation being a party gatekeeper? (*Note to interviewer: this can be in the form of online, social media, verbal harassment, physical threats, attacks or exclusion from places to campaign*)

Intra Party Rules and Candidate Selection Procedures

8. Please tell me how people in your party get chosen to be members of central committee (CC) or central executive committee (CEC)?
9. Different levels of candidate selection:
 - a. Did your Central Committee play an important role in selecting candidates?
 - b. Did your Township Chairman play an important role in selecting candidates?
 - c. Were there other individuals who played a key role in the candidate selection process? (*please identify gender*)
10. Experience in Party Positions:
 - a. Have you held any position within your party? (e.g. *Central committee, township committee, Youth wing, Women's wing*)
 - b. If so, how did you get chosen for that position?

11. How do people in your party get chosen to become members of the party's township committee? (*prompt to interviewer: please record separately the process for: i) chairperson, ii) secretary, and iii) other positions*)
12. Can you explain more of your party's rules, criteria and procedures in selecting candidates for the last general election? (Please check if there is an internal election process, check if ordinary party members have a chance to be nominated as candidates). Can you describe the process in more detail?
13. Can the ordinary party members decide who the party nominates as a candidate for a general election?
14. If you could change the rules and procedures used by your party for candidate selection, what would you change?
15. In your opinion, what kind of candidates does your party prefers? Are there specific criteria or skills your party is looking for? (Prompt to interviewer, please check for all the following: e.g. occupation, age, education, political background, gender, appearance, ethnic, family or religious background)
16. Do you think there was gender balance in your party's list of candidates in the 2015 election? Why do you think so?
17. Do you think that there was an appropriate amount of diversity in your party's list of candidates for the 2015 election? Why do you think so?
18. In the 2015 elections, did your party have policies to increase the number of female candidates? If so, how effective do you think these were?
19. Does your party have any plans or policies to try and increase the number of female candidates for 2020?

Attitudes Toward Candidates and Politicians

20. As a Township Chairman/CEC/CC member, what do you think is your most important role?
21. Do you think that women and men have the same opportunities and face the same challenges to become parliamentary candidates?
22. Do you think more ought to be done to improve women's political participation and ambition to become parliamentarians? (Prompts for interviewer, e.g. more political funding, training, mentorship, quotas etc.) Please elaborate.

Party Recruitment, Candidate Selection and Attitudes Towards Political Leadership (Candidates and MPs)

Personal Political Experiences

23. Please describe your occupational/educational background (Ice-breaking question).
24. Did you have any role model or leader who inspired you to join politics?
25. Did you have any experience participating in politics or public life before joining party?
26. What were your main motivations for becoming involved in politics/ party?
27. Has anyone else in your family been involved in politics? If so, please give details.
28. How many years have you been an active member of _____ party? (ask only if you cannot get the information publicly)
29. When did you first become a candidate and stand for elections?
30. Did financial resources affect your decision to stand in election?
31. What skills and abilities do you think you have that were especially helpful for you to compete/win parliamentary elections?
32. Has your participation in politics resulted in any difficulties or improvements in your home life?
33. Did you face any difficulties travelling around your constituency during the campaign?
34. Did you face any harassment or intimidation during your campaign? (Note to interviewer: this can be in the form of online, social media, verbal harassment, physical threats, attacks or exclusion from places to campaign)

Intra Party Rules and Candidate Selection Procedures

35. Please tell me how people in your party get chosen to be members of central committee (CC) or central executive committee (CEC)?
36. Different levels of candidate selection:
 - a. Did your Central Committee play an important role in selecting candidates?
 - b. Did your Township Chairman play an important role in selecting candidates?
 - c. Were there other individuals who played a key role in the candidate selection process? (please identify gender)

37. Experience in Party Positions:
 - a. Have you held any position within your party? (e.g. Central committee, township committee, Youth wing, Women's wing)
 - b. If so, how did you get chosen for that position?
38. How do people in your party get chosen to become members of the party's township committee? (prompt to interviewer: please record separately the process for: i) chairperson, ii) secretary, and iii) other positions)
39. Can you explain more of your party's rules, criteria and procedures in selecting candidates for the last general election? (Please check if there is an internal election process, check if ordinary party members have a chance to be nominated as candidates). Can you describe the process in more detail?
40. Can the ordinary party members decide who the party nominates as a candidate for a general election?
41. If you could change the rules and procedures used by your party for candidate selection, what would you change?
42. In your opinion, what kind of candidates does your party prefer? Are there specific criteria or skills your party is looking for? (Prompt to interviewer, please check for all the following: e.g. occupation, age, education, political background, gender, appearance, ethnic, family or religious background)
43. Do you think there was gender balance in your party's list of candidates in the 2015 election? Why do you think so?
44. Do you think that there was an appropriate amount of diversity in your party's list of candidates for the 2015 election? Why do you think so?
45. In the 2015 elections, did your party have policies to increase the number of female candidates? If so, how effective do you think these were?
46. Does your party have any plans or policies to try and increase the number of female candidates for 2020?

Attitudes Toward Candidates and Politicians

47. As a member of parliament, what do you think is your most important role?
48. What issues do you think ought to be raised or debated more in Parliament in Myanmar?

49. Do you think that women and men have the same opportunities and face the same challenges to become parliamentary candidates?
50. As a female/ethnic minority member of parliament, do you think you have a particular role to play for women/your ethnic community?
51. Do you think more ought to be done to improve women's political participation and ambition to become parliamentarians? (Prompts for interviewer, e.g. more political funding, training, mentorship, quotas etc.) Please elaborate.
52. On hindsight, what do you think is the best experience or accomplishment in your political career?

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