

THE DECENTRALIZATION OF THE POLICE AND ITS PERFORMANCE IN FOUR ETHNIC STATES OF MYANMAR

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THE DECENTRALIZATION OF THE POLICE AND ITS PERFORMANCE IN FOUR ETHNIC STATES OF MYANMAR

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The Decentralization of the Police and Its Performance in Four Ethnic States of Myanmar (Draft 2)

Min Zaw Oo¹ & Myo Naing²

Abstract

Myanmar Police Force (MPF) always plays a critical role in the country's administration and national security through successive governments since the British colonial era. Along with the democratic reforms started in 2011, the police sector has commenced transforming into a decentralized and more gender and ethnic sensitive institution in a limited capacity under the 2008 constitution. The paper argues that the decentralization of the police sector to foster federated units will require significant enhancing capacity of the state government, and improving service delivery is an essential step for effective decentralization. Drawing on a survey, focus group discussions, and in-depth key informant interviews undertaken in Chin, Kayin, Kachin and Magway under a project funded by the International Development Research Centre of Canada, the paper investigates the effects of the decentralization of police force on its service delivery performance in these four regions. It also examines the challenges and opportunities in the decentralization process. The finding reveals that the police sector is only partially decentralized, and the state governments have limited capability to manage police sectors even under the limited decentralization. States have limited understanding about the share of decision-making between the union and the state owing to ambiguous demarcation of the roles and responsibilities between the central and the state governments. Developmental prioritization needs more consultations with technocrats. Despite the limited service delivery and lukewarm approval rating to the police, public perception towards security situation improved significantly. The public perception on security varies among regions, especially with the status of ceasefire and armed conflict. Gender and ethnicity weight less than geographic differences on the public perception toward the policing and the crime situation. Gender sensitivity is increased in the police sector although no gender-specific policy, strategy and recruitment system is in place. The biggest challenges include resource and capacity constraints, the political instability, and armed conflicts in the regions. The paper concludes that transforming the police force to become service-oriented, which is one important goal of the police reform process, has not been achieved yet and the police sector is still control-oriented.

Key words: Myanmar, Burma, Decentralization, Gender Study, Police, Security, Service Delivery, Ethnic Minority

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1. Introduction

Myanmar Police Force was originally founded in 1889 under the colonial rule in forms as Burma Military Police, Burma Civil Police and Rangoon Town Police. In 1942, it was renamed as Burma Police Forces. In 1964, the Burmese Socialist Program Party (BSPP)'s government restructured police in a name of People's Police Force (PPF), and again in 1995 renamed as Myanmar Police Force (MPF) (Selth, 2012; Oo, 2017). Myanmar police force always plays a critical role to maintain the country's administration and national security. Under the administration of BSPP government, military leaders regarded the PPF lowly, as in their minds it was still associated with the 'British imperialists' and 'foreign capitalists'. The PPF had no prestige and no sufficient resources. It was just an insignificant branch of the country's 'Defence Services'. Myanmar people did not regard the police well either, seeing it as inefficient, corrupt, officious, exploitative and politically partisan (Selth, 2013). That situation however has been changing slowly.

Along with the democratic reforms started about a decade ago, in 2011 then government initiated a reform process in the police sector. The Thein Sein's government mostly with aid of foreign donors, begun building the capacity of the police force and provided some fiscal resources to empower its regional branches. Its aim was to transform the MPF into a service-oriented and more gender and ethnic sensitive institution.³ The security sector, including police and military, greatly impact on the livelihood local population, especially in conflict affected-areas. Accidences of violence against people, especially women and ethnic minority, in conflict affected areas committed by police and military were became unfolding not only in the country but also abroad, once the control over news and media was relaxed, community journalism was advanced, and electronic media became ubiquitous. In order to boost the image of the country in international communities as well as to strengthen the rule of law that is indispensable when the country is transformed into a democracy, the police and security sector needed to be reformed.

This study is a collaborative project between the University of Toronto and the Myanmar Institute for Peace and Security, and funded by the International Development Research Centre of Canada. The study attempts to identify the challenges and opportunities in the delivery of security services in general and the police service in particular in ethnic minority

³ Interview with a former senior police officer in Nay Pyi Taw in 2018.

areas, with a particular focus on gender. It then tried to analyze the police decentralization processes, its effects on police services in four ethnic regions of Myanmar, and factors affecting the efficient delivery of security services in minority states. The study also investigated whether democratic reforms are creating new pressures to reform the security sector toward a more gender sensitive approach. Decentralization of the MPF is important as it can be regarded as a means to be achieving an accountable, responsible and effective police force. This study focuses on ethnic states and gender perspective for a reason that even if the overall police service is improved, if the needs of ethnic minority and women are taken into account and not addressed, the development and decentralization in Myanmar will still be unequal for ethnic minority as well as women and men. The analysis of this study focuses on five main themes: (1) the police organizational structure and mandate, which need to be understood in order to study and analyze the decentralization process of the police sector; (2) the decentralization process and challenges; (3) public perceptions on the police service performance in order to see and understand the changes and improvements happened in the police sector and its service delivery performance as a result of the decentralization processes; (4) the importance of ethnicity, religion, language, and discrimination as Myanmar is a multi-ethnic country, in which different religions are practice and many different languages are used and these factors have important impacts on the perception of the police and security service delivery, especially in ethnic regions; and (5) gender issues. This study discovers that while the police reform process has not achieved its intended objectives and there is still a long way to go, people feel safer now than before and regard the police service delivery better in all states this study covers. Moreover, the perception of Bamar and non-Bamar as well as of male and female respondents on the performance of police sector are almost the same in most areas. One of the weaknesses of the police reform processes is its inability to transform the police force from being control-oriented to being service-oriented and help the force to earn the public respect and trust.

2. Literature Review

There is little study about the decentralization of the MPF. Most existing studies focus on the reform of the police and the challenges in the reform processes. The MPF is a hierarchical organization led by an active duty senior military officer from the Armed Forces of Myanmar (Tatmadaw). It was heavily militarized and used to support the successive regimes. In Myanmar, the army and police have always been working together closely. Gaining independence in 1948, Myanmar government created two police forces: civil organization

responsible for everyday policing, and a paramilitary force called the Union Military Police (UMP) tasked to deal with army mutineers, ideological and ethnic insurgents and armed bandits. Because of the nature of their operations, the army and police worked closely while reporting to different ministers—UMP to Home Affairs Ministry and the army to Defence Ministry. In 1958, when General Ne Win took over the government from U Nu as a 'caretaker' administration just for two years, the caretaker government renamed the UMP as the Union Constabulary. Army officers were drafted into UC ranks and policemen were ordered to attend military-style training camps. Moreover, police resources were also reduced.

After General Ne Win's coup d'etat in 1962, all paramilitary police units were absorbed into the army. During two decades between the 1964 to 1984, the government considered the police as the 'younger brother' of the army (Tatmadaw) and gave a low priority for funds, arms and equipment. Military intelligence agencies shared their responsibilities and operations with police Special Branch (SB) and the Bureau of Special Investigations (BSI). It was also observed that rivalry existed between the armed forces and police, causing problems sometime. During these periods, the police started gaining a reputation for corruption and incompetence. In 1974, the government created police's paramilitary 'riot squad', or Lon Htein, which was infamous among the public for its arrogance and brutality. During the 1988 pro-democracy uprising, the “riot squad” (Lon Htein) was seen even more ruthless than the armed forces (Selth, 2016).

Historically, the MPF was made up of mostly Bamar people. Using a Bamar-centric doctrine, it systematically limited the promotion of non-Buddhist and non-Bamar personnel to higher ranks (Maung Aung Myoe, 2009). As of June 2014, the MPF had 74,165 members, operating 1,256 police stations in all 330 townships and 73 districts (Khaing, 2016; Selth, 2013). Around 2008, the military government endorsed a comprehensive 30-year plan for the expansion and modernization of the MPF (Selth, 2013).

An attempt to expand the police force's capabilities, improve its performance, and reform its culture was started during the military government called State Peace and Development Council (SPDC). The police transformation process set haughty aims such as “to assess the present management, intelligence and legal affairs of the police force; to analyze police training system, to investigate the acts of the police, and to enact laws, rules and regulations

on the management and administration of the police force” (Selth, 2013). The objectives of the reform were to help the police force earn public respect and trust; to address police corruption and graft, and to transform the police force to be in conformity with the changing situations of the country. In that process, SPDC Secretary One, and later Prime Minister, Lieutenant General Khin Nyunt took an active role in the transformation of the MPF as the chairman of the Committee for Reform of the People’s Police Force Management System (CRPPFMS).

In 1995, the Committee renamed the police force as Myanmar Police Force (MPF), and also enacted Myanmar Police Force Disciplinary Law. Moreover, in 1999, the Committee issued a new Code of Conduct for police officers, and in 2000, the Police Manual that were written during the Colonial era was revised, and in 2001, the revised police manual was issued in Burmese language. An attempt was also made to introduce the community-based policing model. Around 2001, understanding about the importance and necessity of community participation in policing and a high priority given to an aim of increasing the cooperation with the civil population, aspects of the “community-based policing” model was introduced in police training programs. Greater attention was given to the community-based policing and cooperation with the civil population was set as a high priority. Police officers were trained to be able to handle sensitive issues such as juvenile crime. Courses on personal discipline was also increased with an aim to address to police corruption. A number of police magazines were also published to boost police morale and increase public awareness of police functions (Selth, 2013). When General Khin Nyunt was arrested in 2004, the reform was taken over by then Secretary Two Lieutenant General Thein Sein, who later became Prime Minister and then President in 2011. Around 2008, the government endorsed a 30-year plan to expand and modernize the police force (Selth, 2013). An attempt to make the police force more independent from the army was not found in the record of the reform.

After becoming President in 2011, Thein Sein administration implemented a series of police reform measures with the help from the international community. The initiative was widely welcomed, both inside and outside the country. The vision of the police reform process implemented by the President Thein Sein administration is to make the MPF professional and civilianized that observes the rule of law, is answerable to an elected government, and respected by the people. It set to increase the number of police members to more than 100,000 men and women, with 34 police battalions (Selth, 2013). Efforts were made to recruit police

men and women from the ethnolinguistic group dominant in some states and regions. Moreover, the number of women in the force was increased. In early 2000s, less than 2% of the police force was women, and the number increased to 20% in 2018 (Myo, 2018; Selth, 2014b). According to our interviews, currently about 9% of the police force are female in Kachin state (Interview: Kachin I_KC_10). EU-funded training programs were provided to the MPF. As of April 30, 2018, 14 courses were provided to the police on topics such as “community policing, cyber security, crowd management, and crime scene investigation have been provided to the police.”⁴ Furthermore, officer selection, recruitment and officer corps entry standards were raised and specialized instruction at all levels was increased. More importantly, the force’s doctrine and training programs was changed to give greater emphasis to ‘community-based policing’ that is carried out by unarmed officers working in close cooperation with the public. Moreover, consultations with civil society and a workshop with members of parliament about security sector reform were also hosted (Dunant, 2018). The role of the MPF was extended in areas related to internal security challenges, which were previously taken by the Tatmadaw (Selth, 2013). Furthermore, punitive actions were also taken against police officers. In January 2011, a number of corrupt senior police officers were arrested during the investigation conducted by the Chief of Police and the Bureau of Special Investigations (BSI) (Selth, 2013). Similarly, from 2016 to 2020, punitive actions were taken against 2,817 police officers and 6,730 other officials (Paing, 2020). Among these, 19 police officers were punished under the Anti-Corruption Law⁵. In the first week of July 2020, a senior Myanmar police officer⁶, who had overall responsibility for the process of making appointments within the Myanmar Police Force, was imprisoned for sexually exploiting his female subordinates (Paing, 2020).

Despite the reform effort, Thein Sein's government failed to provide the MPF with better facilities and equipment, and increased funding for operational and personnel expenses. Moreover, the government was also unable to keep his promise to raise higher salaries and allowances significantly for public servants and other officials makes it more difficult to tackle the deeply entrenched problems of graft and corruption (Selth, 2014a, 2013). It is because the starting salary in the MPF is K135,000 (about US\$115) with allowances, up from

⁴ According to MYPOL communications officer Tom Opdyke, as of April 30, 2018, cited in Dunant, 2018.

⁵ According to the Home Affairs Ministry, cited in Paing, 2020

⁶ Police Brigadier-General Zaw Moe Than

less than the equivalent of \$100 (as of 2014), which is not enough for police member to support a family and make ends meet (Khaing, 2016). Extortion is therefore used to supplement their income (AHRC, 2013). Not only were police salaries low, but police departments are also poorly resourced. Departments did not provide their officers investigative expense, leaving police officers resort to seek investigation funds from complainants. Nevertheless, the MPF recognizes this problem and is attempting to eliminate the practice (Thompson, 2015). Moreover, the MPF is understaffed to meet its mandate. Police personnel per capita are the lowest in Southeast Asia (Douglas, 2016). The workload on members of the MPF is also heavy, as the force is badly understaffed. As a result, there is no police in some parts of the country where crime and related public security issues are most pressing (Douglas, 2016). As in June 2014, the MPF had 74,165 personnel and needed to be more than doubled, to 160,000, to be in line with international policing standards (Khaing, 2016). Furthermore, women and minorities are severely under-represented. Laws, regulations, strategies and training are outdated. Police facilities and equipment are old and often in poor condition (Douglas, 2016). Another major problem being faced by the MPF include reputational problem (Thompson, 2015). Public trust in police is low, both for Bamar and non-Bamar participants as well as in urban areas and rural areas. Possible reasons responsible for low levels of trust include (a) unfair and disrespectful treatment by police officers; (b) officers' corruption and personal bias; (c) the police's lack of readiness and willingness to help; (d) the political systems used by previous governments (Aung & May, 2019). Furthermore, Selth (2014) remarks that the reform measures are only scratching the surface of the problem and a fundamental shift in the police force's professional culture and a complete transformation of its relationship with the wider community are needed to make the MPF a professional and civilianized organization that observes the rule of law, is answerable to an elected government, and respected by the people (Selth, 2013).

On the other hand, notably, there are a number of success that the MPF has achieved (Selth, 2012). The force has become larger, more modern and, in some respects, more capable of policing and fighting crimes after the 2011 transition (Selth, 2012). The MPF started acknowledging that its members committed corruption and human rights abuses. It also tried to address its poor relationship with communities. It became more engaged in international efforts to combat transnational crime. Moreover, police officers are now distributed more equally across the country by population ratio, including remote and even ceasefire and conflict-affected areas where most ethnic armed organizations (EAOs) were reluctant to

accept them.. According to Douglas (2016), police officials expressed an eagerness to implement modern policing methods that are in-line with international standards.

According to Selth (2013), there are six categories of obstacles to the police reform carried out by the President Thein Sein administration. They are (a) the structure and resources of the MPF, (b) investigation and intelligence procedures, (c) the relationship between the police and Tatmadaw, (d) internal security responsibilities, (e) police culture and socialization, and (f) the relationship with community. Selth (2013) argues that problems being faced by the MPF are at the political and institutional level as well as at the psychological and societal level. A longtime Belgian police officer⁷ who involved in the E.U. effort said "[t]he mind-set change was a big challenge" in the police reform process of Myanmar (Schatz, 2014). MIPS's findings on the MPF's structural constraints mostly resonate with the existing literature. In this research, MIPS explores how state authorities practice policing, to what extent decentralization in effect, and challenges of decentralization.

One of the areas of police reform processes is decentralization. Decentralization of police sector means that authority, responsibility, and resources for police are transferred from national government to subordinate levels of government, such as state and regional governments. The rationale behind police decentralization is that policies chosen by regional/state governments are more likely to reflect the preferences of regional citizens and that decentralization can increase accountability of responsible officials. Moreover, it is also argued that decentralization can enhance citizen-government relationships and in turn to increase the level of citizen trust in police, which is a key indicator of police performance (Lowatcharin & Stallmann, 2019; Cheikbossian & Nicolas, 2007; Besley and Coate, 2003; Oates, 1972). Furthermore, it is believed that the accountability and responsiveness in police can also be increased in decentralized system. In many countries, police sector is decentralized and a significant portion of its functions, expenditures and police forces is undertaken at the local level. For instance, in Canada, 57% of police expenditures were made at the local level in 2005. For the USA, it is 64.6% in 2003 (Cheikbossian & Nicolas, 2007; Statistics Canada, 2006; U.S. Department of Justice, 2006). However, the result of a study conducted by Lowatcharin and Stallmann (2019) that analyzes 71 countries shows that there is no statistically significant relationship between decentralized police system and public trust

⁷ Patrick Gistelinck

in police. Moreover, their study also discovers that citizen trust in police and decentralized police system is positively related in developed countries while it is negative in developing countries (Lowatcharin & Stallmann, 2019). On the other hand, Kurtz (1995) finds out that for Taiwan, a small and developed country, a centralized police system works better given its police training program that is the best in the world and police officers are well-educated and professional, and then argues that the quality of police officers and the training they receive rather than the police structure should be the focus of police policies (Kurtz, 1995). In Myanmar, operational control of police sector has already been decentralized to the state and regional level. Due to the fact that the central government holds strong attachment to the country's three national causes, i.e., sovereignty, unity, and stability and its interest in holding the control of the country's whole security sector, the prospect of further decentralization of MPF is slim and there is no possibility that the force will be broken down into regional and local levels, as the way other countries structure their police forces (Selth, 2014b).

One important area in police research is gender issue. Violence against women has become a major concern for law enforcement agencies all over the world. Crimes and violence that women encounter require special attention from the police as a woman come to the police as a last resort, only when all other options were exhausted. Police personnel are required to be empathetic to women who came to them. But police are often criticized for their insensitive approach towards the victims of sexual assault/ domestic violence. Police personnel therefore need to be taught on gender sensitization (Bhagyalakshmi & Prasannakumari, 2013). Accordingly, the MPF has been paying attention on gender issue in its organization and structures, and is trying to achieve greater gender balance by ensuring that the roles of responsibility are distributed equally between male and female officers. Since 2017, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNDOC) has been providing a series of training on gender-based violence (GBV) to the MPF. Police officers and police instructors have been training on gender awareness and gender-based violence, with a focus on case management and victim-oriented investigation techniques. Moreover, police standard operating procedures and training manuals were developed, and the review of the police recruitment strategy to promote female participation in the MPF has been done. UNODC is also assisting the MPF in establishing an effective response system (UNDOC, 2017). In terms of female-male ratios of the MPF is still very low compared to its neighboring countries and the international

standard. As stated above, the proportion of women in the MPF is currently less than 2% of the total workforce while the developed country norm is around 25% (Selth, 2014b).

3. Methodology

After almost two decades of police reform processes undertaken by President Thein Sein's administration in 2011, the effectiveness and outcomes of the reform processes now should be examined, analyzed and evaluated with an aim to understand what works and what do not work in the reform process as well as what changes and improvements have been attained. The main objective of this research project is to identify the challenges and opportunities in the delivery of police services, in ethnic minority areas, with focus on gender. This research report particularly focuses on policing and security aspect of public service delivery with gender perspectives. There are four secondary objectives: (a) to understand the complexity of actors and processes affecting the delivery of police and security services in ethnic minority areas; (b) to identify areas of public service delivery that will need to be strengthened for the emergence of federalism as a result of the current peace negotiations; (c) to identify how gender sensitive delivery of police and security services can be strengthened; and (d) to identify important areas of policy intervention to promote gender-sensitive police sector.

Reviewing previous studies and literature on Myanmar police reform process and international experiences on police decentralization and enhancing gender sensitivity in police sector shows that Myanmar reform processes have achieved a number of improvements in the police sector. There are however several areas that still have to be addressed yet. This study intends to complement the previous studies and findings of the MPF reform process by answering the following questions: What are the factors that affect the police decentralization process; What are the public perceptions on the performance of police sector in ethnic minority states; What changes and improvements the police reform process brought about; How responsive are the police to local needs, especially along gender lines; and How women perceive and feel about the police services?

In order to answer these research questions, this study used a mixed-methods approach that includes surveys, focus group discussions, and key informant interviews. To collect data, this study selected three ethnic states and one region: Kayin, Kachin, Chin States, and Magway region. Kayin State was selected to observe and understand the effect of the ceasefire and the peace process on the delivery of police service as a ceasefire agreement has been signed in the region and it has since been peaceful. Kachin State was chosen to study and understand the impact of on-going conflict on police service delivery as arm conflicts still happen in the

region. Chin State was studied to analyze and understand how poor infrastructure and development affect the delivery of police service. Magway Region that is a majority Burman area with low level of development was included as a control case.

The researchers implemented this study from the principle of an inclusive bottom-up approach to assess both supply and demand sides of public service delivery in ethnic states by synthesizing quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative data were collected through a household survey and qualitative data collection via focus group discussion (FGD), in-depth interviews (IDI) and key informant interviews (KII). A household survey was designed with an aim to better understand how women and men currently perceive the security services they receive from the police and the military; problems associated with these services; alternative sources of services (such as non-governmental); quality of services received; and quality of the service providers. A stratified random sampling by population of each state, gender, rural and urban was used. The overall sample size is 2,747 households, with around 700 samples each from three states and one region (Karen, Kachin, Chin and Magway) at 3.7% margin of error and 95% confidence level in each state/region. In order to get the balanced and comprehensive views and perceptions of respondents from both wards and villages, a total of six wards and nine villages are include for data collection (See Appendix A). The respondents living in urban areas accounted for 30% of the survey and those in rural 70% in the survey. In gender breakdown, 54% of respondents were women and 45% men. A total of 15 FGDs were conducted during February and March 2019, with a total of 124 persons—61 females and 63 males—aged between 22 and 67 from 9 villages and 6 wards, to collect quantitative data such as respondents' perceptions, attitudes, and constraints in the delivery of security service and the decentralization process. One of the limitations this study has is its inability to include regions that are under the control of EAOs. Key-informant interviews with different levels of the bureaucracy were conducted to identify obstacles and challenges encountered in the decentralization processes, the changes and improvements achieved so far in the police sector as a result of decentralization processes., and examined particular areas where gender and ethnicity matter the most for the effective and equitable delivery of police services. Moreover, interviews were also conducted with community leaders, non-governmental organizations, and armed groups in order to better identify and understand the challenges and opportunities in police and security service delivery and the state of police service delivery performance. In total, 79 key-informant interviews were conducted during 2019 and 2020 (Appendix A). The aim of this study is to investigate the effects of the decentralization of police force on its service delivery performance in these four regions. It

also examines the challenges and opportunities in the decentralization process, for instance resource and capacity constraints, which are understood as key challenges in all decentralization process, and human resource sector over which regional and state government should have controls, and then provides a list of recommendations that should be heeded when the country implements a federal system. This study assembled evidence from local communities to study some of the effects of the police decentralization on its service delivery performances on male and female as well as different ethnic populations in four different regions. It also assessed local communities' experiences and perceptions in the police service, with a particular focus on identifying the differences of them among different states/regions, Bamanr and non-Bamanr, and genders. It then examined the gender aspects in the Myanmar Police Force and assessed how the decentralization of the police sector allows state governments to exercise their roles in policing and its effects on the police service.

4. Finding

Understand the decentralization processes of MPF, factors affecting the processes, changes and improvements the process brought out so far, and the situation of gender equality and sensitivity in the police service delivery as well as within the police institution, the analysis focuses on five main themes are. Literature on police decentralization of And this finding section is structured according to these five themes: (1) the police organizational structure and mandate; (2) the decentralization process and challenges; (3) public perceptions on the police service performance; (4) the importance of ethnicity, religion, language, and reversed discrimination; and (5) gender issues. One of the important findings was that the public perceptions towards police service delivery and security issues were not significantly associated with differences in gender or ethnicity while public perception is differed by different states, especially related to the condition of armed conflicts. The data reveal that the perceptions of male and female respondents are mostly the same on most issues, and there is also not much difference among the perception of different ethnicity, such as Bamar and non-Bamar. The differences, in regards to public perceptions on the current condition of security and the quality of police service, are mainly found in different states; respondents in Kachin State are generally less positive on most issues asked, and those in Kayin are usually most positive. Another interesting finding is that the perceptions of male and female are in most cases similar and so are the perception of Bamar and non-Bamar respondents as well.

4.1. Police organizational structure and mandate

The Myanmar Police Force (MPF) is a part of the Ministry of Home Affairs (MOHA), which is led by a minister who is an active duty Tatmadaw officer, accordingly with the 2008 Constitution. The Commander-in-Chief nominates the candidate/s whom the president appoints with the approval from the parliament (Constitution 2008, page 86). The MOHA is under the direct control of the president despite the appointment of an army officer. The minister of MOHA, while serving at the post, answers to the president, rather than the Commander-in-Chief in terms of the chain of command. The MPF is composed of five main components: 14 state/regional police forces based in each state and region, 16 police battalions, 16 departments (including four special department and 12 departments), five police training centers, and two reserved units (Achard, 2017) (Figure 1).

State and Regional Police Forces: There are 14 State and Regional Police Forces and three additional State/Division Police Forces commanded by Police Brigadier⁸ or Colonels. Their jurisdictions are divided according to the civil administration units. Each State and Regional Police Force consist of four components: Office of the Commander of the State and Divisional Police Force, Office of the Commander of the District Police Force, Office of the Commander of the Township Police Force, and Police Stations. Although the Schedule one of the 2008 Constitution specify “police force” as the part of the “Union Defense and Security Sectors,” in practice, state and regional police forces are under the command of the chief ministers (Interviews: Kachin I_KC_10; IDRC 01-010). However, this practice was ambiguous among different states depending on the capacity of each chief minister. Usually, the MOHA does not interfere the day to day police functions, and specific orders to state and regional police units come from their police chiefs under the guidance of the chief ministers (Interviews: NPT I_NPT_01; IDRC01-001). The constitution of 2008 provides powers at the state level to manage a large number of issue areas, but the mandates and responsibilities related to the MPF are not clearly demarcated between the central government and state or regional governments (Ibid).

Combat Police Battalions: There are 16 Police Battalions that carry out general security duties, especially riot control functions. Police Brigadier from Nay Pyi Taw directly controls

⁸ Police chiefs in Yangon and Shan State are brigadier level.

all battalions which are under the command of Battalion Control Command, and their Commandants are Police Lieutenant Colonels. Seven of them are situated in Yangon, three in Arakan, two in Mandalay, and Sagaing, Mon, Pegu and Prome have one battalion each. Each battalion consists of more than 500 personnel and are supported by two support battalions, which include signal and medical units. Their structure is similar to that of Army's Light Infantry Battalions and are subordinate to their respective Regional Military Commands (Selth, 2002). Chief ministers could not deploy these battalions even under their states and regions.⁹

Departments: There are four special departments and 12 departments. Four special department are Security Police Force, Border Guard Police Force, Special Intelligence Department (Special Branch), and Criminal Investigation Department (CID). Of 12 departments, the first ten departments are headed by the Police Brigadier Generals. They are Railways Police Department, Anti-human Trafficking Police Force, Maritime Police force, Aviation Police Force, Drug Enforcement Division, Financial Investigation force, Myanmar Traffic Police, Tourist Security Police Force, Oil Field Security Police Force, and Forestry Security Police Force. Other two departments, i.e., Highway Police Force and Municipal Police Department, are headed by Police Colonels. All of them are under the command of the MOHA, union level.

⁹ Even under Thein Sein's government, former Yangon Chief Minister Myint Swe tried to deploy these battalions to respond to the protests. The commanders refused to carry out his order because it did not come from Nay Pyi Taw (*Interview with a senior police officer in Nay Pyi Taw: NPT I_NPT_01*).

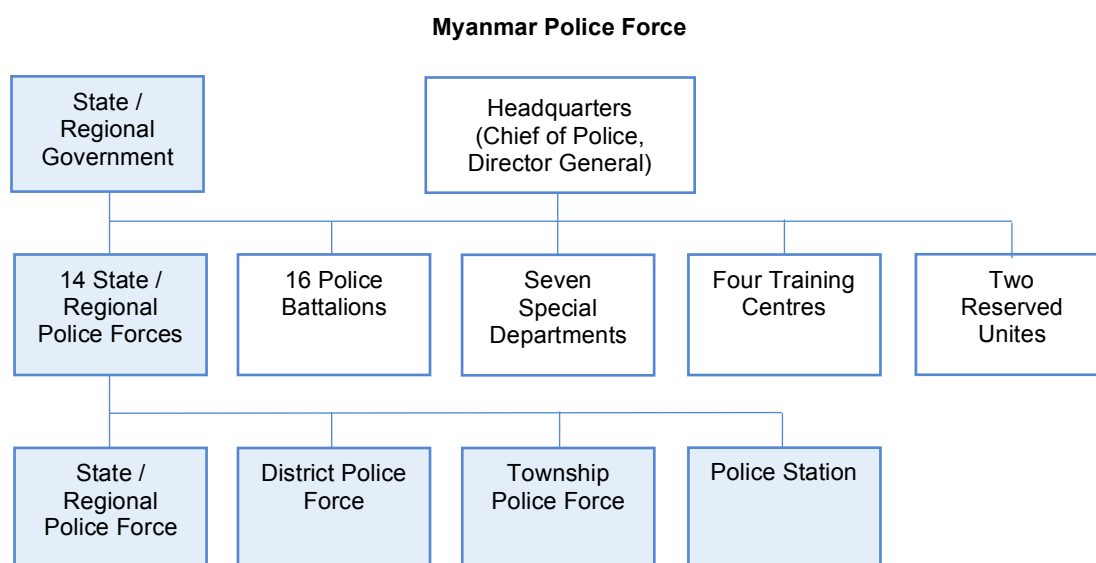


Figure 1: Structure of Myanmar Police Force

Police training centers: There are three main Training Police Centers under the MOHA; one Central Institute of Police Training, which has the capacity simultaneously to train 1,800 students in a wide range of courses; No.1 and No. 2 Police Training Centers, both were commanded by a Police Lieutenant Colonel; and one Police Training Depot (Taung Lay Lone Training Depot), which is also commanded by a Police Lieutenant Colonel. Moreover, State and Regional Police Forces have their own training centers for refresher courses and Junior Leader Courses for non-commissioned officers (NCOs). In addition, the CID maintains a special training center at Insein township, Rangoon (Achard, 2017).

Reserved units: There are two reserved unites: Highway Police and Oil Field Security (Achard, 2017). They are also controlled directly by the union level.

The police deployment is different between urban and rural areas. Urban areas have police stations in each of all 330 townships, but the rural areas have surveillance officers, one per three villages (Aung & May, 2019). This led to unequal ratio of police deployment between urban and rural areas. In the survey, compared to 25% of rural respondents, 51% of those in urban areas said they saw police in their community ‘often’ or ‘sometime.’

4.2 Decentralization

The finding reveals that the police sector is only partially decentralized in practice although the constitution allocates this power to the union level in a vague term. Unclear mandates and roles between the central and regional/state governments create confusions and delays in police service at regional levels, leading to poor service delivery performances. Operational control has already been ceded to MPF elements at the State and Region level. Regular police in states and regions conducting daily function is under the control of Chief Minister. And the police chief at the state or regional government level has a mandate to set priorities in the state, as explained by one interviewer in Kachin state as follows:

The police chief has a mandate to set priorities in the state. At the decision-making level, we have an everyday meeting called *Lone gude*, which means security and stability control meeting. The chief minister also attends that meeting. But when it comes to security issues, the chief minister doesn't involve himself much. The Chief minister also sets priorities. As the chief minister does not involve himself in the security, he may not understand much about the security situation and he doesn't want to get in the way either (Interview: Kachin I_KC_10).

The union level, however, allocated the budget based on the size of the police force and recruitment requirement. While the budget allocated from Nay Pyi Taw could not cover all policing needs, regional governments occasionally allocate additional budget from the governments' discretionary funds. For example, in Kachin State, the chief minister financed the building of police living quarters and patrol motorcycles from his state budget. The decision was made at the cabinet (of state government (Interview: Kachin I_KC_06). Regular police in states and regions conducting daily function is under the control of Chief Minister. The performance of the police depends on the police chief of the state, who is a part of the state government as the police chief and the state government have authority to make their own policing function (Interviews: Kachin I_KC_10; IDRC 01-010). Moreover, information from the FGDs and the KIIs reveals that the decision-making processes have been more bottom-up than before and there have been more community participation in the policy and decision-making processes than before. The voices and inputs of communities have been sought after and taken into account by both the central and the regional governments. Having said that, the old practices and attitudes of police officers continue being controlled-oriented

and the police head office in the central government level still hold more decision-power, especially in selecting and hiring police staff and officers., Moreover, participants in key informant interviews stated that more consultations with and engagements of technocrats are need in setting developmental priorities. On the other hand, the survey data indicate that in the perception of general public, 34% of respondents felt the authorities ‘never’ consulted with the population on its security needs while 31% said people were consulted ‘often’ or ‘sometime.’ With regards to the public and community participations in police sector, the differences between the perception of interviewers who are people involved in service providers and focus group participants who are community leaders and service consumers and that of survey respondents who are receivers of services show that communications and relationship among different stakeholders involved in police service delivery need to be strengthened. Furthermore, the key informant interviewees’ remark on the need of more consultations and involvement of technocrats in the choices and prioritizations of programs and projects implies that the preferences and choices of service users, i.e., general public, differ from those of technocrats, thus requiring more interaction and exchange activities among different stakeholders.

The processes and practices are however not fully in line with decentralization principles, probably due to the lack of understand of the decentralization process, the lack of capacity and resources, the result of long centralized culture and traditions (Interviews: Chin I_C_08; NPT I_NPT_01; IDRC01-001; Kachin I_KC_10; IDRC 01-010). According to key informant interviewees from Kachin, “budgeting and decision-making are not fully decentralized yet. Budgeting mostly comes from the central government and reporting is also made to the central government too, although reports are also sent (copied) to state government not for the purpose of seeking instruction but for merely informing. Moreover, staffing such as hiring and firing are also done by the central government; the state government does not have any say in it. There is an unclear understanding about decision-making roles among state departments; they rely on the decisions of the central government (Interview: Kachin I_KC_06). Respondents stated that the decentralization process has relapsed after the President Thein Sein administration ended and the NLD government holds the administration. One interviewee from Chin state explained that the current NLD government is more centralized than USDP. Everything comes from NPT. Under the administration of NLD government, not much change has happened in terms of having or not having authority in the hand of state or regional governments (Interview: Chin I_C_02). Respondents and

participants in this study clearly show that the police sector should be decentralized and that both capacity and financial resource constraints hinder the implementation of decentralization process. And the performance of police at the regional/state levels depends on the ability and authority the regional/state chief ministers. The Constitution of 2008, and future amendments of it should clarify and articulate the roles and mandates of the central government and the regional/state governments, so that leaderships and management at all government levels are clear about and can perform their mandates and roles effectively, without confusions and misunderstanding among them. Furthermore, the findings indicate that public and community participation arrangement should be more inclusive and intensive, in which all stakeholders, especially technocrats, should be included throughout all policy and decision-making processes.

4.2.1. Factors affecting the decentralization process

The biggest challenges that our data reveal include resource and capacity constraints, mindset of police especially of leadership, the political instability, and armed conflicts in the regions, which is in line with previous studies (Selth, 2013, 2014; Douglas, 2016; Khaing, 2016). According to the information gathered from the key informant interviews and the FGDs, the state government lacks knowledge, capacity and resources. For instance, Chin state can collect very little revenue, almost to none, as there is almost no tax base. Even for salaries, the state needs to ask the Central government (Interview: Chin I_C_01). Depending on the grants and budgets from the Central government, the state loses its decision-making power and authority. To make decisions, the state government keeps asking for approval from the Central government even if it is by process not required (Interviews: Chin I_C_01; Kachin I_KC_10; IDRC 01-010). States have limited autonomy and capacity to exercise authority, and understanding about the share of decision-making between the union and the state owing to no clear demarcation of the roles and responsibilities between the central and the state governments stated in the Constitution.

Resource and capacity constraint in the state government is also a challenge and the police sector is both understaffed and under-resourced (Interview: Chin I_C_01). The current police-citizen ratio in the country's biggest city is 1:1,274, which is the lowest police-citizen ration in the Southeast Asia. Consequently, the MPF currently does not have sufficient manpower to implement its mandates (Khaing, 2016; MNA, 2019). Respondents also pointed

out that another major obstacle to decentralization are people who do not actually change their mind-set and practices. Significantly, all key informant interviewees mentioned human resource management as an area that they want to be decentralized more in police sector, granting powers to regional/state level police departments to hire and appoint, as well as to dismiss and take actions against, their police officers and staff (Interviews: Chin I_C_01; C1; C2; C4; C5; C8; Kachin I_KC_06; KY1; KY3, KY4). Moreover, two interviewees stated that developmental prioritization needs more consultations with technocrats who understand what developmental projects state or region and its citizen really need for its development (Interviews: C4, C5). Another challenge revealed by the data is the political instability and armed conflicts in the region. What the general public, especially in conflict zone, want is regional stability and peace, rather than decentralization or service delivery. One interviewee from Kachin state said as follows:

‘We don’t understand much about decentralization, which is not our primary concern, that is secondary. The first problem is the peace which needs to be resolved first. Without security, people cannot do anything about decentralization. Thus, to get peace it is necessary to engage politically or with weapons’ (Interview: Kachin I_KC_05)

One FGD participant from Kya Inn Village, Pha-An Township, Kayin State stated “Public services depend on the quality and care of leadership, rather than getting federalism” (FGD conducted on 2 March 2019 at Kya Inn Village, Pha-An Township, Kayin State.) Another challenge is the current legal and judiciary system in which different departments involve in enforcement process, while the roles and responsibilities among them are not clearly defined and/or understood, coupled by weak inter-agency coordination.

Key informant interviewers commented that in order to reform the police sector successfully, making it decentralized well-functioning in states and regions, a holistic or full comprehensive approach needs to be taken, covering all sectors interrelated to one another (Interviews: Kachin I_KC_10; IDRC 01-010). For instance, Shanni ethnic group, which is a subgroup of the Shan. But instead of living in Shan State, they are living in Kachin State, causing their co-existence with Kachin ethnic group problematic. There are armed conflicts broke out between Shanni Nationalities Army (SNA) and Kachin Independence Army (KIA). One Shanni interviewee was concerned that the Kachin State government was not representative enough for Shanni people. Lisu and Rawan also shared their concern that the

state government should pay more attention to their interest. In the survey in Kachin State, 83% of the respondents said their ethnicity was ‘very important’—the trend was similar to other state and region as well. One interviewee who is Shanni lived in Kachin State explained about it as follows:

The major reason for us to take up weapons is the KIA. We don’t want to be the branch of KIA but we also know that taking up arms is not an absolute answer and we don’t have to pick up an arms. However, in Mohnyin district, there was suppression by the KIA. Shanni were killed, although this was not known by the public. Shanni were killed silently” (Interview: Kachin I_KC_09).

Most essentially, without the overall state or regional development, decentralization of police is difficult to be implemented successfully, which is in line with the finding by literature (Selth, 2013; Interviews: Chin I_C_01, Kayin C8 & C9). Implementation of the police decentralization process require both human and financial resources and some regions and states clearly do not have enough resources of their own and the tax-based of their regions and states are not big enough to provide tax revenue for the delivery of police services. Furthermore, poor regions need more police services because of crimes caused by poverty. The development of police sector goes in hand in hand with the overall regional development. In the same vein, in order to make the law enforcement system effective, the entire judiciary system needs to be fixed. Inter-agency coordination is weak among them In the current legal and judiciary system, different departments involve for the enforcement processes, but the roles and responsibilities among them are not clearly defined and/or understood. One interviewee, who is Police chief in Kachin stated:

A lot of the crime are not just simply falling under the job of the police since it is connected to other development issues and other ministries and departments. For example, when we see more electricity blackouts, then that means that it gets dark in some areas, and then we see more robbery cases and murder cases. So if that kind of lighting issue is associated with muggings, then this is not the responsibility of the police force because the municipal electric department has to make sure that they can provide the electricity to that area to prevent mugging. Preventative measures require a lot of interagency coordination (Interview: Kachin I_KC_10).

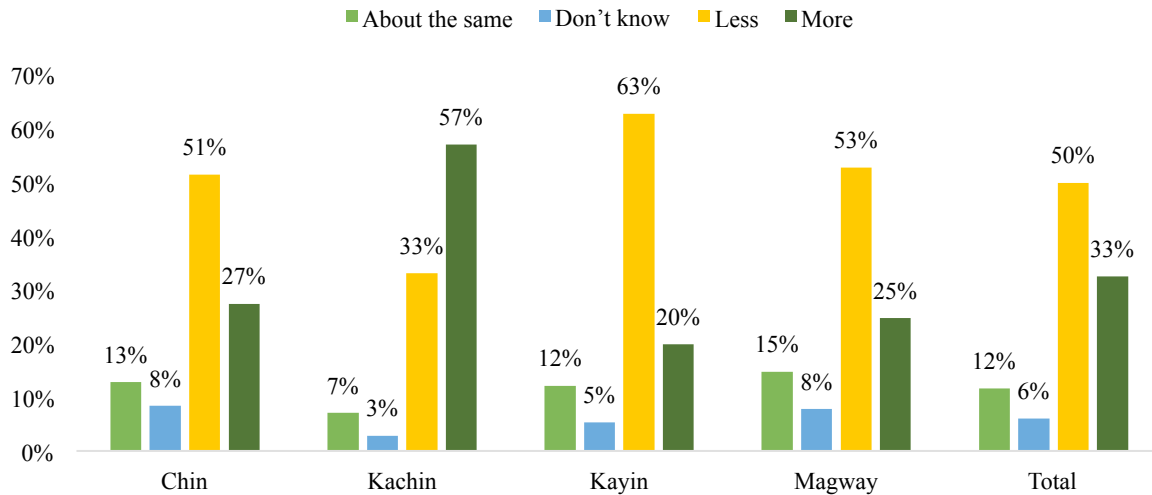
4.3 Public perceptions on the police service performance

According to the majority of respondents, police service improves in all four regions. Crime rate has decreased, except the increment of petty crimes in a few regions. The level of police service delivery however varies among states and regions due to factors such as the state of political stability in the region, the level of prosperity of regions and states, the state of infrastructure, geographical situation, and racial heterogeneity and animosity in the regions such as Kachin (Interview: Kachin I_KC_05). Our data also reveal that there were improvements in the police sector in the last 5 years, especially in ceasefire areas.

4.3.1. Crime rate has decreased

Crime rate has decreased in all regions, except the increment of petty crimes in a few regions. Differences in the improvement of policing in last 5 years are observed in states. While respondents in all state reported that there were fewer crimes in last five year, respondents in Chin, Kayin and Magway are more positive about the reduced rate of crime in last five years and those in Kachin are less positive. Answering to one survey question “Do you feel there is more or less crime in the last five years”, on average, almost half of all respondents (49.87%) state that there were fewer crimes in their region in the last five years. Exception is in Kachin, in which only 33.10% of respondents state that there are fewer crimes in their region in last five years, while over 50% of respondents in Chin (51.44%) and Magway (52.72%) state that there were fewer crimes. It is interesting to note that respondents from Kayin state feel more positive about the reduced crime rate in their region in last five years than those from Magway region. 62.71% of survey respondents in Kayin state and 52.72% of respondents in Magway region states that there were fewer crimes in last five years (Figure 2).

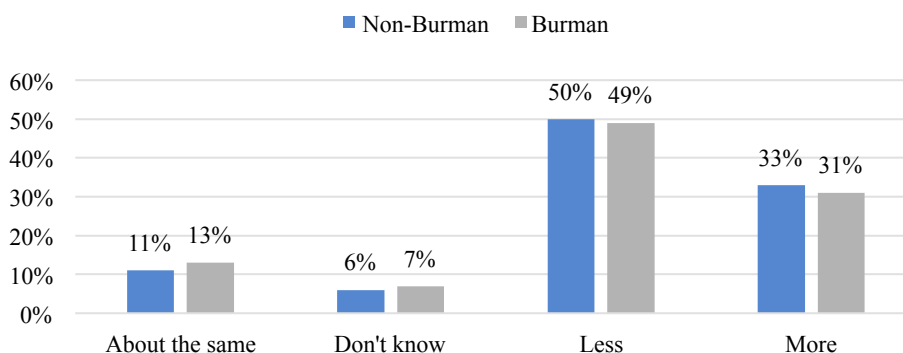
Figure 2: Respondents’ feeling about the rate of crime in last five year (by region)



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

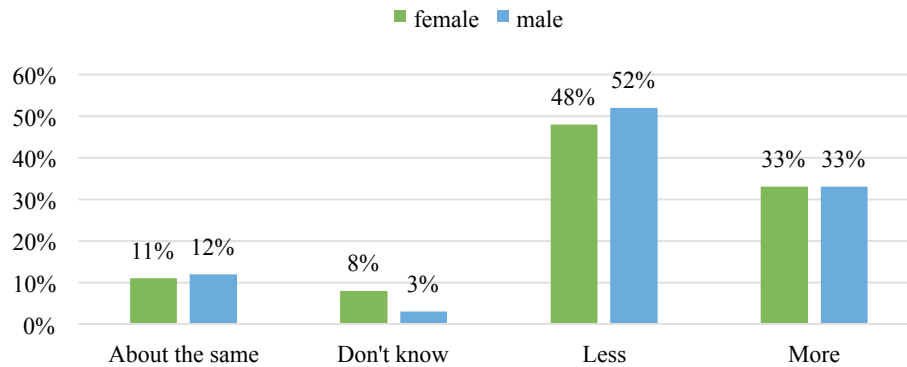
The feeling the rate of crime in the last five years are very similar between non-Bamar and Bamar respondents. Half of both non-Bamar (50.05%) and Bamar (49.46%) respondents feel that there are less crimes in last five years while one third of non-Bamar (33.19%) and Bamar (30.93%) respondents view that the crime rate is increased in last five years. For about one tenths of non-Bamar (11.01%) and Bamar (13%), the crime rate is about the same during the last five years (Figure 3). The feeling about the rate of crime in the last five years are also almost identical between female and male respondents. About half of both female (47.76%) and male (52.32.46%) respondents feel that there are less crimes in last five years while less than one third of female (32.50%) and male (32.523%) respondents view that the crime rate is increased in last five years. A little over 11% of both gender feel that the crime rate is the about the same during the last five years (Figure 4).

Figure 3: Respondents' feeling about the rate of crime in last five year (by ethnicity)



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Figure 4: Respondents' feeling about the rate of crime in last five year (by gender)

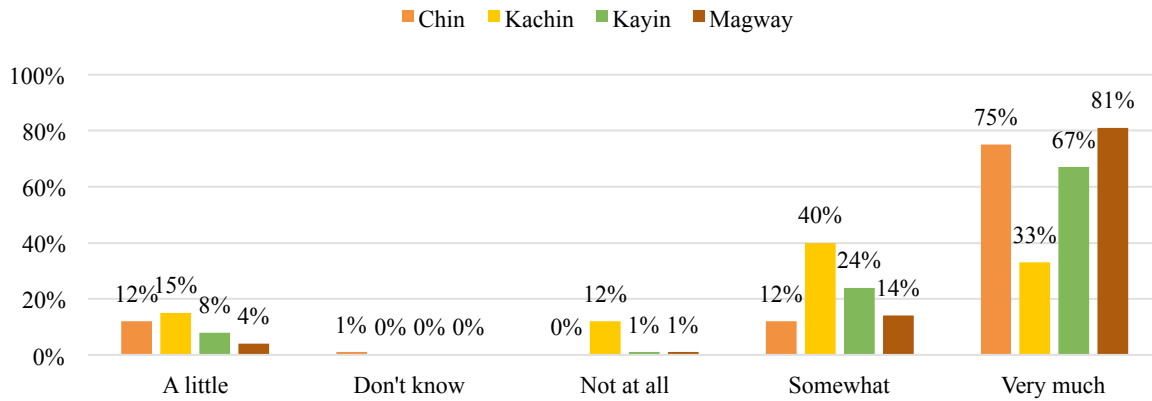


Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

4.3.2. Feeling safer now and than five years ago

With regards to a survey question: Do you feel safe in your community? over 70% of respondents answered that they feel safe now in their community. The feeling of being safer now than before is high in Chin, Kayin and Magway region and low in Kachin state. With regard to the feeling of safer now, all states are positive, with an exception of Kachin that is less positive than other states. On average, 83% of all survey respondents in four regions reported that they feel ‘somewhat’ or ‘very much’ safer now than five years ago. Magway respondents are the most positive (95%) and Kachin respondents less positive (73%). Over four fifths of respondents in Magway (81.18%), one fourths in Chin (75.07%), two thirds in Kayin (67%) and one third in Kachin (33.38%) feel very much safe in their community (Figure 5). That perception is also quite similar between non-Burma and Burman respondents; 60% of non-Burman and 73% of Burman respondents feel very much safe in their community. By gender, the feeling is the same.

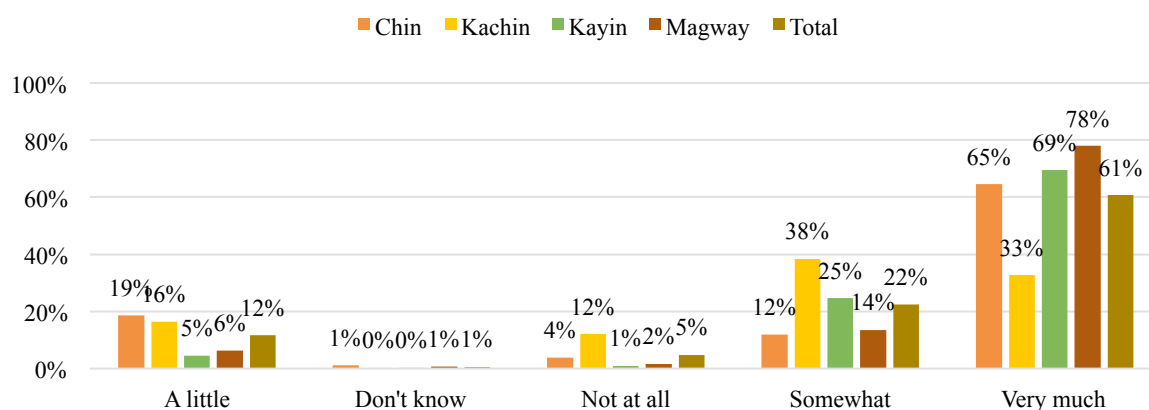
Figure 5: The extent respondents feel safe now in their community



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

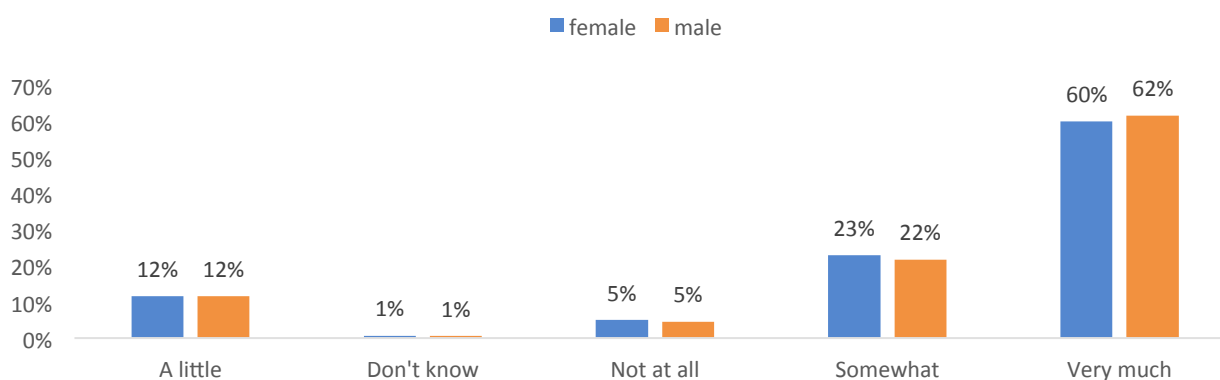
In the same vein, with regard to a survey question: Do you feel safer than five years ago? Over 95% of respondents from Magway feel safer now than five years ago while over 72% of respondents from Kachin state feel the same. While the percentage of respondents in Chin state, Kayin state and Magway regions who feel very much safe in their community are 75.07%, 67% and 81.18% respectively, only 33.38% of the respondents in Kachin state feel very much safe in their community (Figure 6). The perceptions of male and female are almost the same to each other; 59.97% of female respondents and 61.51% of male respondents feel very much safer now than five years ago (Figure 7). Moreover, much over half of both the non-Burman and Burman respondents feel very much safer now than five years ago. Burman respondents are more positive than non-Burman; 69.55% of Burman feel very much safer now than five years while 56.84 of non-Burman respondents feel very much safer. On the other hand, 23.7% of non-Burman feel somewhat safer now than five years ago, 19.37% feel the same (Figure 8).

Table 6: The extend respondents feel safer now than five years ago (by regions)



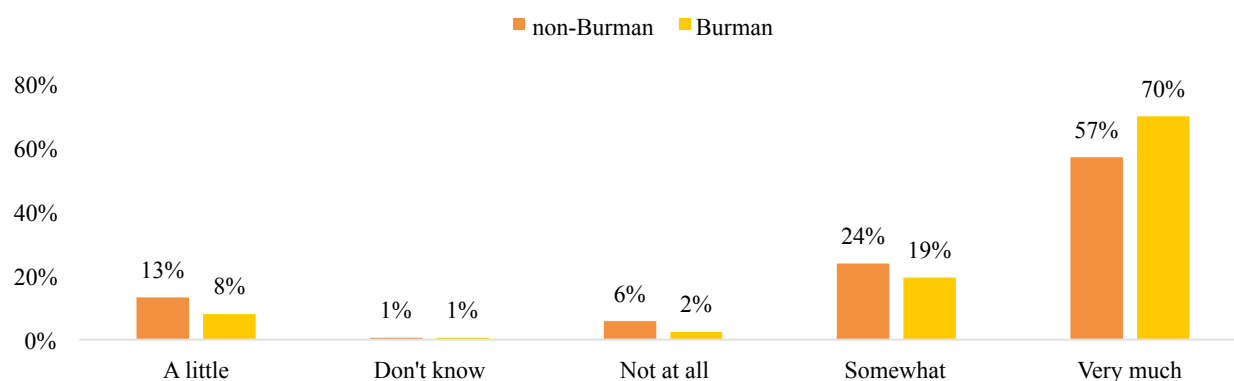
Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 7: The extend respondents feel safer now than five years ago (by gender)



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 8: The extend respondents feel safer now than five years ago (by gender)

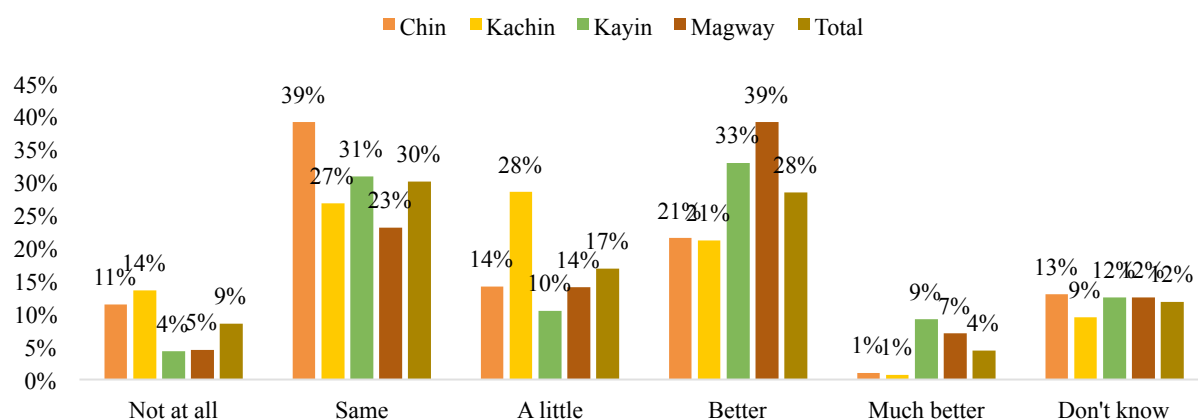


Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

4.3.3. Police service has improved

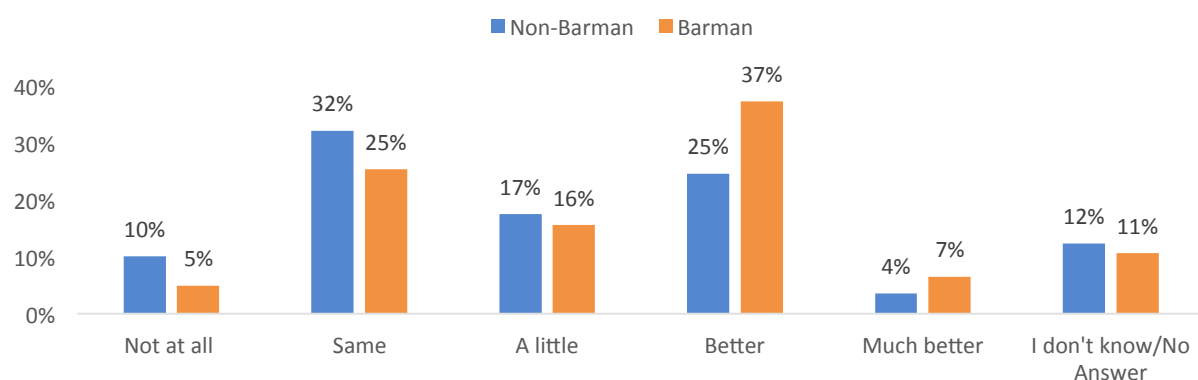
On average, almost one third (32.8%) of survey respondents view that the current policing is better (28.39%) and much better (4.4%) than five years ago. Among four regions, respondents from Kayin state have the most positive view about the current policing; 9% of respondents feel that the current policing is much better than five years ago, while respondents from Kachin have the least positive view; less than 1% feel that the current policing is much better than five years ago (Figure 9). While almost half of female and male view that the current policing is better than five years ago, male respondents are slightly more positive than female respondents. Over 45.51% of female and almost 60% of male respondents feel that the current policing is better than five years ago; in the view of 3.5% of female and 6.5% of male respondents, the current policing is much better than five years ago. And almost one fourths of female (24.58%) and well over one thirds of male respondents, the current policing is better (Figure 11).

Figure 9: Is current policing better than five years ago (by state)



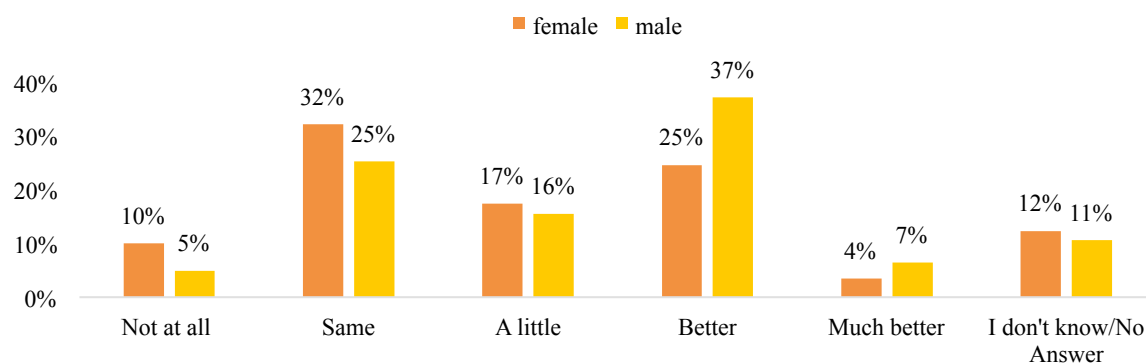
Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Figure 10: Is Current policing better than five years ago (by ethnicity)



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

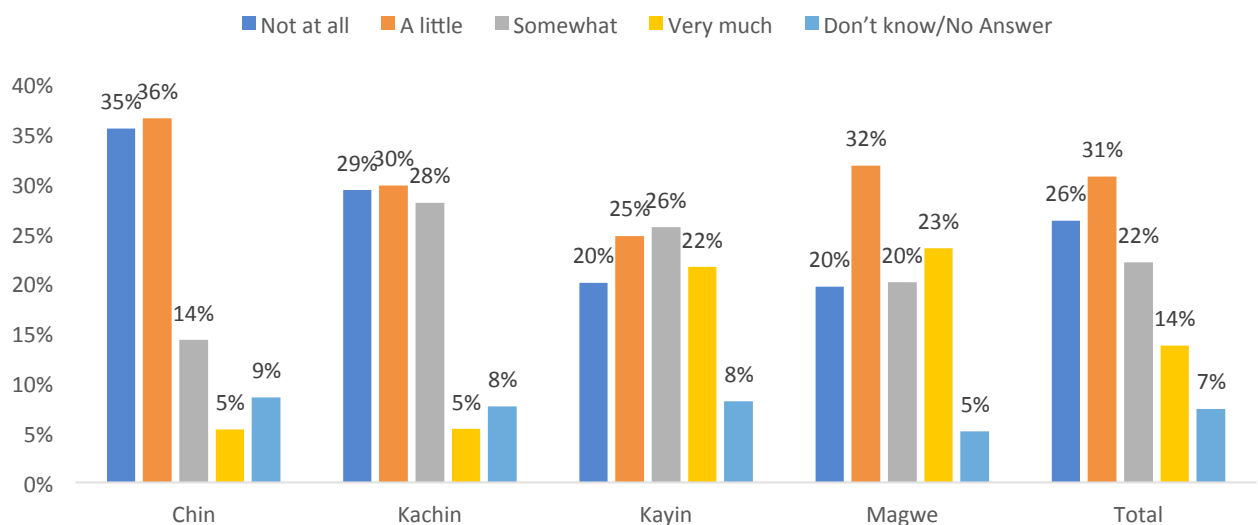
Figure 11: Is Current policing better than five years ago (by gender)



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Similarly, the perception of respondents on the current police service is good. Over one third of the respondents (35.78%) viewed that the current police service is better than before, of which respondents from Magway are the most positive as 23.48% viewed that the current police service much better and another 20% think it is somewhat better. The perceptions of Chin and Kachin respondents are less positive, as only 5.3% of respondents in both feel that the current police service is very much better. Nonetheless, over 20% in Chin and 33% in Kachin feel that the current police service is somewhat better or very much better. Overall, a little over one fourth (26%) of respondents state that the police service in the community does not improve at all while over two thirds of respondents feel that the police service in the community improves (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Respondents’ feeling about the police service in the community



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

However, visibility of police is low in all regions and states. It is understandable because of the low police-population ratio in Myanmar. According to the key informant interviews, there is only one police in 1500 people. International standard is one police for 450 people. Justifiably, participants in the FGDs stated that they want to see more police patrols.

4.3.4. Public feel safer now than before the ceasefire agreement was signed

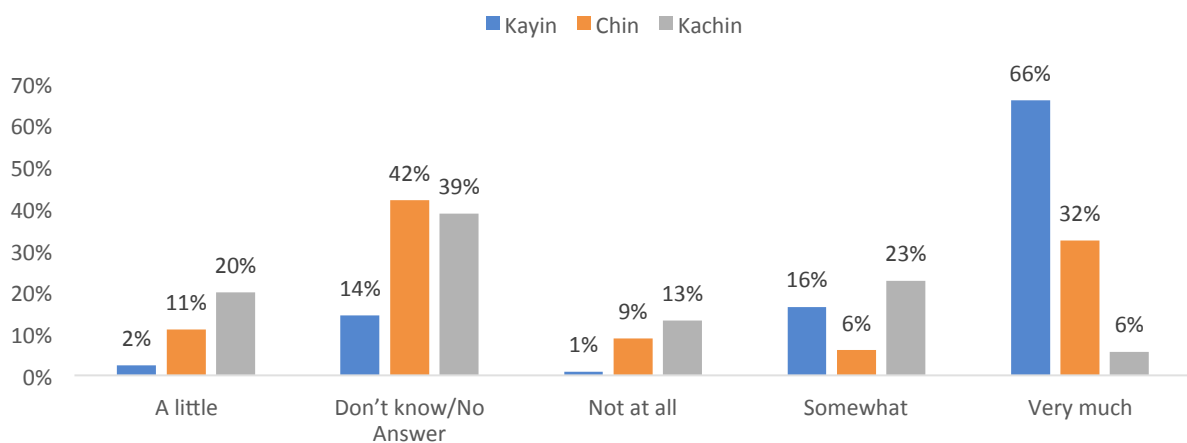
Our data shows that the impact of achieving ceasefire agreement on the public's feeling of safe in their regions is high. The effect of ceasefire agreement on the security and safety of the general public is obvious in statements made by FGD participants. A FGD participant from Mee Pone village, Moe Mauk, Kachin State stated that "before, we were taken by the military as porters and we had no choice but to do what we were asked to do. Nowadays, there is no such thing. Our region has peace now" (FGD conducted on 27 March 2019, at Mee Pone village, Moe Mauk, Kachin State). Similarly, another FGD participant from See Inn village, Bamaw, Kachin State also shared their plights when there were armed conflicts between the Tamadaw and the ethnic armed groups:

"Our village used to be situated between two armies. When the battle happened, our village would get burned into ashes. Those shot from East won't reach to the target but end up in our village, and likewise for another. The main problem is our village's geographical location. Now, we are safe. Being surrounded by two armies from both sides, there will be no village that is safe like ours. We are now extremely safe. We are safe and secured as long as there is no battle. Our village is very safe and peaceful when political situation is stable. We are scared of seeing guns. But when political situation becomes unstable, it is so scary to live in our village. There is no place we can run away to. We are fearful when we will be hurt. (FGD conducted on 31 March 2019, at See Inn village, Bamaw, Kachin State.)

According to our survey data, in Kayin state, where the ceasefire agreement has signed and has never broken since then, 65.86% of survey respondents feel very much safer now than before the ceasefire agreement was signed while only 5.63% of respondents in Kachin state, in which a ceasefire agreement was broken since 2011 and armed clashes erupt until the end of 2018, feel very much safer after the ceasefire agreement was signed. On the other hand, in Chin state where ceasefire agreement was signed and region is peaceful, less than one third of the survey respondents (32.28%) feel very much safer and other 6.05% of respondents feel somewhat safe now than before the ceasefire agreement was signed. This case of the Chin state hints that the level of socio-economic development of a region might play an important role in forming the public's perception and feeling about the peace and security (Table 9). Peace might not be the only factor for people to be safe. Poverty might be responsible for the people to feel of not safe. Further study should be conducted to understand why peace in

Chin state does not make the people three feel safe. One interesting finding is that when asking to what extent they feel safer now than before the ceasefire agreement was signed, significantly high number of respondents in Chin and Kachin states (47.7% of female and 35.6% of male in Chin state, and 39.3% of female and 37.9% of male in Kachin state) answer “don’t know” (Figure 13).

Figure 13: The extent respondents feel safe now than before the ceasefire agreement was signed



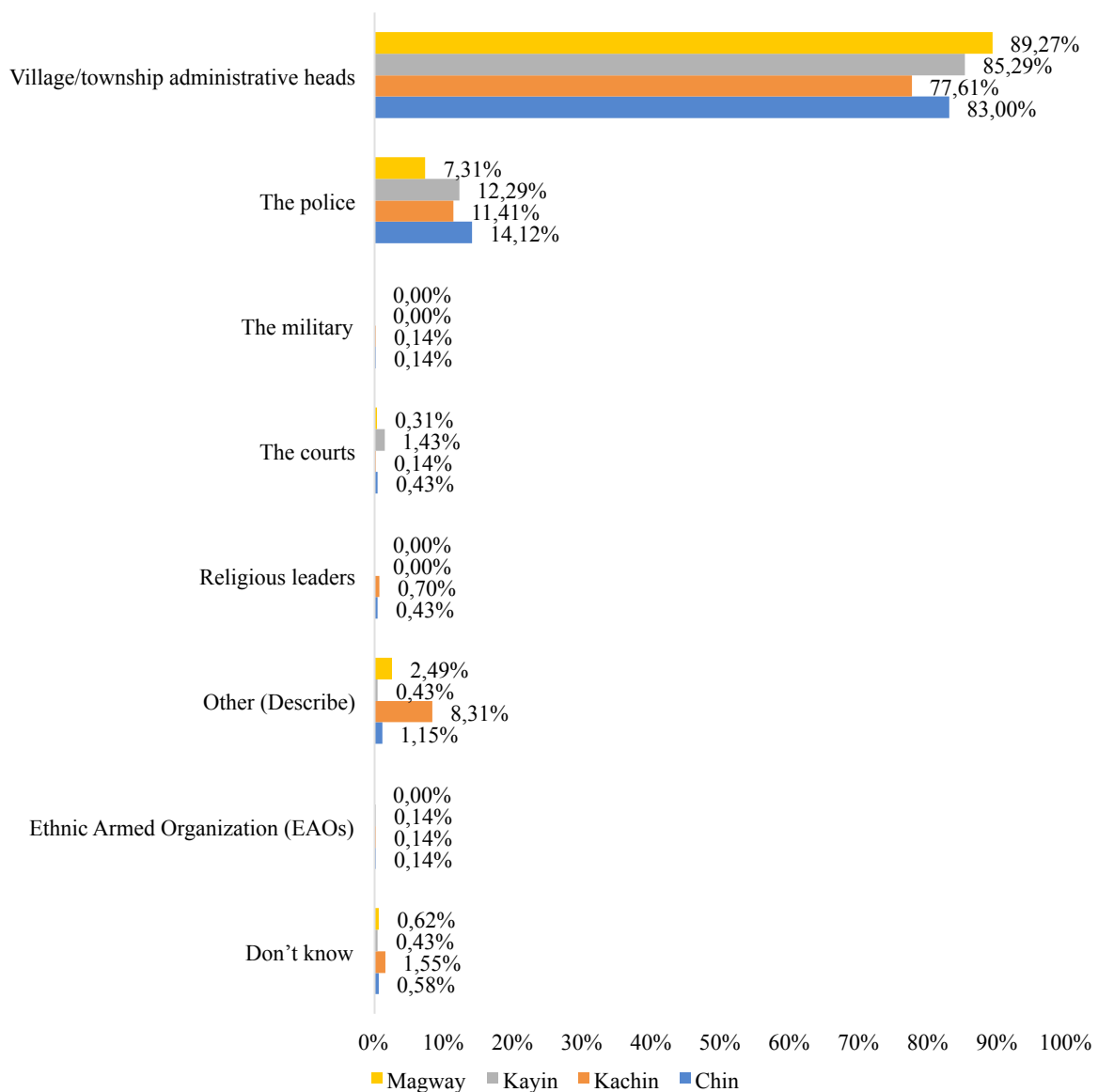
Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

4.3.5. Public and police relationships

According to participants in the FGDs, although police service improves in all regions and public and police relationship has improved in most of the areas, community attitude towards the police has not been improved yet. Popular perceptions of the police is also still low and there is a lack of trust in the police force especially in Kachin State. People are more comfortable to talk to village or township administrative heads, rather than to police directly. One FGD participant from at Kyanginn village, Moe Mauk, Kachin State, stated that “when there is a case, first of all village/township administration office is reported.” (FGD conducted on 28 March 2019, at Kyanginn village, Moe Mauk, Kachin State.) And girls and women do not want to go to the police when they are abused or attacked. (FGD conducted on 2 March 2019 at Kya Inn Village, Pha-An Township, Kayin State). Such attitude and practice are the same in Kachin State. One participant at a FGD conducted on 26 March 2019, at A Linn Kaung Ward, Moe Mauk, Kachin State also state the same time: “Mostly, cases are

taken care of and resolved by the village/ward administration leaders. People here rarely use police services”. These findings are in line with a study done on public trust on police by Aung and May (2019). Our survey data reveals that on average just over 11% of survey respondents reported that the police resolve their cases when their property were stolen while on average over 83% of respondents stated that village or township administrative heads resolved their cases (Figure 14). People are afraid of people in uniform of all kinds, either soldiers, police or EAO members. Even if there is a crime, people do not want to approach the police. According to interviewees from Chin state, people do not know the phone number to call and report the police (Chin I_C_02).

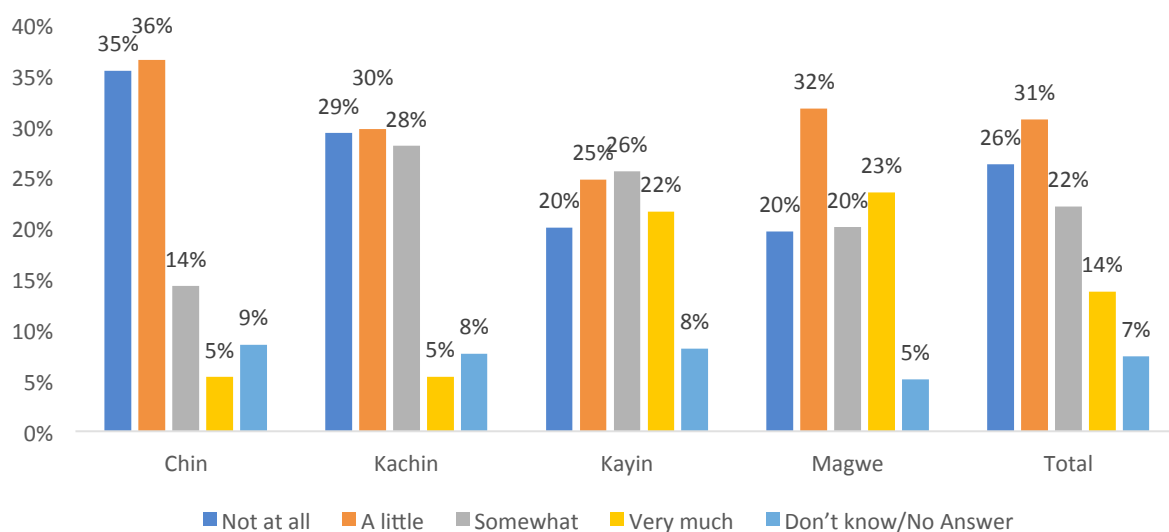
Figure 14: Responsible body that resolve the issues related to property theft



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Furthermore, on average, over two thirds of respondents (67%) state that they feel that police provide security in their community while just over one fourth (26.21%) do not feel that the police provide security service in their communities. Chin has the least positive view; over one third of the respondents (35.45%) feel that the police are not providing security service in their community. The condition in Chin state indicates that the police in Chin state might be more under-staffed and under-resourced than other regions and states, thus its visibility in the community and the communication with the public and community are also ineffective too, which might be another reason for people in Chin state do not feel safe although the region is safe. On the other hand, Kayin and Magway have the most positive feeling; almost half of respondents in Kayin and Magway feel that police provide security in their community. It is interesting to note that Kayin has more positive than Magway (47.14% in Kayin compared to 43.54% in Magway) (Figure 15). The Burman have slightly more positive view than the non-Burman; the mean value of Burman is 2.5301669 while that of non-Burman is 2.1286119. According to our interview and FGDs data, not only the relationship between the public and the police, but also those between the police and the military, as well as the police and KIA are not good.

Figure 15: Respondents feel that police provide security in their community



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

As stated above, police service has improved in all regions. Crime rate has decreased, except the increment of petty crimes in a few regions. However, the level of police service delivery varies among states and regions. And the trust level of people in the police is still low. This seemingly contradiction between the lack of public trust in the police and the participants' perception that police service has improved suggests that public trust and police service delivery performance might be two different issues. Factors for disparities include the state of political stability in the region, the level of prosperity of regions and states, and racial heterogeneity and animosity in the regions (e.g., between Shanni and Kachin in Kachin state) (Interview: Kachin I_KC_05). Police service performance clearly depends on resources it has (Khaing, 2016; Kelling & Wilson, 1982). One interviewee (a director at Chin Regional General Administration Department - GAD) emphasizes the negative impacts of resource constraint, both human and financial, on the performance of police and security services, also in its ability to implement public and community participation in the policy and decision-making programs (Interview: Chin_08). Furthermore, the level of service delivery improvement also hinges on the type and quality of the Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs) and the lack or the existence of interethnic conflicts in particular region.

“KIA was the biggest threat.... KIA makes the biggest security problem for us. Since the emergence of the KIA in 1962, we were bullied by the KIA. We were subject to extortion – we had to pay them and we were also subjected to forced recruitment. ... [D]uring last 17 years of ceasefire with the KIA, we saw the reduction of those abuses by the KIA, but when ceasefire broke down, we have to suffer those abuses again. During the ceasefire period, the KIA reduced forced recruitment. When the fighting resumed again, the KIA also increased the forced recruitment not only toward Kachin but also Rakhine,” said one key informant interviewee from Kachin state (Interview: Kachin I_KC_05).

The above quotation on KIA shows that the interethnic conflicts between majority Kachin ethnic and Shanni ethnics in KIA controlled region negatively affect the public service delivery, including police service. It also illustrates that having ceasefire in the region creates peace and security in the region. In such regions that have interethnic conflicts, the police and the military do not have much role to place for the safety and security of the regions. At the

same time, the EAOs in Kayin state, which has also achieved ceasefire agreement are able to provide better security services, as well as to form better cooperation and working relationship with the regional government in providing public services in their region (Interview” KY_04).

4.4. Importance of ethnicity, religion, language,

Our study discovers that majority of respondents and interviews regards their ethnics and religions important and imply to prefer to use their native language. It is also found out that contrary to most previous studies, our data show that participants in this study do not generally feel discriminated in their access to health, education and security services provided by the different levels of government. sOver 85% of respondent feel that their ethnicity is very important. That feeling is almost similar between Burman and non-Burma; 86.33% of non-Burman and 84.24% of Burma feel that their ethnicity is very important (Table 3 & 4). In terms of religions, on average 92.32% of respondents feel that their religion is very important. It is not different between Christian and Buddhist on the importance of religion; 92.84% for Buddhist and 91.43% for Christian (Table 5 & 6). With regard to language, about more than 20% speak Burmese with police compared to their interaction at the market (Figure 16). For non-Burman, only about 46% speak Burmese to police compared to almost 99% in Burman (Figure 17). Based on these data, it should be recommended that the police need to recruit and employ more local people who have the similar ethnicity, religion and can use the local language.

Figure 16: Importance of ethnicity

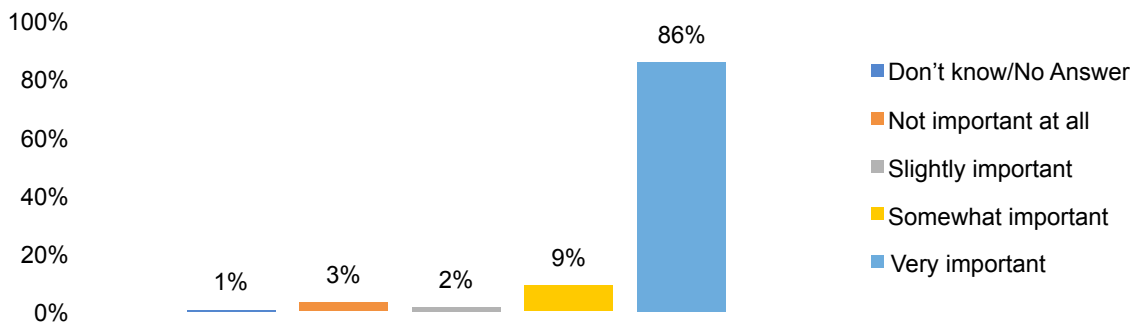
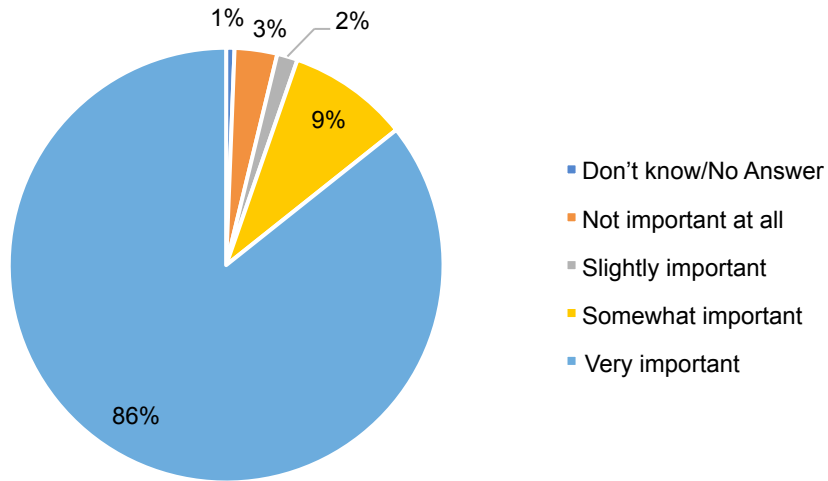


Figure 17: Importance of ethnicity by Bamar and non-Bamar

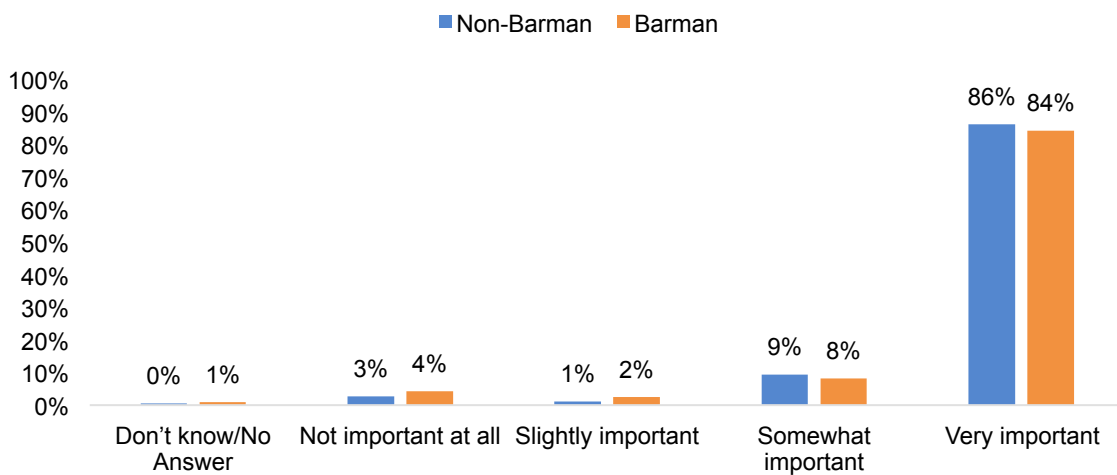


Figure 18: Importance of religion

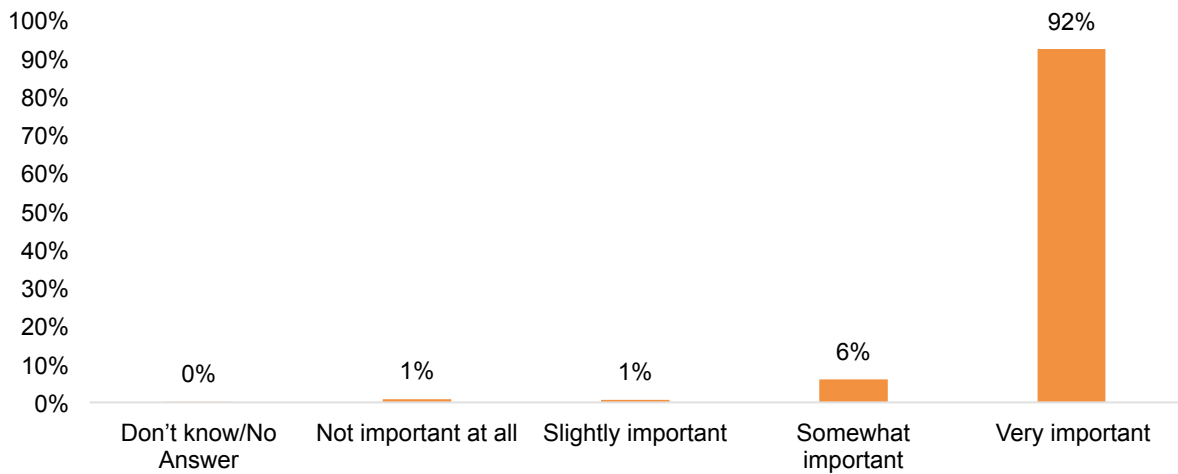
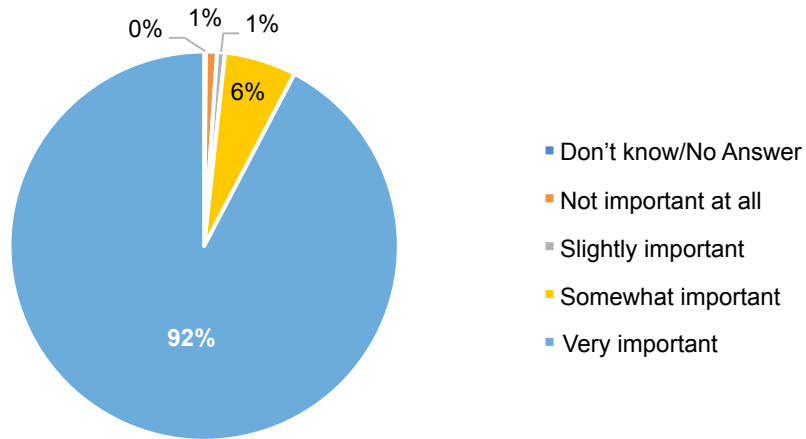


Figure 19: Importance of religion by different religions

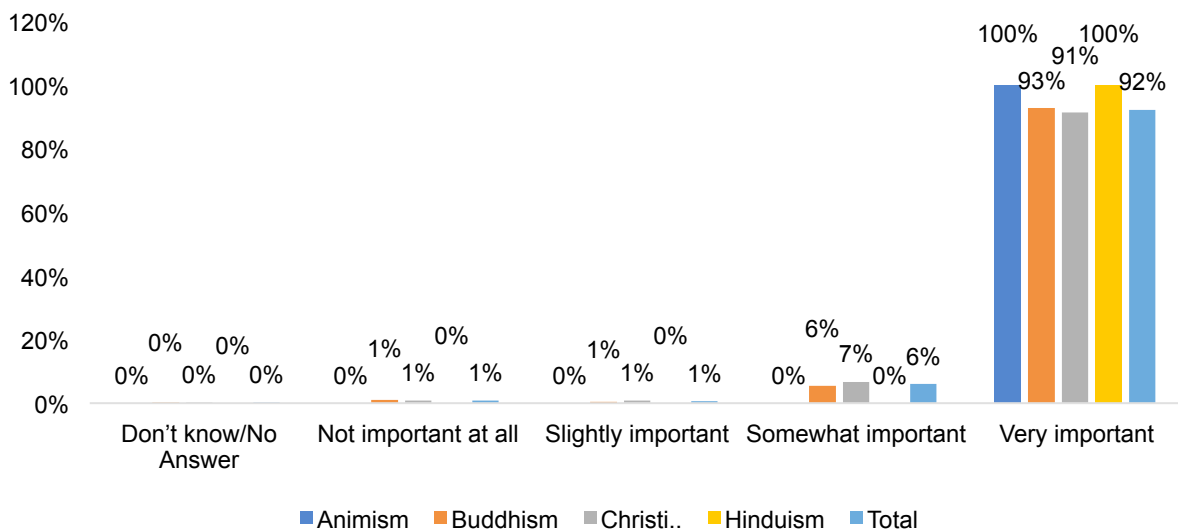
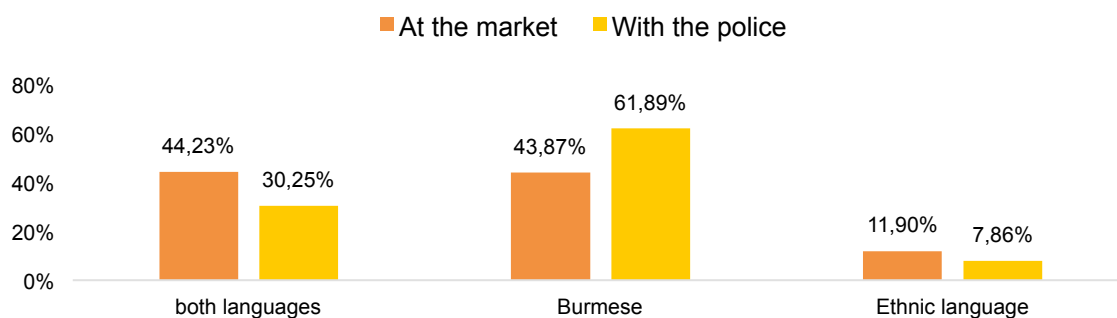
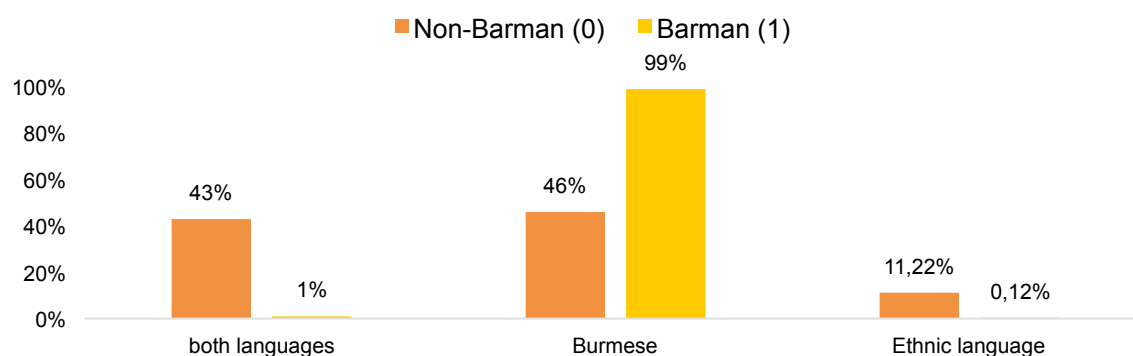


Figure 17: Use of language at market and with the police



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Figure 18: Use of language by Bamar and non-Bamar with the police



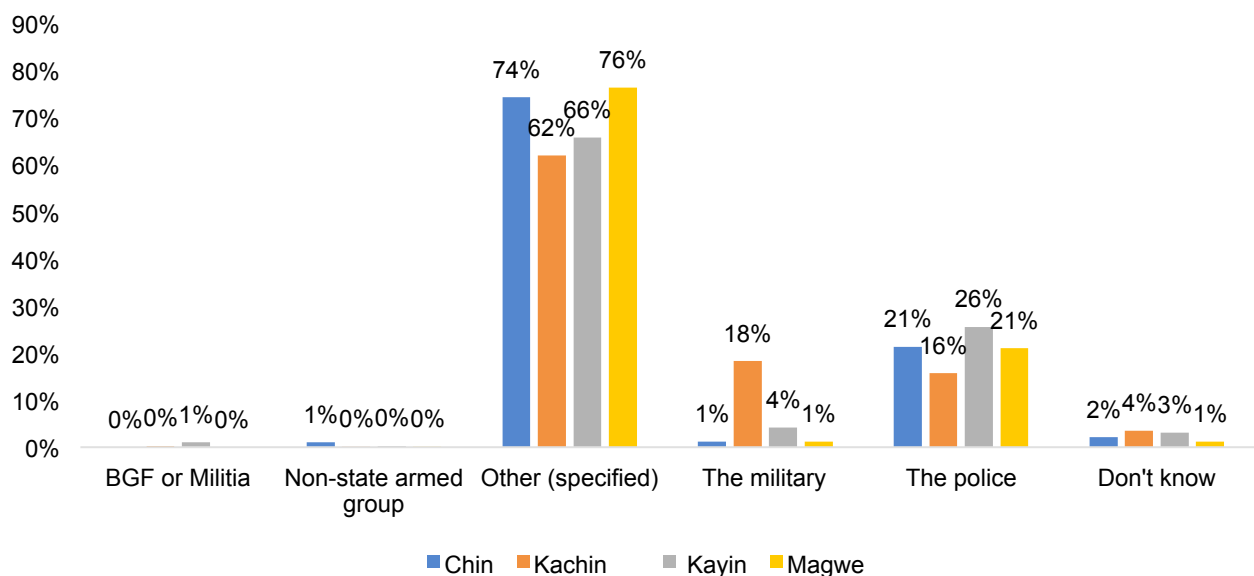
Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

4.5. The most responsible organization for the security needs

According to the survey data, the most responsible organization for the security needs in the village/town is neither the military, the police, nor the EAOs. About two thirds of the respondents stated that the most responsible organization for the security needs in their village or town is an organization such as village or township administration office, other than the military, or the police or the EAOs. Less than 1% of the respondents think that EAOs is the most responsible organization for their security. The role of the military is high in Kachin; 18.31% of respondents in Kachin stated that the military is the most responsible organization for their security while only 1.15% in Chin and 1.24% in Magway have the

same view. With regard to police, the view are quite similar among states; more than one fourth in Kayin (25.57%), more than one fifth in Chin (21.31%) and in Magway (21%) regard the police as the most responsible organizations for their security need (Figure 18). The implication of this finding is that in order to strengthen the security services in ethnic region, more support and resources should be given to organizations such as village or township administration offices. And the police reform process should take account of this requirement and necessary structural arrangements such as including the village or township administration offices as their key strategic partners. Through close cooperation and working of the police and such administration offices might also pave the way for the police to enhance its public image and in turn, earn the public trust in it.

Figure 22: Organization that is the most responsible for the security needs in the village/town



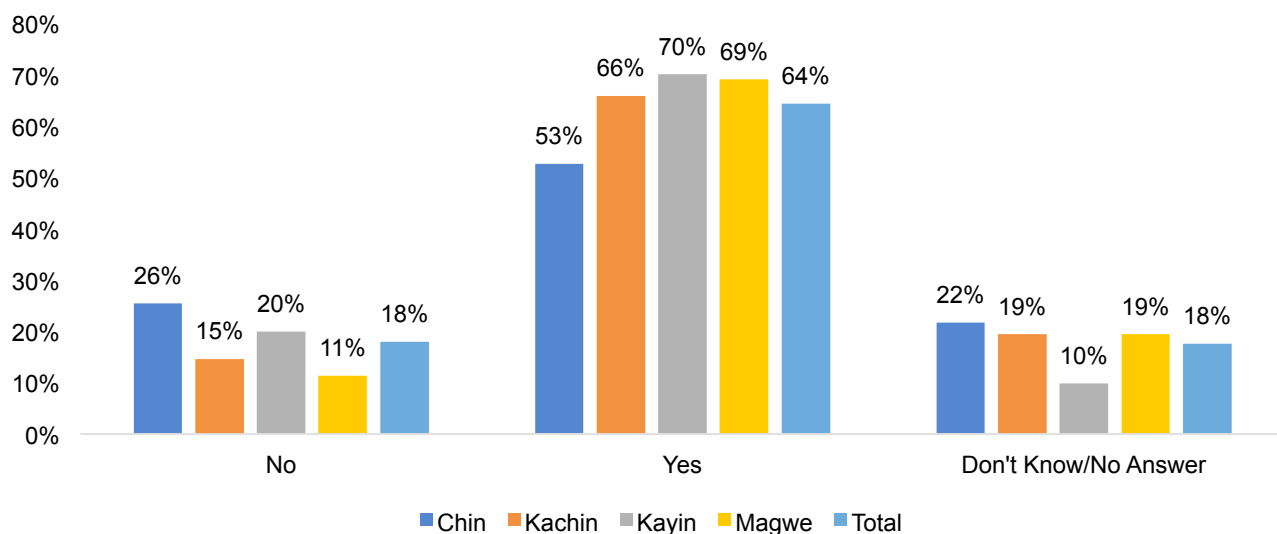
Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

4.6. Those responsible for security take sexual crimes seriously

Over two thirds of respondents feel that those responsible for security in their community take sexual crime seriously. There are slight differences among states. Kayin and Magway have feeling that is more positive; 70.14% and 69.21% respectively. Chin has the less positive feeling; 52.74% of respondents feel that responsible organizations take sexual crime

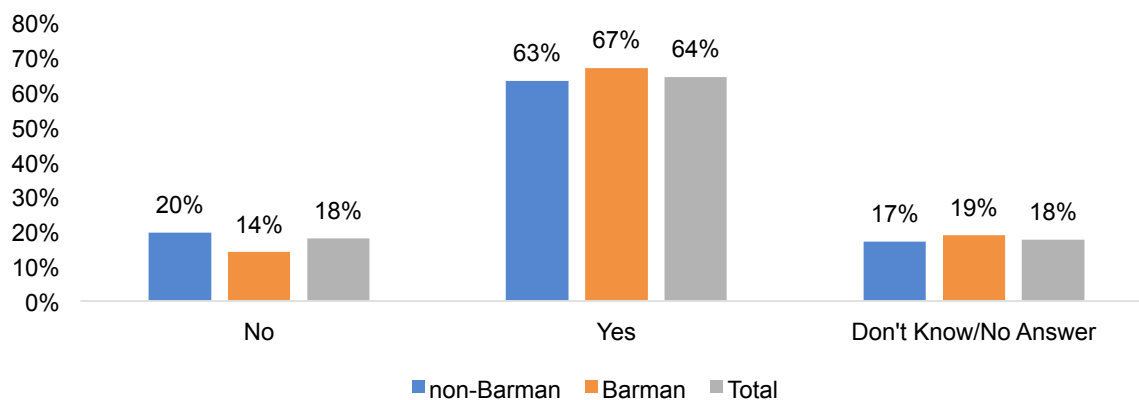
seriously while 25.50% think otherwise (Table 12). While Burman feel slightly better than non-Burman, that feeling is quite similar between Burman and non-Burman; 63.31% for non-Burman and 67.03% of Burman (Table 13). Male respondents have slightly more positive, the difference is little. 62.21% of female and 67.01% male feel the sexual crimes are taken seriously by responsible organization while 18.72% of female and 17.12% male feel otherwise (Table 14).

Figure 23: Those responsible for security take sexual crimes seriously by States



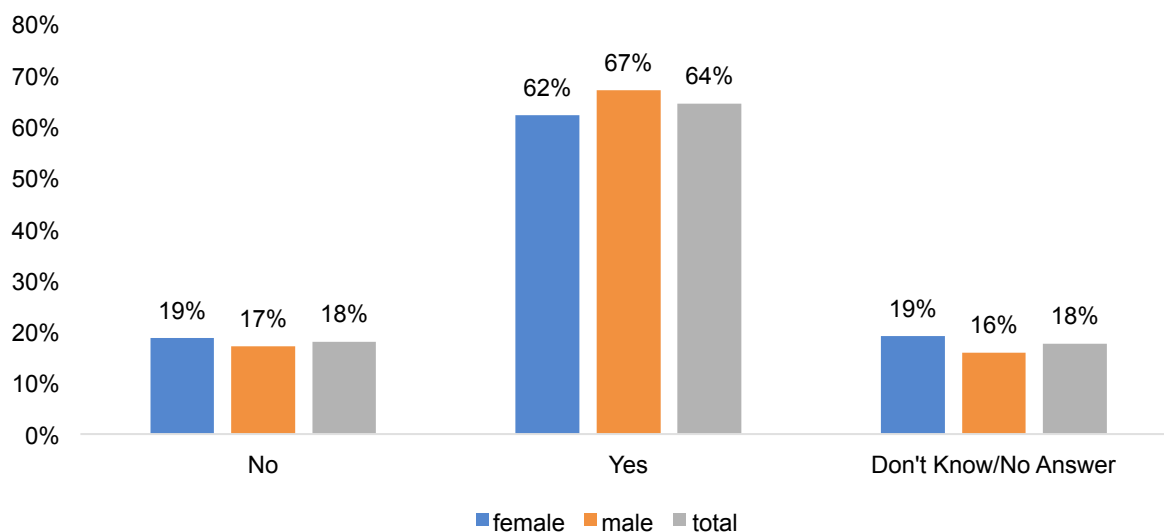
Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Figure 24: Those responsible for security take sexual crimes seriously by ethnicity



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Figure 25: Those responsible for security take sexual crimes seriously by gender

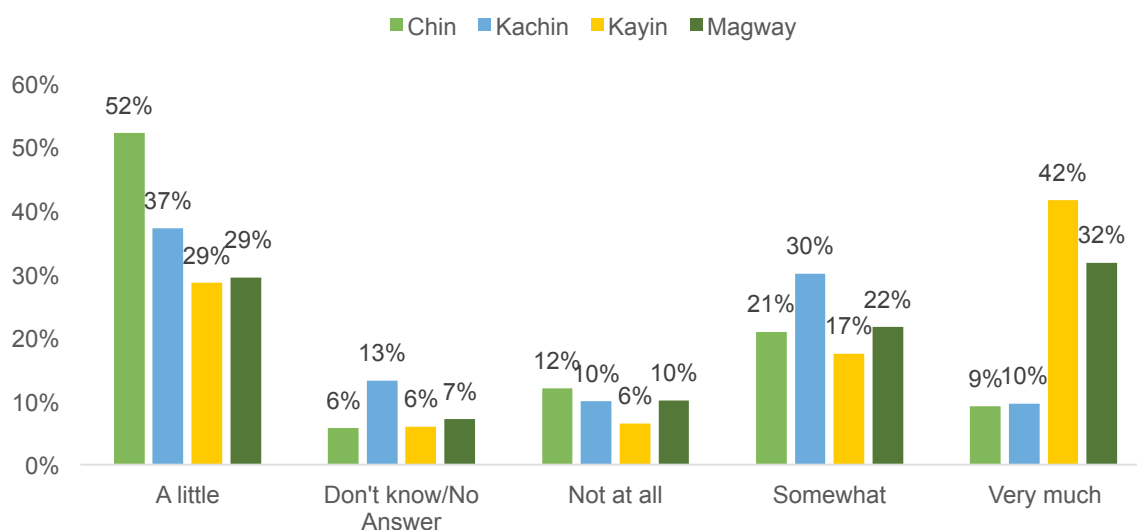


Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

4.7. The authorities understand public’s security needs

On average, over 75% of respondents feel that the authorities understand their security needs. The feelings are different among states. Kayin has the most positive feeling (41.57% of the respondent feel that the authority understands their security needs very much) while Chin has the least positive feeling; only 9.22% has the same feeling. However, 30% of respondents in Kachin and 20.89% of respondents in Chin feel that the authority has some understanding about the security needs (Figure 26). The better understanding of the authorities about the public’s security needs is important in the police reform and decentralization process. It also suggests that the authorities are cognizant of and responsive to what the community and public’s needs and requirements.

Figure 26: The authorities understand public’s security needs

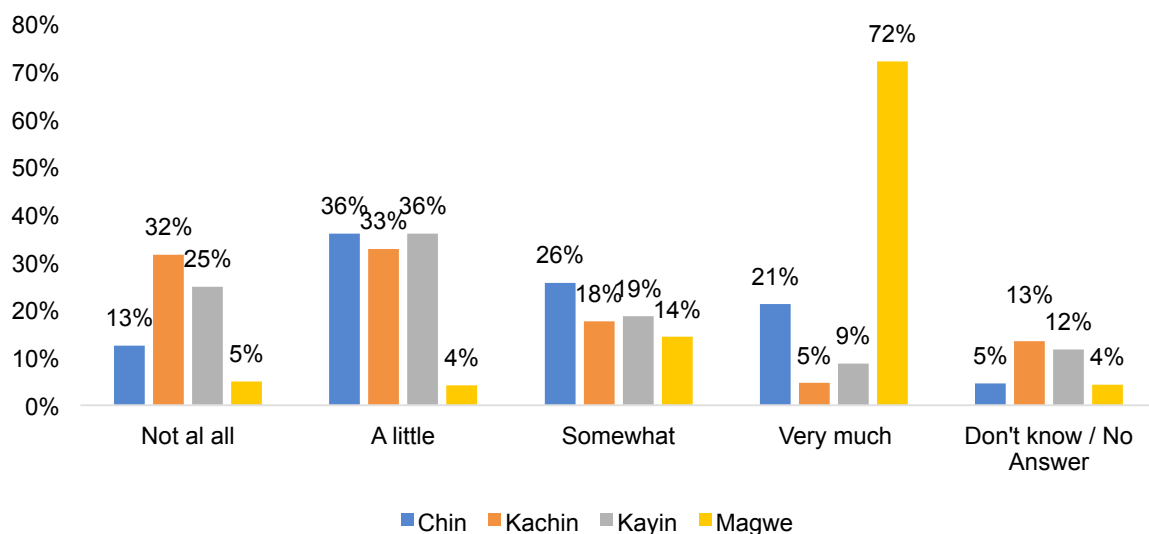


Source: MIPS-UoFT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

4.8. Local police force have officers similar to respondent ethnic background

On average, almost half of respondents (44.81%) report that officers at local police force are similar to their ethnic background. Magway has the most positive view (86.47%) that police officers are similar to their ethnic background. Kachin has the least positive view (4.65%) reporting that police officers are similar to their ethnic background, and the most negative view (31.55%) answering that police officers are not similar to their ethnic background. Based on the survey data, around 85% of police officers might be Bamar, while approximately 45% is Chin, around 27.42% is Kayin and about 22% is Kachin (Table 16). As discussed in previous sections, a fact that almost all respondents take their ethnicity (86%) and religion (92%) very important, that the relationship between the police and public is poor, and also that people are not willing to go to police might be related to the proportion of officers who are the same ethnicity as that of the region they base. When the decentralization authorizes the regional and state governments to select, hire and appoint police staff and officers for their regions, the proportion of the local police personals in the regional police departments will be increases, and the relationship and cooperation between the police and community could be improved

Figure 27: Local police force have officers similar to respondents' ethnic background



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

4.9 Gender issues

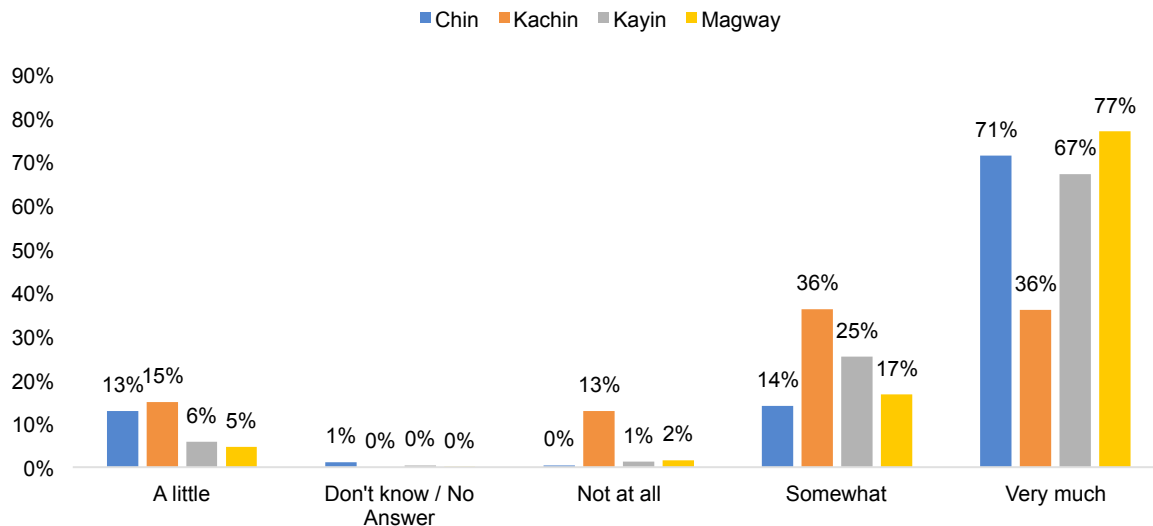
Gender sensitivity and awareness have increased in the police sector. In the FGDs, participants feel that police take crimes against women seriously. Respondents, including women, feel safer now than before. Moreover, majority of participants express that women feel safe in reporting crime to the police. The number of female police is increased and there are more recruitment of ethnic people and women in police sector (Kachin I_KC_10; IDRC 01-010). Currently about 9% of the police force are female in Kachin state (Interview: Kachin I_KC_04). Whether or not these changes are outcomes of the decentralization processes has yet to be explored. However, our data do not find policy commitments to mainstreaming gender equality in the system of MPF. There is no evidence that there is a gender-specific policy, strategy and recruitment system is in place in the structure of MPF. Respondents stated that policy planners in conflicted areas, such as Karen, do not regard gender issue as important. To them, what important is security. So are Kachin general public. Furthermore, it is also noted that there are both cultural and institutional barriers to gender equality. Interestingly, contrary to the reporting of most gender studies conducted in Myanmar, our study found out that in all topics, the perceptions and experiences of females are mostly the same as those of males. Having stated that, there is no recruitment system like how many women or how many minority policemen to recruit. Police recruit anyone they can

get. One interviewee from Kachin said, “For women and gender issue, there is no specific gender-related program but there has been a number of female police recruits and there were female police officers in the human trafficking unit as well. The female police usually handle cases like rape cases” (Interview: Kachin I_KC_04).

4.9.1 Women feel safe and comfortable in seeing and talking to police

Almost all our survey and FGD female respondents feel safer now than before. Moreover, majority of participants express that women feel safe in reporting crime to the police. Except in Kachin state, around 70% of female respondents in survey stated that they feel very much safe in their community: 71.47% in Chin state, 67.14% in Kayin state and 76.98% in Magway region. However, only 36.06% of female respondents in Kachin state reported that they feel very much safe in their community. Still, another 36.06% of Kachin female respondents said that they feel somewhat feel safe in their community. Thus in total, 72% of Kachin female respondents feel safe in their community (Table 17).

Figure 28: How much women feel safe in their community

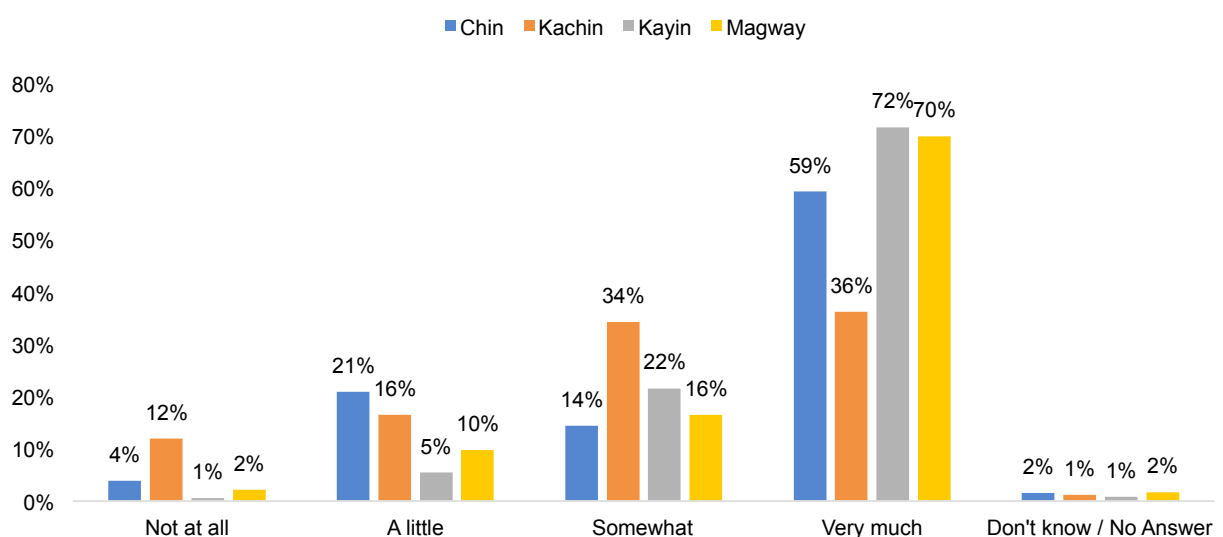


Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

It is remarkable to note that over 80% of female survey-participants state that they feel safer now than five years ago. The survey data reveal that female respondents in Kachin who feel very much safer now than five years ago is much lower than those in other states and region.

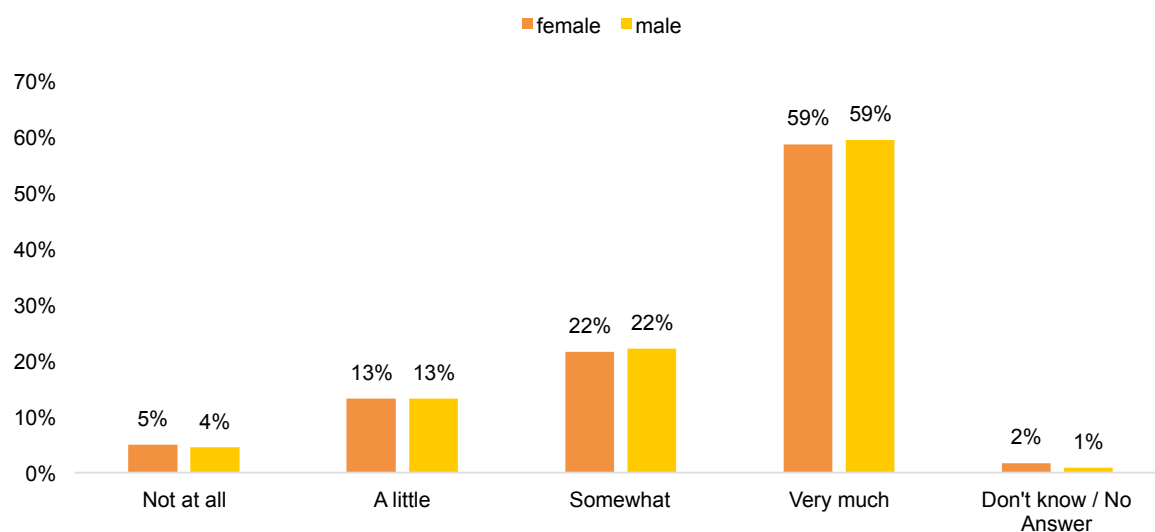
The percentage of survey female respondent who stated that they now feel very much safer than five years ago are 59.22% in Chin state, 36.2% in Kachin state, 71.57% in Kayin state and 69.83% in Magway region (Table 18). The feeling is not different between male and female participants, Bamar women and non-Bamar women, as well as regions (Table 19). Our survey data reveal that majority of respondents reported that women now feel safer than five years ago. Overall, the perceptions between female and male respondents are almost the same; the mean value of female respondents is 3.36 while that of male respondents is 3.37. Among non-Burman respondents, the perceptions of female and male are also similar to each other; the mean value of female is 3.50 while that of male respondents is 3.50. Among Burman respondents, it is almost identical; the mean value is 3.30 for female and 3.30 for male (Table 20). It is interesting to note that in Chin and Kayin States, non-Burman feel more safer than Burman. In Chin, the mean value of non-Burman is 3.31 while that of Burman is 3.17. In Kayin, the mean value is 3.66 for non-Burman and 3.09 for Burman. In Kachin, the perception between non-Burman and Burman are slightly different. Burman feel slightly more safer than non-Burman. The mean value is 2.63 for non-Burman and 3.09 for Burman. In Magway, the perception of non-Bamar and Bamar are almost the same, the mean value of non-Burman is 3.56 while that of Burman is 3.57 (Table 21 & 22).

Table 18: How much women feel safer now than five years ago, in different states



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 19: How much women feel safer now than five years ago, in different gender

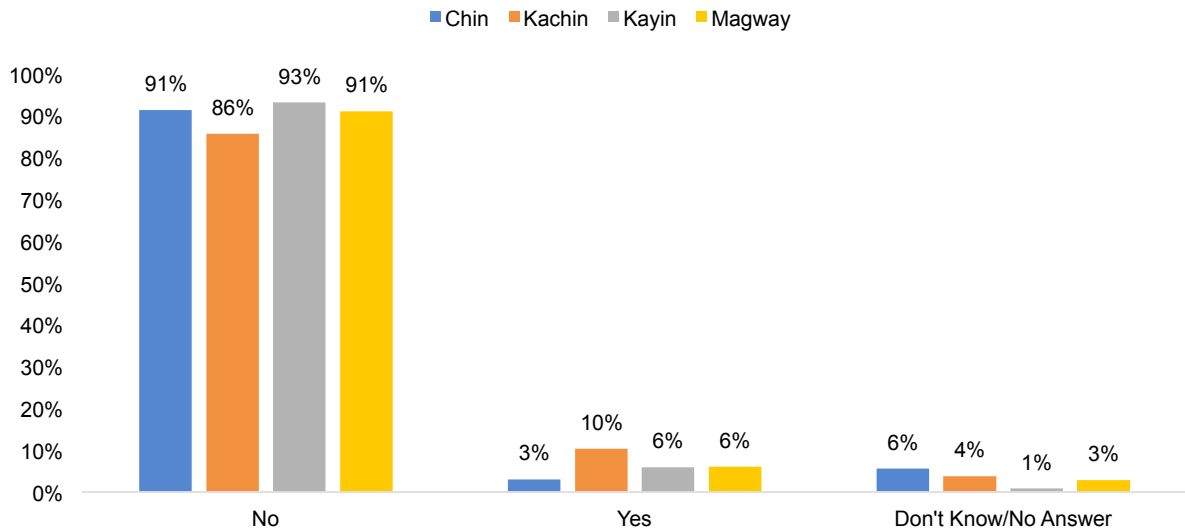


Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

4.9.2 Women does not have a say in issues related to security in their community

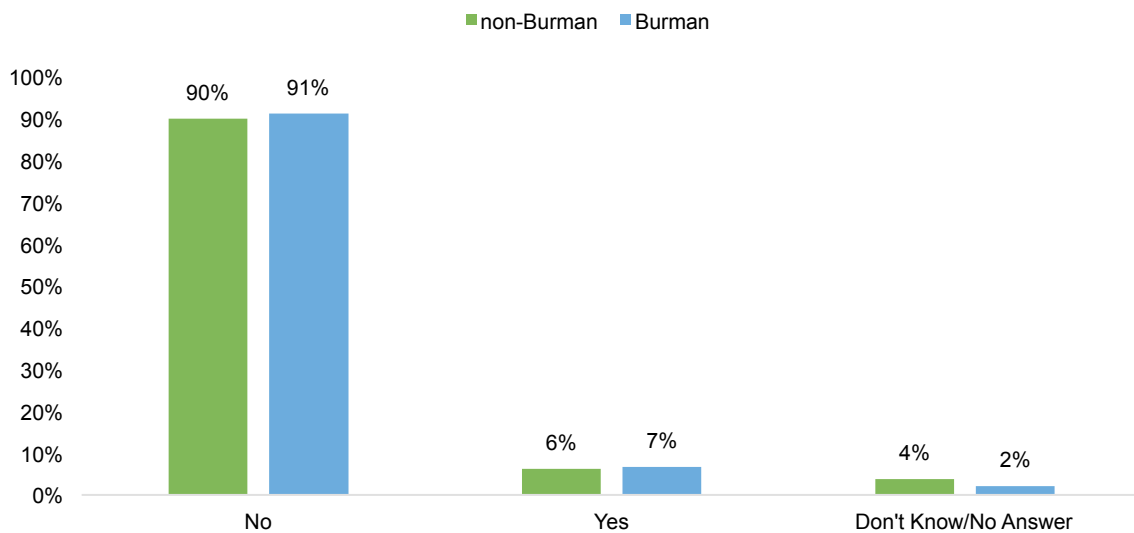
On average, over 90% of respondents view that women do not have a say in issues related to security in their community. Interestingly, contrary to other themes, Kachin has the least negative view (85.77%), which is in fact still very high, and Kayin has the most negative view (93.14%) (Table 23). The perception is very similar between female and male. Those who think that women have a say are 6.26% for non-Burman and 6.74% for Burman, while those who think that women do not have a say are 89.93% for non-Burman and 91.22 for Burman (Table 24). The fact that women have no say in security issues in their community demands gender sensitivity in all institutions in the country, not only in police sector. As in general women represent more than half of the population in all regions and states, the needs and views of women need to be taken into account.

Table 23: Women have a say in issues related to security in their community



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 24: Women have a say in issues related to security in their community



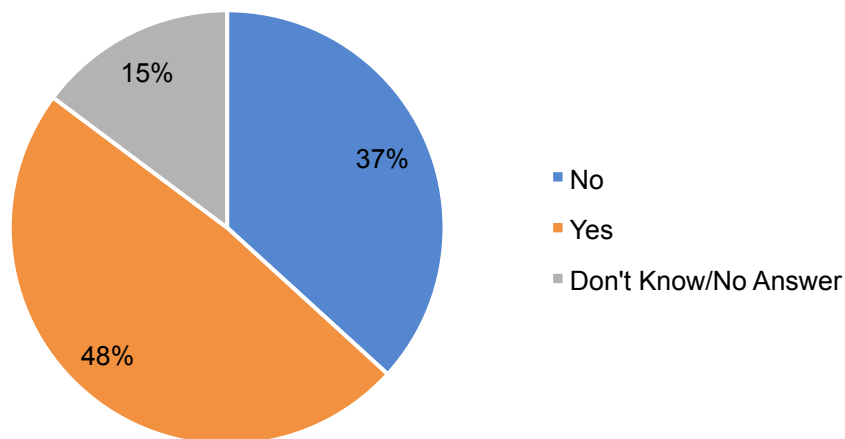
Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

4.9.3 Women do not feel comfortable seeing more the Military presence in their community

Respondents feel more comfortable than uncomfortable to see the Military presence in their community. Almost the half of respondents (48.45) feel comfortable seeing more Military

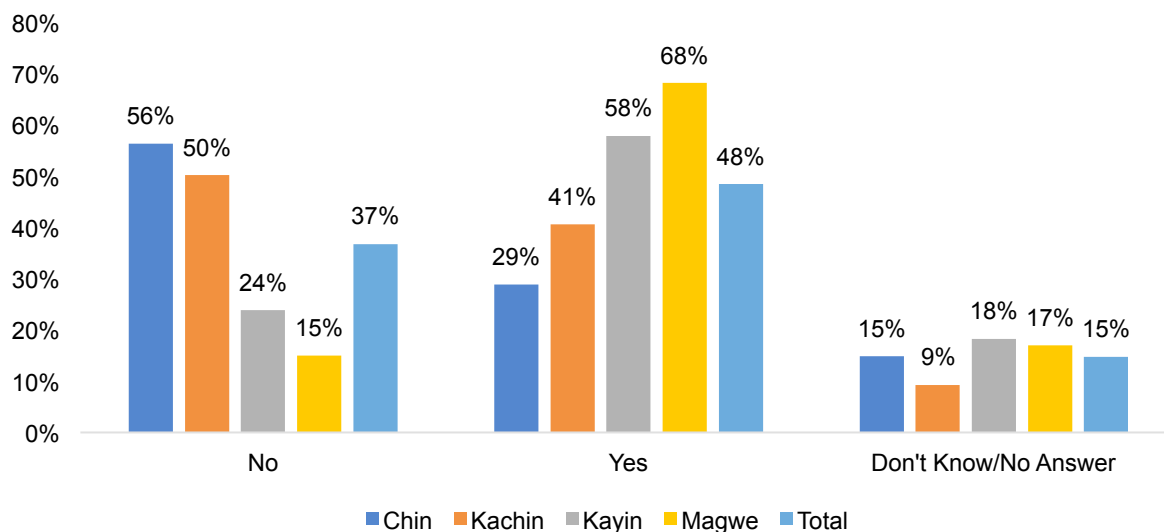
presence in their community (Table 25). The feeling of women significantly varies by state and region. Women in Magway and Kayin are very comfortable seeing the Military presence (68.12% of Magway and 57.86% of Kayin are comfortable to see the Military presence) while Chin and Kachin are less comfortable (only 28.82% of Chin and 40.56% of Kachin are comfortable) (Table 26). Burman are more comfortable than non-Burman to see Military presence in their community; 67.15% of Burman and 40.34% of non-Burman general feel seeing Military presence in their community (Table 27). The perception is almost identical between male and female respondents; 48.17% of female and 48.78% of male respondents feel comfortable to see the Military presence in their community while 36.09% of female and 37.55% of male respondents do not (Table 28).

Table 25: Women do not feel comfortable seeing more the Military presence



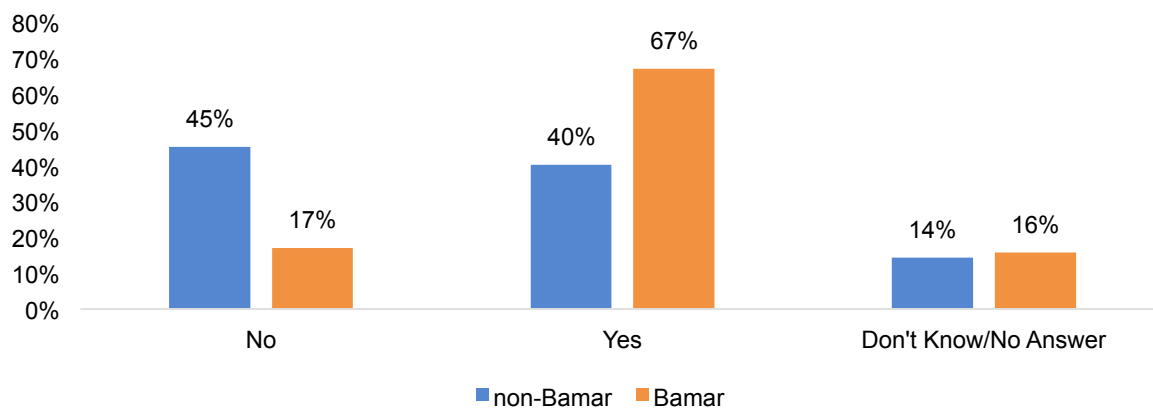
Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 26: Women do not feel comfortable seeing more the Military presence by State



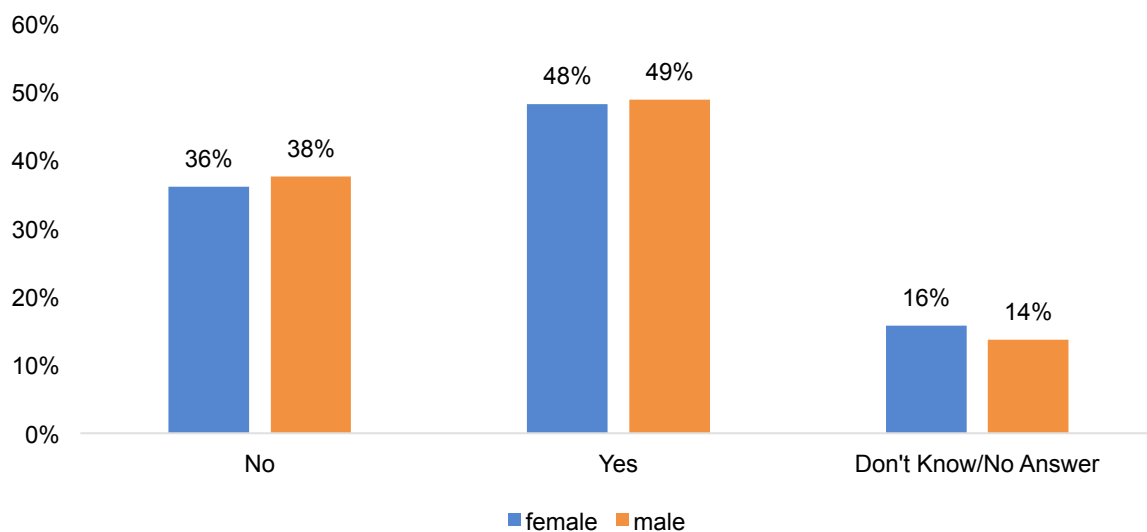
Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 27: Women do not feel comfortable seeing more the Military presence, by non-Burman and Burman



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 28: Women do not feel comfortable seeing more the Military presence, by gender

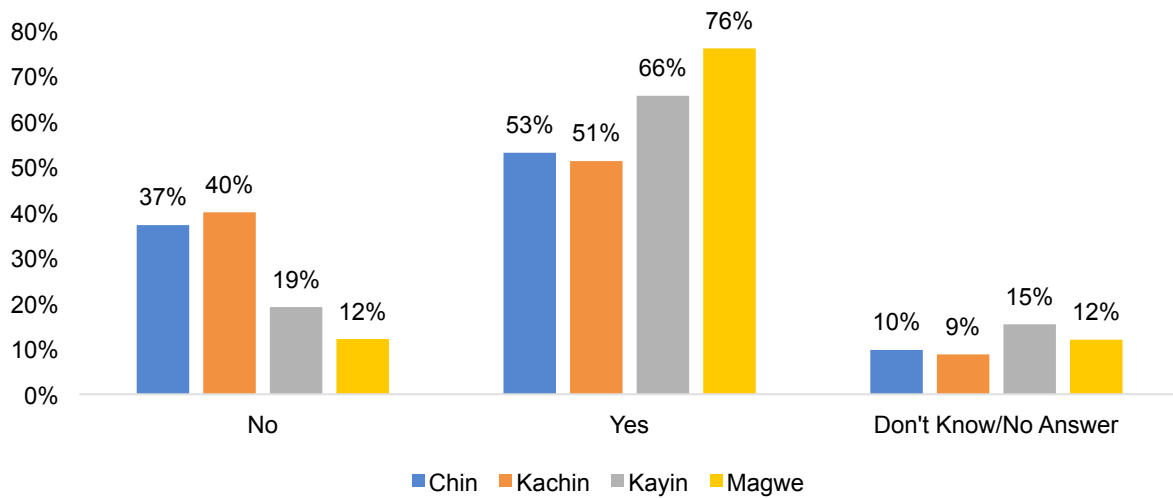


Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

4.6.4 Women do not feel comfortable seeing more the Police presence in their community

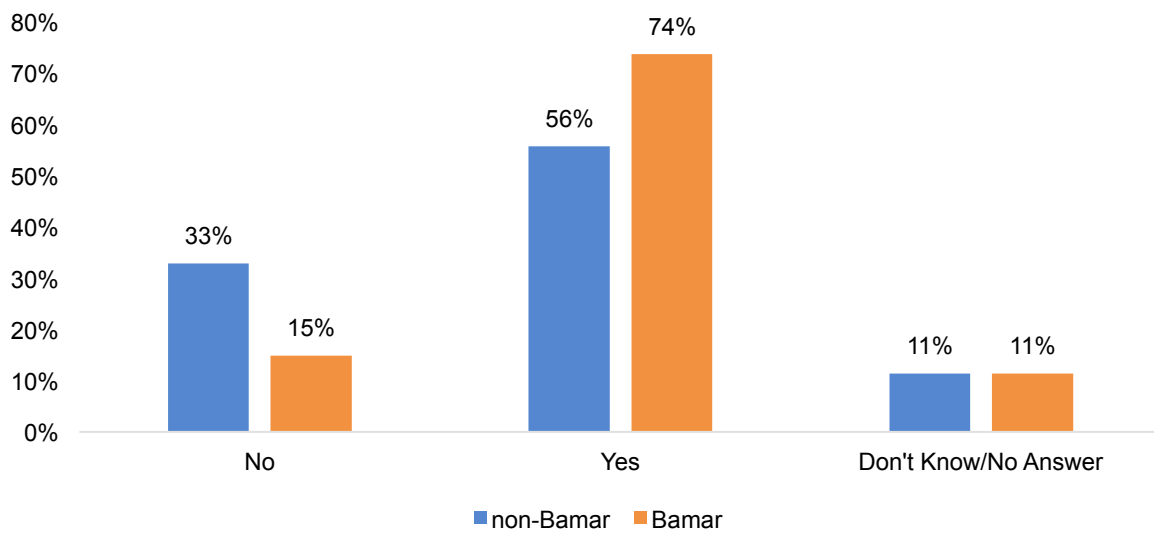
By state and region, Magway and Kayin are the most police friendly regions while Kachin and Chin are the least friendly, over three fourths of respondent in Magway (75.89%) and almost two thirds in Kayin while just over half of respondents in Chin (53.03%) and in Kachin (51.27) are feeling comfortable (Table 29). On average, over 60% of respondents feel comfortable seeing more the police presence in their community. Burman are more comfortable seeing more police in their community, than non-Burman; Over half of non-Burman (55.69%) are comfortable seeing more police in their community while almost three fourths of Burman (73.65%) are comfortable seeing more police in the community (Table 30).

Table 29: Women do not feel comfortable seeing more the Police presence, by State



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 30: Women do not feel comfortable seeing more the Police presence, by ethnicity



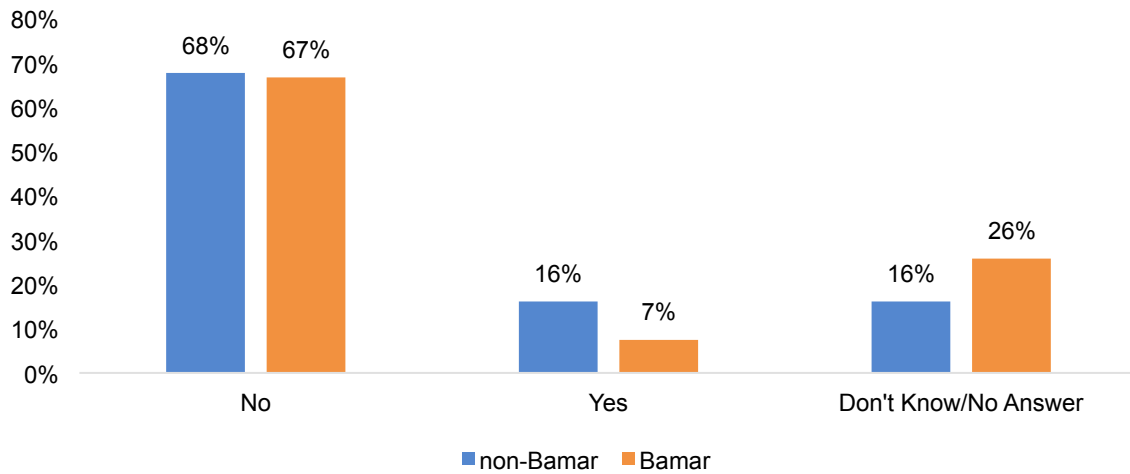
Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

4.9.5 Women do not feel comfortable seeing more EAO presence in their community

Over two thirds of both Burman and non-Burman respondents generally do not feel comfortable seeing more EAO present in their communities. The perception of Burman and non-Burma are almost same; 67.69% of Burman and 66.79% of non-Burman feel uncomfortable to see EAO in their community. Interesting to note that non-Burman are more uncomfortable to see EAOs than Burman, as 67.69 of non-Burman and 66.79 Burman. On the other hand, the survey data show that non-Burman are also more comfortable to see EAO than Burman; 16.13% of non-Burman feel comfortable seeing EAO in their communities while only 7.46% of Burman feel comfortable seeing EAO in their communities (Table 31). The differences in this perception are more visible in the different states. The women's feeling of uncomfortable in seeing EAO is highest in Kachin (82.54%) and Chin (81.84) and the lowest in Kayin (38.57). Based on the survey data, it should be argued that the women's feeling toward EAO might be more influenced by the nature and type of EAOs in those particular communities and people's experiences with EAOs there. Such inference is made because of a fact that in Chin, which is a state in which there is no armed-conflict, over four fifths of respondents reported that women do not feel comfortable to see more EAO presence in their communities and only 3.31% stated that women feel comfortable to see them.

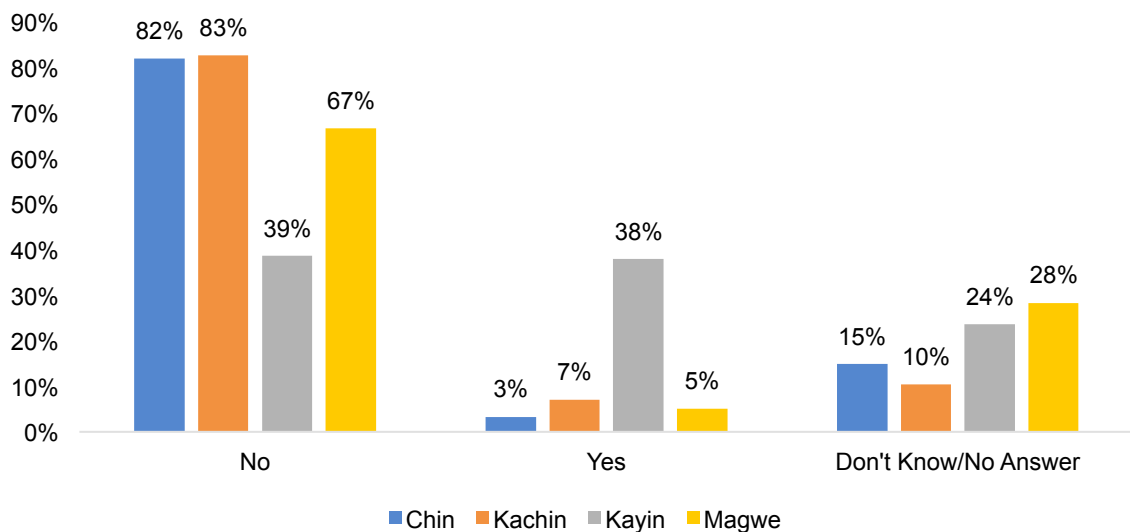
Moreover, the survey data also show that women in Kayin are more EAO friendly; more than one third of respondents in Kayin (37.86) think that women feel comfortable seeing more EAO presence in their communities while over 80% of respondents in Chin and Kachin answered that women are uncomfortable, and only just over one third of respondents (38.57) responded that women feel comfortable seeing more EAO presence while 3.31% in Chin, 7.04% in Kachin and 5.13% in Magway stated women are comfortable to seeing more EAO presence in their communities (Table 32). This perception on women feeling toward the presence of EAO in their communities are almost the same for male and female respondents. 65.47% of female and 69.68% of male answered women are uncomfortable seeing EAO presence in their communities and 13.98% of female and 12.96% of male think that women are comfortable to see EAO presence in their communities (Table 33).

Table 31: Do women feel comfortable seeing more EAO presence in their community (by ethnicity)



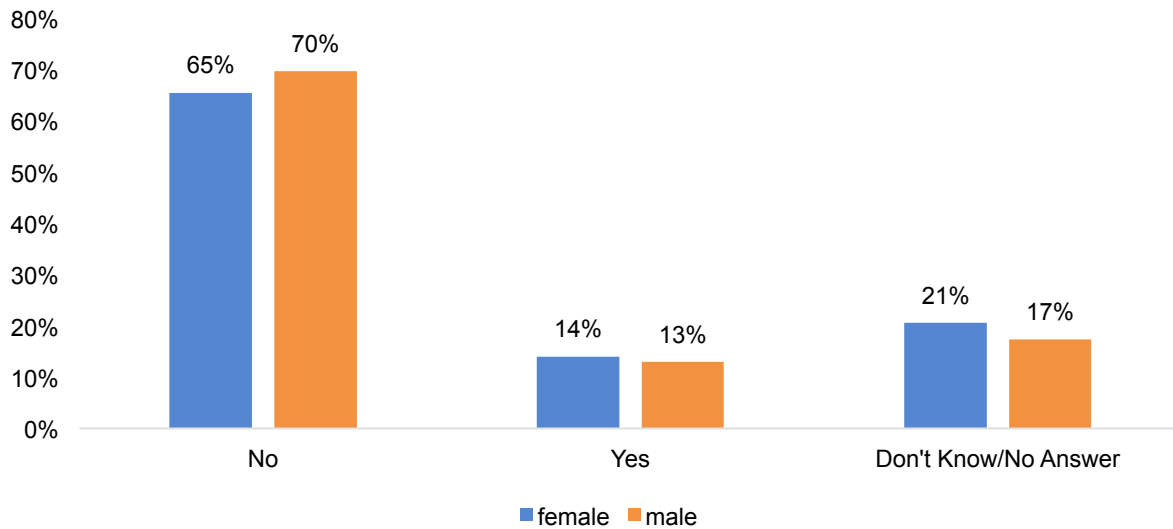
Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 32: Do women feel comfortable seeing more EAO presence in their community (by States)



Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 33: Do women feel comfortable seeing more EAO presence in their community (by States)

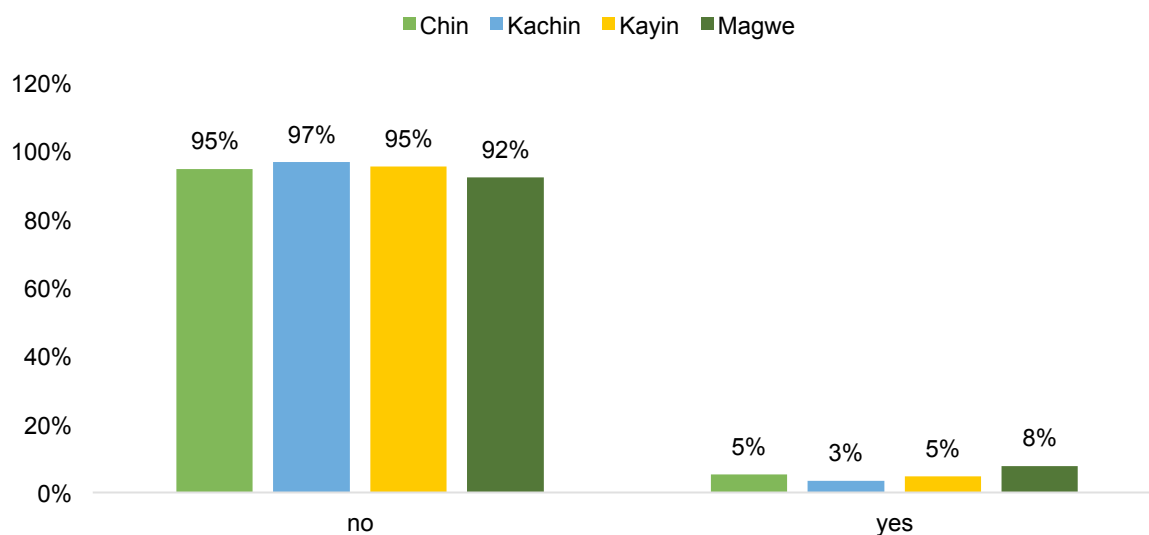


Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

4.9.6 Knowledge about women who have been harassed, sexually assaulted, or raped in community

According to the survey data, the number of cases in which women were harassed, sexually assaulted or raped are very rare in all four regions. Well over 90% of respondents do not know women who have been harassed, sexually assaulted, or raped in their communities. The number of cases respondents know or do not know are quite similar in states. The number of cases is highest in Magway (7.78%) and lowest in Kachin (3.38%) (Table 34).

Table 34: Knowledge about women who have been harassed, sexually assaulted, or raped in community (by States)

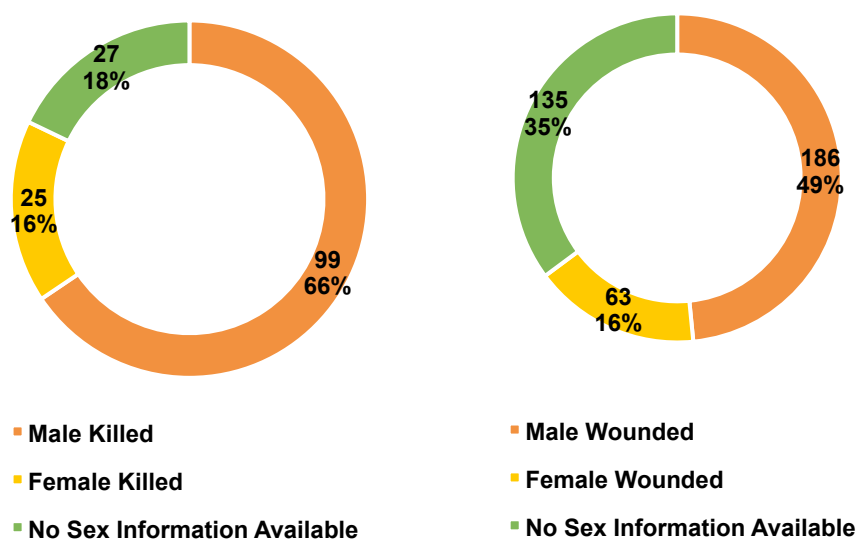


Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

4.9.7 Conflicts cause more males wounded and died

A study of MIPS also reveals that the majority of civilians who died due to conflict-related incidents nationwide is male, not female as argued by other gender studies. According to the Township-based Conflict Monitoring System (TCMS) administered by MIPS, there were 151 conflict-related civilian deaths in 2019, of which, the sex of 27 persons (18%) was not able to identified. Out of 124 persons, whose sex could be identified, only 25 (17%) were female and 99 (66%) were male (Figure 20). The TCMS also records that at least 384 civilians were wounded by conflict-related incidents in 2019. While the sex of 135 persons (35%) was not able to discovered, it is reported that only 63 persons (16%) were female, and 186 (48%) were male (MIPS, 2020) (Figure 20). This finding shows that women are not more affected by conflicts in Myanmar as showed and argued by previous studies.

Figure 20: The sex of civilians wounded or died by conflict-related incidents in 2019



Source: MIPS, 2020: 5 & 8.

5. Conclusion

Our data show that police service has improved in all regions, crime rate has decreased and people feel safer now than before. The overall public perception about the security and police service is thus positive in all four states; majority of respondents, including women, feel safe and safer than last five year, the crime rates have reduced, and police service has improved. On the other hand, the public trust in the police is still very low and the relationship between the police and public is also poor. As a result, people do not go to police when there are crimes or disputes; instead, they go to village or ward general administration office. These are the areas that need special focuses in the police reform and decentralization processes. In most cases, differences in the respondents’ perceptions are related to regions, notably in Kachin and Kayin states, being less optimistic in the former and more optimistic in the latter. In almost all themes covered and discussed in this study, our data show no, or at least not much, differences between the perceptions of males and females as well as between ethnicity, i.e., Bamar and non-Bamar respondents. However, the level of police service delivery varies among states and regions. Factors for disparities include the state of political stability in the region, the level of prosperity of regions and states, and racial heterogeneity and animosity in the regions. Moreover, the finding reveals that the level of service delivery improvement also hinges on the type and quality of the Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs) and the lack or the existence of interethnic conflicts in particular region. The study also reveals that reaching

ceasefire agreement and achieving peace and security in regions have impacts on the public perceptions and feeling about the safety and security in their communities. Although the gender situation in the police sector has been improved, the lacking of gender-based policy and decision-making processes in the MPF needs to be addressed. Policies and policy-making should be more gender-based and ethnic-based. What we have not seen in our data from all sources is the presence of political will of both central and regional governments to the decentralization the police force in Myanmar. Our study was unable to see the evidence of government commitment in the police decentralization processes. While overall police service has been improved and respondents participated in this study feel that the level of crimes in their regions has been decreased and they also feel safer now than last five year, it is noted that the police sector is still control-oriented, rather than service-oriented. One challenge stated by our FGD participants and interviewees is unclear roles and mandates among the national and state/regional governments. The mandates and responsibilities related to the MPF between the central and state/regional governments are not clearly demarcated in the Constitution of 2008, constitutional clarification on these mandates and roles is highly recommended.

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Appendix A: List of participants in the study

Table 35: List of participants in the Focus Group Discussions

No.	Village/ Ward	Township	State/ Region	No. of Participants			Age range	Date of FGD
				Female	Male	Total		
1	A Linn Kaung Ward	Moe Mauk	Kachin State	4	4	8	25 - 51	26 March 2019
2	Kyanginn village	Moe Mauk	Kachin State	3	5	8	24 - 64	28 March 2019
3	Mee Pone village	Moe Mauk	Kachin State	4	4	8	25 - 51	27 March 2019
4	See Inn village	Bamaw	Kachin State	4	4	8	28 - 50	31 March 2019
5	A Nauk Ward	Min Tat	Chin State	4	4	8	22 - 55	8 March 2019
6	Nga Shaung Village	Min Tat	Chin State	4	4	8	23 - 60	15 March 2019
7	Ywarban village	Hakha	Chin State	4	4	8	26 - 62	15 March 2019
8	Myo Haung Ward	Hakha	Chin State	4	4	8	23 - 65	4 March 2019
9	Ward 2	Min Hla	Magway Region	5	5	10	42 - 53	7 Feb 2019
10	Thanpayarkan Village	Min Hla	Magway Region	4	6	10	32 - 60	7 Feb 2019
11	Bangone Village	Thayet	Magway Region	4	4	8	24 - 67	8 Feb 2019
12	Kya Inn Village	Pha-An	Kayin State	4	4	8	25 - 65	2 March 2019
13	Phar Phyu village	Pha-An	Kayin State	4	4	8	19 - 58	6 March 2019
14	Ward 5	Pha-An	Kayin State	3	3	6	28 - 49	28 Feb 2019
15	Ward 3	Thandaunggyi	Kayin State	4	4	8	26 - 57	21 Feb 2019

Table 36: List of participants in the Survey

State/ Region	Township	Village Tract	Ward	No. of Participants		
				Female	Male	Total
Chin State	Hakha	225	119	189	155	344
Chin State	Min Tat	300	50	176	174	350
Kachin State	Bamaw	111	7	59	59	118
Kachin State	Moe Mauk	256	56	193	119	312
Kachin State	Myitkyinar	0	280	147	133	280
Kayin State	Hpa-an	330	20	204	146	350
Kayin State	Thandaunggyi	172	350	211	139	350
Magway Region	Minhla	292	80	156	216	372
Magway Region	Thayet	251	20	139	132	271
Total		1,937	810	1,474	1,273	2,747

Figure 21: List of participants in the Survey by ward and village tract

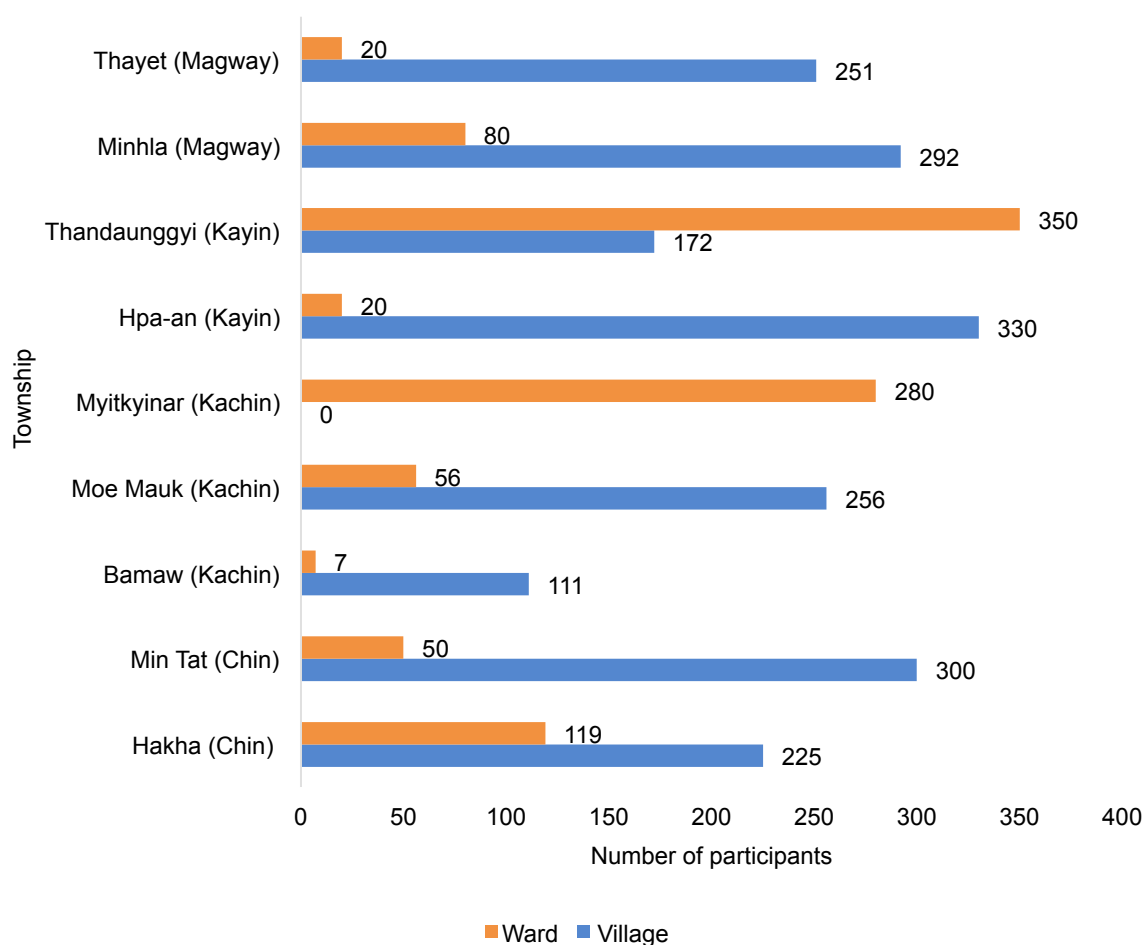
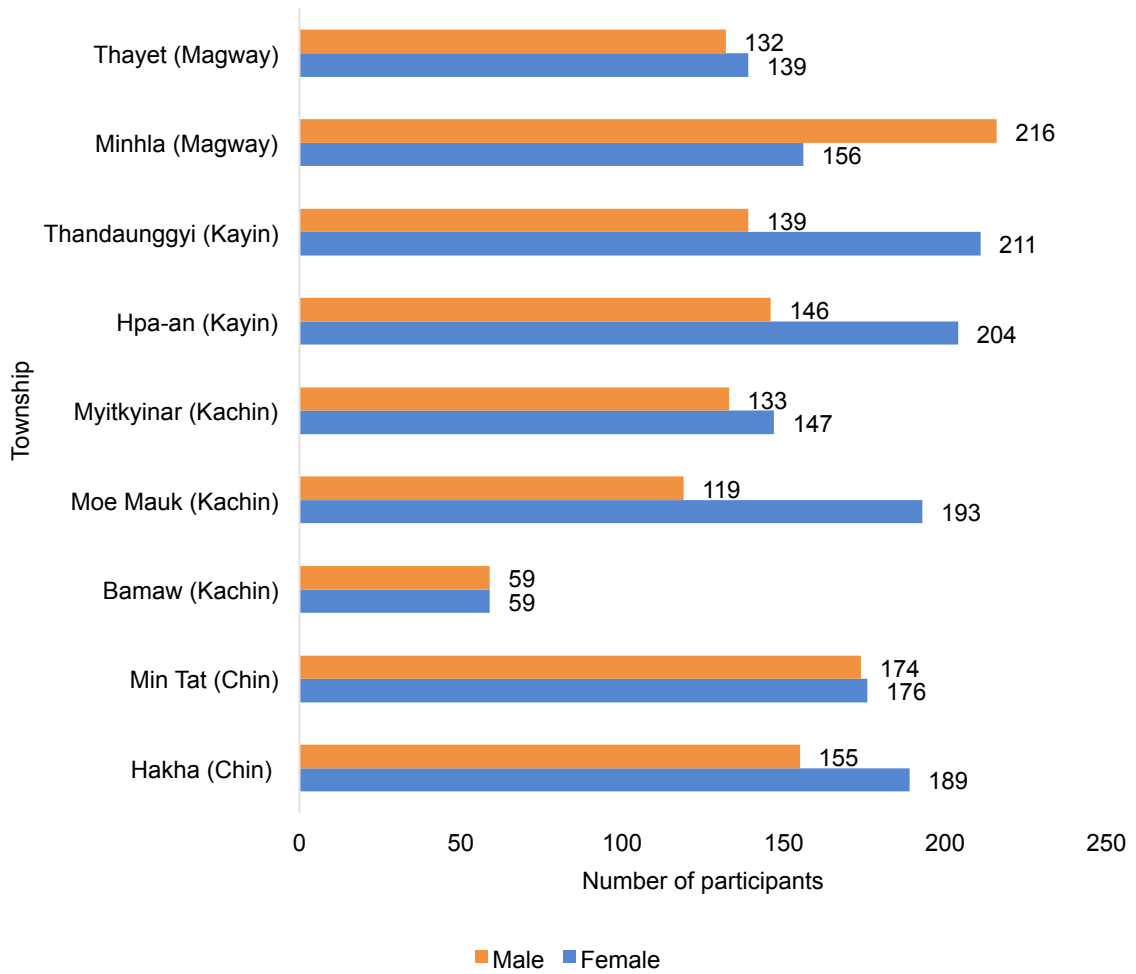


Figure 22: List of participants in the Survey by gender



Appendix B: Tables on Public perceptions on the police service performance

Table 37: Respondents' feeling about the police service in the community

	Chin	Kachin	Kayin	Magway	Total
Not at all	246	208	140	126	720
	35.45%	29.30%	20%	19.60%	26.21%
A little better	253	211	173	204	841
	36.46%	29.72%	24.71%	31.73%	30.62%
Somewhat better	99	199	179	129	606
	14.27%	28.03%	25.57%	20.06%	22.06%
Very much better	37	38	151	151	377
	5.33%	5.35%	21.57%	23.48%	13.72%
Don't know/No Answer	59	54	57	33	203
	8.50%	7.61%	8.14%	5.13%	7.39%
Total	694	710	700	643	2,747
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 38: Respondents feel that police provide security in their community

Do you feel the police provide security in your community?	State/Region				Total
	Chin	Kachin	Kayin	Magways	
Not at all	246	208	140	126	720
	35.45	29.30	20.00	19.60	26.21
A little	253	211	173	204	841
	36.46	29.72	24.71	31.73	30.62
Somewhat	99	199	179	129	606
	14.27	28.03	25.57	20.06	22.06
Very much	37	38	151	151	377
	5.33	5.35	21.57	23.48	13.72
Don't know/No Answer	59	54	57	33	203
	8.50	7.61	8.14	5.13	7.39
Total	694	710	700	643	2,747
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 39: Importance of ethnicity

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Don't know/No Answer	17	0.62	0.62
Not important at all	87	3.17	3.79
Slightly important	42	1.53	5.31
Somewhat important	247	8.99	14.31
Very important	2,354	85.69	100.00
Total	2,747	100.00	

Table 40: Respondents feel that police provide security in their community

Do you feel the police provide security in your community?	State/Region				Total
	Chin	Kachin	Kayin	Magways	
Not at all	246 35.45	208 29.30	140 20.00	126 19.60	720 26.21
A little	253 36.46	211 29.72	173 24.71	204 31.73	841 30.62
Somewhat	99 14.27	199 28.03	179 25.57	129 20.06	606 22.06
Very much	37 5.33	38 5.35	151 21.57	151 23.48	377 13.72
Don't know/No Answer	59 8.50	54 7.61	57 8.14	33 5.13	203 7.39
Total	694 100.00	710 100.00	700 100.00	643 100.00	2,747 100.00

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 41: Respondents' feeling about the rate of crime in last five year (by region)

	State/Region				Total
	Chin	Kachin	Kayin	Magway	
About the same	89 12.82%	50 7.04%	85 12.14%	95 14.77%	319 11.61%
Don't know	58 8.36%	20 2.82%	37 5.29%	50 7.78%	165 6.01%
Less	357 51.44%	235 33.10%	439 62.71%	339 52.72%	1,370 49.87%
More	190 27.38%	405 57.04%	139 19.86%	159 24.73%	893 32.51%

Total	694	710	700	643	2,747
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 42: Burma and Non-Bamar Respondents' feeling about crime rate in last 5 years

	Non-Bamar (0)	Bamar (1)	Total
Not at all	193	41	234
	10.07	4.93	8.52
Same	615	210	825
	32.10	25.27	30.03
A little	334	129	463
	17.43	15.52	16.85
Better	471	309	780
	24.58	37.18	28.39
Much better	67	54	121
	3.50	6.50	4.40
I don't know/No Answer	236	88	324
	12.32	10.59	11.79
Total	1,916	831	2,747
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 43: Male and female's feeling about the rate of crime in last 5 years

	female	male	Total
Not at all	193	41	234
	10.07%	4.93%	8.52
Same	615	210	825
	32.10%	25.27%	30.03
A little	334	129	463
	17.43%	15.52%	16.85
Better	471	309	780
	24.58%	37.18%	28.39
Much better	67	54	121
	3.50%	6.50%	4.40
I don't know/No Answer	236	88	324
	12.32%	10.59%	11.79
Total	1,916	831	2,747
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 44: The extent respondents feel safe in their community

	Chin	Kachin	Kayin	Magway	Total
A little	86	109	53	23	271
	12.39%	15.35%	7.57%	3.58%	9.87%
Don't know/No Answer	4	0	2	0	6
	0.58%	0.00%	0.29%	0.00%	0.22%
Not at all	3	83	6	8	100
	0.43%	11.69%	0.86%	1.24%	3.64%
Somewhat	80	281	170	90	621
	11.53%	39.58%	24.29%	14.00%	22.61%
Very much	521	237	469	522	1,749
	75.07%	33.38%	67.00%	81.18%	63.67%
Total	694	710	700	643	2,747
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 45: The extend respondents feel safer now than 5 years ago (by regions)

	State/Region				Total
	Chin	Kachin	Kayin	Magway	
A little	129	117	32	40	318
	18.59%	16.48%	4.57%	6.22%	11.58%
Don't know / No Answer	8	2	2	4	16
	1.15%	0.28%	0.29%	0.62%	0.58%
Not at all	27	86	7	11	131
	3.89%	12.11%	1%	1.71%	4.77%
Somewhat	82	273	173	87	615
	11.82%	38.45%	24.71%	13.53%	22.39%
Very much	448	232	486	501	1,667
	64.55%	32.68%	69.43%	77.92%	60.68%
Total	694	710	700	643	2747
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 46: The extend respondents feel safer now than 5 years ago (by gender)

	Gender of the respondent		total
	female	male	
A little	170	148	318
	11.53%	11.63%	11.58%
Don't know / No Answer	9	7	16
	0.61%	0.55%	0.58%

Not at all	73	58	131
	4.95%	4.56%	4.77%
Somewhat	338	277	615
	22.93%	21.76%	22.39%
Very much	884	783	1,667
	59.97%	61.51%	60.68%
Total	1,474	1,273	2,747
	100%	100%	100%

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 47: Respondents' view on the current policing better than 5 years ago

	Chin	Kachin	Kayin	Magway	Total
Not at all	79	96	30	29	234
	11.38%	13.52%	4.29%	4.51%	8.52%
Same	271	190	216	148	825
	39.05%	26.76%	30.86%	23.02%	30.03%
A little	98	202	73	90	463
	14.12%	28.45%	10.43%	14.00%	16.85%
Better	149	150	230	251	780
	21.47%	21.13%	32.86%	39.04%	28.39%
Much better	7	5	64	45	121
	1.01%	0.70%	9.14%	7.00%	4.40%
I don't know / No Answer	90	67	87	80	324
	12.97%	9.44%	12.43%	12.44%	11.79%
Total	694	710	700	643	2,747
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 48: Respondents' feeling about the police service in the community

	Chin	Kachin	Kayin	Magway	Total
Not at all	246	208	140	126	720
	35.45%	29.30%	20%	19.60%	26.21%
A little better	253	211	173	204	841
	36.46%	29.72%	24.71%	31.73%	30.62%
Somewhat better	99	199	179	129	606
	14.27%	28.03%	25.57%	20.06%	22.06%
Very much better	37	38	151	151	377
	5.33%	5.35%	21.57%	23.48%	13.72%
Don't know/No Answer	59	54	57	33	203
	8.50%	7.61%	8.14%	5.13%	7.39%

Total	694	710	700	643	2,747
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 49: The extent respondents feel safe now before the ceasefire agreement was signed

	Kayin		Chin		Kachin	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
A little	17	2.43%	76	10.95%	141	19.86%
Don't know/No Answer	101	14.43%	291	41.93%	275	38.73%
Not at all	6	0.86%	61	8.79%	93	13.10%
Somewhat	115	16.43%	42	6.05%	161	22.68%
Very much	461	65.86%	224	32.28%	40	5.63%
Total	700	100.00%	694	100.00%	710	100.00%

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 50: Responsible body that resolve the issues related to property theft

	Chin	Kachin	Kayin	Magway	Total
Don't know	4	11	3	4	22
	0.58%	1.55%	0.43%	0.62%	0.80%
Ethnic Armed Organization (EAOs)	1	1	1	0	3
	0.14%	0.14%	0.14%	0.00%	0.11%
Other (Describe)	8	59	3	16	86
	1.15%	8.31%	0.43%	2.49%	3.13%
Religious leaders	3	5	0	0	8
	0.43%	0.70%	0.00%	0.00%	0.29%
The courts	3	1	10	2	16
	0.43%	0.14%	1.43%	0.31%	0.58%
The military	1	1	0	0	2
	0.14%	0.14%	0.00%	0.00%	0.07%
The police	98	81	86	47	312
	14.12%	11.41%	12.29%	7.31%	11.36%
Village/township administrative heads	576	551	597	574	2,298
	83.00%	77.61%	85.29%	89.27%	83.65%
Total	694	710	700	643	2747
	100%	1000%	100%	100%	100%

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 51: Whether or not respondents feel that police provide security in their community

	Chin	Kachin	Kayin	Magway	Total
Not at all	246	208	140	126	720
	35.45%	29.3%	20%	19.6%	26.21%
A little	253	211	173	204	841
	36.46%	29.72%	24.71%	31.73%	30.62%
Somewhat	99	199	179	129	606
	14.27%	28.03%	25.57%	20.06%	22.06%
Very much	37	38	151	151	377
	5.33%	5.35%	21.57%	23.48%	13.72%
Don't know/No Answer	59	54	57	33	203
	8.5%	7.61%	8.14%	5.13%	7.39%
Total	694	710	700	643	2,747
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 52: Use of language at the market and with the police

	Use both language		Use Burmese		Use ethnic language	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
At the market	1,215	44.23	1,205	43.87	327	11.90
With the police	831	30.25	1,700	61.89	216	7.86

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 53: Use of language by Bamar and non-Bamar with the police

	Use both language		Use Burmese		Use ethnic language	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Non-Bamar (0)	823	42.95	878	45.82	215	11.22
Bamar (1)	8	0.96	822	98.92	1	0.12

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 54: The most responsible for the security needs in the village/town

	Chin	Kachin	Kayin	Magwe	Total
	0	2	7	0	9
BGF or Militia	0.00%	0.28%	1.00%	0.00%	0.33%
	7	1	2	1	11
Non-state armed group	1.01%	0.14%	0.29%	0.16%	0.40%
	516	440	461	491	1,908

Other (specified)	74.35%	61.97%	65.86%	76.36%	69.46%
	8	130	29	8	175
The military	1.15%	18.31%	4.14%	1.24%	6.37%
	148	112	179	135	574
The police	21.33%	15.77%	25.57%	21.00%	20.90%
	15	25	22	8	70
Don't know	2.16%	3.52%	3.14%	1.24%	2.55%
	694	710	700	643	2,747
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.

Table 55: Do people feel the authorities understand their security needs?

	Chin	Kachin	Kayin	Magway	Total
	362	264	200	189	1,015
A little	52.16%	37.18%	28.57%	29.39%	36.95%
	40	94	42	46	222
Don't know/No Answer	5.76%	13.24%	6.00%	7.15%	8.08%
	83	71	45	65	264
Not at all	11.96%	10.00%	6.43%	10.11%	9.61%
	145	213	122	139	619
Somewhat	20.89%	30.00%	17.43%	21.62%	22.53%
	64	68	291	204	627
Very much	9.22%	9.58%	41.57%	31.73%	22.82%
	694	710	700	643	2,747
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Source: MIPS-UofT Survey on Public Services Delivery in Chin, Kachin, Kayin, and Magwe, 2019.