

**YANGON UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS
DEPARTMENT OF APPLIED ECONOMICS
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**A STUDY ON YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN
MYANMAR'S GENERAL ELECTIONS 2020**

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes knowledge and awareness of Youth Participation in the Myanmar Elections 2020 and youth's knowledge on Myanmar Youth Policy. In this study, the descriptive method is used based on the primary data through online google form survey. The survey data was collected through social media platform (Facebook) from the network of the author, friends and friends of friends, thus participants were not selected systematically. It was because the survey data collection time was coinciding with 2nd wave Covid 19 pandemic therefor face to face data collection was not possible. A total of 672 respondents of youths (aged 18 to 35) from the 14 Regions and States as well as from Nay Pyi Taw Council (the Administrative Capital of Myanmar) participated in this survey. It is noteworthy that most of all youths know their eligibility to cast vote for 2020 general elections. The majority of youths already decided to vote in the 2020 general elections. However, youths did not focus much about selecting youth candidacy or representatives in both Union Level and States & Regions parliaments. Regarding the awareness about Myanmar Youth Policy, or the content of policy, it was found that only (9.1 per cent) knew the correct year of the released date for Myanmar Youth Policy, only (3.7 per cent) realized the "9 Basic Principles" and (8.0 per cent) had a knowledge about the part of political affairs under the main sectors of Youth Policy. Nearly half of the respondents (46.3 per cent) answered the correct answer for youth aged ranged 15- 35 years old. Regarding the ladder of participation, about (23 per cent) realized "Young people's initiative, decisions made in partnership with adults, which is the highest level of the ladder. Accordingly, it would be better if that kind of idea could be tried to maintain.

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This is to certify that this thesis titled “**A Study on Youth Participation in Myanmar’s General Elections 2020**” submitted in partial fulfillment towards the requirements for the degree of Executive Master of Public Administration (EMPA) has been accepted by the board of examiners.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BME	: British Minority Ethnic (BME)
BSPP	: Burma Socialist Programme Party
CUSO	: Canadian University Service Overseas
GONGO	: Government Organized Non-Governmental Organization
INGO	: International Non-Governmental Organization
MOHS	: Ministry of Health and Sports
MYP	: Myanmar Youth Policy
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organization
NLD	: National League for Democracy Party
NRC	: National Registration Card
PPP	: People's Pioneer Party
SLORC	: State Law and Order Restoration Council
SPCD	: State Peace and Development Council
UEC	: The Union Election Committee in Myanmar
UN	: United Nations
USDA	: Union Solidarity and Development Association
YAC	: Youth Affairs Committee

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale of the Study

Every nation recognized that “Youths” are the future of the nation who would transfer national responsibilities and they are valued national human resources. Roles of youths are important for nation building.

"One cannot talk about young people without speaking of the future and one cannot talk about the future without speaking of young people". Aleksandra Chodasz, Piotr Cykowski (2013).

Regarding the latest calculation of the United Nations Population 2019, there are about 1.2 billion youth aged 15 and 24 years or 16 per cent of the global population. The portion of youth in the total population peaked at 19.3 per cent in 1985 and the number of youths in the world is predicted to grow by 7 per cent to 1.3 billion by 2030. Its population is expected to peak at nearly 1.4 billion persons around 2065 globally. The youth population in the 47 least developed countries is expected to increase by 62 per cent in the next coming three decades, rising from 207 million in 2019 to 336 million in 2050. (Source: World Population Prospect, 2019).

Myanmar is highly diverse in terms of geography, ethnicity, language, culture and religion. When looking at the efforts to get Myanmar Independence history, there were significant roles of youths and students actively participated in political and democratic transitions. They also played key roles in building social cohesion and peace at the grass-roots level.

Myanmar (then Burma) got independence from British Colony in 1948 and then became a democracy country for over a decade (from 1948 to 1960). However, when the Myanmar military took the country’ power, in 1962, there became less role of youths and students’ participation in politics. In 1988, youths and students started demonstration and asked for “Democracy’ but few months later, military took over the country again, thus the country was led by military government for another 22 years, so that role of youths in politics was dimmed gradually until 2010.

After about a half century ruled by the military government in different political systems, young people are experiencing many changes in their social, political, and cultural contexts in the very beginning of Myanmar's political and democratic transition since 2010. Myanmar is transition to a democratic country again and according to 2008 Myanmar Constitution. Thus, Myanmar held general elections in 2010 and 2015 and by-elections in 2012 and 2018 accordingly. Youths played an important role for the development of Myanmar politics; yet no proper policy published to recognize and encourage for their participation until November 2017.

According to 2014 census, there are total 51.5 million people in Myanmar and among them youth population ratio is significantly high as 23.9 million (46.5%) is under 25 youth and children. There are 15-35 youth is over 18 million which is (36%) of total population. According to the Myanmar Union Election Committee, there would be 5 million first time voters who were going eligible to vote in the 2020 General Elections.

In 2015 general elections, youths participated in pre-election campaign, monitoring group for free and fair election, voter education and helping elders and people of disability for smooth voting systematically and they themselves voted for choosing right candidates or party for country's future.

Myanmar is one of the 30 countries, which did not have youth policy (Myanmar Youth Policy, 2017, p10). In November, 2017, the Union of Myanmar Government released Myanmar Youth Policy (MYP) to encourage youth participation in future nation building. It was a good progress seeing the willingness of the government, particularly adults welcoming youths in nation building and set clear goals for youths as well as preparation for systematic capacity building for them. However, this policy was not well popular yet in public and need to implement well effectively until 2020 General Elections.

Although women empowerment and participation are highlighted, but, still dimmed for youth participation in politics and other areas. So, they have less opportunities in participation. As Myanmar is moving for the federal democratization, there are many opportunities for youths to discuss politics openly, which is a remarkable and important development. It is important to know that how youths are participating in the current changes of democratization and what space youths receiving for contributing their ideas and desire for the nation building in reality. Only if adults

know the real needs of youths and their interest, what they bring for youths would be matched that youths really wants for their future.

Election is one of the important process for choosing who would govern and lead the country. So, ensuring the participation of youths in social, economic, political, education, cultural and development is crucial for a nation. There needs to be enabling environment and system for developments of youths.

So, this study analyzed the roles and participation of youth in elections and their voting behavior, the opportunities and threats for their participation in politics.

1.2 Objective of the Study

The objective of this study is to analyze Youth Participation in the Myanmar General Elections 2020

- The objective of this study to examine Knowledge and Awareness of Youth Participation in the Myanmar General Elections 2020.
- To examine the voting behavior of youths

1.3 Method of Study

In this study, the descriptive method is used based on the primary data. Primary data is obtained through self-structured questionnaires and Google form survey was done due to Covid 19 pandemic. Total 672 respondents of youths from the 14 States and Regions as well as from Nay Pyi Taw Council (the Administrative Capital of Myanmar) participated in this survey. Online survey data collection period is from 16th October, 2020 to 31st October, 2020. Secondary data and information were obtained from literature review of other scholars and researches, reference books, websites, newspapers, journals, Myanmar Union Election announcements and orders as well as the Union of Myanmar Constitution 2008, etc.

1.4 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study mainly focuses on the youth participation in Myanmar's General Elections 2020 and it covered only youths aged 18 to 35 years, who were eligible to casting vote for 2020 General Elections that held in 8th November, 2020. Being the online survey, there might be some challenges for the respondents in understanding of some questions as well as difficult for respondents to access internet connection when

answering the Google form questionnaire. Thus, the survey results did not cover the knowledge, behavior and awareness of voter's aged above 35 years.

1.5 Organization of the Study

This study is organized into five Chapters. Chapter one introduces the rationale, objective, method, scope and limitation of the study. Chapter two is the literature reviews about the concept of participation of youth in politics in elections. Chapter three explains the background history of youth participation in Myanmar. Chapter four is the survey analysis of youth participation in elections in Myanmar. Chapter five is concerned with the findings and recommendations for the effective implementation of youth policy and youth participation.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The Importance of Youth Participation

In this 21st century, cultural and social boundaries of childhood, youth and adulthood are rapidly changing day by day. As a regard, the transition period from childhood to adulthood is becoming extended and more and more complex. Mostly, the transition from education to employment reflects these complexities. Gender and socio-economic background being major determining factors when young people moved from formal education or vocational training to work.

Young people in these recent decades have better chances to implement their dream successfully as they are exercising a greater variety of choices about their lifestyle: how they manage their time, money and many other resources. When looking back to previous decades, young people today may have more opportunities and personal freedom than those of previous generations.

Youth are the nation builders of tomorrow and their participation in politics and society is vital for a country's development. (Hofmeister, 2012). Nations can build a long-lasting foundation for prosperity through well connecting the talent of youth. The future belongs in the hands of youth thus every society should do their part to involve them.

“The presence of youth in all society is a welcome for celebration and this presence signifies the continuation of future generation in all domain of life”. (Ramli, 2012). More importantly, they provide states and societies with energy of creativity, innovation and skills. The involvement of youth in all spheres of life becomes crucial especially for developing countries such as Myanmar in Southeast Asia.

A recent study by Hazita Azman, Bahiyah Abdul Hamid and Zarina Othman (2011) indicate that it is important to understand youth by looking at the linkages between the global and the local. Democratic practices are shaped based on each country's history, political traditions and social culture. (Beetham 2009). (Dahl 1970; Sen 1999; Beetham 2009) in their study mentioned that, freedom of expression, separation of powers and free & fair elections in the third wave countries are the key norms of Western Liberal democracy in their literature of democracy, however,

attention paid to analyzing for the perceptions of the younger generations is very little to expose their understanding of what it means to be democratic. Democracy is not merely different from country to country, but also from each political generation to the next.

2.2 Youth Political Participation

Participation is commonly defined as the act of taking part in some action. So, 'political participation', is largely assumed as an act of taking part in 'political' action. The perception of political participation varies by differing its modes, intensities and qualities of participation. To this day, it is under debate that the extent to which a political participation should be considered as appropriate in political theory; from voting to directly influencing the implementation of public policies. Participatory democracy is primarily concerned with ensuring that citizens be involved in decision making on matters that affect their lives or otherwise are afforded an opportunity to participate.

2.2.1 Youth Participation in Elections

“Participation is about the division of power and adults should share it with young people.” Aleksandra Chodasz, Piotr Cykowski (2013). In Europe and Western countries, it is often heard or experience about young people, who don't participate, don't go to the elections and even, it is hard to get them interested in anything. Participation of young people is something more than being active, but it is also giving young people some of the power of adults. Thus, it is the delegation of some responsibilities for shaping of reality. Giving ground to the young is not easy. It often requires giving up of traditional, widely-held mode of operation. It is worthwhile to give young people space for acting.

2.2.2 Power Sharing for Young People

"One cannot talk about young people without speaking of the future and one cannot talk about the future without speaking of young people" Aleksandra Chodasz, Piotr Cykowski (2013)

Participation of young people in these days is not merely limiting them away from using mobile phones nor encouraging them to do any kind of activity. This is quite serious challenge connected with the democratization of people's life. In many developed countries, abundant opportunities offered to young people by various funds envisioned to support grass-roots initiatives and many developments that bring the adults closer to this problem, such as ongoing debates on lowering the voting age, growing in numbers of projects on school democratizing, etc.

It is worthwhile to note that the view on participation is related to the right of young people to be heard, but also shapes the competencies and attitudes they would take to the future and which are extremely important in a democratic society. It is also noted that young people involve in actions when they "feel adults' support, adults indicate that they see young people as capable and reputable, see their potential and are not reluctant to trusting them. (Karolina Goclon, one of the participants of workshops conducted by "Quality Life" Foundation)

Normally, people assumed that adults have more knowledge and experience in most of the areas. It is generally true; however, it is young people who can teach elders about new technologies, innovative ways and creative ideas. "Young people are active, because they want to change something in their community, want to act on behalf of others, make good use of their free time to gain experience in all kinds of activities, to share their skills, knowledge" - says Ewa Piszcz, pedagogy student at the Rzeszów University, who participated in the interpersonal skills' workshop conducted by the Foundation for adults working with young people.

2.3 Practice of Youth Participation

It is clear that no one can force active participation in public life. For example, going to the elections and thus making decisions about one's own environment - is not mandatory in most countries. Taking responsibility for the world around us is a learning process, so it's also a challenge for those who work with young people. Harry Shier concluded in his research that it is the school that should be the first place where these mechanisms are implemented, and which has considerable responsibility in this respect.

Figure (2.1) Pathway of Youth Participation



Source: The path of youth participation based on Harry Shier's work

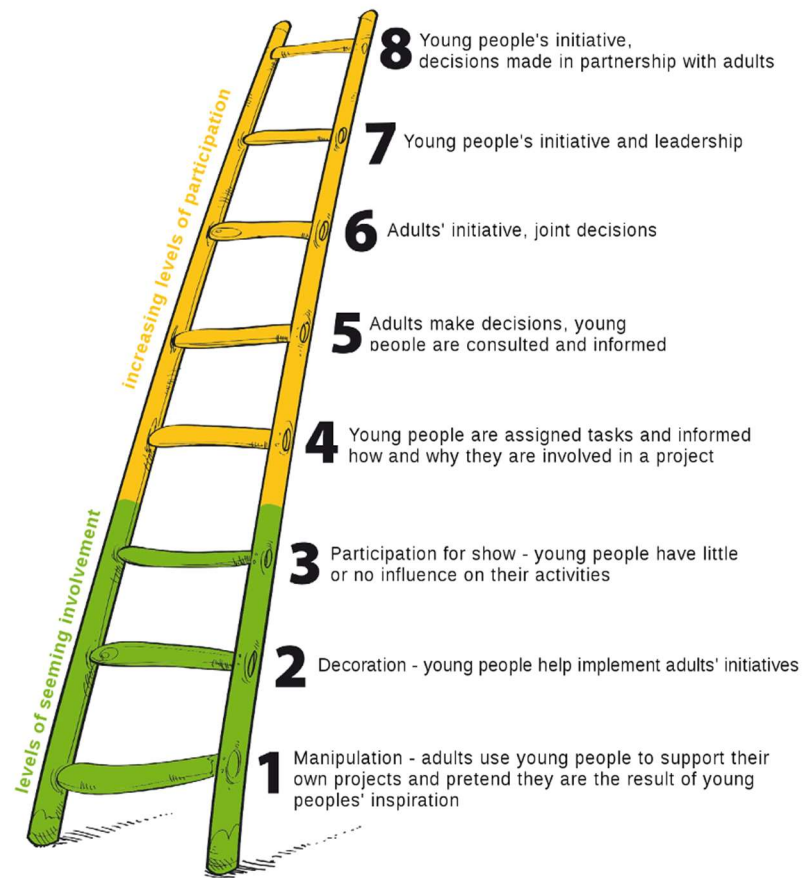
2.3.1 Young People's Behavior of Action

It is noteworthy to learn that when young people want to participate in activities initiated by adults, or whether they would plan and implement their own activities depend on many factors. Some of the facts young people want to participate described in the projects in the city of Jarosław that, young people want to act when adults are patient, positive, encouraging. Sometimes, they have had many negative experiences, such as having to participate in activities that were demanding and not totally rewarding.

2.3.2 Modes of the Youth Participation

In the "Ladder of Participation" from the model of participation developed by Roger Hart, "There are the activities young people seemingly involving in something, but in reality, they have nothing in common with true participation". Instead, they are rather the examples of abuse and manipulation. The actual youth participation is as follow.

Figure (2.2) Ladder of Participation



Source: Ladder of participation - a participation model by Roger A. Hart

Among all 8 levels, "Manipulation" is the lowest of participation as adults use young people to support their own projects and pretend they are the results of young people's inspiration and the lowest 3 levels are the levels of seeming involvement". Level 4 to level 8 is called "Increasing levels of Participation". On the other hand, level 8, "Young people's initiative" which decision made in partnership with adult is the highest level of participation. Started from level to 8, it mentioned as increasing level of participation that young people have more power in each participation level.

2.4 Youths' Interest in Politics

Britain is one of the most experienced and leading democracy countries. However, when looking back the 2001 British general elections, the landslide re-election of the Labour party to national government was over-shadowed by the lowest voter turnout rate since 1918, and has led some to claim that Britain is experiencing a “crisis of democratic politics” (Harrop, 2001, pp.295-313).

In 2001, only 39 per cent of eligible 18 to 24-year-old voting (a reduction of 27 per cent since 1997) that political “disconnection” is broadly considered to be principally acute amongst young people (Norris, 2001; Henn et al., 2002), a trend that has been identified across all European states (European Communities, 2003). As part of response to this situation and attempting to re-engage the electorate, it is notable that the Government revised the electoral procedures to simplify and extend postal voting at the 2005 general elections, and yet even with the massive increase in postal voting (estimated to have increased from 1.4 million to around five million (Travis 2005, p.1) overall adult turnout increased only marginally by 1.9 per cent to 61.3 per cent, and significantly continued to fall for youth voters (to only 37 per cent).

2.4.1 Youths' Political Engagement

(Parry et al., 1992; Park, 2000; Kimberlee, 2002) in their studies concluded that young people have lower-levels of political knowledge than do older age groups. They have a distinct lack of interest in (formal) politics; display comparatively weak commitments to political parties and are unwillingness to become membership of such political organizations than older people. Addition to this, two recent quantitative studies indicate that rather than “formal” politics, young people are more likely to engage in “cause-oriented” styles of politics (Norris, 2003) and ‘micro-politics’ (Pattie et al., 2003).

According to Verba and associates (1995), the socioeconomic status plays general role in political engagement. Young people who come from families with higher levels of socioeconomic status minister to talk about politics more regularly, more generally involved and vote more frequently. Young people from less privileged backgrounds participate less and are less engaged overall. (p. 189). In addition, those who volunteered in their youth were much more likely to continue volunteering in later life.

According to numerous studies, gender and race play in differing levels of involvement (for an overview, see Verba et al. 1995, ch. 8). While females of all ages are less likely to engage in most institutionalized political and civic activities (see particularly Verba et al. 1997, Burns et al. 2001, Booth-Tobin & Han 2010), women are more likely to vote (e.g., Cent. Am. Women Polit. 2005). Kirby & Kawashima-Ginsberg (2009) in their report on the 2008 election, find that young women were eight percentage points more likely to vote in the election than were their male counterparts.

2.4.2 Civic Education and Political Knowledge

Galston, (2001) argue that “Civic knowledge helps citizens understand their interests as individuals and as members of groups”. Regarding survey results of the Annenberg Public Policy Center done in 2016 found that only (26 per cent) of Americans can name all three branches of government, which was a significant decline from previous years. Civic knowledge and public engagement are at an all-time low (Shapiro, Sarah & and Brown, Catherine 2018). Not amazingly, public trust in government is at only (18 per cent) and voter participation has reached its lowest point since 1996. Hence, educators and schools have a unique responsibility and opportunity to certify that young people become engaged and knowledgeable citizens.

Gordon (2008), based on her ethnographic study of high school students concludes that because of conflicts with their parents; girls’ political ideals do not consider into political action in the form of social movement participation. Generally, minority youth are less likely to engage in a number of civic activities. Scholars believe to have contributed to the “Demise of Black Civil Society” in America which means that race is also related to levels of civic engagement (Sullivan 1996; see also Hart & Atkins 2002, Sherrod 2003, Zukin et al. 2006). It is clear that there is a strong relationship between socioeconomic status and politicized church networks. In the authors’ words, “middle class blacks disproportionately hear political messages in church and serve as church activists” (p. 617).

Andolina and colleagues (2003, p. 275) conclude that “Habits formed at home, lessons learned at school, and opportunities offered by outside groups all positively influence the civic engagement of youth”. The earlier young people get politically involved, the more likely they are to stay active. Education, like home experience and exposure to civic groups, contributes to youth political participation and the long-term involvement of this generation.

Political knowledge is “the range of factual information about politics that is stored in long-term memory” (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996, p. 10). More extensive knowledge about polity, politics, and policy is presumed to enable and encourage people to participate in politics (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Galston, 2001). As a matter of fact, empirical evidence suggests that political knowledge contributes to more stable and consistent political attitudes, helps citizens achieve their own interests and make decisions that conform with their attitudes and preferences, promotes support for democratic values, facilitates trust in the political system, and motivates political participation (Galston, 2001).

2.5 Review on Previous Studies

Norris (2003) indicates that there has been a significant diversification of participation in political action amongst young people which include consumer politics, demonstrations, protests, petitioning and lobbying in recent years. Matt Henn, Mark Weinstein and Sarah Forrest, (2005) in their politic studies evidences that only (11 per cent) young people considered that it was indeed possible for themselves to influence the political decision-making world, while seven times as many young people (81 per cent) claimed to lack such influence. Young people who have endured in full-time education are much more likely to be politically active (31 per cent) than those who are no longer in full-time education (19 per cent). Young people from middle class managerial/ professional households are considerably more probable to be active in politics (31 per cent) than their manual, unskilled or ‘working class’ counterparts (22 per cent). In Britain, a large majority of today’s youth generation also consider that protest politics and direct action are the other important and justified methods of political participation.

Young Americans, who Brokaw (1998) has called the “Greatest Generation” are less likely to participate in numerous traditional political and civic activities such as attending public meetings, writing their political representatives, and working for political parties in the 2008 Obama campaign and the 2012 presidential election in the United States of America. (e.g., Putnam 2000; see also Easterlin & Crimmins 1991, Skocpol 1996, Dalton 2008).

According to Dalton & Wattenberg (2008), they discussed that up until the 2000 election, youth voter turnout was decreasing at a higher rate than among the rest of the American population. These trends are mirrored in more confrontational forms of

politics (Wattenberg 2008, ch. 8). Instead, younger Americans are less involved than their forerunners and they are engaging neither in traditional forms of political activity nor in more disruptive forms of activism. (Fisher. R. 2012). Focus on consumer activism has become more popular as part of alternative forms of political engagement. Specifically, Americans have been expressing their political and social concerns through their purchasing practices. Compared to any other type of political behavior, Zukin and associates (2006, p. 77) pointed out that these types of action to be more prevalent.

Moreover, voter turnout for Americans under 30 has gone up significantly in recent years: “turnout increased (4 per cent) by 2000, and an additional (7 per cent) in 2004” (Dalton 2008, p. 192), and this trend continued in the 2008 election (Kirby & Kawashima-Ginsberg 2009, Sander & Putnam 2010). Beyond voting, youth involvement in other aspects of the 2008 election also increased. (Sander & Putnam 2010) evidences that campaign volunteering increased for all citizens, but the change was highest among young Americans. Particularly, campaign volunteering for Americans under 30 increased almost 20% between the 2000 and 2008 elections.

Young people ran house meetings, went door to door in support of their candidate of choice. Young Americans became much more involved in the Obama campaign and two-thirds of the young people who voted in the 2008 election voted for Barack Obama. (Dalton 2008, p.193). Many people paid huge attention to the 2008 election campaign and mobilized to participate as volunteers, workers, and supporters. The Obama campaign “trained some 3000 full time organizers, most of them in their 20’s; it organized thousands of local leadership teams; and it engaged some 1.5 million people in coordinated volunteer activity” (Ganz 2009, p. 1).

It has seen that youth participation is key in changes in a country’s political situation as young people played a substantial role in the Obama campaign. They actively participated in the work of the campaign, they were strong supporters of the candidate, and they voted predominantly for Obama. Regarding this, Dalton (2008, p. 181) has called the Obama campaign “the story of youth and politics in 2008” (see also Dionne 2011).

The success of the campaign was that the campaign organizers used numerous strategies to mobilize young people. It includes instituting a summer fellowship program which trained 3,600 young people to work for the campaign. Youths’ interest in the campaign stretched well beyond this select group of young people: thus, more

than 10,000 people applied to participate for the program (Dalton 2008). Young people were trained so that they have willingly participated in elections.

Cherry Ceridwen (2012) in her study for “The Case for A National Voter Pre-Registration Law” revealed that “Lower voter participation among young people is a serious problem, that needs to be addressed”. It would lead to a lack of lower representation for young people’s interest and may have serious consequences for young people’s long-term participation rate.

Sander & Putnam (2010, p. 13), described that, “The Obama campaign, with used a lot of young volunteers and workers, not only counted on an upwelling of youth civic engagement but contributed to it as well.” The effective use of the Internet to mobilize supporters in its ground war changed American politics forever. Young people who were already familiar with the technologies become one of the advantages that the campaign had grab to mobilize supporters. In addition, as youth are the early adopters of updated and forthcoming information & communication technologies, there is no doubt that the Obama campaign benefited from the fact that the candidate fully grabbed the substantial support from them.

Use of new information and communications technologies are another way that young people are seen as taking a lead in political participation. Many scholars have focused on how this technology promotes and enables various forms of engagement (e.g., Bennett 2003, Shah et al. 2005, Garrett 2006, Nah et al. 2006) and political actions as “easier, faster and more universal” (Van Aelst & Walgrave 2002, p. 466).

As mentioned above, youths of today’s age are more exposed to political and social information through wider media channels including a plentiful variety of social youth networks such as Twitter, WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram, television news programs and virtual communities. Thus, a survey of youths can help us to understand the type of youth participation, their awareness and behavior about election in democratization in Myanmar.

CHAPTER III

THE BACKGROUND HISTORY OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN MYANMAR

Myanmar held the 3rd general elections on November 8, 2020, under the 2008 Constitution. All main political parties, including those that were boycotted the election in 2010, participated in 2nd time general elections in 2015. The general elections which conducted on November 8, 2015, was a milestone in the transition processes launched in 2011. The transition toward Myanmar democracy led to an opening of political space. The resounding victory of National League for Democracy Party in 2015 general elections has raised hope for a successful political transition.

3.1 Political Background

There is a saying that the beginning of Myanmar is from “Tagaung”. Myanmar is composed with 135 ethnic groups including 8 major ethnic groups, Kachin, Kayah, Kayin, Chin, Bamar, Mon, Rakhine and Shan.

Myanmar gained independence on 4th January, 1948. It was after more than a century with parts of its territory under British control and more than 60 years as a British colony, including a short period of occupation by Japan during World War II.

Democracy is not purely new for Myanmar as it experienced a decade of multi-party democracy system, holding elections in 1947 (for the post-colonial administration), 1951, and 1956, under its first constitution.

3.1.1 Claim for Reform and General Elections 1990

In the study of The Carter Center (2016), elections held in 1974, 1978, 1981, and 1985 held under 1974 new constitution were tightly controlled by the government. In 1987, demonstration erupted across the country because of demonetization of the local currency for 2 times and its instable economy. Demands for reform lead to a nationwide strike on August 8, 1988.

After over one month continue riots in the whole country, the Tatmataw (military) seized power, dissolved the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), and created the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), which imposed martial law. Then, the SLORC announced that elections would go forward in 1990.

The 1990 pre-election campaign activities were highly restricted. In 1990 May, the first election after 26 years of military rule, National League for Democracy Party (NLD) won about 80% of the total 492 seats. 2297 candidates from 93 parties contested in that election. Nonetheless, the SLORC did not recognize the results. Instead announcing that they would hand over the country's power after a new constitution was drafted and enacted. Since then, the SLORC formed "Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA) as Government Organized Non-Governmental Organization.

3.1.2 The Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar 2008

In 2003, the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) announced a "Roadmap to Discipline-Flourishing Democracy," a seven-step process. The roadmap included resuming and completing the constitution drafting process, organizing a referendum on the draft constitution, and holding "free and fair elections" for a national legislature. A draft constitution was subsequently passed in a constitutional referendum held in May 2008, which the government released after a 15-year wait. (The Carter Center 2016)

The Union of Myanmar Constitution 2008 established a new structure for the state, including upper and lower houses of parliament (Pyithu Hluttaw and Amothar Hluttaw), state and regional assemblies, and the framework for elections.

Myanmar held its first elections 2010 under the structure of 2008 Constitution. A total of 40 parties were approved to contest the elections by the Union Election Commission (UEC), some of which were from ethnic minorities. The Union Solidarity and Development Party, formerly Government Organized NGO (Union Solidarity and Development Association) registered as political party, declared victory, winning 259 of the 330 contested seats.

In this political context, the National League for Democracy (NLD) one of the opposition parties participated in the by-elections in 2012. The NLD won 43 of the 44 seats it contested (Out of 46). Inviting international observers to monitor the elections became a significant progress for the President U Thein Sein government. The by-elections represented a step towards acknowledging the legitimacy of the main opposition party, although this was only a small fraction of the overall seats in parliament. The 2012 by-elections were remarked as "very successful", and many foreign countries lifted or loosen sanctions on Myanmar. (The Carter Center 2016)

Myanmar held its 2nd general elections on 8 November 2015. These were the first openly contested elections held in Myanmar since 1990. National League for Democracy Party received an absolute majority of seats in both chambers of the national parliament, enough to ensure that its candidate would become president.

3.1.3 Youth Participation in Past Elections

In Myanmar history, youth participation in politics is very prominent when the time Myanmar (then Burma) tried to get independence. But, after independence, the role of youth has gradually disappeared for several decades. However, since 2010, there has been more space for youth to participate in political. So, youth played a great role in the past elections in election campaign such as election campaign (door to door, web page, talk shows, decorated cars/vehicles, etc), supporting on social media, fund raising, monitoring for the justice, free and fair election, preparation for the ballots, checking the ballots for others.

3.2 Myanmar Youth Policy

Youths are the ones who would be handed over the duties of the country's responsibilities and are going to create the state's future. The new government has tried that younger generations have had a system which create and ensure freedom, secure and development to get full rights and opportunities. It intends to heritage a peaceful country for future generations that youth themselves participate in peace processes. On the other hand, the power of youth is the valuable human resources who would take over the leadership roles of the country.

The Myanmar Youth Policy (2017) highlighted that the government would not hide the role of youths and promote to get their rights fully and increase their participation in nation building. Myanmar is a country that united many ethnic groups and live together with diverse culture and customs, which had their own long histories in each ethnic group. Youths are the most valuable human resources which is very important to invest now for the sake of future development.

3.2.1 The Objectives of Myanmar Youth Policy

The objectives of the Myanmar Youth Policy clearly mentioned to nurture the skills such as leadership and management, administrative and good citizenship so that they would improve civic education and increase the spirit of taking responsibilities and accountability. It also clearly stated to increase the spirit of Union of Myanmar and to clearly define the leadership role of youth on the reconciliation and national features and nation building.

3.2.2 Youth Definition

According to Myanmar Youth Policy, 2017, youth is defined aged between 15 to 35. The roles and responsibilities of youths are to love the union spirit and live in a good citizenship as well as respect and follow the roles and responsibilities of the Myanmar youth policy. In this policy, it is recommended to teach youths about political, peace, public administration in higher education sectors to promote knowledge and practice of federalism, the value of human rights, the international democracy standards and to implement the programmes that youths are nurtured and developed for the good citizenship.

3.2.3 Political Sector of Youth Policy

Political sector described the recognition of skills and capabilities of youth and to ensure the meaningful participation in civil society, political and nation building. It also includes to uplift the role of youth for national unity and value the democracy and construction of federal union as well as they receive necessary supports from the policy makers, service providers and responsible persons from all sectors. It also encourages for the participation of youth in decentralization processes. Plans should be made to ensure that youth access necessary information and know the political matters.

It is necessary to make sure to recognize the role of youth and their participation in all steps such as planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation and decision-making process for the matters related to youths, policies, national strategies and programmes which bring the best interest of youth.

3.3 Myanmar General Elections in 2020

Myanmar held its the 3rd time general elections on 8th November, 2020 under the 2008 Myanmar Constitution. Regarding to this constitution, the life time of parliaments is 5 years which is the same as for the President of the Republic of Union of Myanmar. Myanmar Parliament System is divided in to 2 layers, National Level Parliament (Pyidaungsu Hluttaw) and States and Region Level Parliament. The Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, which is the combination of the House of Representatives namely Pyithu Hluttaw (Lower House) and the House of Nationalities; namely Amyotha Hluttaw (Upper House). Myanmar democracy system under 2008 Myanmar Constitution is not truly pure democracy yet as Myanmar Tatmataw, (The Defense Service take 25% of the total parliament representatives in each Hluttaw.

There are total 440 seats in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw and total 330 representatives have to elect through Multi Party Election System representing 330 townships from 14 States and Regions and Nay Pyi Taw Council, inclusive of relevant Union territories and including one representative from each Self-Administered Division or Self-Administered Zone; while the rest 110 representing Myanma Defense Services are nominated by the Chief of the Military. Amyotha Hluttaw, is formed with a maximum of 224 Hluttaw Representatives, 12 seats equally represent to 15 States and Regions. So, it has total 224 and among them 168 are elected representatives and the rest 56 representing the Defense Service personnel nominated by the Chief of the Military. So, the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw has total 664 parliament members, 498 elected and 166 non-elected personnel representing the Myanma Defense Service. (The Union Election Commission, Myanmar).

Table (3.1) Total Election Constituencies vs Confirmed Constituencies

Sr. No	Description	Total Constituencies				Confirmed Constituencies for 2020 General Elections		
		Pyithu Hluttaw	Aymotha Hluttaw	States & Regions	National Races	Pyithu Hluttaw	Amothar Hluttaw	States & Regions
1	Kachin State	18	12	36	4	18	12	36
2	Kayah	7	12	14	1	7	12	14
3	Kayin	7	12	14	3	7	12	14
4	Chin	9	12	18	0	9	12	18
5	Sagaing Region	37	12	74	2	37	12	74
6	Tanintharyi Region	10	12	20	1	10	12	20
7	Bago Region	28	12	56	1	28	12	56
8	Magway Region	25	12	50	1	25	12	50
9	Mandalay Region	36	12	56	1	36	12	56
10	Mon State	10	12	20	3	10	12	20
11	Rakine State	17	12	34	1	17	12	34
12	Yangon Region	45	12	90	2	45	12	90
13	Shan State	55	12	110	7	50	12	100
14	Ayeyarwaddy Region	26	12	52	2	26	12	52
Total		330	168	644	29	325	168	634

Source: <https://www.uec.gov.mm/>

States and Regions parliament are the same ratio representing for each township within each State and Region. So, the size of the States and Regions Parliaments differ based on the total numbers of townships in each area. Anyway, all the elected and non-

elected parliament members mainly take their roles legislation while some of them become the members of the government at Union, State and Regions.

3.3.1 Political Parities Condition

There have been total 96 parties registered to contest in 2020 general elections. Among them, 78 political parties applied to contest in Union Level, 18 parties in the State and Regional Level. However, only 93 parties were eligible to contest. 49 out of 93 are the ethnic and minority polity parties.

A total of 6,689 candidates from political parties and 280 individuals, totaling 6,969 ran in the 2020 general elections. Of them, 1,934 candidates competed for the House of Representatives (Lower House), 976 candidates for the House of Nationalities (Upper House), 3,847 candidates for state or region parliaments and 212 candidates for ethnic minority in state or region parliaments.

Political parties made candidate selections for each constituency who were planning to compete in the general elections. In some parties, they prefer and promote for the participation of women and young people as the candidates with the criteria of strong commitment and royalty to their party and party's policies. Some parties strategically ensure for the capacity building for the young people as the assets for the sustainable of the party and to get supports from young generation.

During this 2015 to 2020, voters have noticed that some candidates from their respective constituency did not perform well for the sake of the voters and even never seen their candidate after elections. So, they could not submit their needs and not receiving government's expenditure for their health, education, economic opportunities and infrastructure such as transportation, energy, communication, etc. Because of dissatisfaction on their candidates, voters began to consider to choose right person in right place as well as voting to person not to the party or party leader.

Although youths participated in activities such as election campaigns, monitoring the performance of the Myanmar Election Committee, free and fair election, fund raising, helped for smooth voting of elders and persons with disability, checking voting list and voting results, and they themselves voted to the candidate, however, it was not clear yet that how much percentage of youths have been selected as candidates and how their voices have considered for the selection of the whole election processes.

The purpose of this survey also means to examine about how voters would made decision for voting for the candidate they prefer and what were the points they

considered in the past elections and what would be for the 2020 general elections as well.

There are some challenges that National Level members of parliament (Pyithu Luttaw and Amyothar Luttaw) could not get to all the places of their constituencies because of their time spent at the parliament as well as participating at the national level committees. Yet, the States and Regional members of parliament could more in touch with the grass root level citizens.

The strength is that members of parliament nowadays could communicate to voters through social media, such as Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp etc., asking their needs, submitting their performance reports, what they have done, what they were planning to do, how they have tried for the people of respective constituency and listened citizens' voices.

3.3.2 Candidate Selection

The Union Election Commission in Myanmar announced that the 2020 General elections would be held on 8th November, 2020. The registered political parties submitted their candidacy by the third week of July 2020. The 2020 election had been more interesting as there were opposition parties merged during the mid of NLD's government period. People who did not like much previous government as well as current government have had better chance to choose alternative options. Competition among political parties would be much stronger. Political parties tried to choose their candidates mainly based on the loyalty to their party as well as to serve well to their voters.

In this regards, political parties did not clearly state about the percentage of youth participation of candidacy for 2020 general elections. By learning the parties' policies on the selection criteria on candidates, they mostly chose on the preferences of the public voices and recommendation from the central committees of respective parties.

For instance, apart from being membership and follow the core values and policies of their party, People's Pioneer Party's (PPP) fundamental criteria have mainly based on 1) the experience at the government services, law making, administration, judiciary and security matters, 2) non-governmental organization and other civil society organizations and 3) administrative experience in agriculture, livestock, mechanical, services and entrepreneurship and 4) working experience of within country and abroad.

So, it was not so clear the role and participation of youth, specific percentage for youth as the candidates.

3.3.3 Voter Registration in the Past and 2020 General Elections

According to The Carter Centre's "Observing Myanmar 2015 General Elections", it has seen that the Union Election Committee (UEC) has made substantial efforts to improve the quality of the voter lists in 2015 general elections which include a national program to computerize voter lists for the first time. (The Carter Center, 2016) Voter lists normally based on the government documents that contained many inaccuracies and further compounded by errors when transferring handwritten lists to computerized format. The UEC has made positive changes and displayed the voter lists prior to the legally required voter-list so that voters have had multiple opportunities to check the lists. It is the voter's responsibilities to check whether there have been inaccuracies in the list or not, however, voters who are away from their native place could not check themselves on their eligibility of voting.

Myanmar hit Covid 19 first wave started from March 2020 and according to the Ministry of Health and Sports (MoHS), there were only nearly 600 positive cases detected and only 6 people died because of Covid 19 disease. However, started from the mid of August, 2020, Myanmar suffered second wave as the disease spread rapidly. Therefore, Myanmar government released restrictions for not gathering more than 5 people and most of all businesses (small, medium and large) were closed except some essential food and medical equipment industries were allowed to open according to the guidelines of MoHS. In July 2020, the UEC announced the voter list for the first time and encouraged citizens to check the eligibility and accuracy. There have been some errors in the voter name vs national registration number, parents' names, date of birth, etc.

So, the UEC announced the second time voter list in October 2020, not only displayed at the village/ward sub-commission offices, but also prepared to check from on line so that people can more access easily and not crowding at the sub-commission offices.

3.3.4 The Registration Process

According to the 2020 general elections citizenship political anticipation survey, it highlighted that, Myanmar people have less interested for the 2020 elections because of 1) lack of information and language barriers in the campaign, 2) not understood well on the election processes, 3) not well aware on the roles and responsibilities of a citizen, 4) free and fair election and 5) the importance of the election and the role of a voter. The results showed that among all states and regions, Shan state has most spoilt votes because of not knowing the value of a vote.

The survey also highlighted that the radio and televisions broadcastings, pamphlets should be in related ethnic language for easy and better understanding on how to vote. In contrast, it would face challenges for the ethnic minorities. Regarding this survey, the total population who would surely vote in 2020 elections (only 48 per cent) which is the critical results for the coming election for the representation of all Myanmar citizens.

3.3.5 Youth's Voting Behavior

Some youths strongly participated in political and peace building while others do not interest in any social or political matters. For them, it does not matter who rule the country or whatever political system it is fine. Such kind of people perceived that "I would survive what I do for myself" and they think about that whatever government rules would not make a difference for them. For some people, they have no specific reason for not going to vote and they do not have such serious on right to vote. So, they have no concern on the election and right to vote or responsibility to vote as a citizen.

3.3.6 Preference of Candidate or Party

For some cases, people who would like to vote for the sake of the people they live, however, the candidate represent for their constituency or the party or individual candidate is not their preference may drive them not going to vote on the election day.

On the other hand, some minority ethnic did not get unity among same ethnic groups so that there were at least 2 and more parties of same ethnic groups. So, people who would like to choose their own ethnic candidates or party, did not know whom to vote and even disappointed for disunity. Such kind of party and candidate which were not matched for their preference made them confusion and diluted their willingness to vote.

3.3.7 First Time Voter vs Civic Education

First time voters; which are the most important Myanmar youths to show up on Election Day because they represent the newest voices making their wishes to let know the government. There would be estimated 5 million first time voters for 2020 general elections. Youths did not get proper civic education for the whole election processes or sufficient information about the history and qualification of the candidates, his/her commitment, what are their promise for the people/ constituency they represent or for the States and Regions as well as for the changes of the country' future. They did not know why they should vote only studying to the party and its policies or on the qualification of the candidate or both.

Perception of voting only to the party really worked for National League for Democracy Party in previous 2015 general elections for the formation of Government which got more than (79 per cent) of seats in both the Pyithu Hluttaw (Lower House) and Amothar Hluttaw (Upper House) as well as a majority of seats in 10 out of 14 States and Regionals assemblies.

During this 5 years' period, voters have reviewed their representatives according to their performance and how they keep their election campaign manifesto. Some satisfied for the performance, their efforts and political will of their representatives while some did not satisfy yet. They even upset their representatives and began to think about that the qualification and performance of the candidates who would represent to their constituency is also the important matters to consider to vote.

3.3.8 Voter Education Activities

Voter education activities contributed to the raising of voters' awareness and knowledge of electoral procedures. This was particularly important in the context in which many people had never been voted due to the country's political situation. Regarding 2015 elections, voter education particularly on ballot marking (to reduce the number of invalid ballots), voter registration and voter identification for future elections need to improve. Voter education efforts would have benefitted if the UEC had shared relevant information with civil society and political parties in a timely manner, and if UEC sub-commissions had played a more active role in providing voter education. (The Carter Centre 2016)

3.4 Knowledge of Myanmar Youth Policy

Youths have been delightfully contributed to the increasingly improvement of Myanmar political change and continue to be drivers of social cohesion and peace building in their communities. Different background of birth place: rural or urban, ethnic, education, knowledge, skills and experiences become rich assets for development of Myanmar Youth Policy. The Myanmar National Youth Policy was passed by the national parliament in November 2017 and launched by the State Counsellor in January 2018. The youth policy legally defines youth aged 15-35 years old. Under this definition, Myanmar's youth currently comprise over a one third of the total population, with (35.58 per cent) of the overall population. (Myanmar Youth Policy, 2017)

The National Youth Policy sets strategic national commitments across a host of sectors, including politics, health, education, gender equality, peace & conflict and employment among others. Addition to this, the youth policy refers to United Nations Security Council Resolution 2250 as part of its mandate. (Final External Report: Participatory Youth Workshop on the National Youth Policy, 2018)

According to background of the Myanmar Youth Policy, young people have limited opportunities to meaningfully engage with the government, in order to understand perspectives, contribution to young people. Thus, Myanmar youth policy is therefore a historic opportunity for the Government and the focal ministry: Department of Social Welfare to engage youth genuinely in order to help young people understand their sight and challenges as well as increase trust in how young people around the country perceive the government and the youth policy.

The youth policy process has now established Youth Affairs Committee (YAC) with (40 per cent) government and (60 per cent) youth representatives at each of the state and regional levels with the impetus to translate the policy into practice, highlighting how youth can contribute positively to their communities and society.

Recognizing the critical importance of engaging government and youth on shared issues of concern to support participatory process that both influence policy and ensure operationalization of new policies that contributes to social cohesion. One of the success of the youth policy is a legitimate, formal and official gateway for young people to engage with government and in political decision-making processes.

CHAPTER IV

SURVEY ANALYSIS

The purpose of this survey is to obtain detailed primary information of the ground situation for the Youth Participation in Myanmar General elections 2020. It includes five basis areas based on the structured questionnaire, data collection procedures and data analysis on survey.

- 4.1 Survey Profile
- 4.2 Survey Design
- 4.3 Survey Results
 - 4.3.1 Demographics of the Respondents
 - 4.3.2 Analysis on Voting Behavior of Youth for 2020
 - 4.3.3 Analysis on Youth Participation in 2020 General Elections
 - 4.3.4 Analysis on Past Elections Experience
 - 4.3.5 Analysis on Knowledge of Youth on Myanmar Youth Policy

4.1 Survey Profile

Myanmar, officially the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, is a country in Southeast Asia. It is the largest country in Mainland Southeast Asia; stretching over 2,000 km from north to south. It has a total land area of 676,577 sq. km (261,228 sq. miles). Myanmar is bordered by Bangladesh west and China to its northeast, India to its northwest, Laos and Thailand to its east and southeast, and the Andaman Sea and the Bay of Bengal to its south and southwest. The country's capital city is Naypyidaw and its largest city is Yangon. According to 2014 Census, it has a population of about 51.4 million. The ratio of man and woman is (93:100) and the age group that can be include in the definition of youth is as follows;

- | | |
|-----------------|-------|
| 1) 15yrs-19yrs | 9.20% |
| 2) 20yrs- 24yrs | 8.61% |
| 3) 25yrs-29yrs | 8.25% |
| 4) 30-34yrs | 7.75% |

According to the Union of Myanmar Constitution 2008, the President shall constitute a Union Election Commission (UEC). In constituting the Commission, he/she may appoint a minimum of five members including the chairman of the Union Election Commission in accord with the provisions on appointment of the Union Minister prescribed in this Constitution. (398 (a). Myanmar Constitution 2008).

The duties of the Union Election Commission described under the Union of Myanmar Constitution 2008 are as follows:

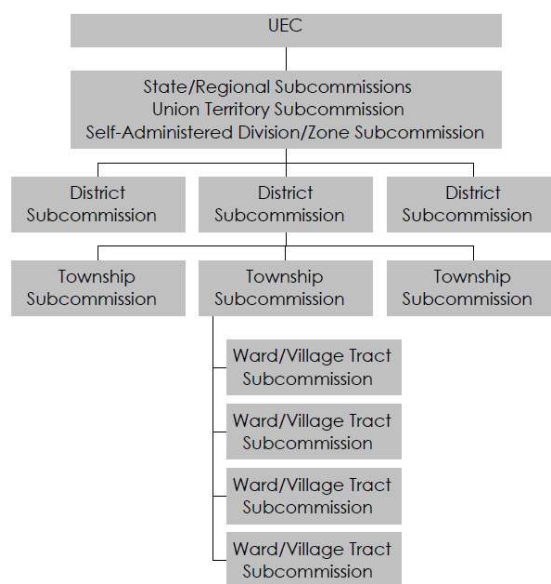
- a. Holding Hluttaw elections;
- b. Supervising Hluttaw elections; forming different levels of sub-commissions and overseeing thereof;
- c. Choosing and amending the constituencies;
- d. Assembling lists of voters and amending thereof;
- e. Postponing elections of the constituencies where free and fair election cannot be held due to local security situation or due to natural disaster
- f. Ordering rules relating to elections or political parties according to the provisions of this Constitution, and procedures, directives, thus, in line with the relevant laws;
- g. Constituting the election tribunals for trial of disputes relating to election in accord with the law;
- h. Performing duties assigned under a law. (399, Myanmar Constitution 2008).

Resolutions and Functions of the Union Election Commission are

- 1) The resolutions and functions made by the Union Election Commission on the following matters shall be final and conclusive:
 - a. Election functions.
 - b. Appeals and revisions relating to the resolutions and orders of the election tribunals.
 - c. Matters taken under the law relating to political party.
- 2) Duties, powers and privileges of the Chairman and members of the Union Election Commission shall be prescribed by law. (399, Myanmar Constitution 2008).

Figure (4.2) The Election Commission Structure

The Election Commission Structure:



Source: Source: Observing Myanmar’s 2015 General Elections Final Report, The Carter Centre (2016)

According to the Union Election Committee (UEC) preparation coordination meeting conducted on 10th June, 2020, the 2020 general elections was coinciding with the Covid 19 Pandemic situation, so they promised to make sure to do for necessary preventive measures for the disease control guidelines. The UEC has prepared to check the voting list. There would be over 44,000 polling stations to be opened in the whole country for voters to elect 1150 representatives to Myanmar National and States/Regional legislatures. Voters cast ballots for candidates to the lower house, the upper house, their states and region assemblies, and if eligible, for any state/regional ethnic affairs ministers being elected in their constituency.

In 2020 elections, there would be total estimated 37 million voters in the whole country. Among them, there would be total estimated 5 million youths who would become first time voters in this year. Among them, Yangon Regions has the highest youth population followed by Ayeyarwaddy Region.

4.2 Survey Design

To meet the objectives of this study, the survey questionnaire was organized based on the demographic information, knowledge of voting behavior for Myanmar General elections 2020, youth participation in elections, experience of youth participation in previous elections and knowledge of Myanmar Youth Policy.

The survey was conducted when the 2020 general elections was close and at the time of peak interest of Myanmar citizens. So, it was done during campaign period and before starting casting their votes. Unlike previous general elections and by-elections, 2020 general elections were coinciding with the high rate of Covid 19 pandemic so that election campaigns have done under pandemic control guidelines released from Ministry of Health and Sports. Regarding this situation, the survey was done through online from October 16, 2020 to October 31, 2020, one week before the voting day started.

To get the interest and high participation from different states and regions from different age, the survey was opened to every age above 18 or first-time voters who are in their eighteen on the election day and eligible to vote. Total 1090 participants validly answered and participated in this survey. However, to meet the objective of the study and reflect the real participation and voices of youth, this study was analyzed to 672 youths who are in the age between 18-35 years (According to Myanmar Youth Policy 2017, p.16, definition of youth is the aged between 15 and 35 years old.)

4.3 Survey Results

4.3.1 Demographics of the Respondents

According to survey results Table (4.1) shows that there has been total 672 youths participated in this survey. Among them, 35.1 per cent are the age group of 18-24 years' old who would be the first-time voters in the coming 2020 general elections and the rest 64.9 per cent are the age group of 25-35 years old said that they have had at least one or more voting experience in the previous general or by-elections. However, some of youths who are in the age of 18-24 have had some experience of voting because they are eligible for 2018 by-election.

More than half of the participants 55.7 per cent holds bachelor degrees while 11.3 per cent are Ph.D or Master Degree (including who are still thesis writing), 10.7 per cent graduated from Institutional Universities. The second most participants are the university students and they represent 15.8 per cent. 4.9 per cent is from high school level and only very few 0.7 per cent represent to middle school level and only 0.1 is from primary school level accordingly.

Table (4.1) Demographics of the Participants

Sr. No.	Description		Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Age	18 to 24 yrs	236	35.1
2		25 to 35 yrs	436	64.9
Total			672	100
1	Education	PHD/Master	76	11.3
2		Institute (Vocational University)	72	10.7
3		Bachelor of Arts / Science degree or any university degree	374	55.7
4		University Students (1 st year to final year)	106	15.8
5		Basic education high school level	33	4.9
6		Basic education middle school level	5	0.7
7		Basic education primary school level	1	0.1
8		Others	5	0.7
Total			672	100

Table (4.1) Demographics of the Participants (Continued)

Sr. No.	Description		Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Gender	Male	233	34.7
2		Female	416	61.9
3		Male but self-considered as female	6	0.9
4		Female but self-considered as male	5	0.7
5		Don't want to mention	12	1.8
Total			672	100
1	Occupation	Agriculture	5	0.7
2		Livestock breeding	2	0.3
3		Self-employment	49	7.3
4		Government employee	28	4.2
5		Employees (companies, shops, businesses, service providers, etc.), earning a regular salary.	168	25
6		UN/INGO/NGO staff	262	39
7		Odd job workers	3	0.4
8		Fisheries	1	0.1
9		Still looking for a Job	70	10.4
10		Dependent on a family member	62	9.2
11		Don't answer	1	0.1
12		Other	21	3.1
13		Total	672	100
1	Ethnicity	Kachin	15	2.2
2		Kayah	4	0.6
3		Kayin	170	25.3
4		Chin	25	3.7
5		Burmar	333	49.6
6		Mon	13	1.9
7		Rakhine	9	1.3
8		Shan	23	3.4

Table (4.1) Demographics of the Participants (Continued)

Sr. No.	Description		Frequency	Percentage (%)
9	Ethnicity	Chinese	4	0.6
10		Indian	1	0.1
11		Chinese + Myanmar Ethnic	10	1.5
12		Indian + Myanmar Ethnic	12	1.8
13		Ethnic + other ethnic	39	5.8
14		Others	14	2.1
Total			672	100
1	Place States & Regions	Kachin State	13	1.9
2		Kayah State	9	1.3
3		Kayin State	32	4.8
4		Chin State	1	0.1
5		Mon State	16	2.4
6		Rakhine State	9	1.3
7		Shan State	39	5.8
8		Yangon Region	261	38.8
9		Ayeyarwaddy Region	110	16.4
10		Mandalay Region	58	8.6
11		Magway Region	14	2.1
12		Tanintharyi Region	59	8.8
13		Sagaing Region	21	3.1
14		Bago Region	24	3.6
15		Naypyidaw Council	6	0.9
Total			672	100

Source: Survey Data, 2020

Table (4.1) also shows that (61.9 per cent) females actively participated in this survey while only (34.7 per cent) male answered. (0.9 per cent) mentioned that they are male but considered themselves as women and (0.7 per cent) vice visa mentioned as female but considered as man. It is noteworthy that total (1.8 per cent) does not want to state their gender.

The survey results indicate that UN/INGO/NGO staffs are the biggest fraction of participants as they represent (39 per cent) and employees who gets regular income from businesses such as companies, shops and stores, shopping centres, trading, service providers, restaurants, hotel, etc., are the second largest group as they are the one fourth (25.0 per cent) of total respondents. (7.3 per cent) run their own business while (4.2 per cent) are from the employees from government departments. (10.4 per cent) represent to unemployment and they are still finding a job while (9.2 per cent) revealed that they are dependent on a family member.

This survey respondents represents for all majority and minority ethnic groups living in Myanmar. Among all participants, the majority Burman participated in the highest number (49.6 per cent) and Kayin (25.3 per cent) as the second. The third highest group is (5.8 per cent) who are mixed of two ethnic groups. Chin and Shan are the fourth and the fifth as the numbers of participants are (3.7 per cent) and (3.4 per cent) accordingly. Among all minority ethnic groups, Kayah has only (0.6 per cent) as the least involvement in this survey. Its participants are from all 14 States and Regions including Nay Pyi Taw Council which is the capital of Administrative Area in Myanmar. Among them, (38.8 per cent) is from Yangon Region as it has the biggest population size in Myanmar. (16.4 per cent) is from Ayeyarwaddy Region and (8.8 per cent) is from Tanintharyi Region. Mandalay Region has 8.6 per cent and Kayin State has (4.8 per cent) respectively. Although Chin Ethnic people participated (3.7 per cent) in this survey, only (0.1 per cent) lives now in Chin State. The ethnicity and the place of participants are mainly based on my networks that are willing to participate in this online survey.

4.3.2 Analysis on Voting Behavior of Youths on 2020 General Elections

In Table (4.2), only (30.7 per cent) revealed that they are the first-time voters and the rest (69.3 per cent) said that they are not the first-time voters. Nearly all youth respondents 99.6 per cent known well that there would be general elections in November 2020. Very few respondents (0.4 per cent) said that they did not know about it. Almost all youth respondents 99.3 per cent know very well that they were eligible for voting in the coming 2020 general elections. A few respondents (0.7 per cent) said that they do not know about their entitlement. among all 672 respondents, (90.3 per cent) checked voter list themselves or by some family members or friends to confirm whether their names were listed in the voter list, while (9.7 per cent) did not checked it.

Table (4.2) Knowledge on 2020 General Elections

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency			Percentage (%)		
		Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
1	First Time Voter for the coming 2020 General Elections	206	466	672	30.7	69.3	100
2	Know that there would be General Elections in November 2020	669	3	672	99.6	0.4	100
3	Know Eligibility for Voting 2020 General Elections	667	5	672	99.3	0.7	100
4	Checked Voter List for 2020 General elections	607	65	672	90.3	9.7	100

Source: Survey Data, 2020

In the time of 2020 general elections, it was coinciding with the Covid 19 pandemic situation, the Union Election Commission in Myanmar (UEC) planned easier ways to check voter lists in both online and posted at the village tract/ward sub commission offices.

Table (4.3) indicates that over one third (34.9 per cent) youth checked from online themselves and (2.0 per cent) by a friend or parents or a family member. So, total youths checked from online is (36.9 per cent). Youth themselves went and checked at the village tract/ward commission office is (28.3 per cent) which is the second most method youth checked their voter list and (23.2 per cent) by a friend or a family member. So, it could say that over half of the youth (51.5 per cent) ensured and checked the voter list at the relative sub commission offices. (9.4 per cent) checked in both ways themselves and (2.1 per cent) checked both method by a friend or parents and their family members.

Table (4.3) Ways of Checking Voter List for 2020 General Elections

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Checked from online by myself	212	34.9
2	Checked from online by a friend or Parents or relatives	12	2
3	Checked at commission office by myself	172	28.3
4	Checked at commission office by friend or parents or relatives	141	23.2
5	Checked from both online and commission office by myself	57	9.4
6	Checked from both online and commission office by friend or parents or relatives	13	2.1
	Total	607	100

Source: Survey Data, 2020

Table (4.4) Took Some Actions after Checking Voter List for 2020 General Elections

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	A correction has submitted because of wrong name (or) NRC number (or) parent's name (or) age, etc.,	60	9.9
2	Submitted objection because someone who are not eligible include in the list.	0	0.0
3	Did not take any action because everything was fine.	227	37.4
4	Others	31	5.1
5	Don't Answer	289	47.6
	Total	607	100

Source: Survey Data, 2020

As shown in Table (4.4), only (37.4 per cent) mentioned that they did not take any action because everything is fine with their voter list while (9.9 per cent) submitted

a correction form because of wrong name/spelling or National Registration Card (NRC) number or parents name or age, etc. Nearly half of the youth (47.6 per cent) did not answer this question as they might not know whether their parents or family did something (submitted a correction form or an objection that someone who should not be in the voter list is included). However, this survey did not go in-depth of why they did not answer to this question. Other (5.1 per cent) also said that they reapplied to enroll for the voter registration because their names are not including in the voter list.

Table (4.5) Reason for Not Checked Voter List

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Because I did not know that I need to check the voter list	4	6.2
2	Because I would be travelling	8	12.3
3	Because I believe that my name would be on the list although I didn't check.	13	20
4	I was worried for Covid 19 infection	8	12.3
5	Because there is no election in our area	2	3.1
6	Decided not to vote	1	1.5
7	Busy	14	21.5
8	Don't Answer	1	1.5
9	Others	14	21.5
	Total	65	100

Source: Survey Data, 2020

In Table (4.5), the survey data indicate that 21.5 per cent of youth not checked the voter as they were busy and the second largest group of youth 20 per cent believed that their names would be included in the list so they do not go and checked the voter list. 12.3 per cent of youth did not checked because they were travelling and the same percentage did the same as they were worried for the Covid 19 infection. It is noteworthy that 6.2 per cent did not know that they need to check the voter list while (1.5 per cent) decided not to vote so he/she did not check. (3.1 per cent) did not check only because there is no election in their place (home town/ they have been there at that time). According to the announcements of union elections commission on 16th October

2020 and 27th October, 2022, there are total 15 townships fully and 41 townships partially cancelled the elections because of armed conflicts among government defense service and other ethnic groups as well as instability of political situation that would not guarantee for free and fair election.

Some youths have other reasons (21.5 per cent) for not checking the voting list. Among them, nearly half of them (35.7 per cent) of youth mentioned that they not sure yet to vote and (21.3 per cent) said that they were bored to check. The rest groups have same percentage (14.4 per cent) each mentioning that a) village/ward election commission is far from his/her house, b) there has been discrimination for Bengalis in Rakine State, c) he/she did not aware much about the importance of election at that time and d) bored to check the voting list, respectively.

Table (4.6) Decided to Vote in the Coming 2020 General Elections

Sr. No	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Yes	609	90.6
2	No	19	2.8
3	Not Sure	44	6.6
	Total	672	100

Source: Survey Data, 2020

According to survey data results in Table 4.6 indicate that 90.6 per cent of youth say “Yes” and already decided to vote in the coming 2020 General elections while 6.6 per cent not sure yet whether they would vote or not. Only very few 2.8 per cent decided not to “Vote”.

**Table (4.7) Preference of Candidate or Party for 2020 General Elections
(Sure to vote)**

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	I would observe and vote for my favorite party.	306	50.2
2	I would observe and vote for my favorite candidate.	32	5.3
3	I would vote observing of both the person/candidate and party.	271	44.5
	Total	609	100.0

Source: Survey Data, 2020

In Table (4.7), total respondents of this question are based on the youths who said yes to vote. Among them, (50.2 per cent) mentioned that they would observe and vote for his/her favorite party and 44.5 per cent as the second most choices as considering both the candidate's qualifications and the party as well. Only small fraction of the youths 5.3 per cent said that they would vote to their favorite candidate.

**Table (4.8) Preference of Candidate or Party for 2020 General Elections
(Not Sure to vote)**

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	I will observe and vote for my favorite party.	13	29.5
2	I will observe and vote for my favorite candidate.	4	9.1
3	I will vote in view of both my favorite candidate and party.	27	61.4
	Total	44	100

Source: Survey Data, 2020

In Table (4.8), total respondents of this question are based on the youths not sure yet to vote. Although they do not make the clear decision yet, the questions asked to know their concern and voting behavior if they vote. Among them, nearly two-third (61.4 per cent) mentioned that they would study to both the candidate's qualification and the party while (29.5 per cent) observe and would vote for the party as the second most choice. Only small fraction of the youths (9.1 per cent) said that they would vote to their favorite candidate.

Table (4.9) Reasons for Observing Favorite Political Party

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	I respect / like the party leader and his/her reputation	96	30.1
2	I respect / like the party's policies, passion on democracy, its commitments and political background	87	27.3
3	The party nominates right and suitable candidate	6	1.9
4	I respect / like all three of the above	115	36.1
5	I think it would be better to choose according to popular opinion	2	0.6
6	Other	13	4.1
	Total	319	100

Source: Survey Data, 2020

In Table (4.9), the majority of the youth (36.1 per cent) mentioned that they would vote to party because they not only respect or like the party's leader and his/her reputation but also the party's policies, passion, commitments and the history of political background experiences they have passed as well as they believed that the party has chosen the right and suitable candidates. The second largest groups clearly state that they like the political party only because they like the party leader and his/her reputation, whilst the third group said that they would vote in view of party's policies, its passion, commitments and political background experiences. Only very few mentioned (1.9 per cent) mentioned that they would vote for party because they believed that the party has chosen the right and suitable candidates whilst (0.6 per cent)

have had no own idea as they think is it is better to vote according to popular opinion. About 4.1 per cent has had other reasons. Among them (46.2 per cent) would like to vote minority ethnic party, 23.1 per cent would like to choose party younger generations lead the country and (23.1 per cent) have would like to choose which promised to protect nationalism, patriotism and religious especially for Buddhism.

Table (4.10) Reasons for Observing Candidate’s Qualifications

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	I would like to choose candidate's character, qualifications, performance & experience	8	22.2
2	I would like to choose candidate's electoral policies and commitments	3	8.3
3	I would like to choose both of the above (1) and (2).	13	36.1
4	I would like to follow the wishes of my family or the leader or owner of the organization/ business I work	2	5.6
5	As I am being from minority ethnic group, I want to vote for our ethnic representative (non-Burman)	3	8.3
6	I want to vote for a new generation of talented and effective young leader	6	16.7
7	Other	1	2.8
	Total	36	100.0

Source: Survey Data, 2020

While asking about the reason for choosing to vote the qualification of the candidate, Table 4.10 indicates that more than one third of the respondents 36.1 per cent revealed that they would vote for the candidate if they both respect/ like the candidate’s character, qualifications, performance and experiences as well as his/her policies and commitments for the election is the largest group. About one fifth of the youths (22.2 per cent) answer respect/like the candidate’s character, qualifications, performance and experiences. It is interesting to see that the third group of respondents 16.7 per cent would like to vote for a new generation of talented and effective young candidate. There is an equal percentage between respondents who respect/ like the

candidate's electoral policies and commitments or who is being from another minority ethnic group (non-Burman), so, he/she wanted to vote for his/ her ethnic representative shows (8.3 per cent) each. It is encouraging to see that only (5.6 per cent) of respondents rarely mentioned that they want to follow the wishes of my family or the leader or owner of his/her organization/ business he/she work, so they seem to have strong reasons for choosing the candidate's qualifications. The smallest groups of respondents (2.8 per cent) have had other reasons.

Table (4.11) Reasons for Observing Both Political Party and Candidate's Qualifications

Sr. No	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	I would like to choose party leader's profile and candidate's character, qualifications, performance experience	47	15.8
2	I would like to choose party' policy, passion & commitment and political experience as well as candidate's character and reputation, his/her qualifications, performance experience.	28	9.4
3	I would like to choose both of the above (1) and (2)	183	61.4
4	Do not like character/commitment/ability of the previously elected candidate, so want to vote for another candidate.	2	0.7
5	As I am from another minority ethnic group, so, I want to vote for my ethnic group representative party (non-Burman)	17	5.7
6	Want to choose party leader's profile, party's policies, passion and commitment, political background and experience as well as a youth representative candidate.	9	3.0
7	Other	12	4.0
	Total	298	100.0

Source: Survey Data, 2020

Table (4.11) shows that the majority youths (61.4 per cent) would vote in view of the political party as well as for the candidate's qualifications because they both respect/ like political party leader's profile, party's policy, passion & commitment and political experience as well as candidate's character and reputation, his/her qualifications, performance experience. (15.8 per cent) revealed that they like party leader's profile and candidate's character, qualifications, performance experience while (9.4 per cent) respect / like party' policy, passion & commitment and political experience as well as candidate's character and reputation, his/her qualifications, performance experience. Another (5.7 per cent) mentioned that they are from other minority ethnic group so that they would like to vote in view of ethnic group party (Not Burman). Very few youths (3.0 per cent) want to choose party leader's profile, party's policies, passion and commitment, political history and experience as well as youth candidate. So, it is noteworthy that even youths do not focus much for selecting youth representative for the 2020 general elections.

When the elections were coming near, there were debates and discussion about their preference to vote in view of party only, candidates' qualification or both because some felt that they did not satisfied for the performance and commitment of the current parliament members who they voted in previous election. However, only (0.7 per cent) mentioned that they wanted to vote another candidate in 2020 general elections because they did not like character/ commitment/ capability of the representative elected in previous elections. The rest (4.0 per cent) had other reasons such as prioritizing to protect nationalism, patriotism and religious especially Buddhism.

Table (4.12) Reasons for Not Voting in the Coming 2020 General Elections

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	I do not believe that election might be free and fair	6	31.6
2	I do not interest the election	2	10.5
3	I supposed there might be no big change	2	10.5
4	My name is not including in the voter list	2	10.5
5	I would be traveling	3	15.8
6	Because there is no party or candidate I want to support	1	5.3
7	Due to inconvenience in re-applying for voter list	3	15.8
8	Other	0	0.00
	Total	19	100

Source: Survey Data, 2020

Furthermore, Table (4.12) indicates that among the respondents who mentioned not voting in the 2020 general elections; (31.6 per cent), which is the largest group, did not believe that the elections might be free and fair while the second and third fraction has the same percentage, who would be travelling or due to inconveniences for enrolling voter list (15.8 percent each). The fourth, fifth and six groups also the same percentage who mentioned that he/she does not interest the election, or who did not suppose that there would be any big changes because of election or whoever to vote and whose name was not include in the voter's list (10.5 per cent each). The smallest group (5.3 per cent) mentioned that he/she would not vote because there was no party or candidate he/she would like to support.

In Table (4.13), the survey results indicate that, (40.5 per cent) said yes to participate in election related activities while (46.0 per cent) did not consider to participate none of the activities related to election campaign. However, total (13.5 per cent) did not answer to this question.

Among respondents who said yes to participate in election campaign, the largest group is (41.9 per cent) who planned to participate or already been participating voter education and constitution awareness through face to face and online platforms. The

second fraction (19.5 per cent) thinking of monitoring for free and fair election, the third group (16.2 per cent) participating in electoral campaigns such as distributing party/ candidate's leaflets, canvassing, sale of official campaign merchandise, or participating in mass supporting activities, etc., (9.2 per cent) plans helping people with disabilities, sick and elderly people to vote while another (6.6 per cent) planned to monitor the accuracy of the voter list. Very few of youth (4.4 per cent) planned to give donation while only (0.4 per cent), the smallest portion planned to participate in fund raising activities. The rest (1.8 per cent) have other reasons, however, the respondents did not answer in detail.

Table (4.13) Planned to Participate in 2020 General Elections Related Activities

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Yes	272	40.5
2	No	309	46.0
3	Don't Answer	91	13.5
	Total	672	100.0
I planned to participate following elections related activities			
1	Election campaign	44	16.2
2	Fundraising	1	0.4
3	Give donation	12	4.4
4	Monitoring the accuracy of the voter lists	18	6.6
5	Helping others such as people with disabilities, sick and elderly people to vote	25	9.2
6	Monitoring for free and fair elections	53	19.5
7	Provide Voter Education	114	41.9
8	Other	5	1.8
	Total	272	100.0

Source: Survey Data, 2020

4.3.3 Analysis on Youth Participation in Elections/ Politics

As shown in Table (4.14), more than half of youth respondent (51.0 per cent) agreed that political parties have had specific policy and pay attention for youth participation while the third largest group (13.7 per cent) strongly agreed on it. Only (5.1 per cent) disagreed on this statement and the smallest group of respondents (0.9 per cent) revealed that they strongly disagreed on this statement. Nearly one fifth of the youths (20.1 per cent) do not know exactly whether they have had specific policy and pay attention or not. Finally, the remainder (9.2 per cent) did not answer to this question.

Nearly half of youth respondent 46.1 per cent agreed that “Political parties have set definite percentage for youth candidate involvement” while 10.0 per cent strongly agreed on it. Very few respondents 9.4 per cent disagreed on this statement and the smallest group of respondents 1.0 per cent revealed that they strongly disagree on it. Over one fourth of the youths 25.7 per cent do not know exactly whether they have set such kind of percentage for youth candidate involvement or not. The rest 7.7 per cent do not answer to this question.

More than half of youth respondent 54.9 per cent agreed to the statement that “Political parties regarded youth as future leaders so they always build up capacity and competencies of youth especially in political related matters” while 15.0 per cent strongly agreed on it. So, it can say that nearly two third of the youth respondent agree to this statement. Very few respondents 7.9 per cent disagreed on it and the smallest group of respondents (1.6 per cent) revealed that they strongly disagreed to this statement. Fewer respondent (13.2 per cent) do not know exactly whether this statement is correct or not and the rest (7.3 per cent) do not answer to this question.

Almost half of youth respondent (47.8 per cent) agree that “The level of youth participation allowed by political parties in 2020 general election is satisfactory” while (6.1 per cent) strongly agreed on it. Only (12.8 per cent) disagreed on this statement and the smallest group of respondents (1.8 per cent) revealed that they strongly disagreed on it. Nearly one fourth of the youths (24.0 per cent) do not know exactly whether it is satisfactory or not. Finally, the remainder (7.7 per cent) do not answer this question.

Table (4.14) Space for Youth Participation

Sr. No	Description	Agree/ Disagree	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Political Parties have clear policy and guidelines to recognize the role of youth and pay attention for youth participation	Strongly disagree	6	1.0
		Disagree	34	5.6
		Don't know	135	22.1
		Agree	343	56.2
		Strongly agree	92	15.1
Total			610	100.0
2	Political parties have set definite portion for youth candidacy	Strongly disagree	7	1.1
		Disagree	63	10.2
		Don't know	173	27.9
		Agree	310	50.0
		Strongly agree	67	10.8
Total			620	100.0
3	Political Parties recognizes youth as future leaders, so they always buildup the capacity and competencies of youth especially in political related matters	Strongly disagree	11	1.8
		Disagree	53	8.5
		Don't know	89	14.3
		Agree	369	59.2
		Strongly agree	101	16.2
Total			623	100.0
4	Level of Youth Participation allowed by Political Parties is Satisfactory		Frequency	Percentage (%)
		Strongly disagree	11	1.8
		Disagree	86	13.9
		Don't know	161	26.0
		Agree	321	51.8
Strongly agree	41	6.6		
Total			620	100.0

Source: Survey Data, 2020

Table (4.15) Youth Participation Allowed by Political Parties-Youth Participation Ladder

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Young people's initiative, decision made in partnership with adults	155	23.1
2	Young people's initiative and leadership	35	5.2
3	Adult's initiative, joint decision	107	15.9
4	Adults make decision, young people are consulted and informed	65	9.7
5	Young People are assigned tasks, and informed how and why, they are involved in a project/activity	104	15.5
6	Participation for show, young people have little or no influence on their activity	65	9.7
7	Decoration, young people help implement for adults' activity	39	5.8
8	Manipulation, adults use young people to support their own project/activities and pretended they are the results of young people's inspiration.	30	4.5
9	Don't Answer	72	10.7
	Total	672	100.0

Source: Survey Data, 2020

In this Table (4.15), it also indicates the “Level of youth participation allowed by political parties”. The questionnaire was designed to ask 8 steps of “Ladder of Youth Participation”. It is surprising to learn that nearly one fourth of youth respondent (23.1 per cent), which is the largest group mentioned that youths receiving the “Level 1: the highest level of participation “Young people's initiative, decisions made in partnership with adults”. The second largest group (15.9 per cent) revealed “Level 3: Adult's initiative, joint decision” while (15.5 per cent); the third largest group think that they are receiving “Level 4: Young People are assigned tasks, and informed how and why, they are involved in a project/activity”. The fourth and fifth group have same percentage as (9.7 per cent each) “Level 6: Participation for show, young people have little or no

influence on their activity” and “Level 5: Adults make decision, young people are consulted and informed” status accordingly. Very few respondent (5.8 per cent) revealed that youths are just participating in “Level 2: Decoration, young people help implement for adults' activity” while only (5.2 per cent) indicates “Level 7: Young people’s initiative and leadership”. The smallest group of respondents (4.5 per cent) mentioned about the lowest level participation “Level 1: Manipulation” while adults use young people to support their own project/activities and pretended they are the results of young people's inspiration. The rest (10.7 per cent) do not answer to this question.

4.3.4 Analysis on Past Elections Experiences

In this section, the questionnaire was designed to ask about the past experiences of youth participation in elections who were not the first-time voters.

Table (4.16) Past Election Experiences

Sr. No	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Easy to check the voter list in 2010, 2012, 2015, 2018 General elections and By-Elections?		
	a) Yes	330	70.8
	b) No	136	29.2
	c) Do not remember	0	0%
	d) Don't know	0	0%
Total		466	100
2	Voted in any of the previous 2010, 2012, 2015 and 2018 General elections and By-elections		
	Yes	386	82.8
	No	80	17.2
Total		466	100

Source: Survey Data, 2020

Table (4.16) shows that more than two-third (70.8 per cent) said it was easy for checking voter lists in one or all of the previous elections. The rest (29. 2 per cent) mentioned that it was/they were not such easy.

While checking whether they have voted in any of the previous elections, the majority (82.8 per cent) voted and the rest (17.2 per cent) mentioned that they did not voted any of them. However, this result is a little bit contradict to the question on the first-time voters. In question 25, total first-time voters are (30.7 per cent) of total respondents while (69.3 per cent) are not first-time voters. Nonetheless, when counter-checked whether they voted any of the general election and by elections in 2010, 2012, 2015 and 2018; only (82.8 per cent) of first-time voter really voted since the rest (17.2 per cent) not voted any elections.

Table (4.17) Reasons for Not Easy for Checking Voter List in Previous Elections

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	My name was not on the voter list	10	7.4
2	Taking too much time and delayed for step-by-step re-submission process when my name is not included in the voter list.	24	17.6
3	Not included in voter list due to migration to another place	15	11.0
4	Rejected to vote due to lack of National Registration Card (NRC) or Family Registration Form	3	2.2
5	Unable to check online for voter list.	23	16.9
6	Unable to check due to poor health	2	1.5
7	Unable to check due to travelling	18	13.2
8	The sub commission office is far from my house	10	7.4
9	Weak support from Myanmar Embassies in abroad	4	2.9
10	Other	27	19.9
	Total	136	100.0

Source: Survey Data, 2020

As shown in Table (4.17), it is surprising to learn that the highest group of respondents (19.9 per cent) chose other option which means that it was not easy while they checked voter list in the previous elections. It is explained in Table 4. 18. The second fraction (17.6 per cent) revealed that it took too much time and delayed for step by step re-submission process when their names are not listed in the voter list. The third fraction (16.9 per cent) mentioned that the reason that they could not check the voter lists through online system like 2020 general elections. Another (13.2 per cent) said that they were travelling and no one (family member or friend) checked their list on behalf of them while (11.0 per cent) revealed that they are not listed in the voter list as they migrated to another places. The sixth and seventh fraction have the same percentage (7.4 per cent each) mentioning his/her name is not listed in the voter list or the commission office far from their house. (2.9 per cent) revealed that they have experienced of weak support of Myanmar Embassies while they are in abroad. Very few (2.2 per cent) rejected by local authorities at that time for not having or showing some evidence of National Registration Card or Family Registration Form. The smallest fraction (1.5 per cent) mentioned they are unable to check because of their poor health situation at that time.

Table (4.18) Voting Behavior in Previous Elections

Sr. No.	Voted in any of the previous elections	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	2010	14	3.6
2	2012	5	1.3
3	2015	216	56
4	2018	37	9.6
5	2010/2012	2	0.5
6	2010/2015	33	8.5
7	2010/2018	3	0.8
8	2012/2015	8	2.1
9	2012/2018	2	0.5
10	2015/2018	27	7
11	2010/2012/2015	5	1.3
12	2010/2012/2018	2	0.5
13	2010/2015/2018	2	0.5
14	2012/2015/2018	11	2.9
15	2010/2012/2015/2018	19	4.9
	Total	386	100

Source: Survey Data, 2020

Table (4.18) can be divided into 4 categories. They are youths

- 1) Voted only one time
- 2) Voted two times
- 3) Voted 3 times and
- 4) Voted 4 times experience.

This table indicates that more than half of youth respondents (56.0 per cent) which is the largest group have had only one-time voting experience in 2015 general elections. The second largest group (9.6 per cent) voted only in 2018 by election while the third group has fewer percentage (3.6 per cent) voted in 2010 general elections. The smallest group (1.3 per cent) has had only one-time voting experience in 2012 by-elections.

For the second category, (8.5 per cent) reveals that they have already voted 2 times especially in both 2010 and 2015 general elections. The second fraction of this category (7.0 per cent) mentioned that they voted in 2015 general elections and in 2018 by-election. The third group (2.1 per cent) voted in 2012 by-election and in 2015

general elections while (0.8 per cent), the fourth group voted only in 2010 general elections and in 2018 by-election. So, it can say that this group did not voted in 2015 general elections. The fifth (0.5 per cent) who voted for only in 2010 general elections and in 2012 by-election. It is noteworthy that, the sixth group, which has the same percentage (0.5 per cent), however, never been voted in any 2010 and 2015 general elections. Instead, they voted only for in 2012 by-election and 2018 by-election.

For the third category, the majority is only (2.9 per cent) who voted for three times in 2012 by-election, 2015 general elections and in 2018 by-election while the second fraction (1.3 per cent) voted in 2010 general elections, 2012 by-election and in 2015 general elections. The third and fourth have the same percentage (0.5 per cent each) however, the third group voted for in both 2010 and 2015 general elections as well as in 2018 by-election while the fourth group voted only in 2010 general elections but both in 2012 and 2018 by-elections. However, they did not vote in 2015 general elections.

Fortunately, (4.9 per cent) of respondents voted in all 4 times (2010 and 2015 general elections and 2012 and 2018 by election) and they strongly participated voting in all multi-party elections that held under 2008 Myanmar Constitution after a long period of military coup and one-party political system.

Table (4.19) Preference of Candidate of Party in Previous Elections

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Voted for my favorite party	256	66.3
2	Voted for my favorite candidate	16	4.1
3	Voted for my favorite candidate and party	114	29.5
	Total	386	100.0

Source: Survey Data, 2020

In Table (4.19), it is interesting to see that, the majority, about 66.3 per cent voted for their favorite party while nearly one third of respondents 29.5 per cent voted in view of both the person/candidate and the favorite party. A very small percentage (4.1 per cent) voted his/her favorite person/candidate.

**Table (4.20) Voted by Observing Party in Previous Elections
(2011,2012,2015, 2018)**

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Respect / like the party leader and his/her reputation	90	35.2
2	Respect / like the party's policies, commitments, political history and experiences as well as its reputation.	53	20.7
3	Respect / like both of the above (1) and (2)	95	37.1
4	Parties are not quite different and does not know which one to vote	3	1.2
5	My friends and family' member like that particular party	5	2.0
6	Other	10	3.9
	Total	256	100

Source: Survey Data, 2020

When the questionnaire asked about the reasons why they had chosen in view of party in previous elections, the Table (4.21) shows that, the majority of the youth (37.1 per cent) mentioned that they voted to party because they not only respect or like the party's leader but also studied the party's policies, commitments, political background and experiences as well as its reputation. The second largest groups (35.2 per cent) clearly state that they like the political party only because they like and respect the party leader. One fifth of respondent (20.7 per cent) said that they viewed at the party's policies, commitments, the history and political experiences as well as its reputation. Only very few (2.0 per cent) mentioned that they would vote for party because he/she has had no own idea, so they he/she followed his/her friends or family member's choice. The smallest group, (1.2 per cent) thought about that there has been not much difference among political parties. However, (3.9 per cent) respondents chose other reasons. When learning other reasons, 30 per cent of them like to observe party

which promise to protect the nationalism, patriotism and religious, the rest 70% did not give a note for it.

Table (4.21) Voted by Observing Candidate's Qualification" in Previous Elections (2011,2012,2015, 2018)

Sr. No	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Respect/ like the character, qualifications, performance and experience of the candidate	6	37.5
2	Respect / like the candidate's electoral policies and commitments.	2	12.5
3	Respect / like both of the above two.	7	43.8
4	Candidates are not much different from each other or I didn't know who should be chosen.	1	6.3
	Total	16	100.0

Source: Survey Data, 2020

As shown in Table (4.21), the majority of the youth 43.8 per cent mentioned that they voted candidate in viewed of candidate's character, qualifications, performance and experience as well as his/ her electoral policies and commitments. The second fraction 37.5 per cent clearly state that they voted in view of candidate's character, qualifications, performance and experience while (12.5 per cent) voted just view of candidate's electoral policies and commitments. The smallest fraction (6.3 per cent) thought that there has been not much difference among candidates thus, they did not know whom to choose.

Table (4.22) Voted by Observing both "Party and Candidate's Qualification" in Previous Elections (2011,2012,2015, 2018)

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Respect/like the party leader as well as the character, qualifications, performance and experience of the person/ candidate	93	81.6
2	Respect and like party leader, party policy, political background and being a youth representative.	9	7.9
3	As an ethnic group, want to vote for an ethnic party / ethnic representative (non-Burman)	5	4.4
4	As I do not like the commitment & performance of a polity party or candidate's character who elected in previous elections so I want to vote another candidate.	2	1.8
5	Other	5	4.4
	Total	114	100.0

Source: Survey Data, 2020

Table (4.22) shows that, the majority of the youth (81.4 per cent) voted in view of both party and person/candidate because they not only respect or like the party's leader as well as the qualifications, performance and experience of the person/candidate. The second largest group is quite far with the first largest group as it has only (8.1 per cent) who respect and like party leader, party policy, party's political background and reputation as well as the candidate was a youth representative. Another (4.4 per cent) revealed that they are from another minority ethnic group so they voted in view of ethnic party and ethnic representative. The smallest group (1.8 per cent) mentioned that they did not like the commitment & performance of a polity party, candidate's character who elected in previous elections so he/she carefully chosen and voted another candidate. However, (4.4 per cent) respondents had other reasons such as promising to protect the nationalism, patriotism and religious or what the candidate would did for his/her specific constituency.

Table (4.23) Participated in Political Activities in Previous 2010, 2012, 2015 and 2018 General Elections and By-elections

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1.	Yes	115	29.8
2.	No	244	63.2
3.	Not answered	27	7.0
	Total	386	100.0

In Table (4.23), the survey data indicates that, the majority of the respondents (63.2 per cent) did not participate or had no experience in political related activities while nearly one-third 29.8 per cent “yes” to this question. However, 7.0 per cent did not answer to this question.

Among them Table (4.24) indicates that about one fourth 24.3 per cent participated in electoral campaigns such as distributing party/ candidate’s leaflets, canvassing, sale of official campaign merchandise, or participating in mass supporting activities, etc. The second fraction 20.9 per cent especially monitored to be “Free and Fair Elections” and the third portion 18.3 per cent participated in providing civic and voter education. The fourth revealed that they gave donation (11.3 per cent) to preferred party or candidates and fifth group (7.8 per cent) helped people with disabilities, sick and elderly people to vote smoothly respectively. The smallest group have the same percentage as they contributed funding raising and as a ballot issuer (1.7 per cent) each. Another (13.9 per cent) participated in other activities to show his/ her support to a party or candidate or idea such as posting their favorite party’s leader, or policies, quotes, write comments or share what he/she support in social media platform especially on Facebook.

Table (4.24) Participated in Political Activities in Previous 2010, 2012, 2015 and 2018 General Elections and By-elections

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Election campaigns such as distributing party/ candidate's leaflets, canvassing, sale of official campaign merchandise, or participating in mass supporting activities	28	24.3
2	Fundraising	2	1.7
3	Give donation	13	11.3
4	Helping people with disabilities, sick and elderly people to vote.	9	7.8
5	Monitoring for free and fair elections	24	20.9
7	Providing civic and voter education	21	18.3
8	Participated as a ballot issuer	2	1.7
10	Other	16	13.9
	Total	115	100

Source: Survey Data, 2020

Furthermore, Table (4.25) indicates that among the respondents who mentioned not voting in the previous general elections (2010, 2015) and by-elections (2012, 2018); more than one fifth (22.5 per cent), which is the largest group, not voted because of travelling at that time and did not get any chance of advance voting. Surprisingly, the second largest group 18.8 per cent did not know that they are entitle to vote. Another (15.0 per cent) mentioned that they did not vote because there was no by-election held in their constituency. It is also noteworthy that 8.0 per cent did not interest the election. The fourth, fifth groups have the same percentage (6.3 per cent each) who did not know how to do early voting or their names were not involve in the voter list although they wanted to vote. The fewer respondents (5.0 per cent) said that they were not old enough to vote although they chose their age group (25-35) who is eligible to vote in any of previous elections. Interestingly, (2.5 per cent) gave their reason for not voting that the 2008 constitution is not considered of meeting the democratic standards. The rest 3 groups have the same percentage (1.3 per cent each) for not voting as there is no party

/ person who want to support or not believing/hoping that something significant would change or would like to avoid many people crowded. Another (11.3 per cent) had other reasons such as there had never been any election in their township or areas because of ethnic armed conflict or discrimination. However, not everyone wrote their comments when they choose “Others” option, so there is some limitation to analyze detail of their reasons for not voting.

Table (4.25) Reason for not Voting in Any of the Previous Elections

Sr. No.	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	I was not old enough to vote	4	5.0
2	Not interested	7	8.8
3	Did not know to vote	15	18.8
4	My name is not including in the voter list	5	6.3
5	I was travelling	18	22.5
6	I did not see any party/candidate I who want to support	1	1.3
7	I did not know how to do advance voting	5	6.3
8	By-elections was not held in my constituency	12	15.0
9	Did not suppose that the 2008 Myanmar constitution meet the democratic standards	2	2.5
10	I wanted to avoid many people crowded	1	1.3
11	I did not believe that something would change significantly.	1	1.3
12	Other	9	11.3
	Total	80	100.0

Source: Survey Data, 2020

4.3.5 Analysis of Knowledge of Youth on Myanmar Youth Policy

This session is especially aimed to analyze about the Knowledge of Myanmar Youth Policy” released by the Union of Republic of Myanmar on 17th November, 2017. Table (4.26) indicates that among total 672 respondents, only 525 (78.1 per cent) answered to the first question. Among them only (9.1 per cent) chose the correct year of the release date for Myanmar Youth Policy. Likewise, only 587 (87.4 per cent) answered to the second question: the definition of youth in Myanmar Youth Policy. Nearly half of the respondent, which is about (46.3 per cent) chose the correct age range (15 to 35) years.

The third question asked about the number of basic principles mentioned in the Myanmar Youth Policy. A total of 590 (87.8 per cent) answered to this question while very few (3.7 per cent) correctly answered as “9 Basic Principles”. A total of 653 (97.2 per cent) answered about the fourth question about the number of policies under political sectors described in Myanmar Youth Policy. However, only (8.0 per cent) correctly answered to “8 Policies”.

Table (4.26) Knowledge of Myanmar Youth Policy

Sr. No	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Myanmar Youth Policy officially published in November, ----- year.		
	a) 2016	26	5.0
	b) 2017	48	9.1
	c) 2018	42	8.0
	d) 2019	16	3.0
	e) Don't Know	393	74.9
Total		525	100.0
2	Definition of age range stated for “Youth” in the Myanmar Youth Policy		
	a) 16 to 24	59	10.1
	b) 18 to 24	157	26.7
	c) 15 to 35	272	46.3
	d) Don't Know	99	16.9
Total		587	100.0
3	No. of Basic Principles Described in the Myanmar Youth Policy		
	a) 7	25	4.2
	b) 8	55	9.3
	c) 9	22	3.7
	d) 10	25	4.2
	e) Don't Know	463	78.5
Total		590	100.0
4	No. of Policies under Political Sector Described in Myanmar Youth Policy		
	a) 7	33	5.1
	b) 8	52	8.0
	c) 9	16	2.5
	d) 10	12	1.8
	e) Don't Know	540	82.7
Total		653	100.0

Source: Survey Data, 2020

CHAPTER V

CONSLUSION

5.1 Findings

Myanmar is very firm towards Democracy particularly to Federal Democracy political system based on the context of Myanmar under the 2008 constitution. Certainly, elections and casting vote are vital. It provides a basis of democratic legitimacy, select political representatives and engage the mass public in the democratic process. It is so sure that today's youths would be leading our country after 20 years hence their political participation is very crucial. Thus, youth participation is a key alteration in political participation. If large proportions of young Myanmar do not vote, this diminishes their representation in the political process and may even change election results.

One of the good points to see that most of all youths know their eligibility to cast vote for the 2020 general elections, hereafter very few did not know yet. It is noteworthy that most of the youths aged 18-34 were not a membership of any political party. Among them nearly two-fifth of them were INGO staffs and very small number government employee not belong to any polity parties because they might be neutral in political affairs according to work ethics. However, the rest two-third which are from different occupations also did not belong as a membership of any political party.

Myanmar democracy reactivated in 2010 as a seedling after over five decades under military rule. Later it grows gradually and hope to see the fruits in very near future. It is worthy to keep the gradually increasing rhythm of Myanmar democracy as the majority of youths showed great interest for the 2020 general elections. They checked the voter lists to make sure for their eligibility to cast vote.

Compared with the previous 2010 and 2015 general elections and 2012 and 2018 by-elections, there have been progresses that the UEC made online voter list and registration system. When the introduction of the online voter list checking system, citizens faced some challenges and some inconveniences to use it, though, it was solved later. Using online voter lists system is effective while more than one third checked from online themselves and another one third checked the list posted at the sub-election committees at the village/ward administrative offices. It has seen that youth prefer to check both online and posted lists at their nearest sub election committees. Nonetheless,

more than one-tenth of youth who did not checked totally trusted on the announcement of the UEC on the voter lists thus they even did not check by themselves, friends or relatives.

It is sensible that there had been some voter lists incorrectness such as age, national registration number, date of birth, parents name, etc. Even in the old age democracy countries, there has still challenges for voter registration systems. Nevertheless, there needs to improve the accuracy and accountability for voter lists and better accessibility for registration for future elections.

It is so encouraging to see the strong interest and participation of youths that over 90% of youths already decided to vote in the 2020 general elections. The majority of youths believed that the 2020 election first ever held under the pure public government would be free and fair while small number of youths did not believe so. Only relatively small number of youths surely would not vote in the 2020 general elections. It has seen that youth can make good judgement their eligibility and responsibility to vote as a good citizenship. Therefore, 2020 general elections would be a great milestone for Myanmar that youths have had high spirit in political participation. Although it is a small number, the important thing to note that, youths who surely would not vote were the ones who have faced inconveniences in re-applying voter registration.

One third of the survey participants were the first-time voters. They were very enthusiastic for the voting day and no longer patience to cast vote to elect candidates who would rule the country for the next five years term. Few of youth missed casting votes in previous general elections and by elections because they were travelling or did not know well about advance voting while other voters casted votes mainly in the 2010 and 2015 elections. Some youths even voted in 2012 and 2018 by elections as elected representatives from their constituencies become Union and States & Regional government personnel.

It was saddening to know that some first-time voters and other youths would have been missed voting because there had been no elections in their place or where they are. It was because the security concerns were not guarantee to be free and fair elections since there have been arm conflicts between the government and armed ethnic organizations. This might be so upset for their hope to elect their government and legislatures with their votes.

The intention for voting depends upon several considerable factors of fondness i.e. political party and its policies, candidates' qualification and behavior, ethnic,

religious, cultural and states & regional obligatory over the citizens. In this given political atmosphere, majority of youths decided to vote in the assessment of both party and candidates. When they observed political parties, they studied party leader's leadership and reputation as main factors and party's vision & mission, passion and commitment on the way forward democracy, their contribution towards democracy transition as well as individual candidate's qualifications and behavior. It is surprising that youths did not focus much about youth candidacy or hope youth representatives in lieu of their voices in both Union Level and States & Regions parliaments. However, few minority ethnic youths would like to vote for their ethnic candidates.

When examined about the 8 steps of participation ladder, many youths revealed that they have had highest level of participation "Young people's initiative, decisions made in partnership with adult", but, it is needed to identify deeper through qualitative surveys. Others in the contrary, more than half of the youths did not participate in any election campaigns. It is noteworthy that youths who participated in election campaigns are majority Bamans, Karen and Shan accordingly. It would relatively proportionate as per the ratio of youth participated in this survey. Youths mainly participated in voter education activities and monitoring free and fair elections.

It is so inspiring that political parties have had clear guidelines and specific intentions for creating spaces for youth participation, however, it was not enough yet. For example, about one – fifth of youth did not know exactly whether political parties have had such ambitions. In the same vein, although half of the youths revealed that political parties have set particular ratio of youth candidacy involvement while one-fourth of them did not aware about it. Political parties recognized youths as future leaders so they always build up the capacity and competencies of youth especially in political related matters however, one third of the youths did not believe it or not know about it.

Finally, Myanmar Youth Policy was timely published (in the mid of 5 years parliament term) in good intention to bridge the gap between youth vs government personnel, political parties and the focal Ministry of Social Welfare. It would be a big dream for the NLD government and is clearly seen its political will to promote youth participation in political and all sectors. What a surprising is that, the majority of the youths in this survey participants did not aware about this policy or the content of the policy.

5.2 Recommendations

Since youths are the most valuable resources of a nation, genuine youth-orientation approach should be in place for future democratization. It is worthy to keep the strong interest and passions of youths in political participation.

It is important that many newly eligible voters need to be familiar with the registration system, including how and where to register to vote. There should be better effort for the UEC to make more accessible and accountable for voter registration. Checking and correcting the voter lists should be used in multi technologies and its accuracy in all parts of the country.

Political parties and candidates should set clear goals for nurturing youths as future leaders. They should create opportunities for youths to participate more in election campaigns and invite them to use their energy. The power of youths, their energy and enthusiasm are very crucial for nation building. Politicians, focal ministry departments, other interested organizations and individual should encourage youths to continue voter education widely.

It is very important for the government, political parties and representatives how they keep their election manifesto when they have been elected. There should be alternative channels they can keep in touch with their voters, explain what have been achieved, how and when those promises would be achieved. Politicians and parties should even admit some promises could not keep and why. If not, youths will lose hope for their representatives and gradually lead to not participating in future elections and political matters. Political parties should try to keep what they have already created space for youth participation level.

To sum up, political parties should make a road map to increase youth candidate participation in future and hype in their party's policies although youths did not focus much about youth representatives in this current political climate. The government, focal ministry and politicians should try to promote the awareness of the Myanmar Youth Policy (MYP) and create opportunities for youths for more engaging and participate in the political and many other matters.

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APPENDIX

A STUDY ON YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN MYANMAR'S GENERAL ELECTIONS 2020

This purpose of this questionnaire is to analysis of the ‘Youth Participation in Myanmar’s Elections 2020” which is to be used for Executive Master Programme of Public Administration, Yangon Universities of Economics. These questionnaires would use for research paper only and answers would be confidential. Respondents must be youths aged 18 to 35 years and youths who are going to be 18 on the election day: November 8, 2020. It would take about maximum 15 minutes. You can either fully deny to answer this questionnaire. Thank you.

Section –1 (Demographic Information)

Section –1 (Demographics of the Respondents)

1. Age (Completed years)
 - a. 18-24
 - b. 25-35

2. Gender
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
 - c. Male but self-considered as female
 - d. Female but self-considered as male
 - e. Don't want to mention

3. Ethnicity
 - a. Kachin
 - b. Kayah
 - c. Kayin
 - d. Chin
 - e. Burmar
 - f. Mon
 - g. Rakhine

- h. Shan
 - i. Chinese
 - j. Indian
 - k. Chinese + Myanmar Ethnic
 - l. Indian + Myanmar Ethnic
 - m. Ethnic + other ethnic
 - n. Others
4. What is the highest level of formal education you have completed?
- a. Ph.D/Master Degree
 - b. Institutes/Vocational Universities
 - c. Degree
 - d. University Student (1st year to final year)
 - e. Diploma
 - f. High School
 - g. Middle School
 - h. Primary School
 - i. Monastery Education
 - j. Other -----
5. Occupation (Pls mention one main occupation if you have more than one)
- a. Agriculture
 - b. Livestock
 - c. Self-employment
 - d. Government Employee
 - e. Company Employee (companies, shops, businesses, service providers, etc.), earning a regular salary.
 - f. NGO/INGO Employee
 - g. Odd Job
 - h. Home Goods Store
 - i. Looking for a job
 - j. Dependent
 - k. Other -----

6. Place of the Survey Participants
 - a. Kachin State
 - b. Kayah State
 - c. Kayin State
 - d. Chin State
 - e. Mon State
 - f. Rakhine State
 - g. Shan State
 - h. Sagaing Region
 - i. Tanintharyi Region
 - j. Nay Pyi Taw Administrative Council
 - k. Bago Region
 - l. Magway Region
 - m. Mandalay Region
 - n. Yangon Region
 - o. Ayeyarwaddy Region

7. Are you a membership of a political party?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

Session 2: Voting Behavior of Youth for 2020 General Election

8. Do you know there will be general elections in November 2020?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
9. Do you know you are eligible to vote in the coming 2020 general elections?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
10. Did you check voter registration list for coming 2020 general elections?
 - a. Yes (including checked by someone)
 - b. No

11. If you checked voter registration list
 - a. I go and checked at the village/ward sub election commission office
 - b. Parents/friends/relatives go and checked for me at the village/ward sub election commission office.
 - c. I checked from online.
 - d. Parents/friends/relatives checked for me online.
 - e. I checked both online and at the village/ward sub election commission office
 - f. Parents/friends/relatives checked for me checked both online and at the village/ward sub election commission office.
 - g. Other -----

12. Did you take some action after you checked voter list?
 - a. A correction has submitted because of wrong name (or) NRC number (or) parent's name (or) age, etc.,
 - b. I made an objection as I saw someone who is not eligible on the list
 - c. Did not take any action because everything was fine.
 - d. Other -----

13. If you did not check voter registration list: because
 - a. I did not know that I need to check the voter list
 - b. I would be travelling
 - c. I believe that my name would be on the list although I didn't check.
 - d. I was worried for Covid 19 infection
 - e. There is no election in our area
 - f. Decided not to vote
 - g. Busy
 - h. Other -----

14. Will you vote in the coming 2020 general elections?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Not Sure

15. If I vote in the coming 2020 general elections? I will
 - a. Study and vote for my favorite party.
 - b. Study and vote for my favorite candidate.
 - c. Study both the candidate and party.

16. If I vote, I will observe and vote for my favorite party because I
 - a. Respect / like the party leader and his/her reputation
 - b. Respect / like the party's policies, passion on democracy, its commitments and political background.
 - b. Party nominates right and suitable candidate
 - c. Respect / like all three of the above
 - d. Think it would be better to choose according to popular opinion because others like it.
 - e. Other -----

17. If I vote, I will observe Candidate's Qualification: because I
 - a. Respect / like candidate's character, qualifications, performance & experience
 - b. Respect / like the candidate's electoral policies and commitments
 - c. Respect / like both of the above
 - d. Because I want to follow the wishes of my family or the leader or owner of the organization/ business I work
 - e. As I am being from another minority ethnic group, I want to vote for our ethnic representative (non-Burman)
 - f. I want to vote for a new generation of talented and effective young people
 - g. Other -----

18. If I vote, I will observe and vote both candidate's qualification and favorite party because,
 - a. Respect / like party leader's profile and candidate's character, qualifications, performance experience
 - b. Respect/ like party' policy, passion & commitment and political experience as well as candidate's character and reputation, his/her qualifications, performance experience.
 - c. Respect/ like both of the above (1) and (2)

- d. Do not like character/commitment/ability of the previously elected candidate, so want to vote for another candidate.
 - e. As I am from another minority ethnic group, I want to vote for my ethnic group representative party (non-Burman)
 - f. Want to choose party leader's profile, party's policies, passion and commitment, political background and experience as well as a youth representative candidate.
 - g. Other -----
19. I decided not to vote, because
- a. I do not believe election might be free and fair under 2008 Myanmar Constitution.
 - b. I do not interest the election.
 - c. I do not think there will be any change.
 - d. My name was not included in the voter list.
 - e. I would be traveling.
 - f. There is no favorite party or candidate I want to support.
 - g. Due to inconvenience in re-applying for voter list.
 - h. I'm scared for Covid 19 disease infection.
 - i. Other -----

Session 3: Youth Participation in 2020 General Elections

20. I am planning to participate following activity at the 2020 election campaign
- a. Election campaign
 - b. Fundraising
 - c. Give donation
 - d. Monitoring the accuracy of the voter lists
 - e. Helping others such as people with disabilities, sick and elderly people to vote
 - f. Monitoring for free and fair elections
 - g. Do not consider to involve any activities
 - h. Provide voter education
 - i. Other -----

21. Political Parties have clear policy and guidelines to recognize the role of youth and pay attention for youth participation.
 - a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Don't know
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly agree

22. Political parties have set definite percentage for youth candidate involvement.
 - a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Don't know
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly agree

23. Political parties regarded youth as future leaders so they always build up capacity and competencies of youth especially in political related matters.
 - a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Don't know
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly agree

24. The level of youth participation allowed by political parties in 2020 general election is satisfactory
 - a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Don't know
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly agree

25. Youth Participation Allowed by Political Parties-Youth Participation Ladder
- a. Young people's initiative, decision made in partnership with adults
 - b. Young people's initiative and leadership
 - c. Young people's initiative and leadership
 - d. Young People are assigned tasks, and informed how and why, they are involved in a project/activity
 - e. Participation for show, young people have little or no influence on their activity
 - f. Decoration, young people help implement for adults' activity
 - g. Manipulation, adults use young people to support their own project/activities and pretended they are the results of young people's inspiration.
26. First Time Voter for the coming 2020 General elections?
- a. Yes
 - b. No

Session 4: Past Elections Experience

27. Easy for checked the voter list in 2010, 2012, 2015, 2018 General elections and By-Elections?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
28. Not Easy for Checking Voter List in Previous Elections, because
- a. My name is not on the voter list.
 - b. Taking too much time and delayed for step-by-step re-submission process when my name is not included in the voter list.
 - c. Not included in voter list as I migrated to another place.
 - d. Rejected to vote due to lack of National Registration Card (NRC) or Family Registration Form.
 - e. Unable to check online for voter list.
 - f. Unable to check due to poor health.
 - g. Unable to check due to travelling.
 - h. The sub commission office is far from my house
 - i. Weak support from Myanmar Embassies in abroad
 - j. Other -----

29. Did you vote in any of the previous 2010, 2012, 2015 and 2018 General elections and By-elections (If yes), pls select all apply.
- a. Yes i) 2010 ii). 2012 iii). 2015 iv). 2018
- b. No
30. If you voted any of 2012, 2012, 2015 and 2018 general elections? You
- a. Observed and voted my favorite party.
- b. Observed and voted my favorite candidate.
- c. Observed and voted both the candidate and party.
31. I observed and voted your favorite party, because I (*Please select only one*)
- a. Respect / like the party leader and his/her reputation.
- b. Respect / like the party's policies, passion on democracy, its commitments and political background.
- c. Party nominates right and suitable candidate.
- d. Respect / like all three of the above.
- e. It would be better to choose according to popular opinion because I have no idea.
- f. Other -----
32. I observed and voted your Candidate's Qualification, because I (*Please select only one*)
- a. Respected/ liked candidate's character, qualifications, performance & experience.
- b. Respected/ liked the candidate's electoral policies and commitments.
- c. Respected/ liked both of the above (1) and (2).
- d. Parties were not quite different and did not know which one to vote.
- e. My friends and family' members liked that particular party.
- f. Other -----

33. I observed and voted both Candidate's Qualification and Favorite Party because I (Please select only one)
- a. Respected/ liked party leader's profile and candidate's character, qualifications, performance experience
 - b. Respected/ liked party' policy, passion & commitment and political experience as well as candidate's character and reputation, his/her qualifications, performance experience.
 - c. Respected/ liked both of the above (1) and (2)
 - d. Did not like character/commitment/ability of the previously elected candidate, so want to vote for another candidate.
 - e. As I am from another minority ethnic group, I voted for my ethnic group representative party (non-Burman)
 - f. Chose party leader's profile, party's policies, passion and commitment, political background and experience as well as a youth representative candidate.
 - g. Other -----
34. I decided not to vote, because
- a. I did not believe election might be free and fair under 2008 Myanmar Constitution
 - b. I did not interest the election
 - c. I did not think there will be any change
 - d. My name was not including in the voter list
 - e. I was traveling
 - f. There was no favorite party or candidate
 - g. Due to inconveniences in re-applying for voter list
 - h. Other -----
35. Did you participate any of the following activities at any election campaigns in 2021, 2012, 2015 and 2018? Pls select one only.
- a. Election campaign (Self and/online)
 - b. Fundraising
 - c. Give donation
 - d. Monitoring the accuracy of the voter lists

- e. Helping others such as people with disabilities, sick and elderly people to vote
- f. Monitoring for free and fair elections
- g. Other -----

Session 5: Knowledge of Youth on Myanmar Youth Policy

36. Do you know in which year of November, Myanmar Youth Policy officially published?
- a. 2016
 - b. 2017
 - c. 2018
 - d. 2019
 - e. Don't Know

37. Definition of age range stated for “Youth” in the Myanmar Youth Policy
- a. 16 years-24 years
 - b. 18 years- 24 years
 - c. 15 years- 35 years
 - d. Don't know
38. No. of Basic Principles described in the Myanmar Youth Policy
- a. 7
 - b. 8
 - c. 9
 - d. 10
 - 3. Don't know
39. No. of Policies under Political Sector described in Myanmar Youth Policy
- a. 7
 - b. 8
 - c. 9
 - d. 10
 - e. Don't know

Figure (4.1) Map of Myanmar



Source: The 2014 Myanmar Population and Housing Census; The Union Report: Census Report Volume 2