



BLUE SHIRT
Initiative

FOUR YEARS OF RESISTANCE: **PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF** **THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF MYANMAR**

 **JUNE, 2025**



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Initiative

About Blue Shirt Initiative

The Blue Shirt Initiative is a non-profit, non-partisan, non-governmental fact tank organization working to build democratic values and strengthen democratic institutions in Myanmar through research and education. Upholding the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Blue Shirt conducts its work regardless of race, religion, and gender.

Currently, the Blue Shirt is conducting social media research focusing on political communication and information ecosystem, and surveys aimed to have a better understanding of citizens' perceptions.

Get more about the Blue Shirt.



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info@blueshirtinitiative.org

Acknowledgments

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TABLE OF CONTENT

A.	Demography	
B.	Executive Summary	
1.	Civic and Political Culture	7
	1.1 Interpersonal Trust	8
	1.2 Tolerance	10
	1.3 Associational Life	11
	1.4 Myanmar as a Democratic Country	12
	1.5 Myanmar as a Federal Country	13
	1.6 Formation of New States	14
	1.7 Secession	15
	1.8 National Pride and Shame	16
	1.9 Citizenship	17
2.	National Mood	20
	2.1 Struggle for Basic Needs and Satisfaction of Different Aspects of Life	21
	2.2 Economic Environment	22
	2.3 Right Direction, Wrong Direction	23
	2.4 Elections	26
3.	Armed Conflicts	27
	3.1 Expectation of the Ongoing Armed Conflicts	28
	3.2 Preferences for Ending Political Conflicts	29
	3.3 Strategies for Ending Political Conflicts	31
4.	Trust in Public Institutions	33
	4.1 Trust in Opposition Figures	34
	4.2 Trust in EAOs/EROs	35
	4.3 Trust in SAC and its Institutions	36
	4.4 Trust in Political Parties, Civic Groups, and Religious Leaders	36
5.	Social Media and Source of Political Information	37
	5.1 Opinions Matter to You	38
	5.2 Social Media, Contents, Quality and Reliability	39
	5.3 Primary Source of Political Information	41
	Methodology	42
	Questionnaire	43

A. Demography

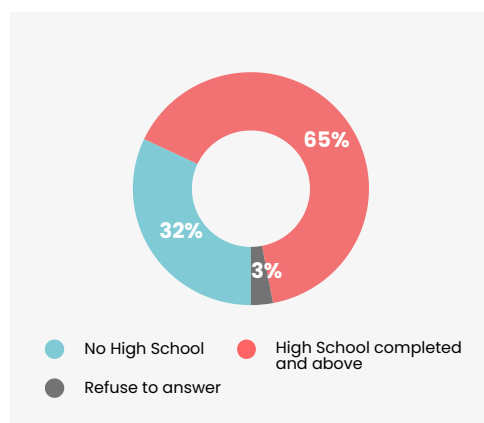
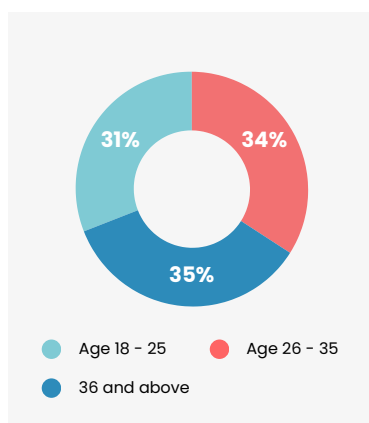
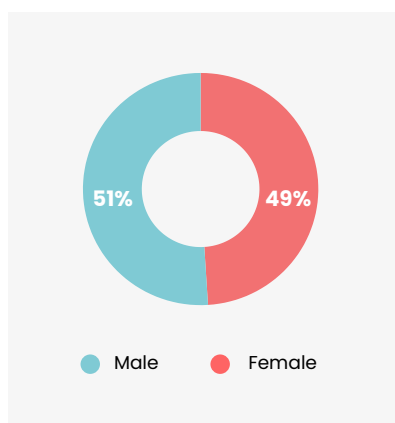
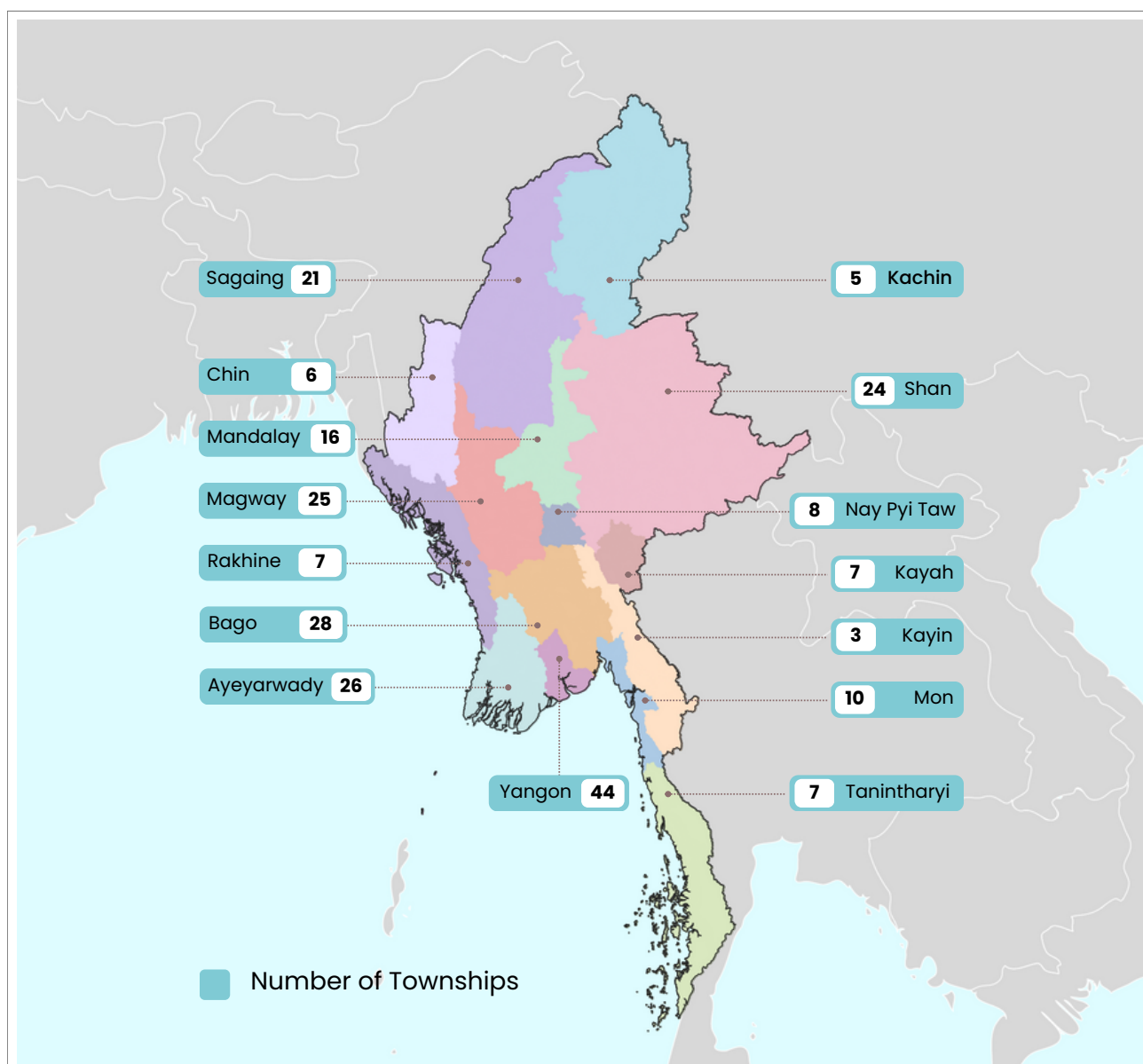


Fig-1 : Respondent Information

B. Executive Summary

Over the past four years, the social, political, and economic lives of the people in Myanmar have undergone significant changes. These developments are interpreted differently by various political actors—some view them as temporary disruptions that could soon give way to a more promising future, while others fear that the country is on the brink of becoming a failed state. But how do ordinary people perceive these conflicts? What are their expectations? Given the tremendous amount of noise in the information ecosystem these days, it is almost impossible to detect the true voices of the people. The Blue Shirt team decided to speak directly with the public to bring out their voices and break through the echo chamber of social media. From March 21 to 25, 2025, the Blue Shirt team interviewed 3,128 people from 237 townships across the country. During the survey, respondents were asked about their perceptions and expectations regarding the current situation in Myanmar—specifically, how they feel about the Spring Revolution at present, whether they are optimistic or pessimistic, hopeful or depressed, and about their daily struggles. As discussions around the formation of new states or federal units—and even secession—become more frequent among key stakeholders, we asked the public how they feel about these issues. In addition, we asked their views on what they believe would be realistic and pragmatic solutions to end the ongoing conflicts.

Since the Myanmar military staged a coup in 2021, it has been impossible to use probability sampling methods—particularly for civic groups. Instead, purposive sampling was employed, and the fieldwork was completed on March 25, 2025, three days before a 7.7 magnitude earthquake struck central Myanmar. Two important caveats are worth noting: First, because probability sampling was not used, the findings may not fully represent the entire population of Myanmar. To ensure the security and safety of both enumerators and respondents, only individuals associated with the Blue Shirt were included. As a result, approximately 80 percent of respondents reported being interested in politics. However, they do offer valuable insights into prevailing societal trends. Second, as the fieldwork concluded before the earthquake, we cannot determine whether public perceptions have remained the same or were affected by the disaster.

Civic and Political Culture: The level of interpersonal trust has slightly improved compared to 2024, yet it remains at its lowest point in the past decade. Despite the post-coup environment being unfavorable for political participation at any level, the community continues to sustain civic life through sports, work-related gatherings, community service, and religious activities. This active associational life could serve as a catalyst for rebuilding interpersonal trust within society.

The belief that democracy and federalism are the ideal political system for Myanmar remain unchanged. While the majority of respondents accept these political systems at face value, few are convinced about reconfiguring the current boundaries of states and regions. A similar sentiment is expressed regarding secession—few respondents agree that parts of the country should be allowed to secede if they so choose.

Citizenship in Myanmar is widely perceived as exclusive, with many respondents indicating that the "sons of the soil" mindset favors accepting only those who meet specific ethnic, linguistic, and religious criteria. However, it is noteworthy that national pride appears to be diminishing, as only a few respondents expressed pride in their country.

National Mood: Generally, respondents expressed a sense of depression and pessimism about the current situation, stating that the country is heading in the wrong direction due to the consequences of the 2021 coup and ongoing widespread violence. Many feel that the current environment is unfavorable for their daily social and economic activities. Additionally, a quarter of respondents reported having no income over the past six months and said they were forced to sell or pawn their possessions to survive. Given these circumstances, the majority of respondents do not believe that this is the right time to hold elections.

Armed Conflicts: Regarding the ongoing armed conflicts, respondents expressed mixed views—while half are hopeful, believing the conflict could end within five years, the other half are more pessimistic, suggesting it could continue much longer. When it comes to perceptions, more respondents believe that military means can end the conflict than those who see political dialogue or international mediation as effective solutions. However, when asked about preferred actions, more respondents expressed support for pursuing a political solution as soon as possible to end the armed conflict.

Trust in Public Institutions: As found in various surveys conducted last year, respondents consistently expressed distrust toward the SAC, its leadership, and its institutions, with about eight in ten indicating "no confidence." In contrast, the pro-democracy alliance forces, including EROs/EAOs, earned a significant level of public trust, with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi remaining the most trusted figure—even though she is not directly involved in the Spring Revolution.

Social Media and Source of Political Information: Generally, a majority of respondents recognize the crucial role that online platforms play in accessing political news and information. However, they are also highly skeptical about the quality and reliability of the content. About eight percent of respondents indicated that Facebook, YouTube, websites, TikTok, and Telegram are their primary sources of information.



Civic and Political Culture



1.1 Interpersonal trust

Social science research has indicated a correlation between higher social capital—characterized by a higher level of interpersonal trust—and social economic development within the society. Several surveys were conducted between 2015 and 2020 to measure the level of trust within society following the political and economic reform in 2010. In this survey, the Blue Shirt would like to explore any changes in interpersonal trust after the coup in 2021. The level of distrust within society continues to increase, with more than eight out of ten respondents (85 percent) expressing that they need to be very careful when dealing with people since the 2024 survey, and only 13 percent show trust in other people. This is the lowest level of trust recorded in Myanmar in the last ten years. Previously, the lowest level of trust was measured at 17 percent in 2017 (PACE 2017—Public Opinion on Citizens’ Democratic Aspirations). However, there has been a slight increase in trust compared to last year’s survey. This perception is shared across the respondents regardless of age, sex, education or whether they live in urban or rural, and states or regions.

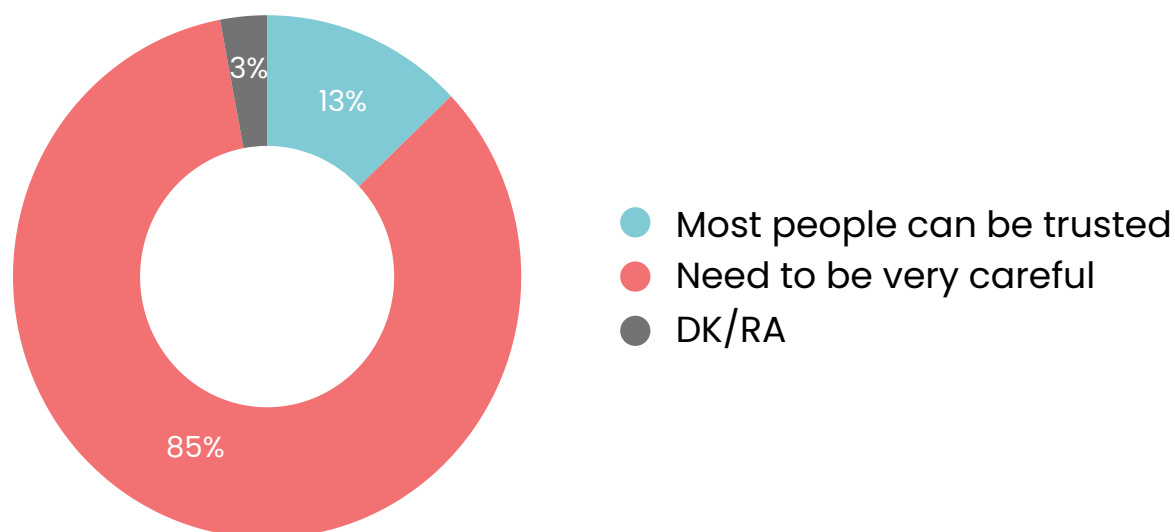


Fig-2 : Interpersonal trust (Overall) n=2808

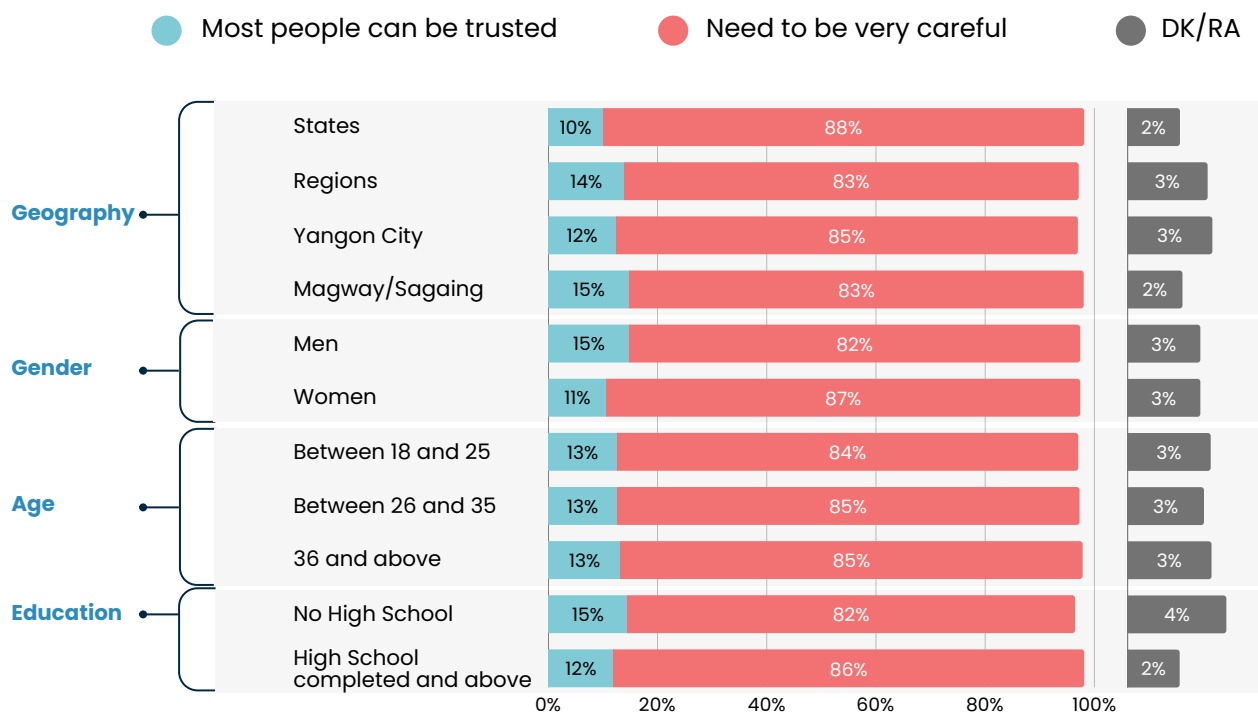


Fig-3 : Interpersonal trust

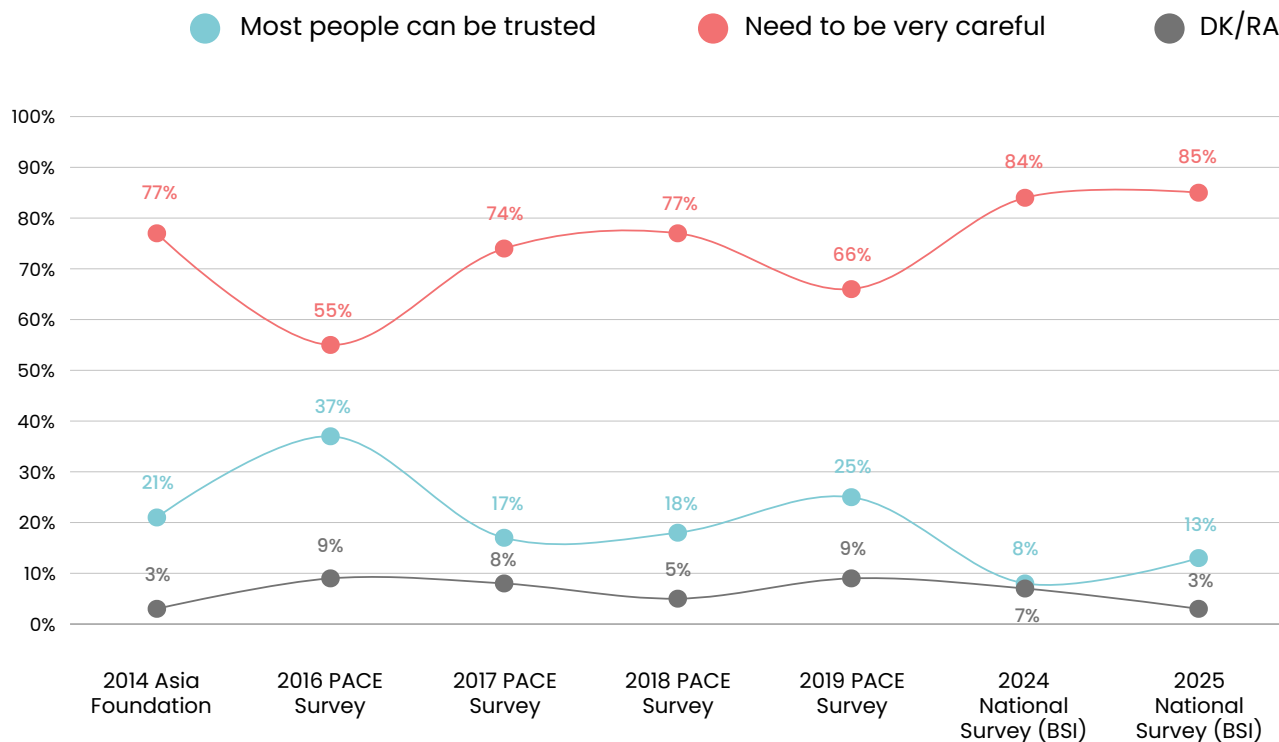


Fig-4 : Interpersonal trust (2014-2025)

1.2 Tolerance

In relation to interpersonal trust, the survey asked about respondents' tolerance toward different groups of people. Most respondents indicate greater concern about drug addicts, alcoholics and people with criminal records. Nearly a quarter of respondents (21 percent) also express discomfort with having neighbors who hold different political stances or views.

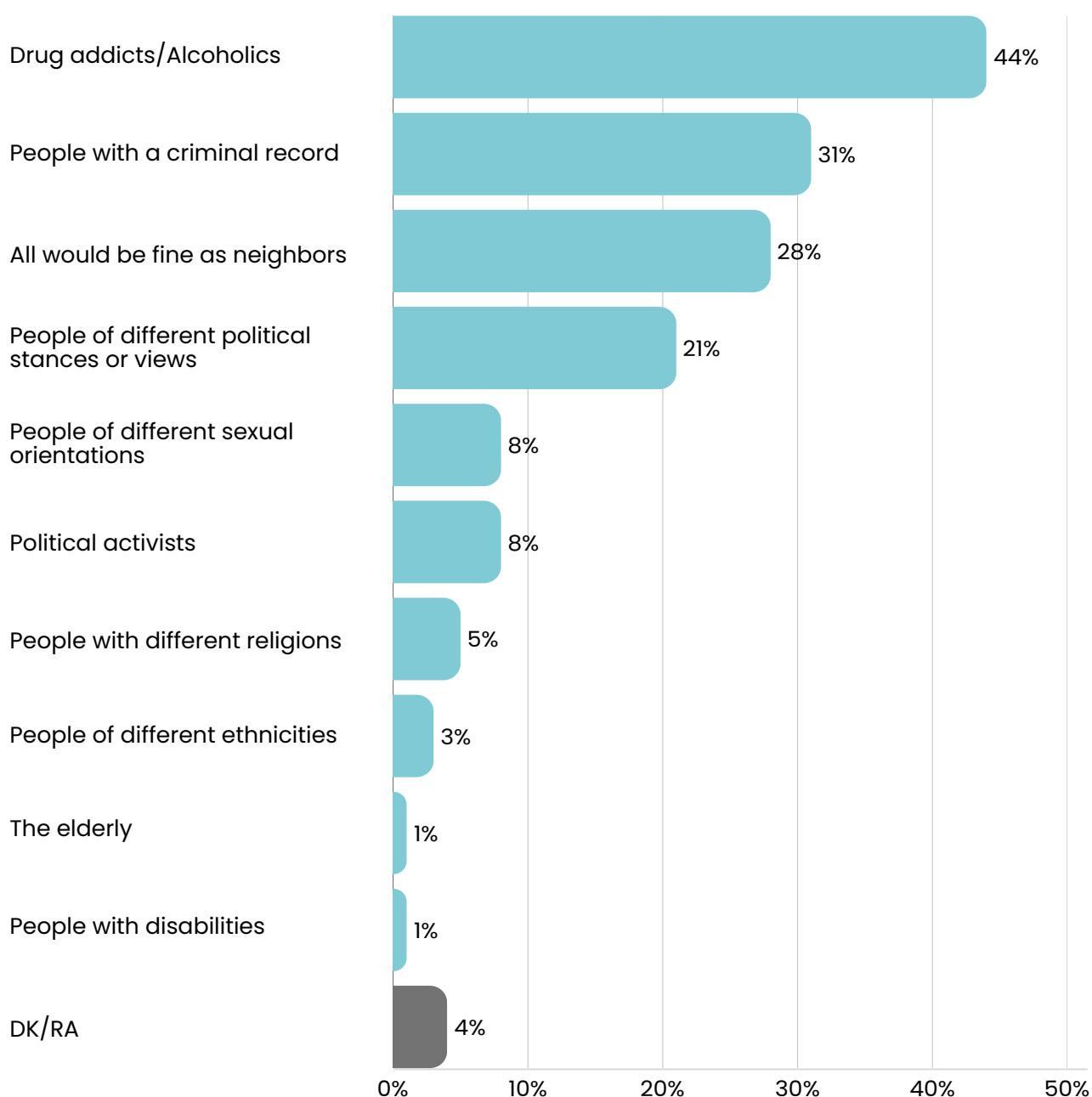


Fig-5 : Tolerance (Overall) n=2808

1.3 Associational life

Given the widespread armed conflicts across the country, it is evident that the formal civic space in Myanmar has been seriously shrinking—if not closing at all—under the current regime. However, the Blue Shirt survey shows that a majority of the respondents continue to associate with one another through various community groups. Respondents are most active in community development or self-help groups (71 percent) and religious groups (72 percent).

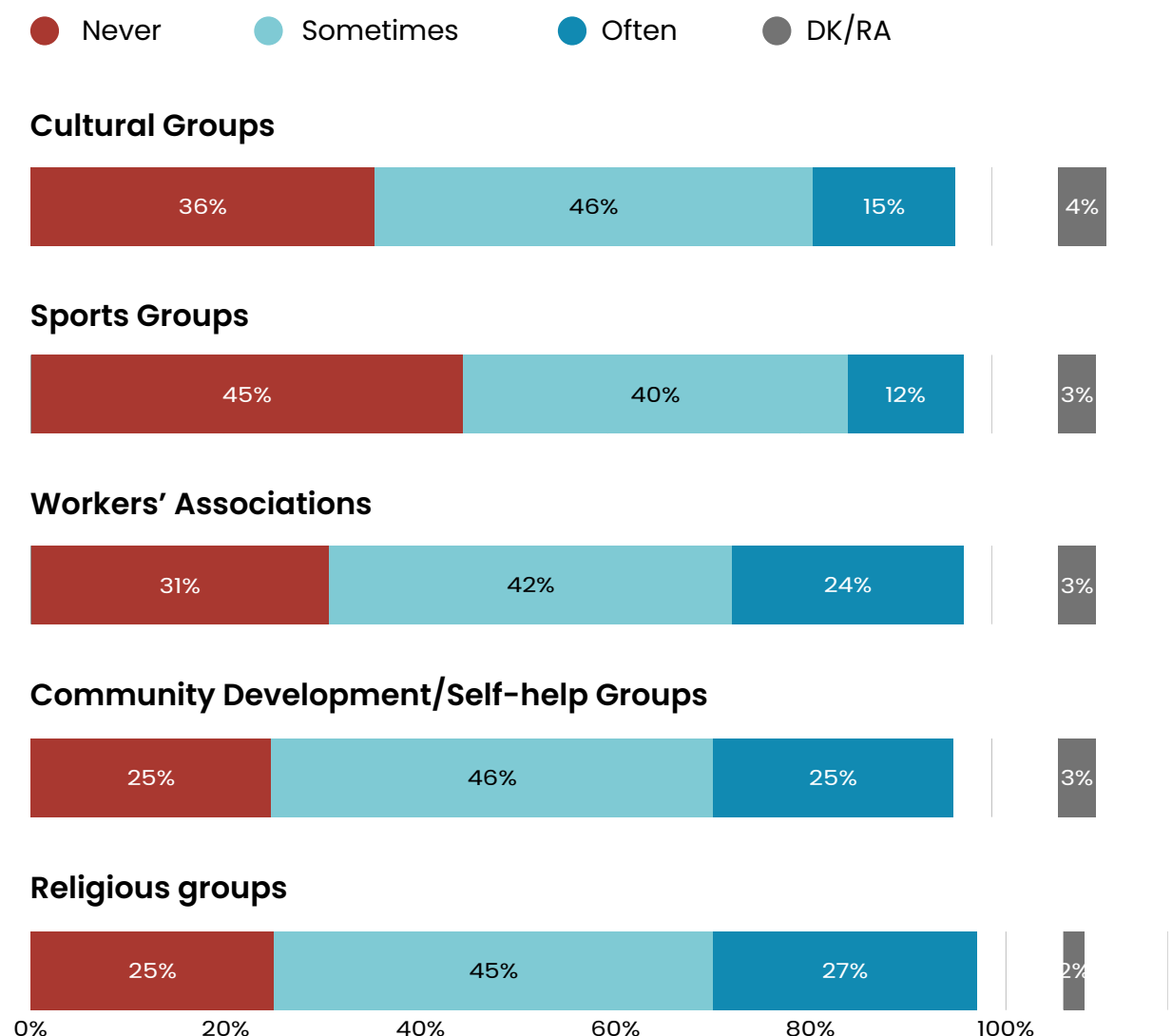


Fig-6 : Associational life at the community level (Overall) n=2808

1.4 Myanmar as a Democratic Country

Support for democracy as an ideal political system for Myanmar is significantly high among respondents across the country, whether they are from states or regions. Nearly nine out of ten respondents say it is important for Myanmar to become a fully democratic country, with 55 percent expressing very strong support for democracy. In Magway-Sagaing, the support for democracy is much stronger than in any other area.

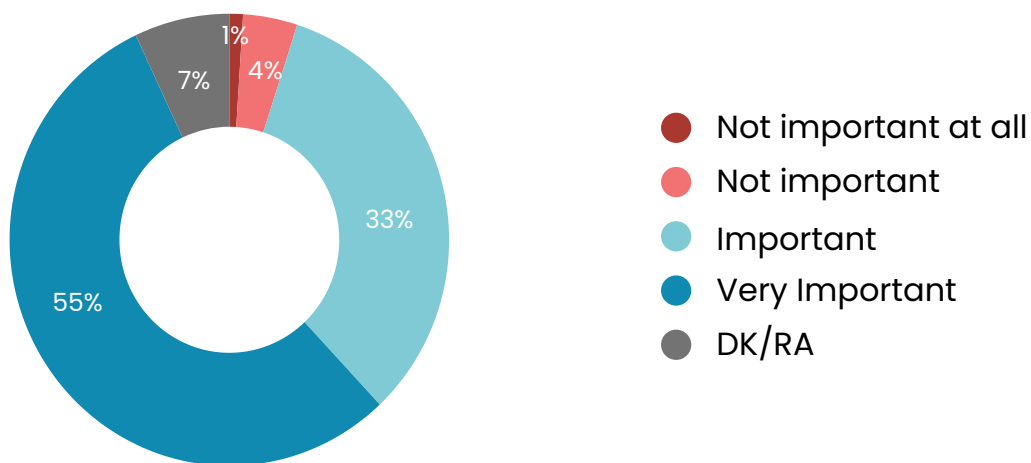


Fig-7 : Importance of Democracy (Overall) n=2808

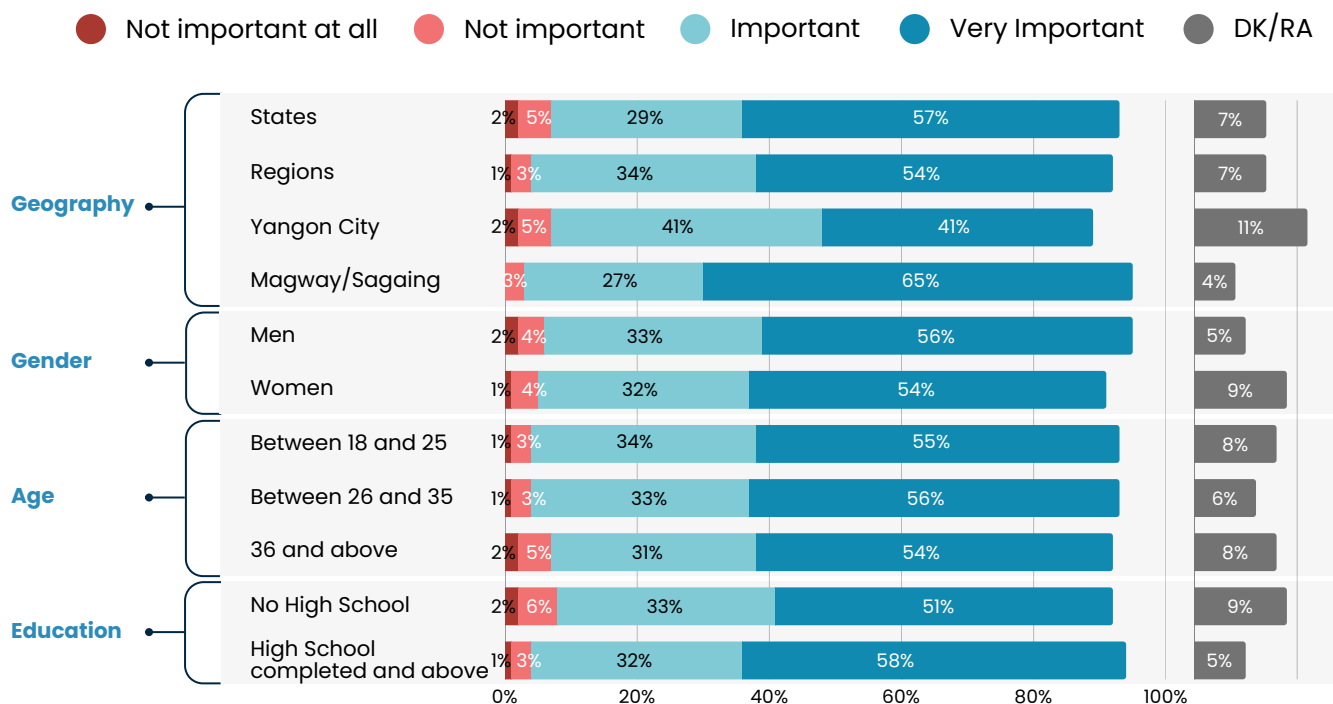


Fig-8 : Importance of Democracy

1.5 Myanmar as a Federal Country

A similar trend—though slightly lower than the support for democracy—is observed regarding federalism, with 77 percent saying it is important for Myanmar to become a federal state. This perception is shared among respondents across both states and regions. However, while respondents from Magway and Sagaing express strong support for federalism, their levels of support are even higher than those from the states, whereas respondents from Yangon city show more reservation, with only 28 percent indicating it is “very important”.

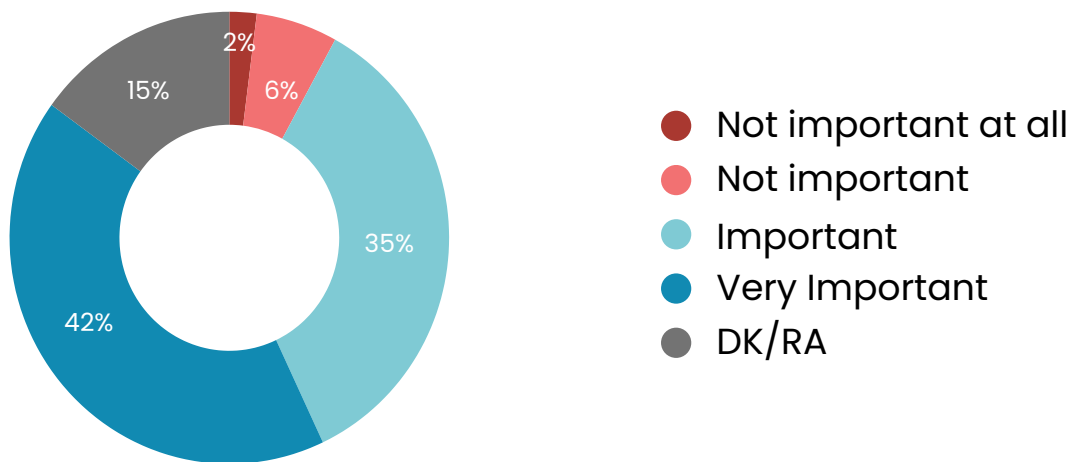


Fig-9 : Importance of Federalism (Overall) n=2808

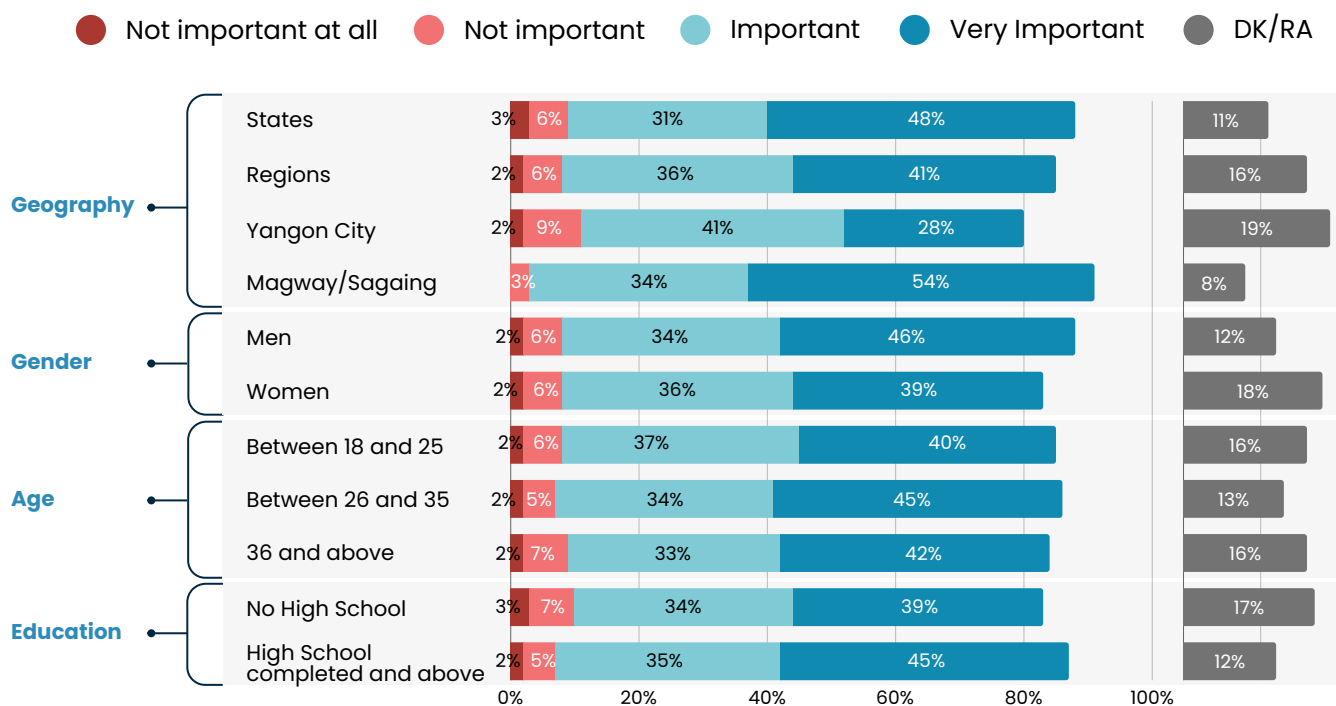


Fig-10 : Importance of Federalism

1.6 Formation of New States

As public acceptance of federalism in Myanmar has evolved over time, the debate over the formation of new states—or new federal units within future federal democratic states—has become increasingly relevant. The Blue Shirt team asked respondents about their stances. Nearly half of the respondents prefer to keep the boundaries of the states and regions as they are now. A similar view is shared by those from the states—where non-Bamar ethnic groups are the majority—when asked whether new states should be allowed to form. However, approximately one-third of the respondents indicate that new states should be allowed to form if desired.

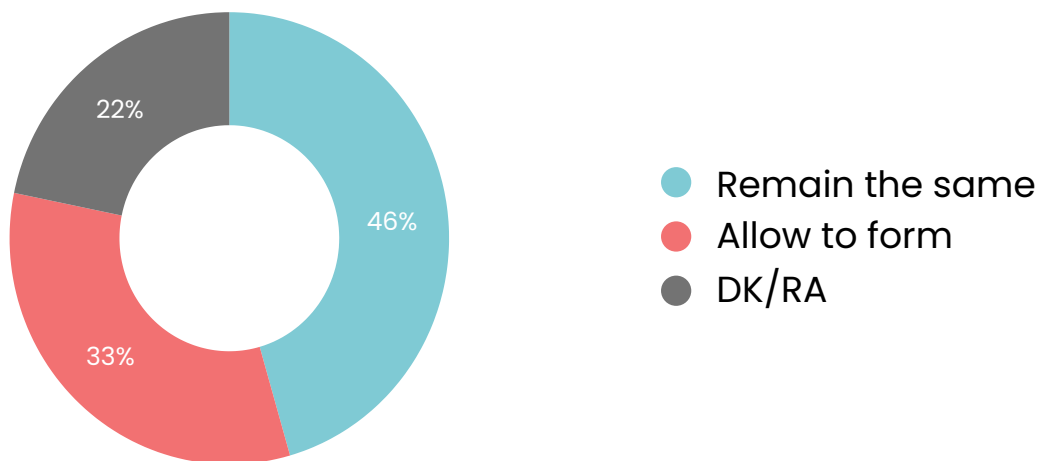


Fig-11 : Views on new states (Overall) n=2808

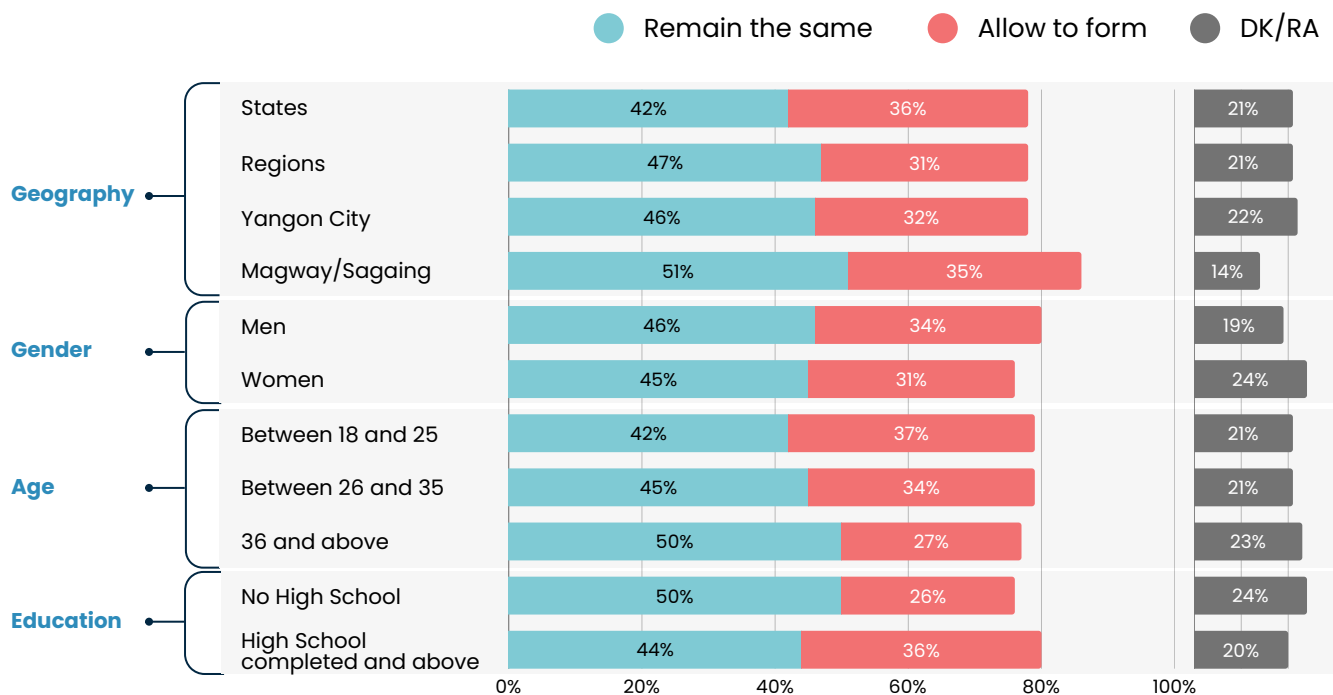


Fig-12 : Views on new states

1.7 Secession

There has been both concern and support for the possibility of some parts of Myanmar seceding from the country, with some expressing opposition and others expressing approval, especially after more territory came under the control of ethnic armed groups. The Blue Shirt team asked the respondents if they agreed with this potential outcome. Overall, nearly half of the respondents disapprove, saying the country should remain united, whereas nearly one-third approve. While respondents from states are almost evenly divided (40 percent disapprove and 42 percent support secession), those from Magaw and Sagaing show a strong rejection of secession, with 55 percent opposed.

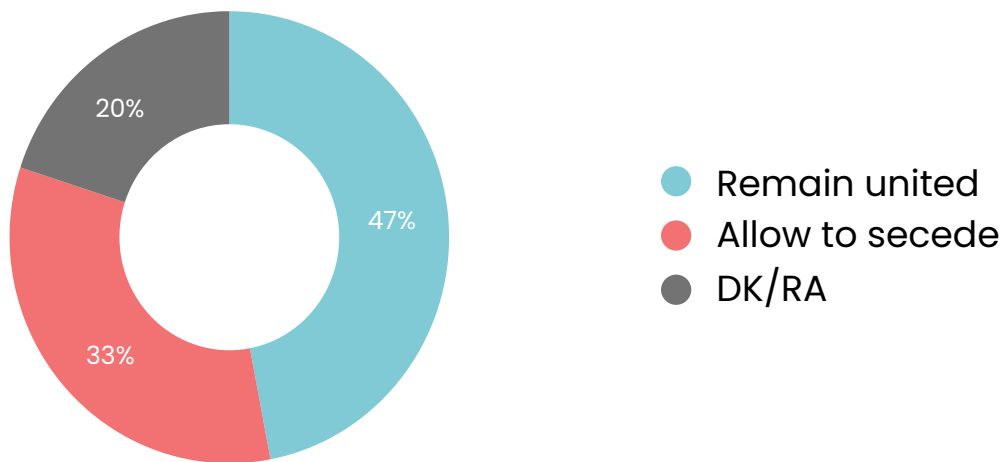


Fig-13 : Secession (Overall) n=2808

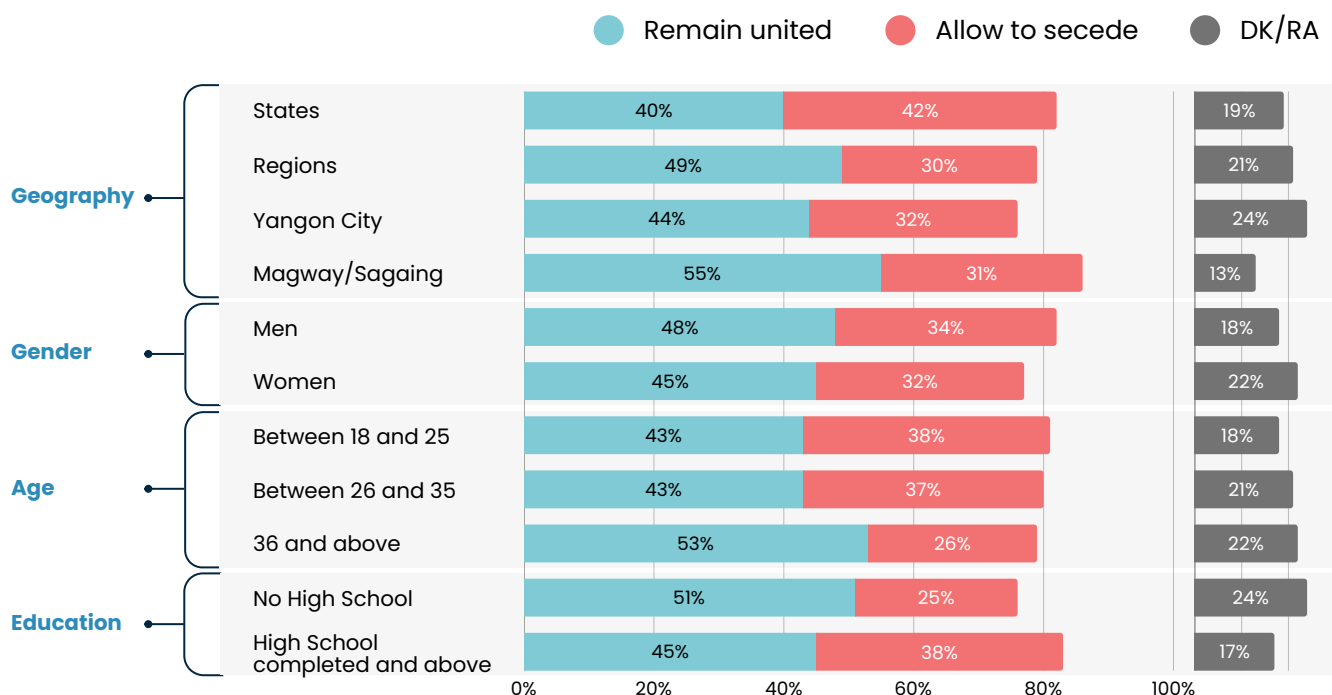


Fig-14 : Secession

1.8 National Pride and Shame

More than half of the respondents expressed reservations about their feelings toward the country. When asked about their personal sentiments, 55 percent reported mixed emotions—often feeling proud, but also often feeling ashamed. In contrast, fewer than a quarter of respondents expressed strong, consistent feelings: 15 percent said they felt proud of the country, while 20 percent felt ashamed. Similar views were shared across most respondents, except for those from Magway and Sagaing, where 64 percent reported feeling both proud and ashamed.

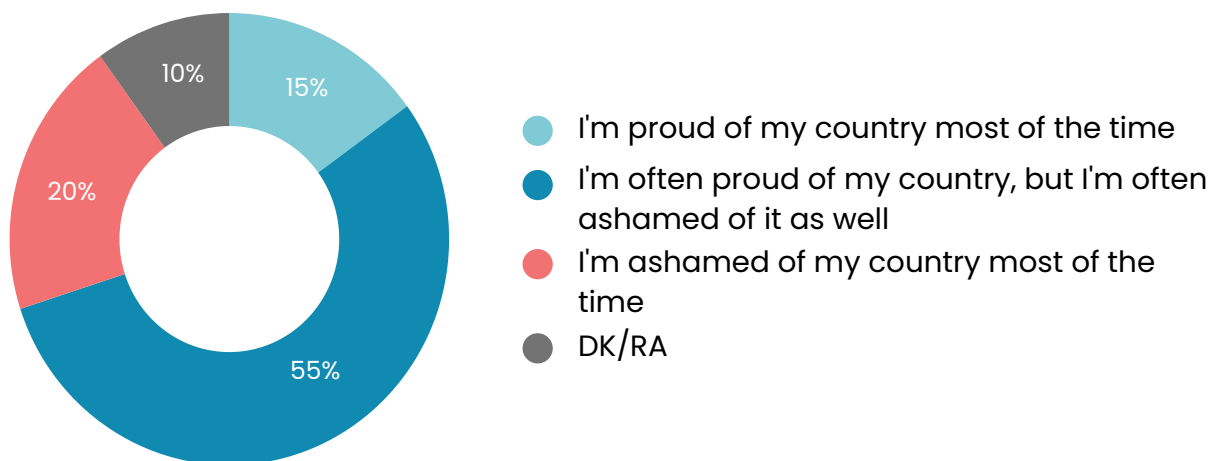


Fig-15 : Pride and ashamed of the country (Overall) n=2808

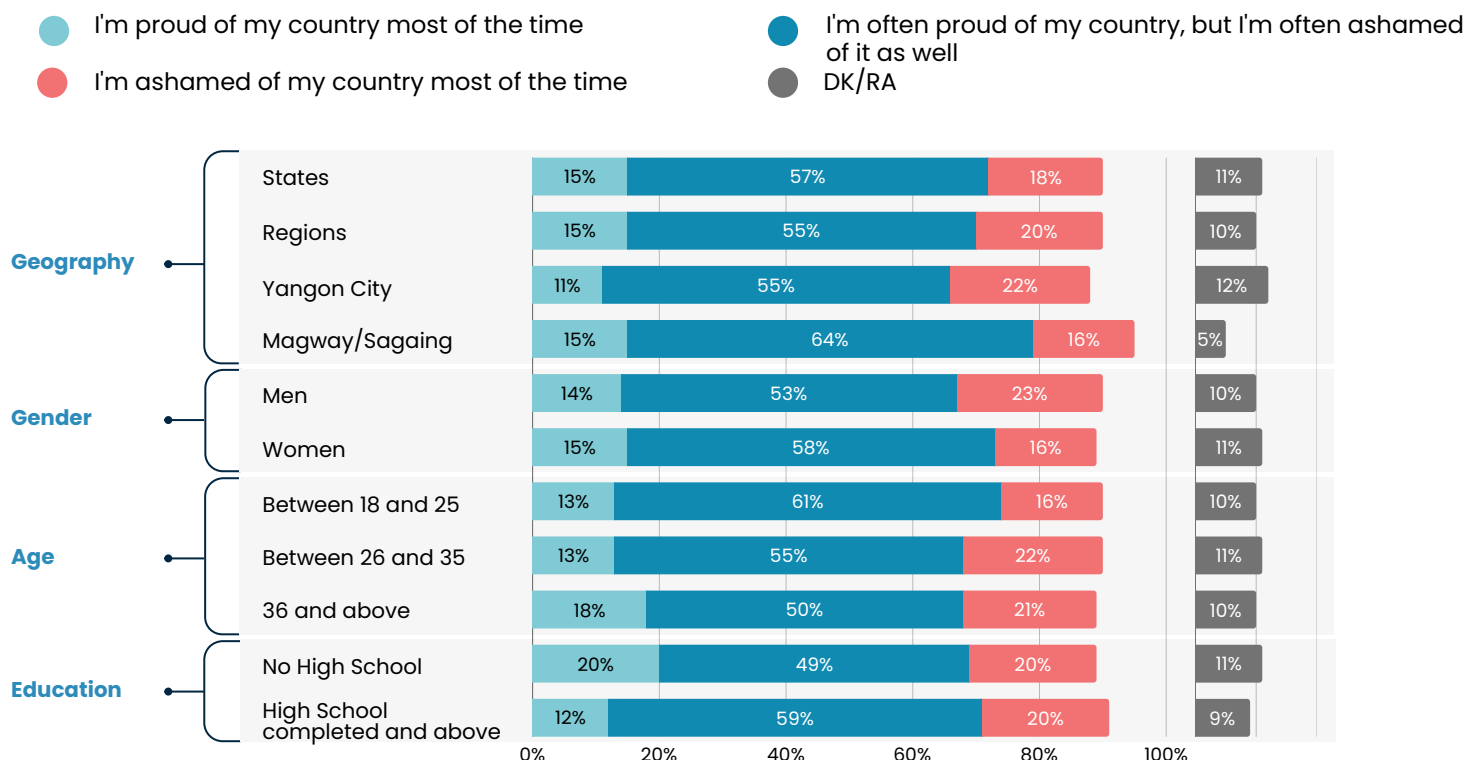


Fig-16 : Pride and ashamed of the country

1.9 Citizenship

Citizenship has long been a deeply contested issue in Myanmar, even since its independence. Tensions persist over who should be included or excluded from citizenship, and addressing this challenge requires sound and inclusive policies if Myanmar is to succeed in its nation-building process in the future. The Blue Shirt team posed a series of questions designed to gauge public perceptions of how inclusive citizenship is in the country. Survey findings indicate that a majority of respondents—approximately seven out of ten—view citizenship in more exclusive terms. Many believe that to be considered a Myanmar citizen, one must be born in the country, speak the majority language (Myanmar), share the Myanmar customs and traditions, and—though to a slightly lesser extent—be Buddhist.

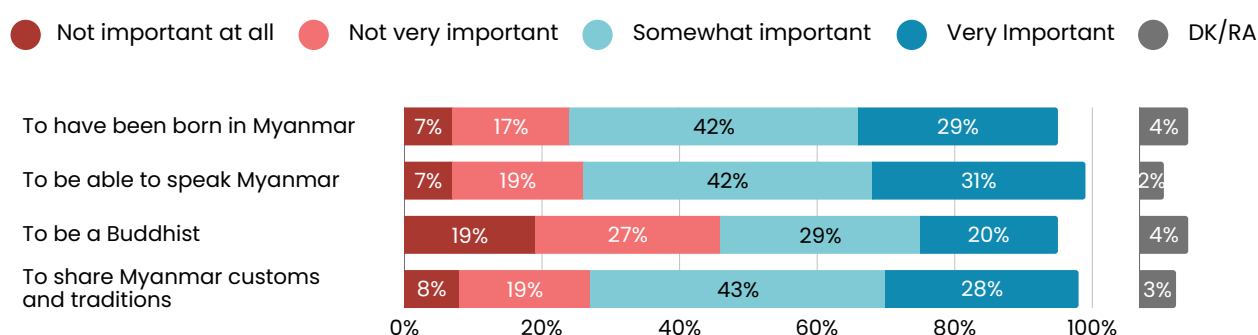


Fig-17 : Citizenship (Overall) n=2808

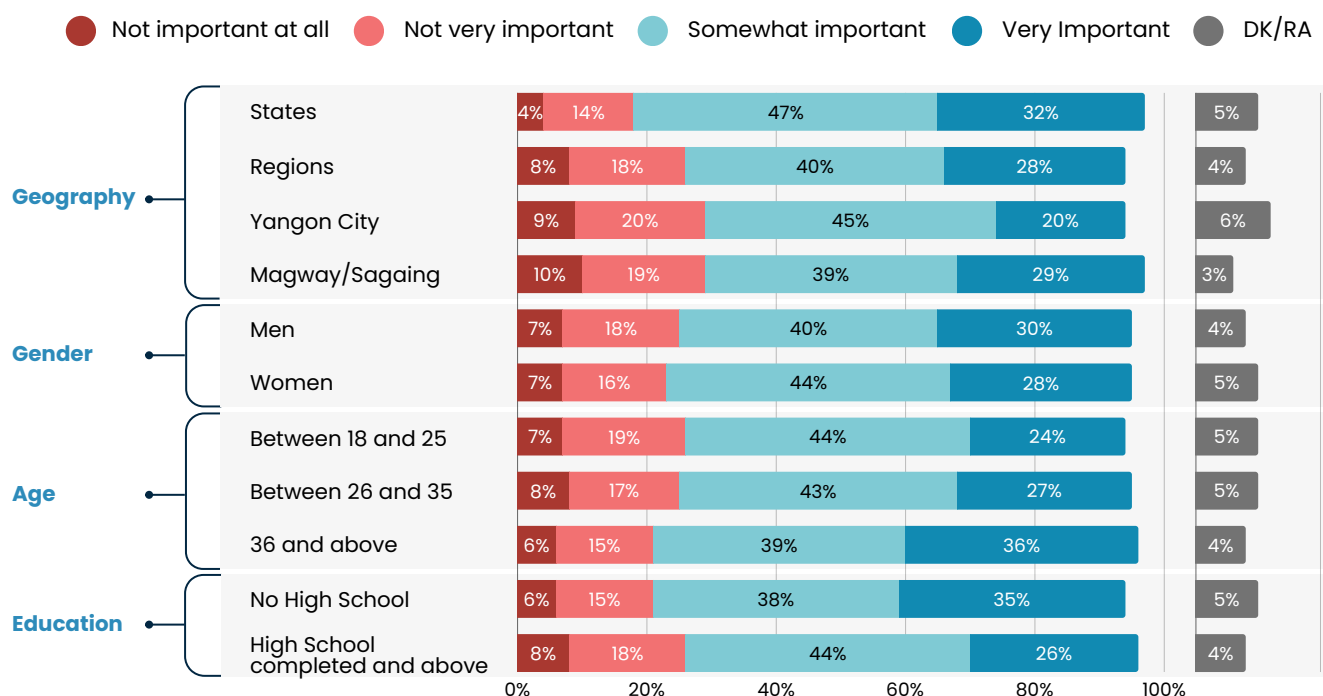


Fig-18 : To have been born in Myanmar

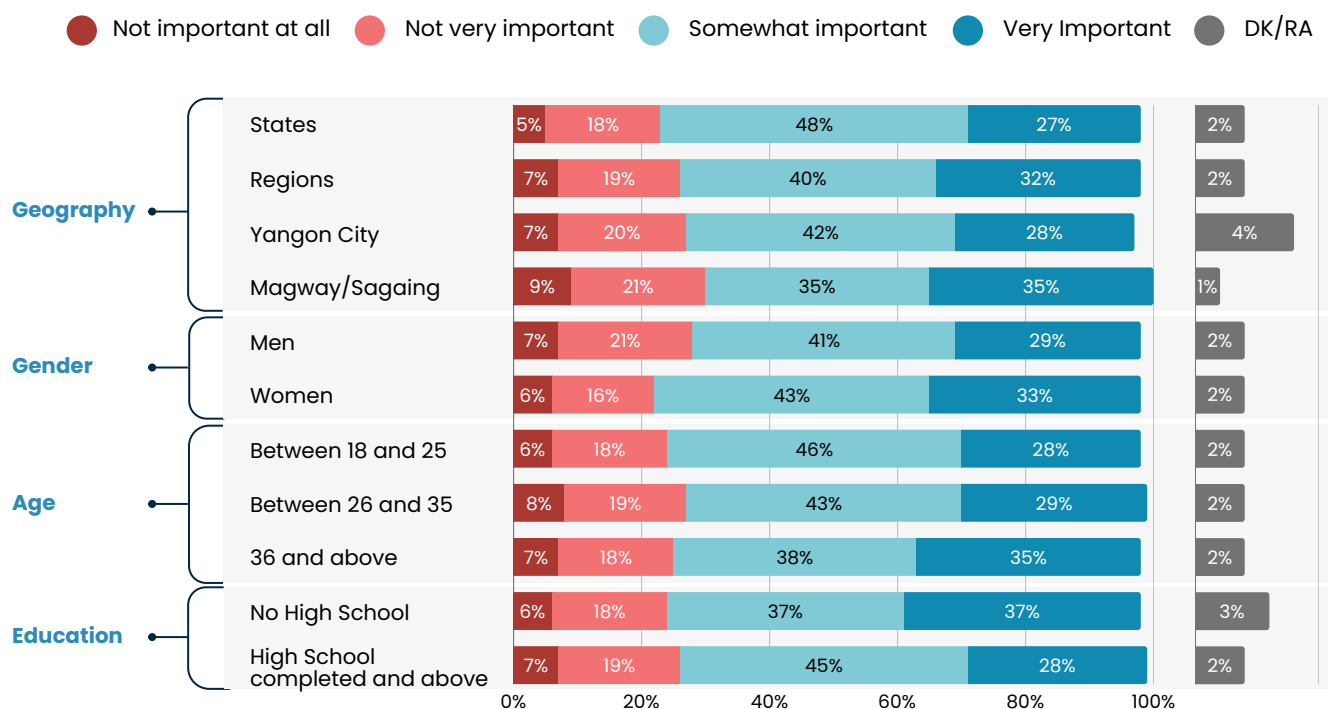


Fig-19 : To be able to speak Myanmar

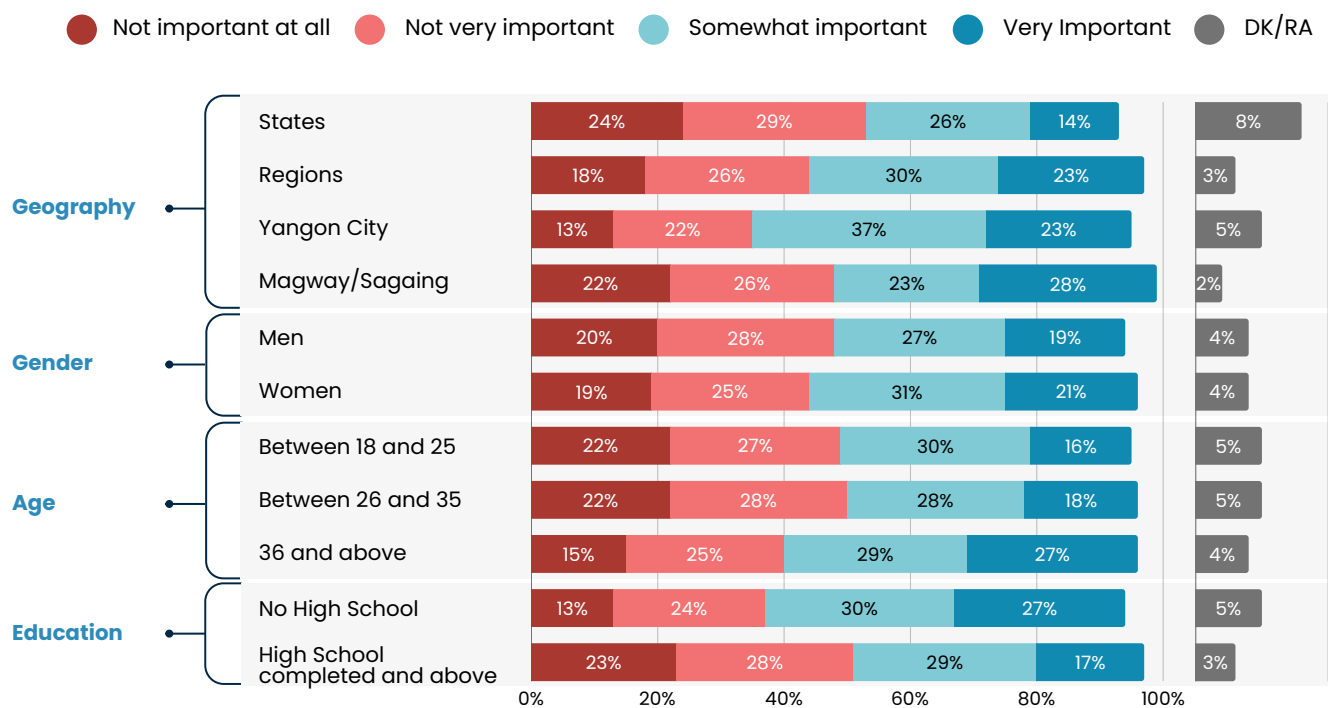


Fig-20 : To be a Buddhist

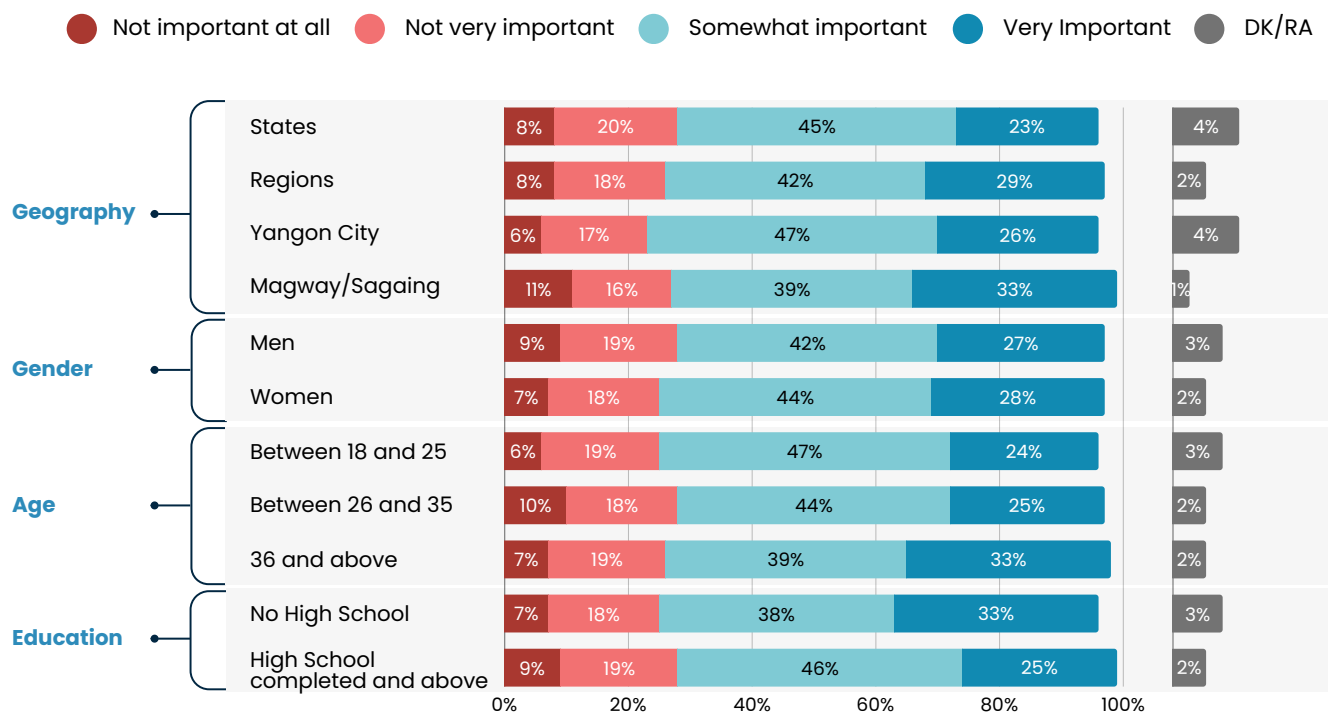


Fig-21 : To share Myanmar customs and traditions



National Mood

2

2.1 Struggle for Basic Needs and Satisfaction of Different Aspects of Life

Most respondents report feeling stressed when asked about their daily struggles and hold negative views about various aspects of their lives. More than six in ten say they are very worried about their future, while three in ten indicate they have gone without income for the past six months. About a quarter say they have had to sell or pawn belongings and have experienced clashes within the family. While more than half indicate dissatisfaction with family life, educational opportunities, their communities, personal health, personal time, and standard of living, about a quarter of respondents expressed satisfaction with their current situation.

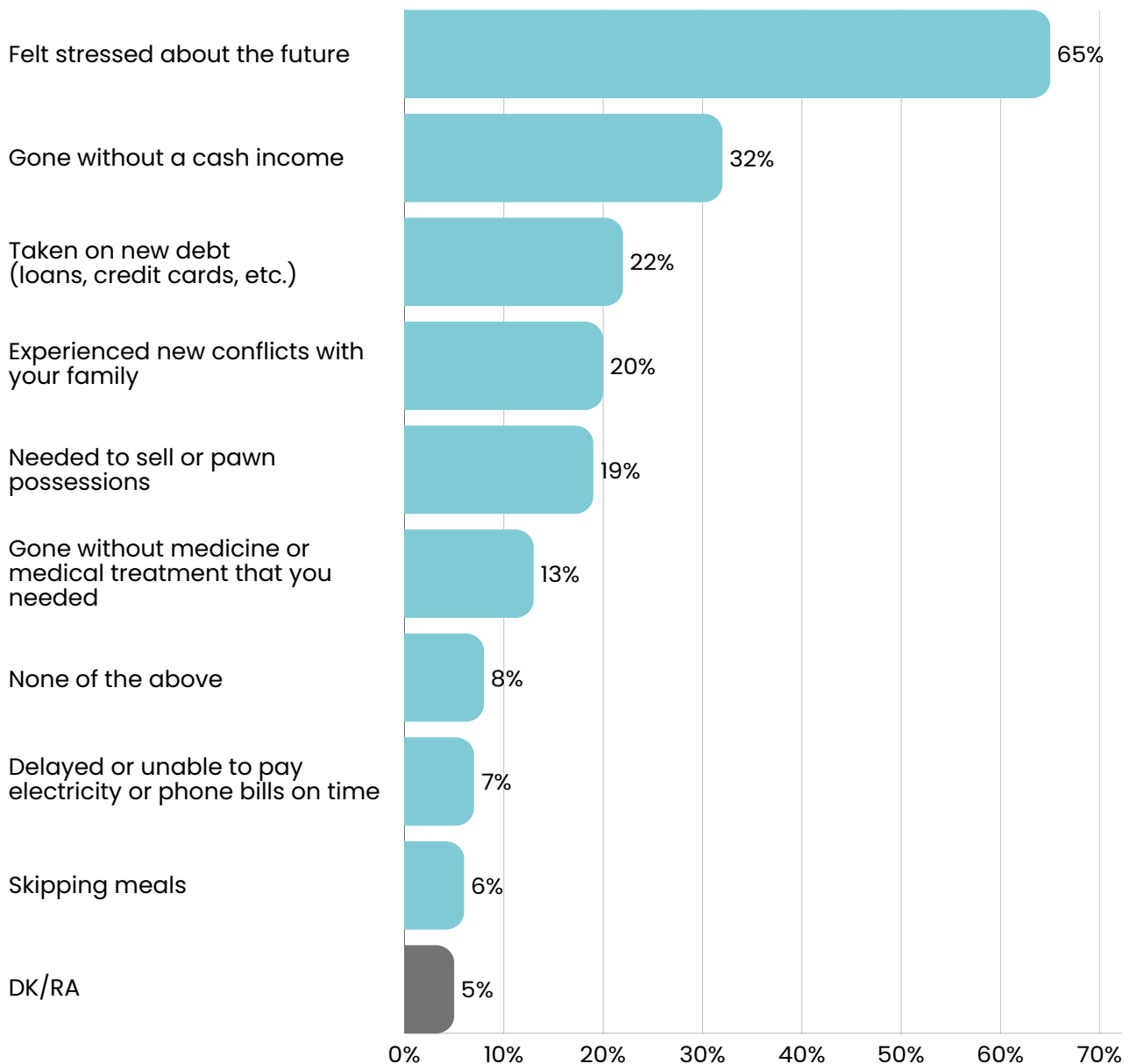


Fig-22 : Struggle for basic needs (Overall) n=2808

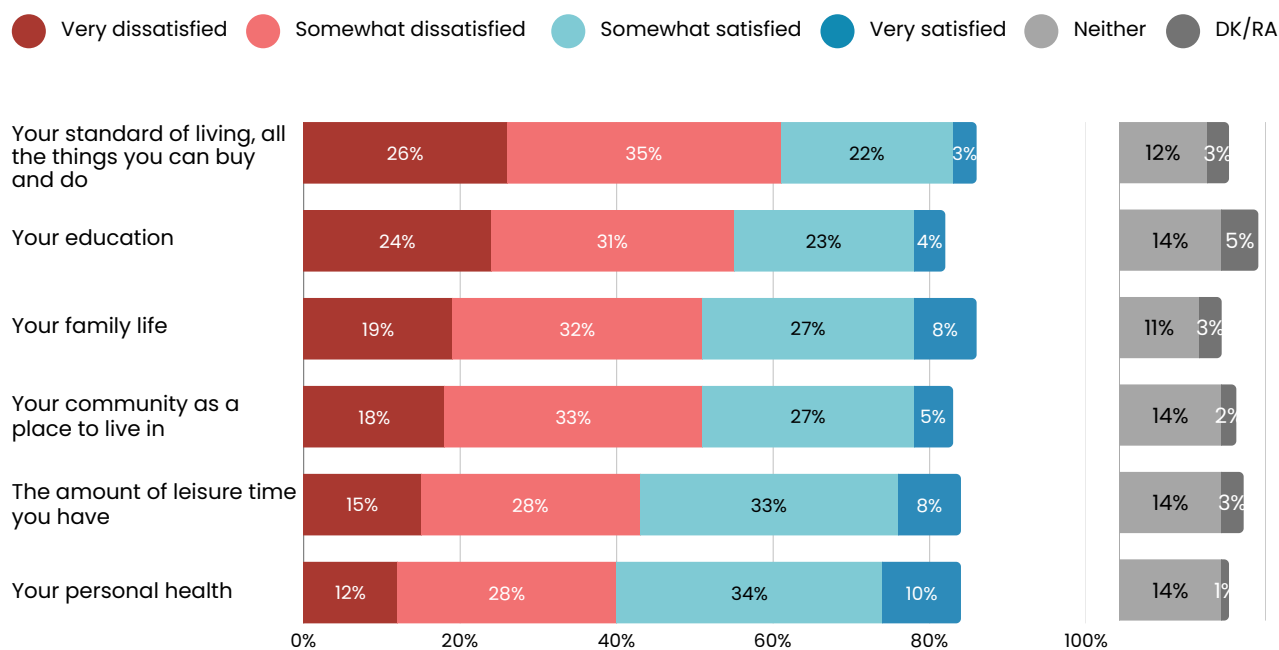


Fig-23 : Satisfaction of life (Overall) n=2808

2.2 Economic Environment

When it comes to basic needs, nearly nine out of ten respondents express deep pessimism about the current situation, stating that the overall economic environment, personal income, prices of goods and services, and job and business opportunities are highly unfavorable.

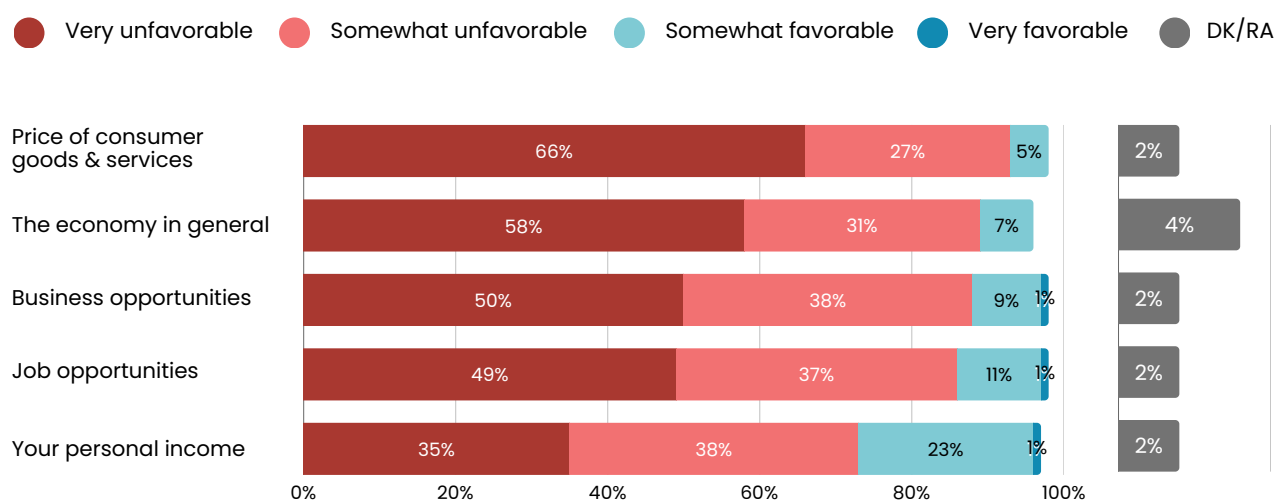


Fig-24 : General economic environment (Overall) n=2808

2.3 Right Direction, Wrong Direction

Amid the country's social, political and economic turbulence, the Blue Shirt team sought to gauge public sentiment on whether people remain hopeful or feel uncertain. About six out of ten respondents believe that the country is heading in the wrong direction, due to the 2021 coup, widespread violence, human rights violations, the absence of rule of law, and ongoing economic hardships. In contrast, about one out of ten respondents think the country is on the right track. Among those who are optimistic, only a small proportion (15 percent) attribute this to the leadership of the Myanmar military.

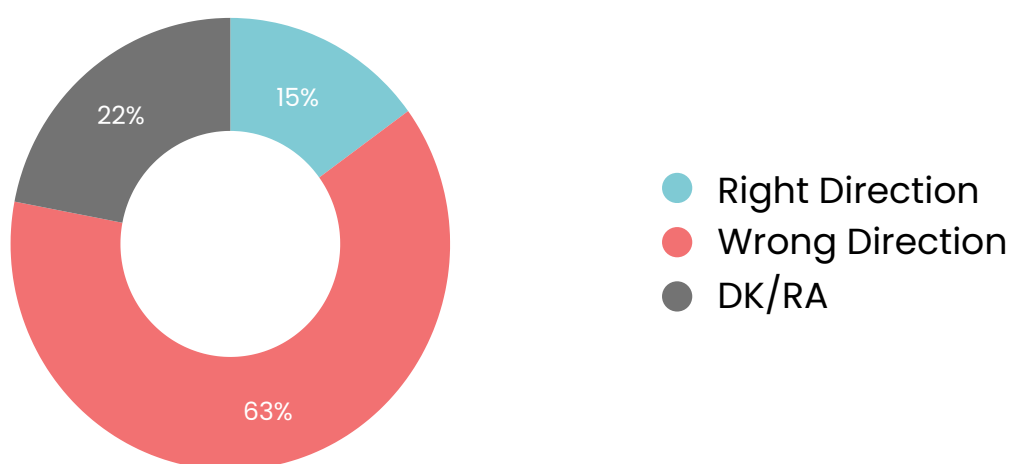


Fig-25 : Right direction and wrong direction (Overall) n=2808

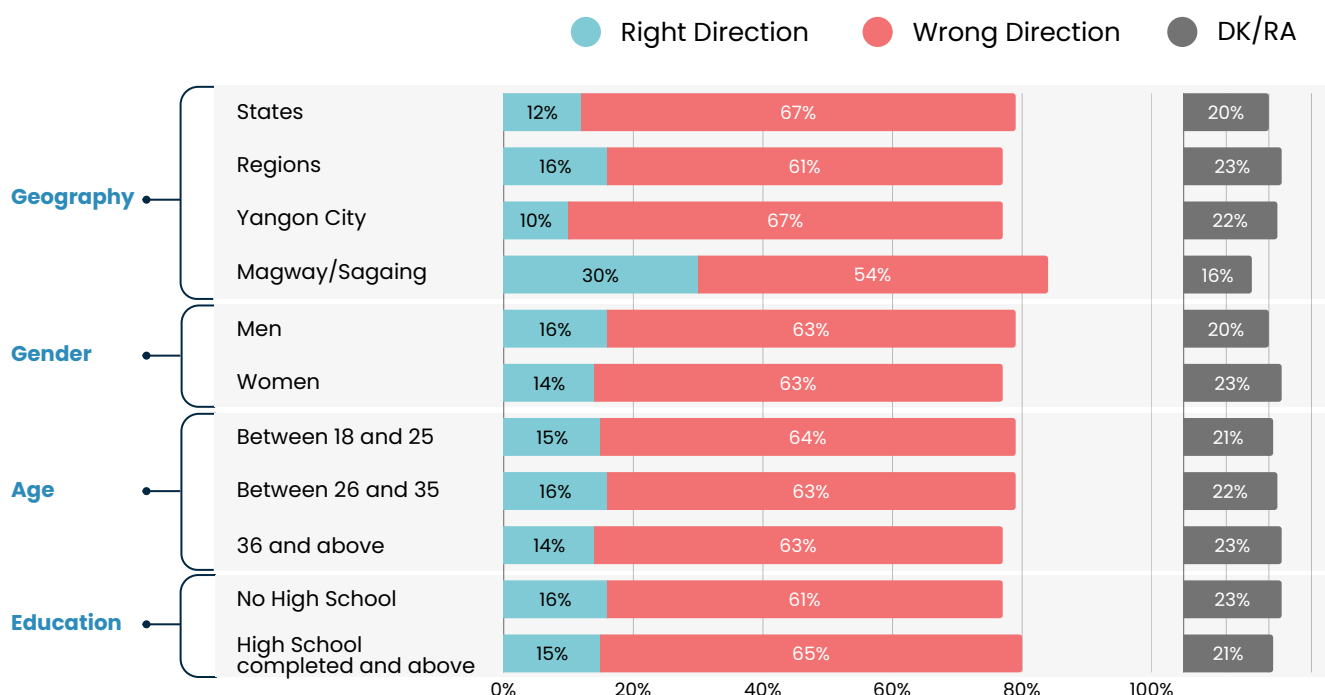


Fig-26 : Right direction and wrong direction

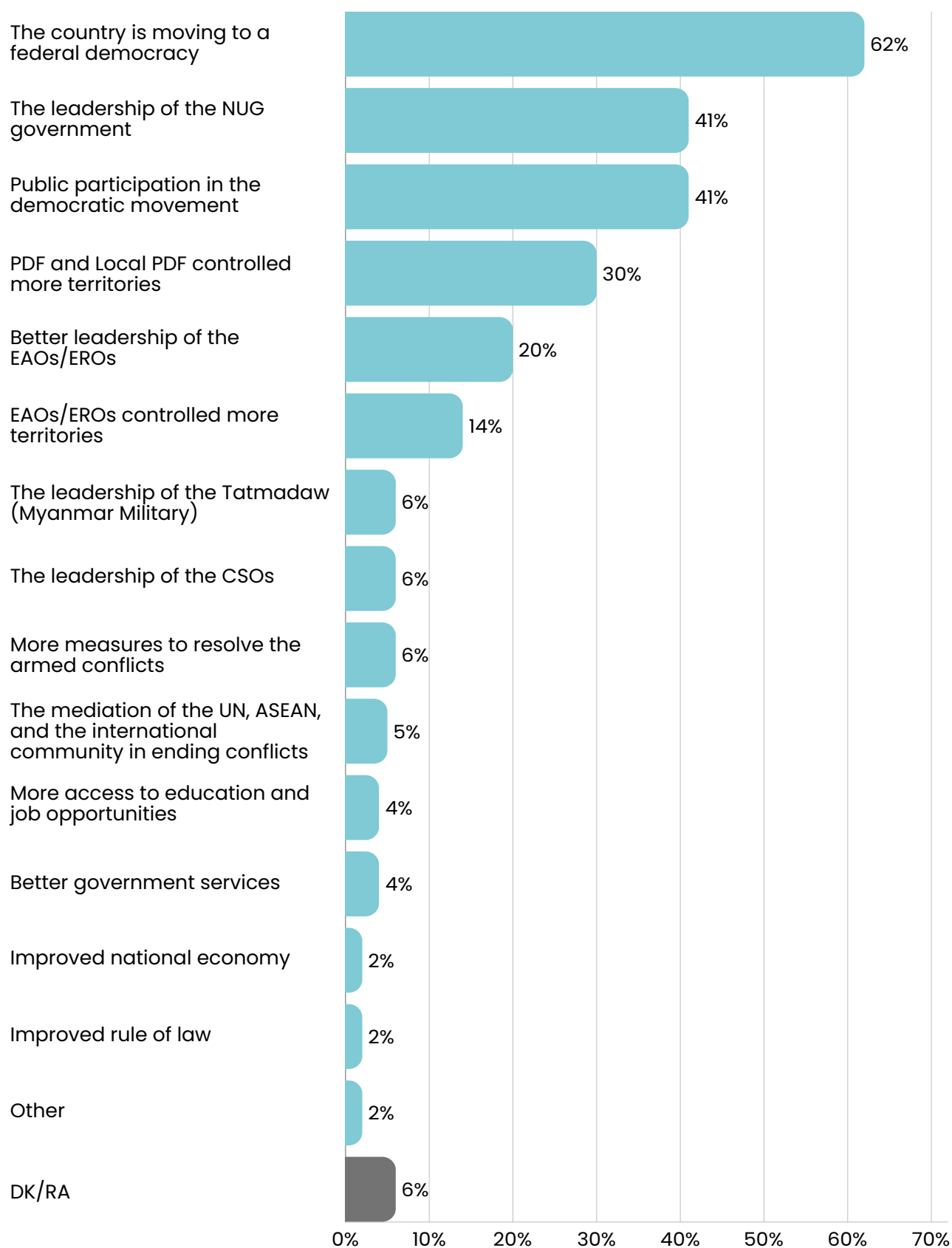


Fig-27 : Reasons for right directions (Overall) n=419

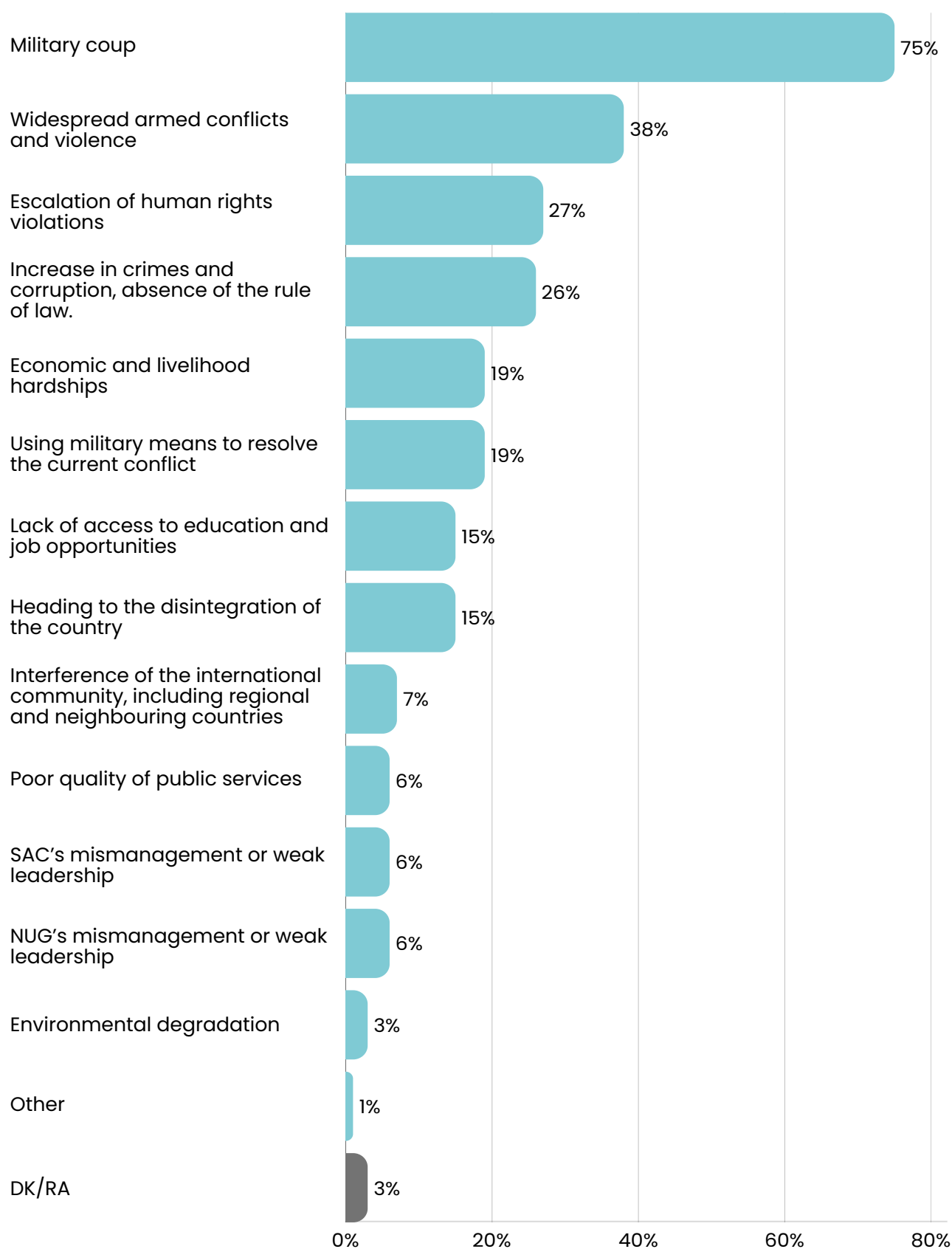


Fig-28 : Reasons for wrong directions (Overall) n=1770

2.4 Elections

The Myanmar military staged a coup, alleging election fraud and subsequently promised to hold new elections—a promise that has been repeatedly postponed over the past few years. However, starting this year, the State Administration Council has repeatedly stated that general elections will be held in 2025. The Blue Shirt team asked respondents for their views. While a majority (74%) believe the country is not ready to hold elections, about one in ten respondents expressed support for holding elections this year.

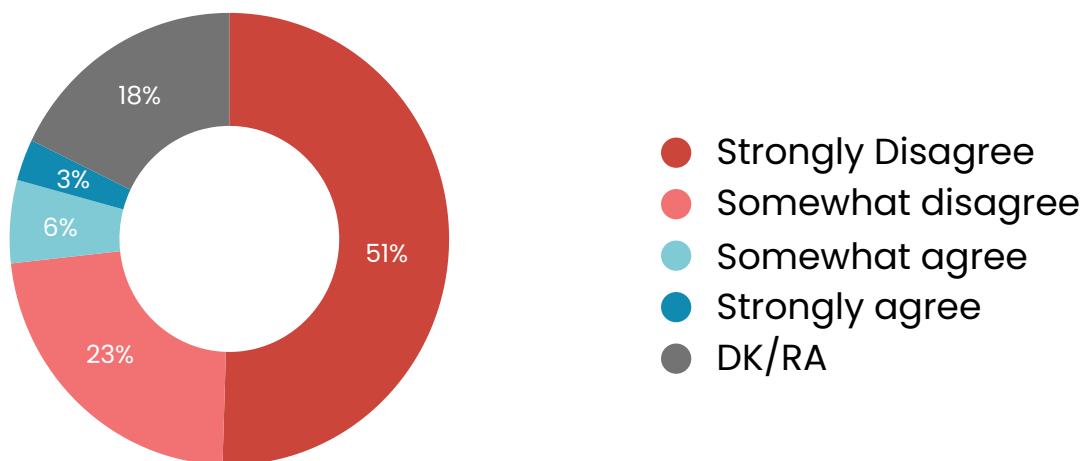


Fig-29 : Elections in 2025 (Overall) n=2808

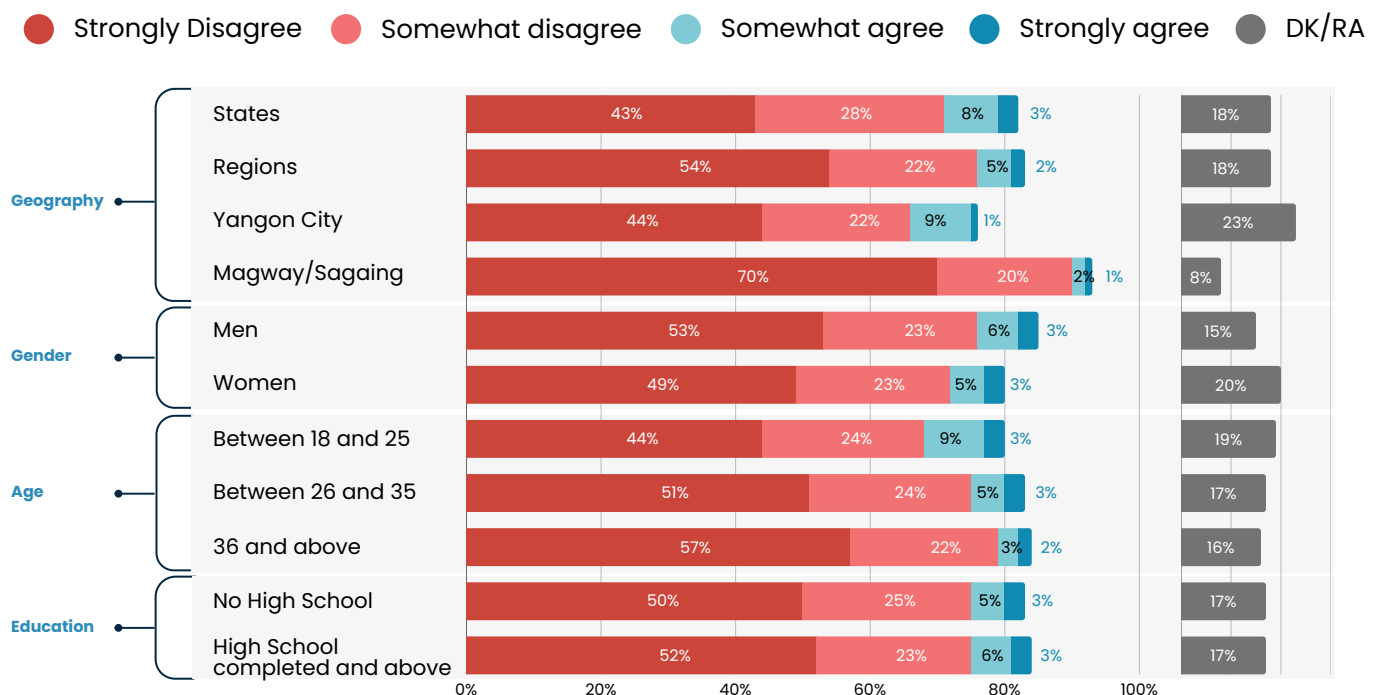


Fig-30 : Elections in 2025



Armed Conflicts

3

3.1 Expectation of the Ongoing Armed Conflicts

While more than half of the respondents are relatively hopeful that the ongoing armed conflicts could end within the next five years, about 13 percent view the conflict as protracted, believing it could last more than five years. About a quarter of the respondents expressed no opinion.

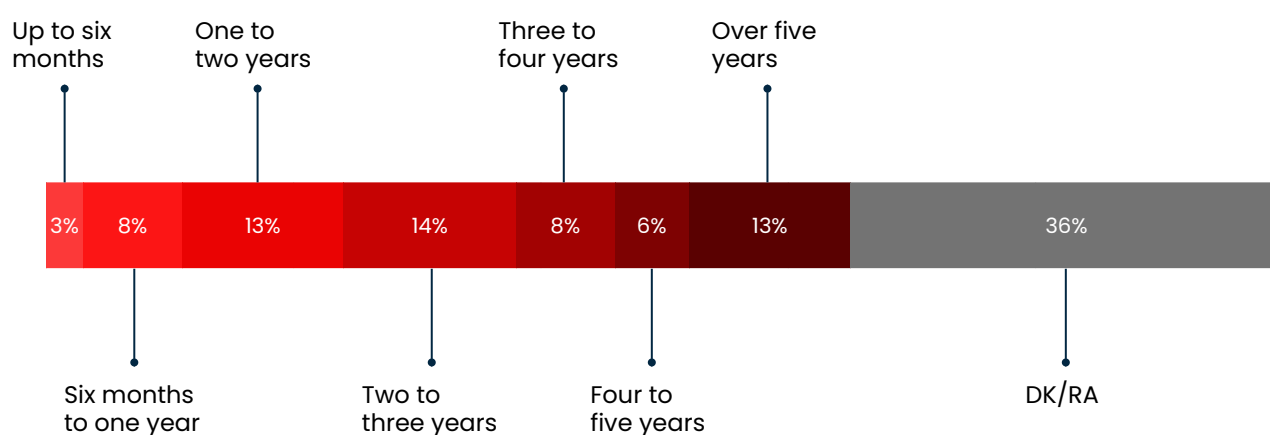


Fig-31 : Expectation of armed conflicts (Overall) n=2808

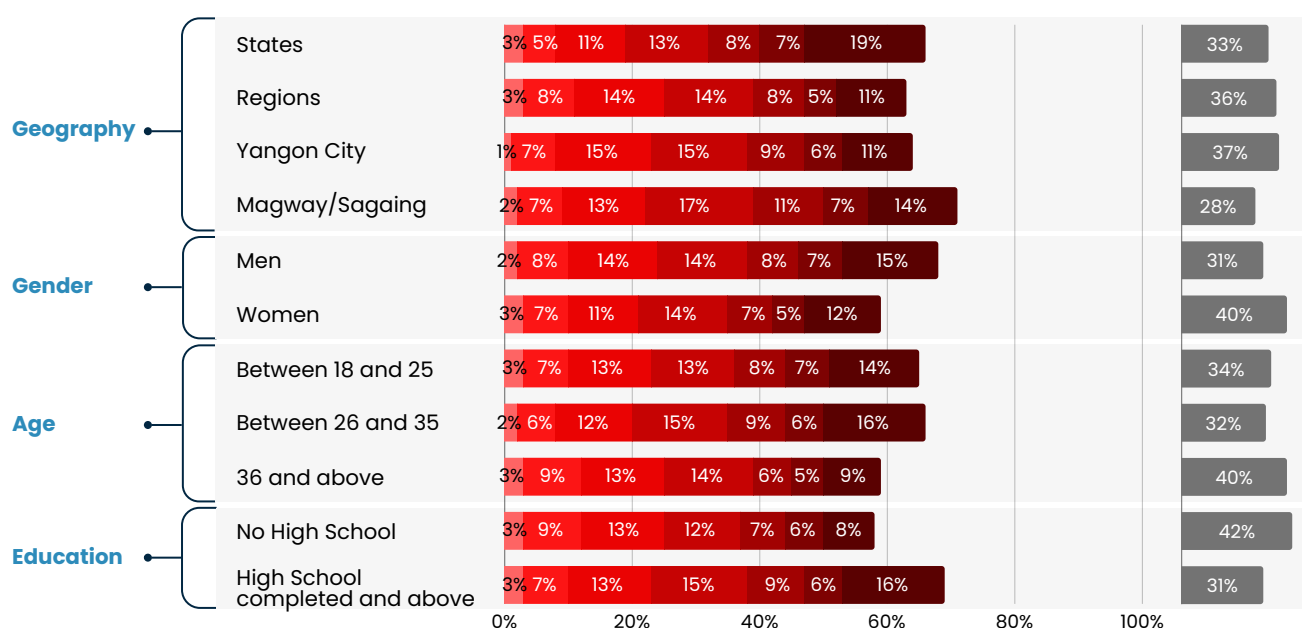
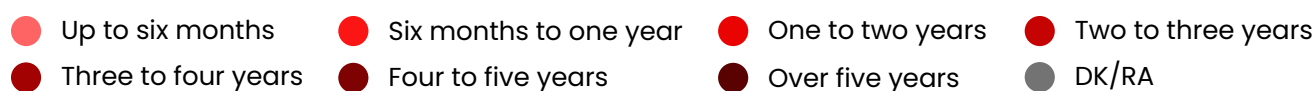


Fig-32 : Expectation of armed conflicts

3.2 Preferences for Ending Political Conflicts

Four years have passed since Myanmar began grappling with post-coup political turmoil and widespread armed conflict across the country. The Blue Shirt team asked respondents to assess the effectiveness of different approaches used by various actors to end the conflict. Half of the respondents viewed military action as the most effective method, compared to 41 percent who favored political dialogue and 35 percent who supported international mediation.

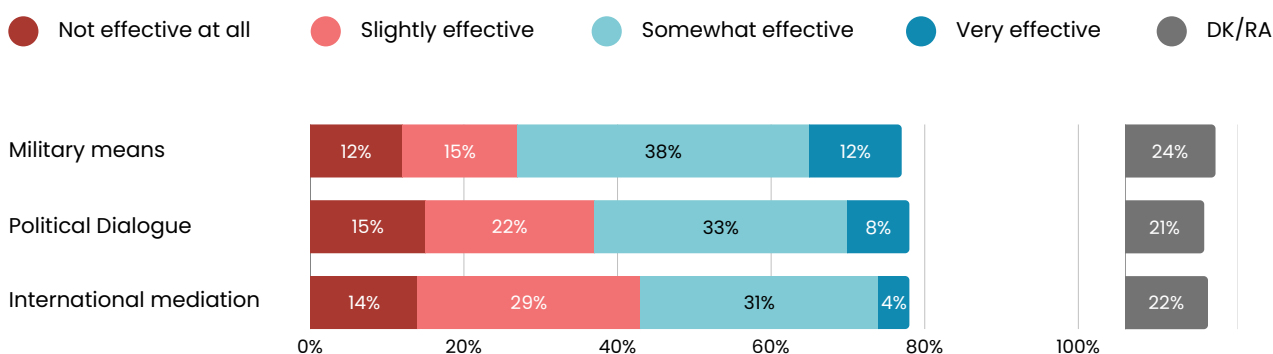


Fig-33 : Three different approaches in ending conflicts (overall) n=2808

2024–2025 National Survey

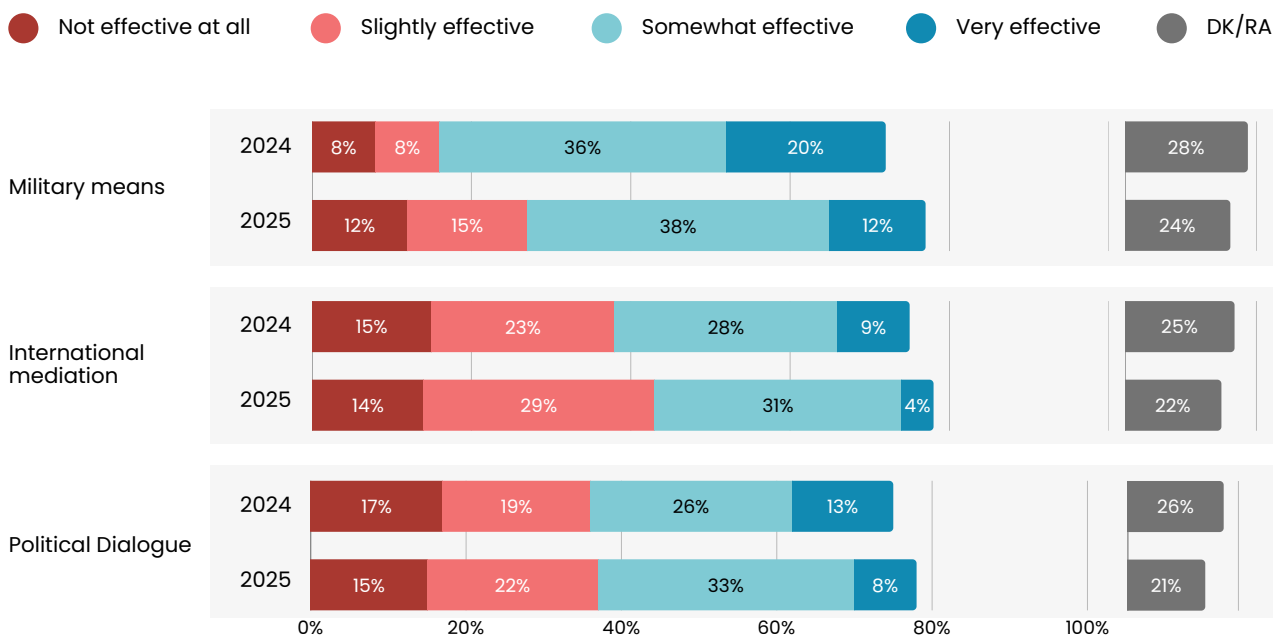


Fig-34 : Three different approaches in ending conflicts (2024–2025 comparison)

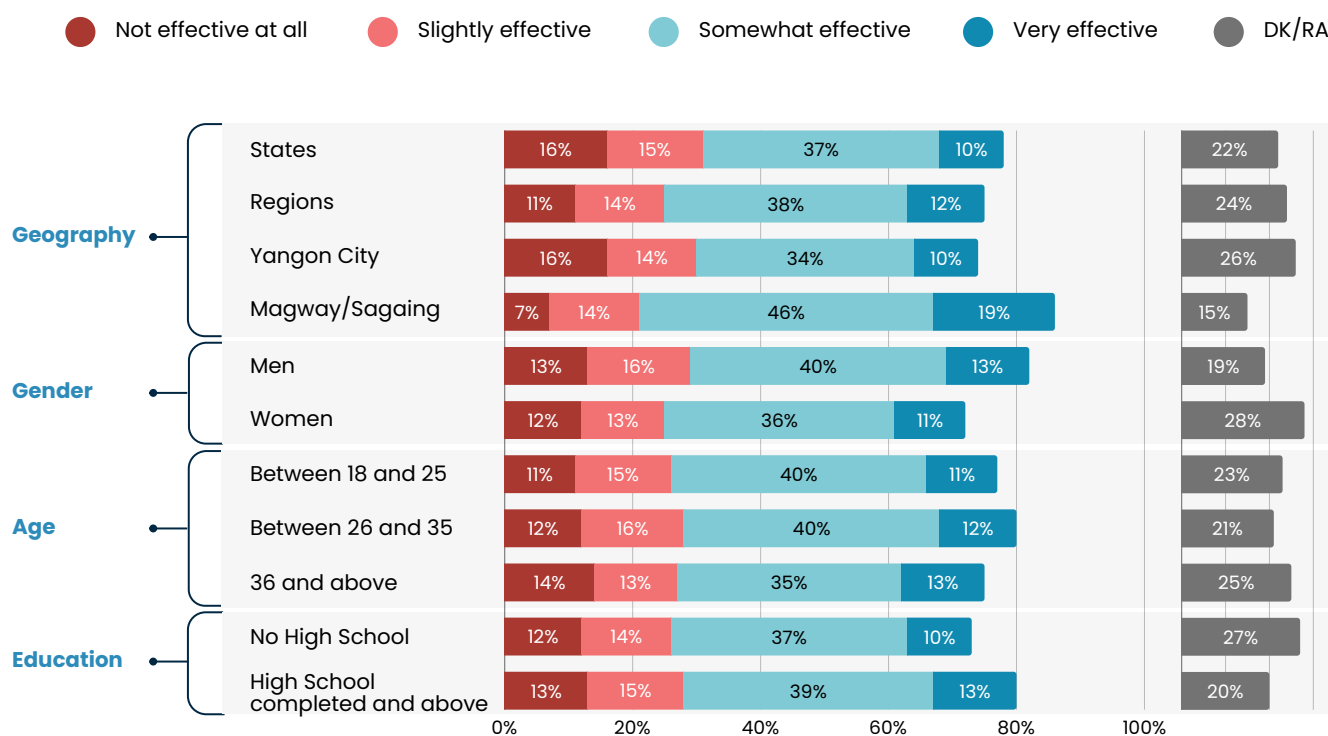


Fig-35 : Military means

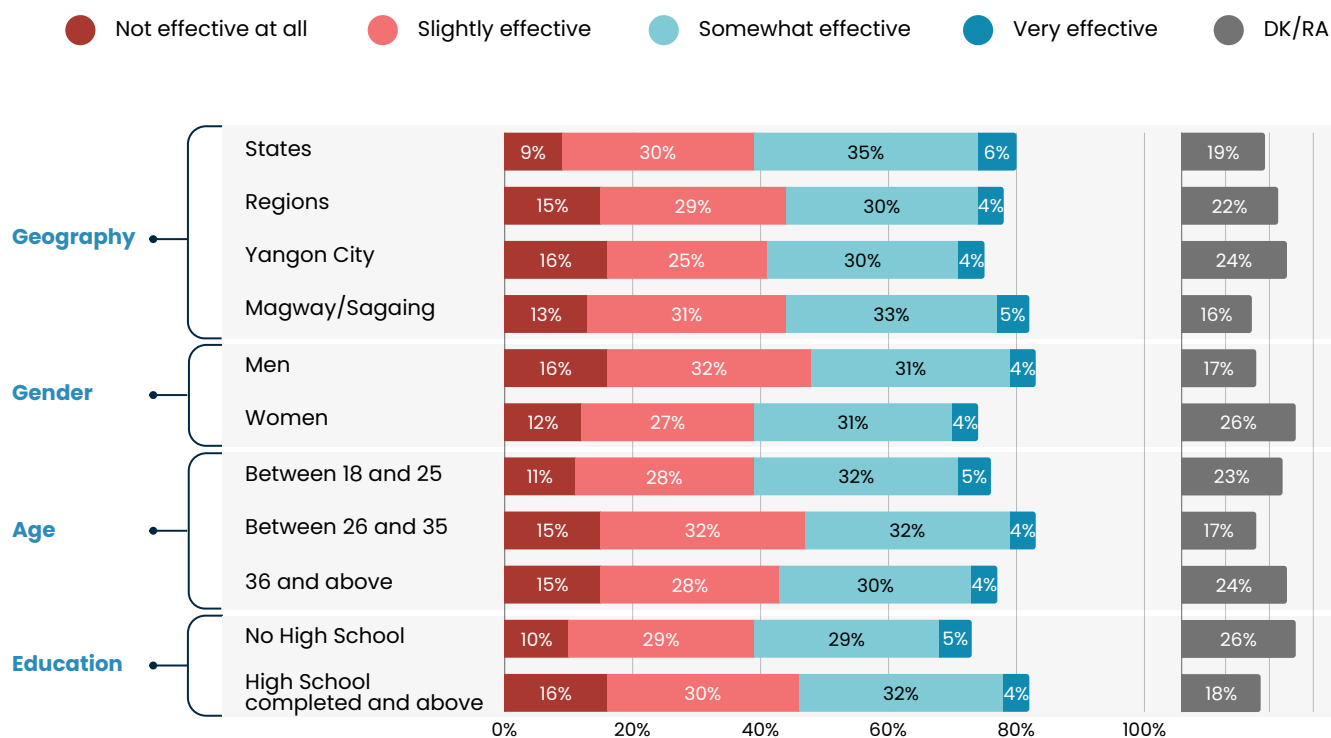


Fig-36 : International mediation

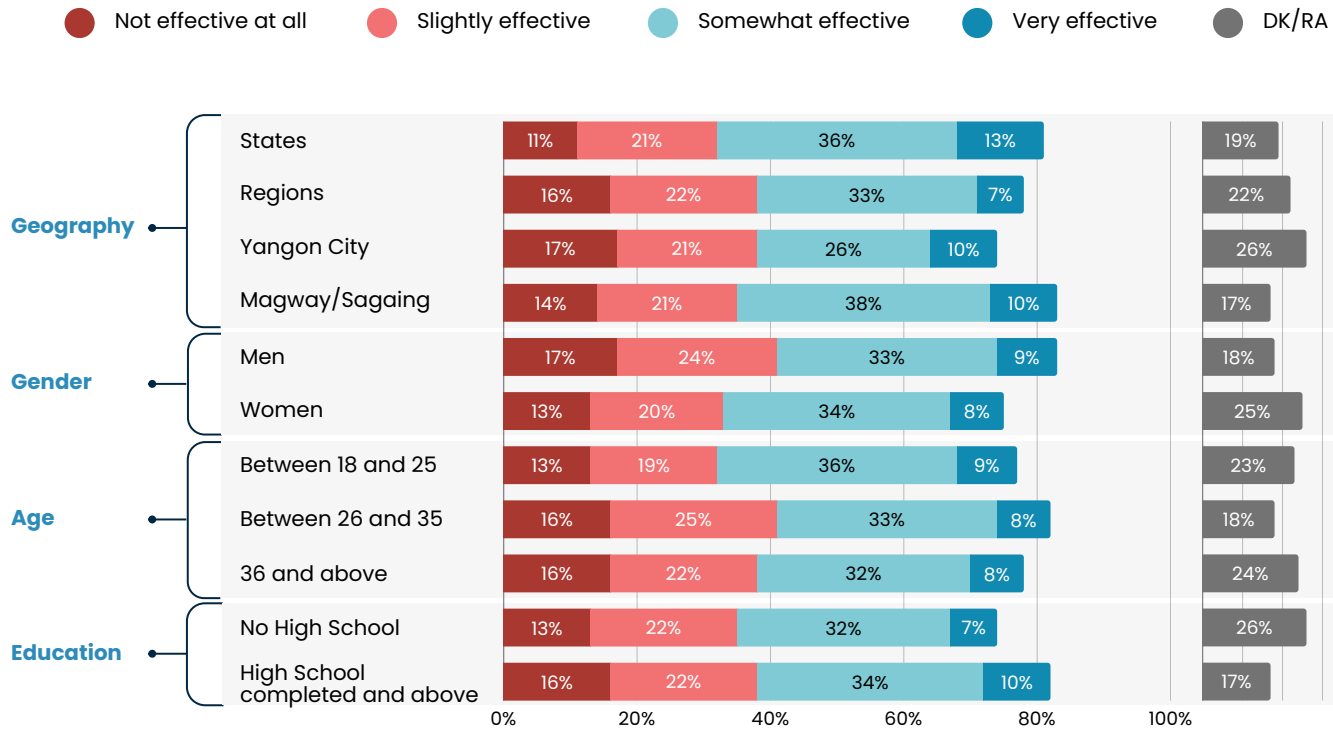


Fig-37 : Political Dialogue

3.3 Strategies for Ending Political Conflicts

The survey findings show that a majority of respondents view military means as the most effective way to end the conflict in Myanmar. However, when it comes to preferred strategies for action, the picture becomes more nuanced. The Blue Shirt team asked respondents whether they believe the NUG, PDF, and EAOs should continue fighting until victory or seek a political solution as soon as possible. Nearly five out of ten respondents prefer a political solution to end the conflict as soon as possible, while about 32 percent support continuing the fight until victory is achieved. While there is about a 10 percent preference gap between military and political solutions overall, opinions in Magway and Sagaing are evenly divided. However, among respondents from the states, the gap is much more significant—a 30 percent difference—with 52 percent preferring a political solution and only 22 percent favoring military means.

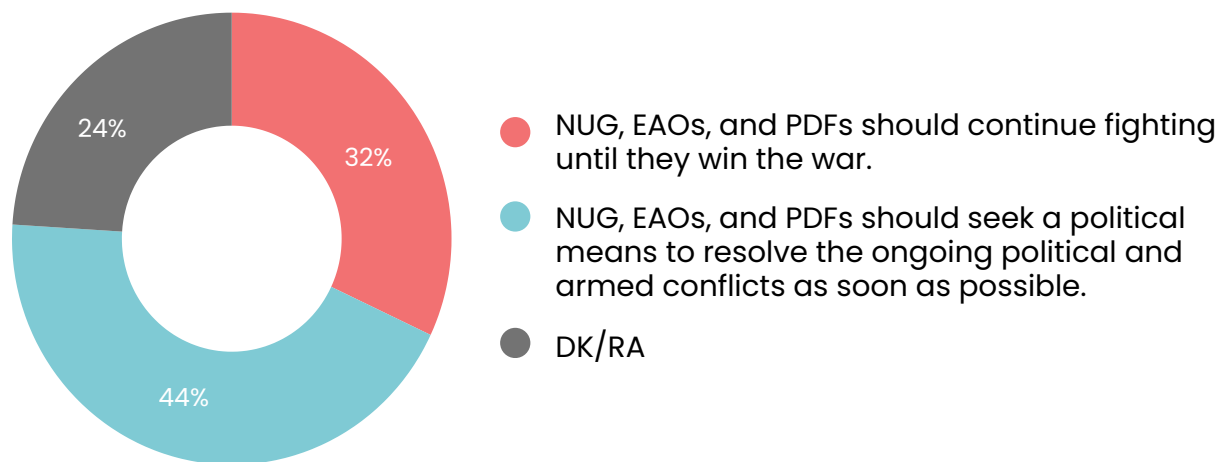


Fig-38 : Strategies for ending political conflicts (overall) n=2808

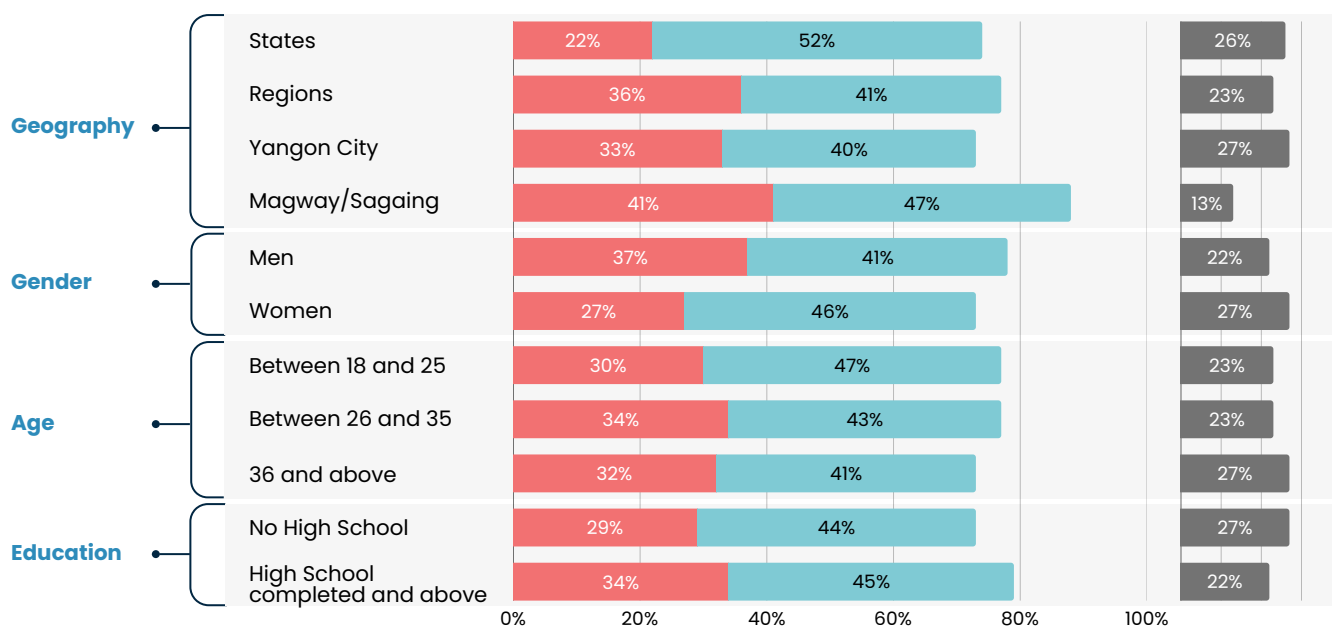
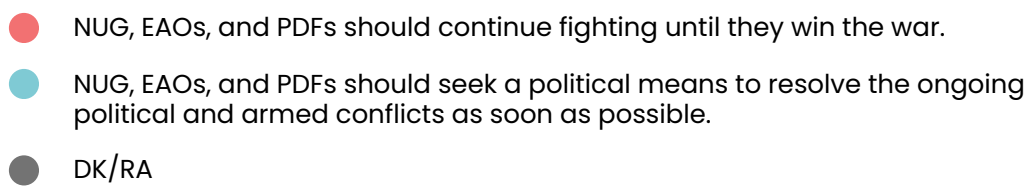


Fig-39 : Strategies for ending political conflicts



Trust in Public Institutions

4

4.1 Trust in Opposition Figures

The Spring Revolution—and its leadership—earned unprecedented public support, momentum that can extend beyond mobilization. This trust presents a unique opportunity to strengthen policy and program delivery. To identify its sources, the Blue Shirt team asked respondents how much they trust various opposition figures, both as individuals and as institutions. In general, a significant majority – about seven out of ten respondents – indicated high trust in both actors and institutions. Of these, former State Counselor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi stands out as the most trusted political figure, with the People’s Defense Forces ranking second.

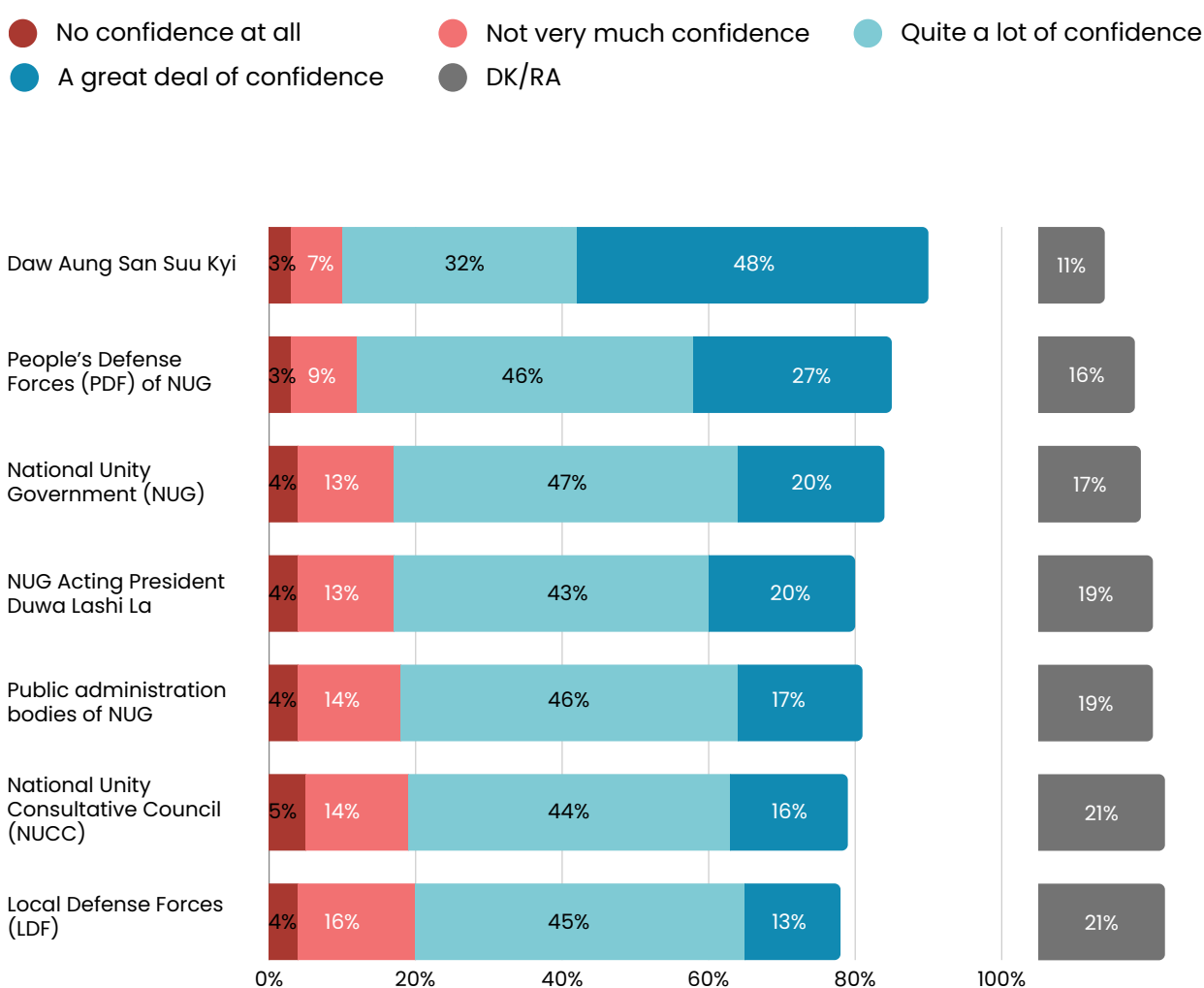


Fig-40 : Trust in opposition figures (Overall) n=2808

4.2 Trust in EAOs/EROs

The struggle of ethnic minorities for self-determination has long been absent from Myanmar's mainstream political discussion. However, the changing political landscape following the coup has led the general public—especially the Bamar majority—to embrace this cause and acknowledge the leadership role ethnic groups will play in Myanmar's future. However, since the focus was only on the military organizations, the Blue Shirt team asked respondents how much they trust two key Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs) that have shifted the balance of power in the armed resistance since the coup. Overall, half of the respondents expressed trust in EAOs, while fewer than one quarter indicated distrust. There was no significant difference in trust levels between these two groups.

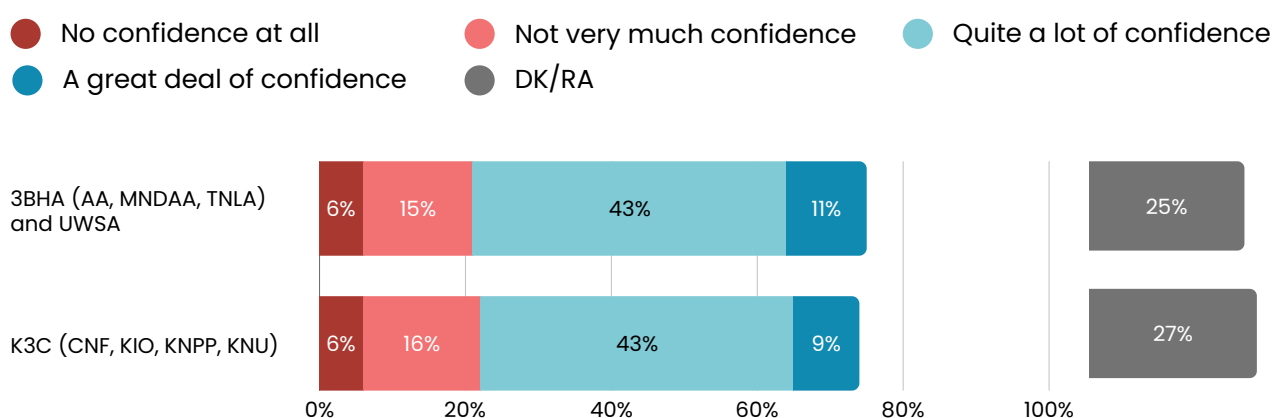


Fig-41 : Trust in EAOs/EROs (Overall) n=2808

4.3 Trust in SAC and its Institutions

The 2021 coup left all state institutions dysfunctional and eroded their trustworthiness. For the past four years, the State Administration Council has struggled to restore its legitimacy and regain public confidence at home and abroad. The Blue Shirt team asked respondents for their views to gauge current levels of trust in the SAC and its institutions. Overall, about eight out of ten respondents expressed distrust toward the SAC and all public institutions associated with it. The SAC, Senior General Min Aung Hlaing, and the Myanmar military were viewed as the most untrustworthy.

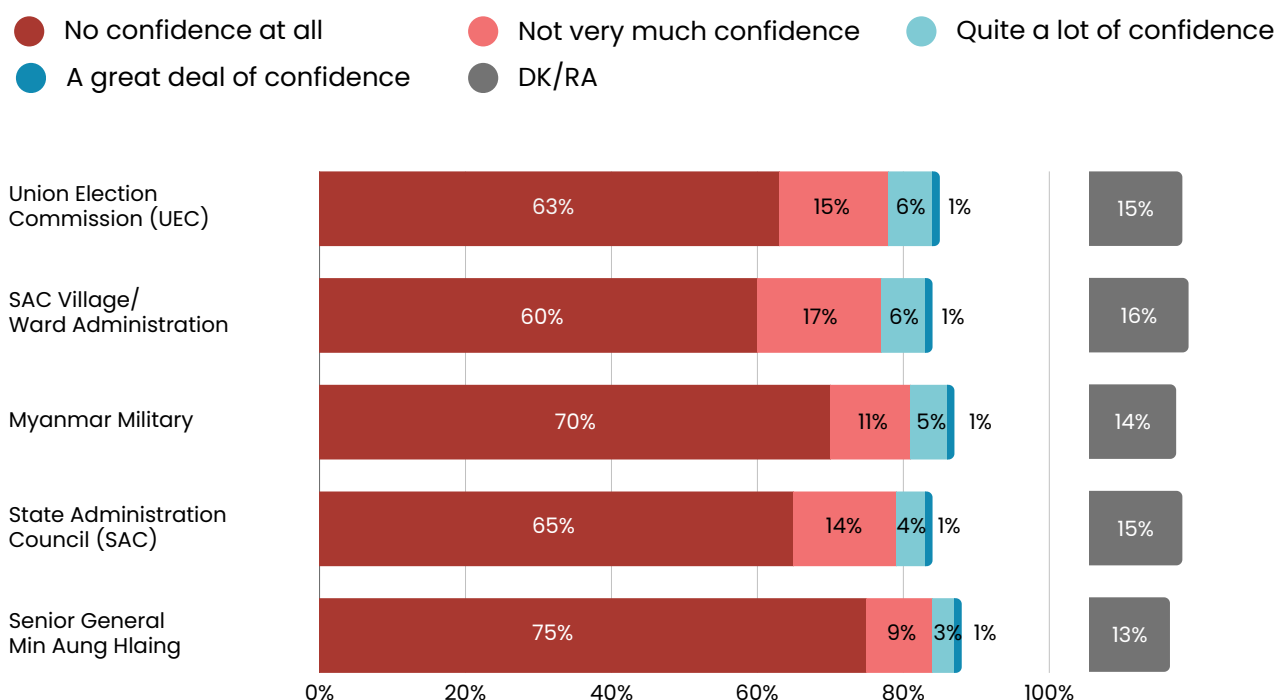


Fig-42 : Trust in SAC and its institutions (Overall) n=2808

4.4 Trust in Political Parties, Civic Groups, and Religious Leaders

Widespread armed conflict and violent rhetoric have deeply divided the civic and political space, leading political parties, civic groups, and religious leaders to face significant challenges in gaining public trust and carrying out their work. The Blue Shirt team asked respondents for their perceptions of these groups. Overall, the respondents show mixed views towards these groups. Although distrust is more common, there is a trend among the respondents who have some trust in these groups. Of these groups, political parties are seen as the most untrustworthy among the respondents.

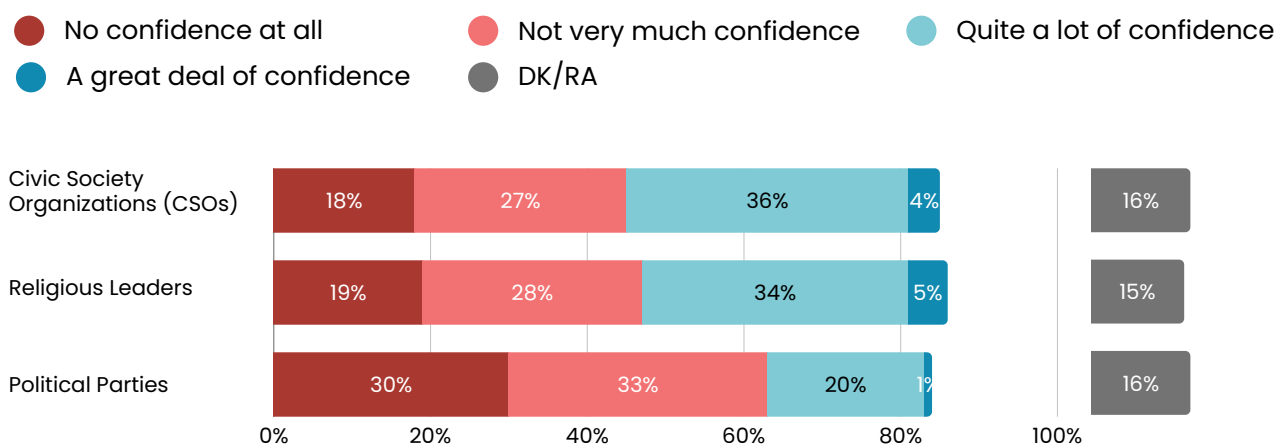


Fig-43 : Trust in religious, civic and political figures (Overall) n=2808



Social Media and Source of Political Information

5

5.1 Opinions Matter to You

Leaders across various domains share their ideas with the public—or attempt to shape public opinion on issues that matter to them—through diverse mediums. The Blue Shirt team seeks to understand how people form opinions or make decisions about the ongoing political conflict, particularly in relation to whose viewpoints they trust. About three in ten respondents say that, when making decisions about the current political situation, they consider the opinions of political leaders (36 percent), EAO/ERO leaders (36 percent), NUG (30 percent), international communities (23 percent), media (19 percent), CSO leaders (16 percent), friends/family (10 percent), SAC (State Administration Council) (9 percent), community leaders (8 percent), religious leaders (6 percent), social influencers/artists (5 percent), business people (4 percent), and DK/RA (20 percent) to be most important.

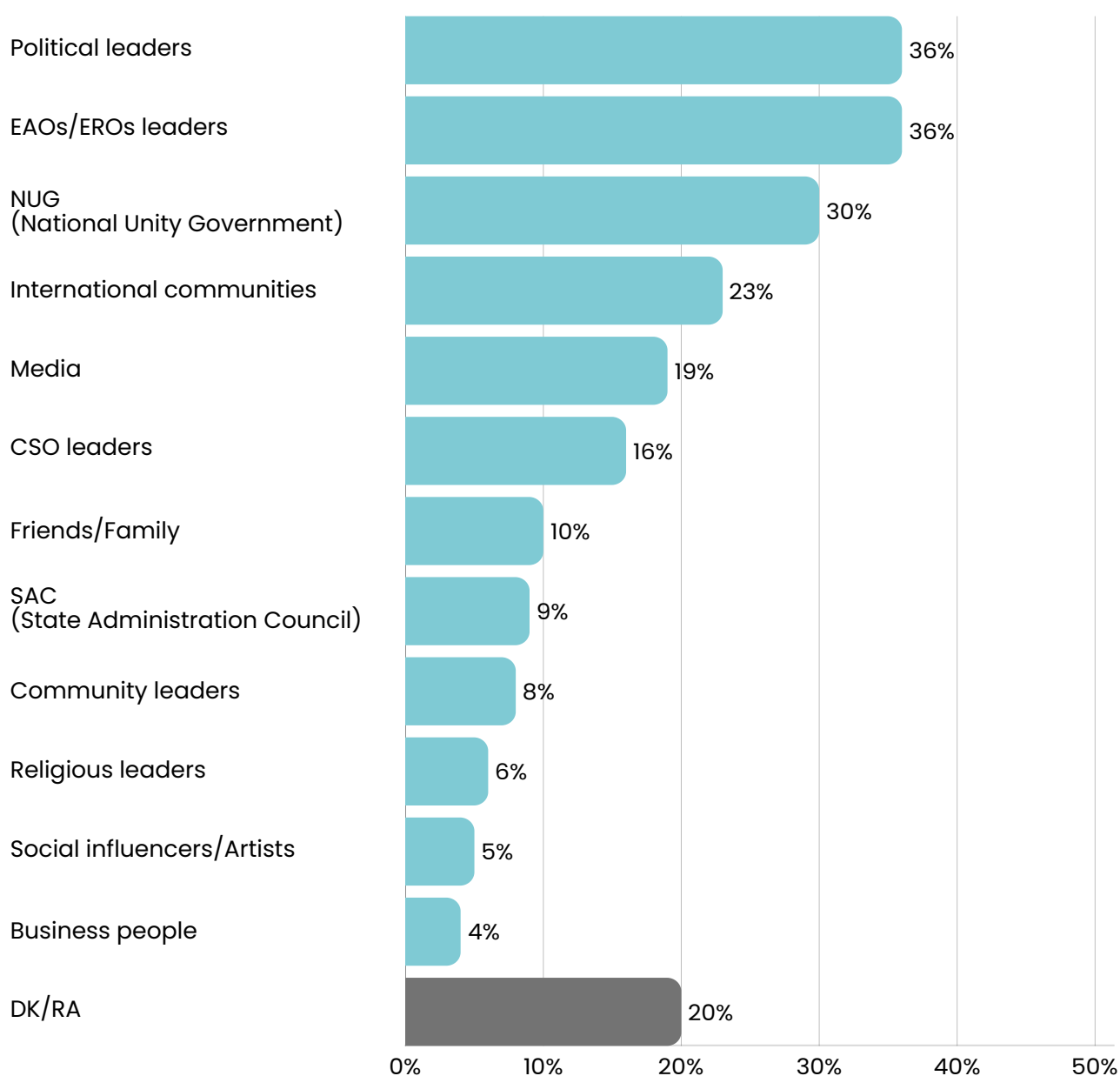


Fig-44 : Opinions shaping decisions (Overall) n=2808

5.2 Social Media, Contents, Quality and Reliability

Social media has evolved into more than just a source of information- it now serves as a powerful platform for mobilizing citizens or shaping public opinion, particularly in Myanmar, where press freedom and the role of mainstream media has diminished under the draconian censorship laws. On the one hand, social media enhances connectivity and democratizes the information ecosystem. On the other hand, its algorithms often limit exposure to diverse views, instead reinforcing echo chambers. The Blue Shirt team asked the respondents the types of content they encounter in their newsfeeds, how frequently they see them, and their perception of content quality.

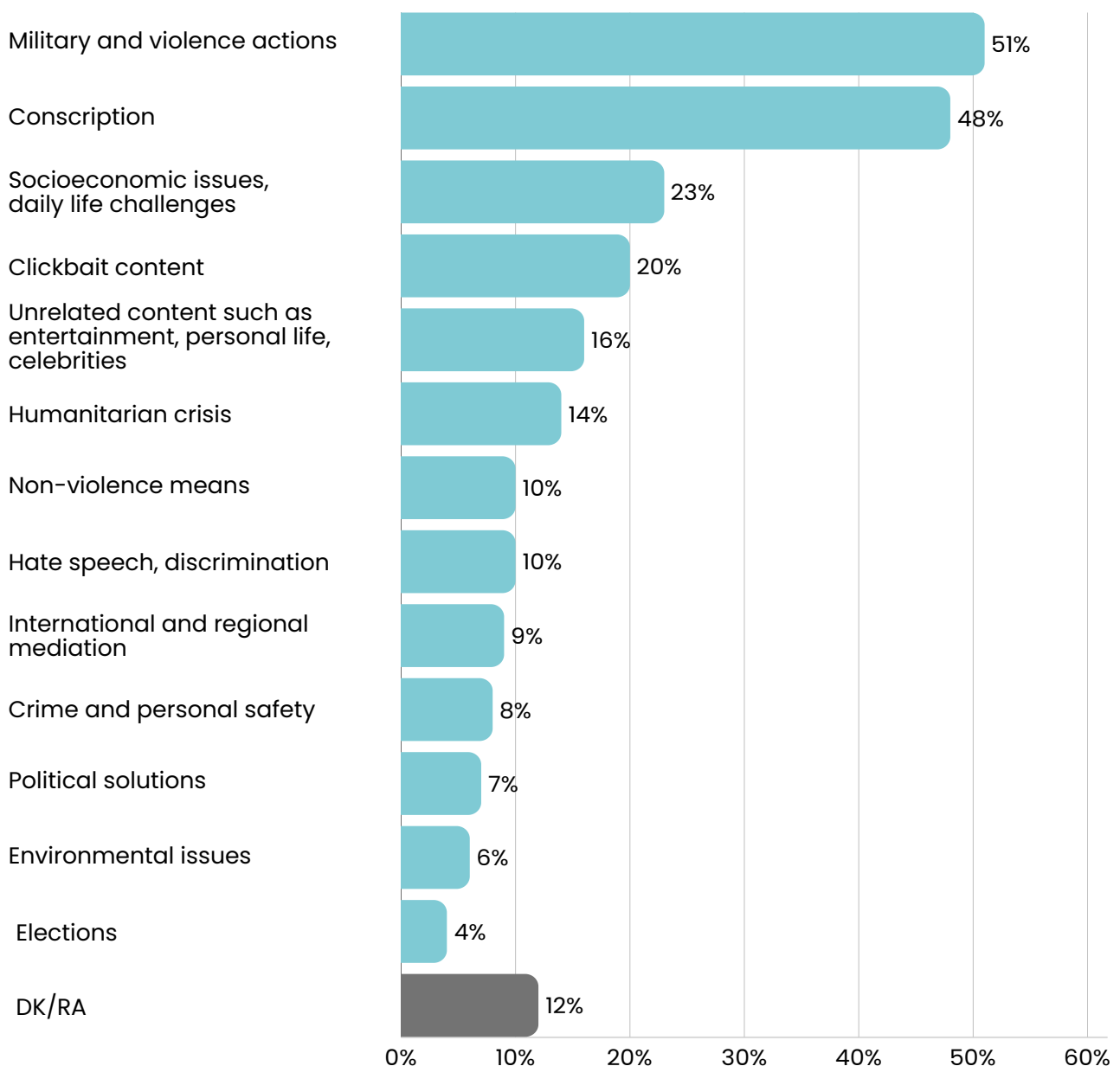


Fig-45 : Newsfeed contents (overall) n=2808

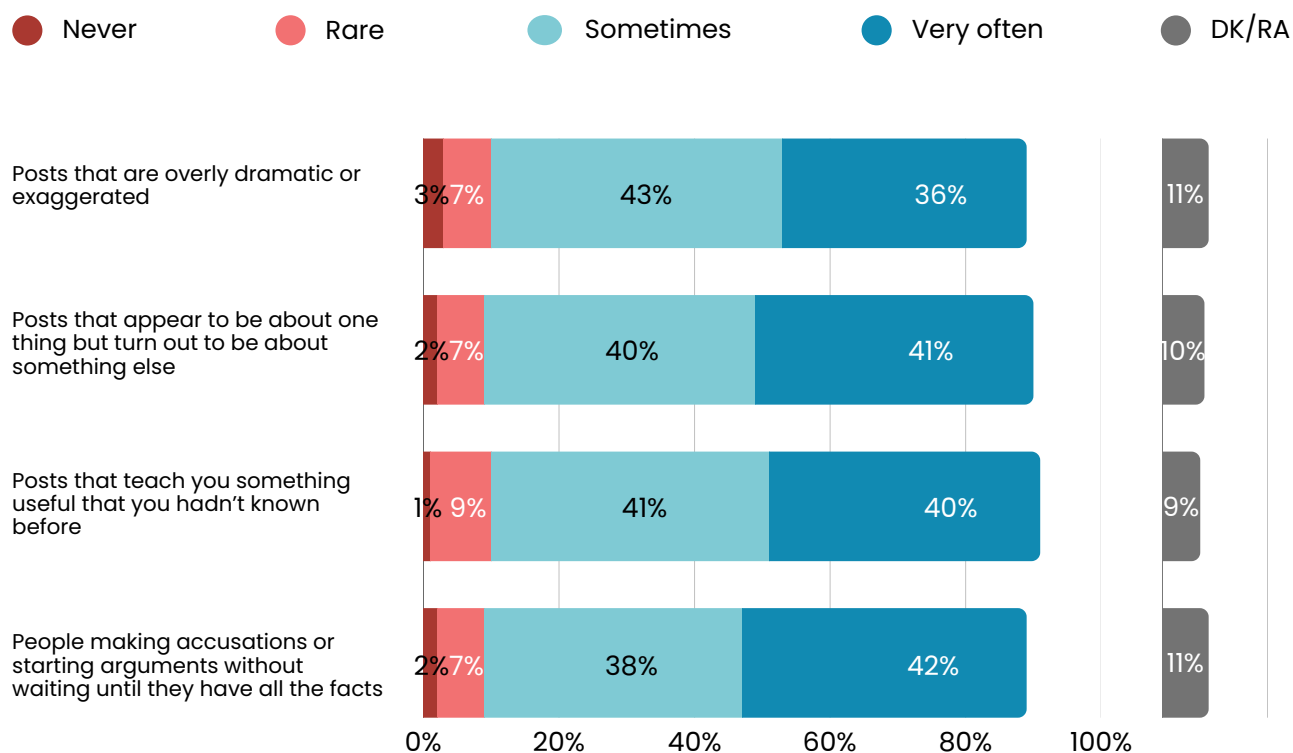


Fig-46 : Frequency of the contents (overall) n=2808

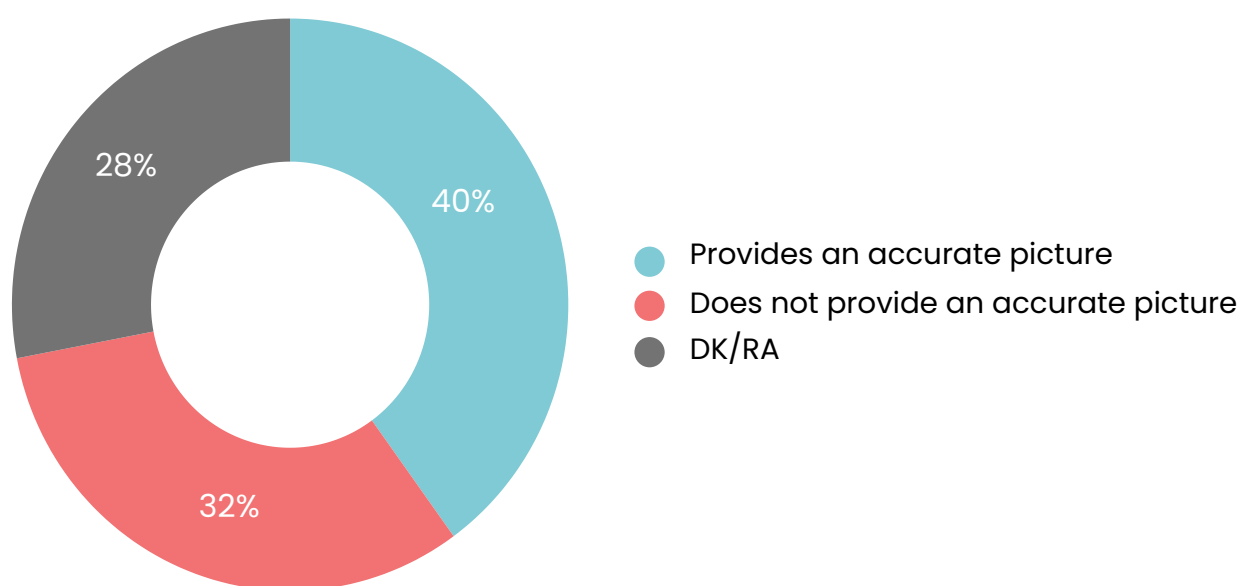


Fig-47 : Reliability of the contents (overall) n=2808

5.3 Primary Source of Political Information

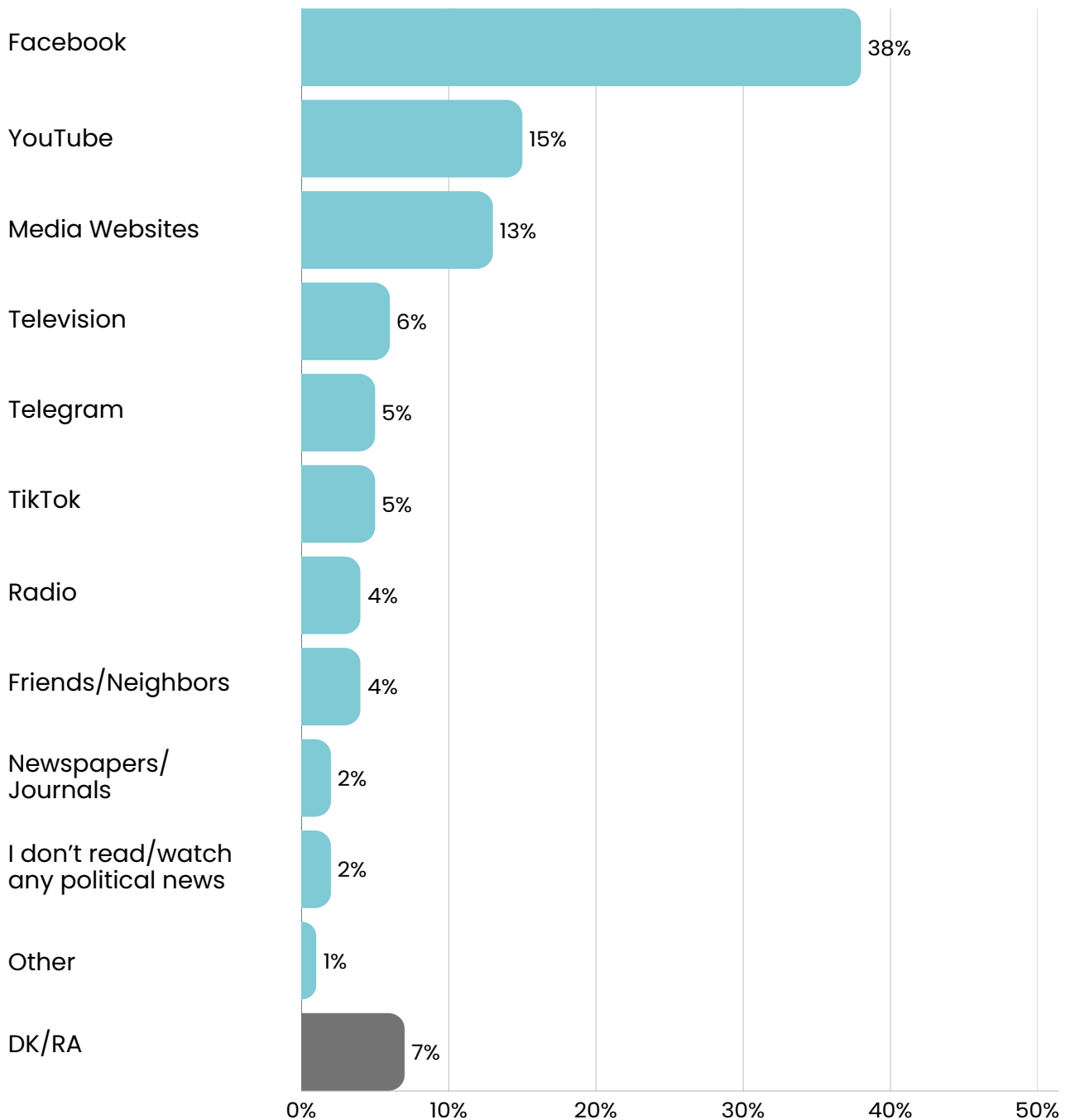


Fig-48 : Source of information (overall) n=2808

Methodology

■ Data Collection : March 21 to 25, 2025

A total of 3,128 respondents, who are 18 years and above aged citizens were selected from 237 townships across the country by using a non-probability sampling method.

Primary Sampling Units (Townships) : Since a probability sampling method could not be employed, we aimed to cover 330 townships across the country. However, after assessing the intensity of armed conflicts, safety conditions, accessibility, and telecommunication infrastructure, only 237 townships were deemed feasible for conducting the survey. We then allocated an equal number of respondents to each selected township. The number of respondents from each state and region was proportional to the population projections from the 2014 and 2024 censuses. [Note: To avoid confusion and for the purpose of statistical analysis, we use the boundaries of states, regions, and townships as they existed before the 2021 coup.]

Recruiting Respondents: A purposive sampling method was used to recruit respondents from each selected township. To ensure the representativeness of our findings, we aimed to recruit 12 respondents per township. Local researchers were responsible for recruiting respondents, ensuring a 50:50 gender balance (50 percent female and 50 percent male), all aged 18 and above, and capturing a diversity of views.

To enable comparisons between respondents from Yangon City and the Sagaing–Magway regions—where armed conflicts were relatively new and intense—and those from other parts of the country, we drew oversamples from these specific areas. As a result, six additional respondents were included from townships within Yangon City and the Sagaing–Magway regions.

	National Sample	Yangon City Oversample	Magway–Sagaing Oversample	Total Interviews
National	2,808			2,808
States	748			748
Regions	2,060			2,060
Yangon City	396	198		594
Magway–Sagaing	541		122	663
Overall				3,128

Data Collection : Between March 21 and 25, a total of 3,128 interviews were conducted using customized software developed by the Blue Shirt team. Depending on the security environment and communication infrastructure, 58 percent of the interviews were conducted via weblinks, 40 percent were conducted face-to-face, and 2 percent were conducted by telephone.

	Overall	States	Regions
Via the Survey Link	1,815	342	1,473
Face-to-Face interviews	1,242	394	848
Via Telephone	71	12	59

Spot Check : Immediately after the data collection was completed, 60 respondents were randomly selected for a verification process. They were re-contacted and asked a set of questions to confirm that the original interviews had taken place and that the responses were genuine. This spot-check procedure was implemented as a quality control measure to detect and prevent any potential data fabrication or interviewer bias.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Citizens' Perception of the Current Political Crisis and Armed Conflicts

Explanation:

Firstly, we would like to thank you for participating in this survey. If there is a question you do not wish to answer, you can skip the question by choosing the option "Don't want to answer".

Q1	Please choose your birth year.		
Q2	Please choose your residency.	Ward (1)	Village (2)
Q3	Male/Female	Male (1)	Female (2)

Social Capital

Q4	Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted OR that you need to be very careful in dealing with people? [Select only one option.]	
	Most people can be trusted	1
	Need to be very careful	2
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99
Q5	Please indicate which, if any, of the types of people you would NOT want as neighbors in the following list. [Select all that apply.]	
	Drug addicts/Alcoholics	1

	People of different sexual orientations	2
	Political activists	3
	People of different political stances or views	4
	People of different ethnicities	5
	People with different religions	6
	People with a criminal record	7
	The elderly	8
	People with disabilities	9
	All would be fine as neighbors	10
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

	Here is a list of groups and organizations; I'd like you to tell me if you have often, sometimes, or never participated in the following types of meetings or activities over the last year.					
Q6	Cultural Groups	Never (1)	Sometimes (2)	Often (3)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q7	Sports Groups	Never (1)	Sometimes (2)	Often (3)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q8	Workers' Associations	Never (1)	Sometimes (2)	Often (3)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q9	Community Development/ Self-help Groups	Never (1)	Sometimes (2)	Often (3)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)

Q10	Religious groups	Never (1)	Sometimes (2)	Often (3)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
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National Identity and Citizenship

Q11	Which statement comes closest to your view? [Select only one option.]					
	I'm proud of my country most of the time	1				
	I'm ashamed of my country most of the time	2				
	I'm often proud of my country, but I'm often ashamed of it as well	3				
	Don't know	98				
	Do not want to answer	99				

	Some people say that the following things are important for being truly a Myanmar citizen. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?						
Q12	To have been born in Myanmar	Not important at all (1)	Not very important (2)	Somewhat important (3)	Very important (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q13	To be able to speak Myanmar	Not important at all (1)	Not very important (2)	Somewhat important (3)	Very important (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q14	To be a Buddhist	Not important at all (1)	Not very important (2)	Somewhat important (3)	Very important (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)

Q15	To share Myanmar customs and traditions	Not important at all (1)	Not very important (2)	Somewhat important (3)	Very important (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
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Democracy and Federalism

Q16	How interested would you say you are in politics? [Select only one option.]					
	Not interested at all					1
	Not interested					2
	Somewhat interested					3
	Very interested					4
	Don't know					98
	Do not want to answer					99

Q17	How important is it to you that Myanmar becomes a fully democratic country? [Select only one option.]					
	Not important at all (1)	Not important (2)	Important (3)	Very important (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)

Q18	How important is it to you that Myanmar becomes a federal state? [Select only one option.]					
	Not important at all (1)	Not important (2)	Important (3)	Very important (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)

Q19	In your opinion, should the boundaries of the current states and regions be kept as they are, or should new states be allowed to form if desired? [Select only one option.]	
	Remain the same	1
	Allow to form	2
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

Q20	In your opinion, should Myanmar remain one united country, or should parts of Myanmar be allowed to secede if they want to leave? [Select only one option.]	
	Remain united	1
	Allow to secede	2
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

Current Situation

Q21	In general, would you say that things in Myanmar are heading in the right direction or that they are heading in the wrong direction? [Select only one option.]	
	Right Direction [Continue to Q22]	1
	Wrong Direction [Skip to Q23]	2
	Don't know [Skip to Q24]	98
	Do not want to answer [Skip to Q24]	99

Q22	Why do you think things in the country are moving in the right direction?" Please select three reasons that align with your viewpoint. [Select up to three answers. Once you've made your choices, proceed to Q24.]	
	The country is moving to a federal democracy	1
	The leadership of the NUG government	2
	The leadership of the Tatmadaw (Myanmar Military)	3
	Better leadership of the EAOs/EROs	4
	The mediation of the UN, ASEAN, and the international community in ending conflicts	5
	EAOs/EROs controlled more territories	6
	PDF and Local PDF controlled more territories	7
	The leadership of the CSOs	8
	Public participation in the democratic movement	9
	More access to education and job opportunities	10
	Improved national economy	11
	Improved rule of law	12
	Better government services	13
	More measures to resolve the armed conflicts	14
	Other (Please specify): _____	97
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

Q23	Why do you think things in the country are moving in the wrong direction?" Please select three reasons that align with your viewpoint. [Select up to three answers.]	
	Widespread armed conflicts and violence	1
	Military coup	2
	Economic and livelihood hardships	3
	Increase in crimes and corruption, absence of the rule of law.	4
	Escalation of human rights violations	5
	Poor quality of public services	6
	SAC's mismanagement or weak leadership	7
	NUG's mismanagement or weak leadership	8
	Lack of access to education and job opportunities	9
	Environmental degradation	10
	Interference of the international community, including regional and neighbouring countries	11
	Using military means to resolve the current conflict	12
	Heading to the disintegration of the country	13
	Other (Please specify): _____	97
Don't know	98	
Do not want to answer	99	

Social and Economic

	How satisfied are you with the following aspects of your life? For each one, please tell me if you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied.							
Q24	Your family life	Very dissatisfied (1)	Somewhat dissatisfied (2)	Neither (3)	Somewhat satisfied (4)	Very satisfied (5)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q25	Your education	Very dissatisfied (1)	Somewhat dissatisfied (2)	Neither (3)	Somewhat satisfied (4)	Very satisfied (5)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q26	Your community as a place to live in	Very dissatisfied (1)	Somewhat dissatisfied (2)	Neither (3)	Somewhat satisfied (4)	Very satisfied (5)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q27	Your personal health	Very dissatisfied (1)	Somewhat dissatisfied (2)	Neither (3)	Somewhat satisfied (4)	Very satisfied (5)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q28	The amount of leisure time you have	Very dissatisfied (1)	Somewhat dissatisfied (2)	Neither (3)	Somewhat satisfied (4)	Very satisfied (5)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q29	Your standard of living, all the things you can buy and do	Very dissatisfied (1)	Somewhat dissatisfied (2)	Neither (3)	Somewhat satisfied (4)	Very satisfied (5)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)

	Regarding the economy, please tell me if you think... is favorable or unfavorable at the present time:						
Q30	The economy in general	Very unfavorable (1)	Somewhat unfavorable (2)	Somewhat favorable (3)	Very favorable (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q31	Your personal income	Very unfavorable (1)	Somewhat unfavorable (2)	Somewhat favorable (3)	Very favorable (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)

Q32	Price of consumer goods & services	Very unfavorable (1)	Somewhat unfavorable (2)	Somewhat favorable (3)	Very favorable (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q33	Job opportunities	Very unfavorable (1)	Somewhat unfavorable (2)	Somewhat favorable (3)	Very favorable (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q34	Business opportunities	Very unfavorable (1)	Somewhat unfavorable (2)	Somewhat favorable (3)	Very favorable (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)

Q35	Over the past 6 months, have you had to or felt any of the following: <i>[Select all that apply.]</i>						
	Felt stressed about the future	1					
	Delayed or unable to pay electricity or phone bills on time	2					
	Taken on new debt (loans, credit cards, etc.)	3					
	Skipping meals	4					
	Experienced new conflicts with your family	5					
	Needed to sell or pawn possessions	6					
	Gone without medicine or medical treatment that you needed	7					
	Gone without a cash income	8					
	None of the above	9					
	Don't know	98					
	Do not want to answer	99					

Perception of the Current Conflicts

Q36	In your opinion, how much longer do you expect the current armed conflict in Myanmar will continue? <i>[Select only one option.]</i>	
	Up to six months	1
	Six months to one year	2
	One to two years	3
	Two to three years	4
	Three to four years	5
	Four to five years	6
	Over five years	7
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

Q37	In your opinion, how effective do you think the military means are in ending the current political conflicts? <i>[Select only one option.]</i>	
	Not effective at all	1
	Slightly effective	2
	Somewhat effective	3
	Very effective	4
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

Q38	In your opinion, how effective do you think the mediation by the international communities, including ASEAN and the UN, is in ending the current political conflicts? <i>[Select only one option.]</i>	
	Not effective at all	1
	Slightly effective	2
	Somewhat effective	3
	Very effective	4
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

Q39	In your opinion, how effective do you think the negotiation or dialogue between political and military leaders is in ending the current political conflicts? <i>[Select only one option.]</i>	
	Not effective at all	1
	Slightly effective	2
	Somewhat effective	3
	Very effective	4
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

Q40	Which of the following statements about the ongoing political conflicts in Myanmar comes closest to your personal views? [Select only one option.]	
	NUG, EAOs, and PDFs should continue fighting until they win the war.	1
	NUG, EAOs, and PDFs should seek a political means to resolve the ongoing political and armed conflicts as soon as possible.	2
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

Trust in Institutions

	The following list contains the names of some political organizations, government offices/positions, and leaders. For each one, can you tell me how much trust you have on a scale from 1 to 4? (1) No confidence at all - (4) A great deal of confidence						
Q41	Daw Aung San Suu Kyi	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q42	NUG Acting President Duwa Lashi La	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q43	National Unity Government (NUG)	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q44	National Unity Consultative Council (NUCC)	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q45	People's Defense Forces (PDF) of NUG	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q46	Public administration bodies of NUG	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)

Q47	Local Defense Forces (LDF)	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
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	The following list contains the names of some political organizations, government offices/positions, and leaders. For each one, can you tell me how much trust you have in on a scale from 1 to 4? (1) No confidence at all - (4) A great deal of confidence						
Q48	Senior General Min Aung Hlaing	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q49	State Administration Council (SAC)	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q50	Myanmar Military	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q51	Union Election Commission (UEC)	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q52	SAC Village/Ward Administration	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)

	The following list contains the names of some political organizations, government offices/positions, and leaders. For each one, can you tell me how much trust you have in on a scale from 1 to 4? (1) No confidence at all - (4) A great deal of confidence						
Q53	Political Parties	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q54	Civic Society Organizations (CSOs)	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q55	Religious Leaders	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)

	The following list contains the names of some political organizations, government offices/positions, and leaders. For each one, can you tell me how much trust you have in on a scale from 1 to 4? (1) No confidence at all - (4) A great deal of confidence						
Q56	K3C (CNF, KIO, KNPP, KNU)	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q57	3BHA (AA, MNDAA, TNLA) and UWSA	No confidence at all(1)	Not very much confidence (2)	Quite a lot of confidence (3)	A great deal of confidence (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)

Social Media and Source of Information

Q58	Whose opinion do you think matters the most when it comes to understanding or forming views on the current political situation in Myanmar? [Select up to three answers.]	
	Political leaders	1
	Social influencers/Artists	2
	Community leaders	3
	EOs/EROs leaders	4
	Religious leaders	5
	CSO leaders	6
	Friends/Family	7
	International communities	8
	Business people	9
	NUG (National Unity Government)	10

	SAC (State Administration Council)	11
	Media	12
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

Q59	How do you usually receive information about politics? [Select only one option.]	
	Newspapers/ Journals	1
	Television	2
	Radio	3
	Facebook	4
	Telegram	5
	TikTok	6
	YouTube	7
	Media Websites	8
	Friends/Neighbors	9
	I don't read/watch any political news	10
	Other (Please specify): _____	97
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

Q60	When it comes to news about the ongoing conflicts in Myanmar, which of the following topics would you say you see the most news about on your social media feed? [Select up to three answers.]	
	Military and violence actions	1
	Political solutions	2
	International and regional mediation	3
	Non-violence means	4
	Unrelated content such as entertainment, personal life, celebrities	5
	Hate Speech, discrimination	6
	Humanitarian crisis	7
	Socioeconomic issues, Daily life challenges	8
	Elections	9
	Crime and personal safety	10
	Environmental issues	11
	Conscription	12
	Clickbait content	13
	Other (Please specify): _____	97
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

How often, if ever, do you see the following things on social media?							
Q61	Posts that are overly dramatic or exaggerated	Never (1)	Rare (2)	Sometimes (3)	Very often (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q62	Posts that appear to be about one thing but turn out to be about something else	Never (1)	Rare (2)	Sometimes (3)	Very often (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q63	Posts that teach you something useful that you hadn't known before	Never (1)	Rare (2)	Sometimes (3)	Very often (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)
Q64	People making accusations or starting arguments without waiting until they have all the facts	Never (1)	Rare (2)	Sometimes (3)	Very often (4)	Don't know (98)	Do not want to answer (99)

Q65	In general, would you say that the content posted on social media provides an accurate picture of how society as a whole feels about important issues?					
	Provides an accurate picture					1
	Does not provide an accurate picture					2
	Don't know					98
	Do not want to answer					99

Elections in 2025

Q66	There has been news about holding elections in 2025 in Myanmar. In your opinion, do you think that "Myanmar is ready for elections?" [Select only one option.]					
	Strongly Disagree					1
	Somewhat disagree					2

	Somewhat agree	3
	Strongly agree	4
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

Demography

Q67	Please choose your ethnicity. <i>[Select all that apply.]</i>	
	Kachin	1
	Kayah	2
	Kayin	3
	Chin	4
	Mon	5
	Rakhine	6
	Shan	7
	Bamar	8
	Other (Please specify): _____	97
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

Q68	Please choose the highest level of education you have completed. [Select only one option.]	
	Never went to school	1
	Informal school	2
	Some primary school	3
	Completed primary school	4
	Completed middle school	5
	Completed high school	6
	Vocational school	7
	University completed	8
	Post-graduate studies	9
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

Q69	Please choose your religion. [Select only one option.]	
	Buddhist	1
	Christian	2
	Hindu	3
	Muslim	4
	Other (Please specify): _____	97
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

Q70	Please choose a monthly income that is closer to the total income of your household. [Select only one option.]	
	Less than 100,000 Ks	1
	100,000 Ks – 200,000 Ks	2
	200,000 Ks – 300,000 Ks	3
	300,000 Ks – 400,000 Ks	4
	400,000 Ks – 500,000 Ks	5
	500,000 Ks – 1,000,000 Ks	6
	1,000,000 Ks and above	7
	Don't know	98
	Do not want to answer	99

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info@blueshirtinitiative.org