**Appendix**

**Supplementary Document**

**Table A.** Summary statistics: Survey data

| Variable | 2015 | 2020 |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Economic evaluation (1-5) | Mean=3.096; s.d.=0.745 | Mean=2.992; s.d.=0.830 |
| Retrospective eco. eval. (1-5) | Mean=3.316; s.d.=0.853 | Mean=3.207; s.d.=0.924 |
| Satisfaction with gov (1-5) | Mean=3.707; s.d.=1.138 | Mean=2.727; s.d.=1.063 |
| Support federalism (1-5) | Mean=3.869; s.d.=1.181 | Mean=3.686; s.d.=1.211 |
| NLD identifier | Mean=0.188; s.d.=0.391 | Mean=0.225; s.d.=0.418 |
| USDP identifier | Mean=0.152; s.d.=0.359 | Mean=0.081; s.d.=0.274 |
| Other/ethnic party identifier | Mean=0.047; s.d.=0.212 | Mean=0.019; s.d.=0.136 |
| No party ID | Mean=0.611; s.d.=0.487 | Mean=0.673; s.d.=0.469 |
| Voted NLD |  | Mean=0.480; s.d.=0.499 |
| Voted USDP | Mean=0.254; s.d.=0.435 | Mean=0.133; s.d.=0.340 |
| Voted ethnic/other parties | Mean=0.250; s.d.=0.433 | Mean=0.029; s.d.=0.169 |
| No vote choice | Mean=0.495; s.d.=0.500 | Mean=0.356; s.d.=0.479 |
| Vote intention-NLD | Mean=0.225; s.d.=0.417 | Mean=0.290; s.d.=0.454 |
| Vote intention-USDP | Mean=0.151; s.d.=0.358 | Mean=0.082; s.d.=0.274 |
| Vote intention-ethnic/other parties | Mean=0.115; s.d.=0.319 | Mean=0.024; s.d.=0.154 |
| No vote intention | Mean=0.507; s.d.=0.500 | Mean=0.602; s.d.=0.489 |
| Male | Mean=0.498; s.d.=0.500 | Mean=0.499; s.d.=0.500 |
| Age | Mean=41.72; s.d.=12.085 | Mean=44.279; s.d.=15.249 |
| Education (1-10) | Mean=4.542; s.d.=2.464 | Mean=4.553; s.d.=2.413 |
| Income (1-3) | Mean=1.575; s.d.=0.643 | Mean=1.562; s.d.=0.669 |
| Urban | Mean=0.269; s.d.=0.443 | Mean=0.221; s.d.=0.415 |
| Minorities | Mean=0.280; s.d.=0.449 | Mean=0.334; s.d.=0.472 |
| State | Mean=0.277; s.d.=0.448 | Mean=0.308; s.d.=0.462 |

**Table B.** Summary statistics: Electoral data state level

| Variable | Summary statistics |
| --- | --- |
| Seat share | Mean=0.130; s.d.=0.285 |
| No. of seats | Mean=24.49; s.d.=13.278 |
| State | Mean=0.489; s.d.=0.500 |
| Ethnic party | Mean=0.344; s.d.=0.475 |
| Rebel group | Mean=0.030; s.d.=0.171 |
| 1990 party | Mean=0.293; s.d.=0.455 |
| Merged party | Mean=0.021; s.d.=0.144 |
| Minority party | Mean=0.352; s.d.=0.352 |
| Link to the military | Mean=0.290; s.d.=0.454 |

**Table C.** Summary statistics: Electoral data constituency level (2015)

| Variable | Summary statistics |
| --- | --- |
| Votes | Mean=12939; s.d.=21276 |
| Win | Mean=0.186; s.d.=0.389 |
| Ethnic party | Mean=0.204; s.d.=0.403 |
| Rebel group | Mean=0.016; s.d.=0.126 |
| 1990 party | Mean=0.392; s.d.=0.488 |
| Merged party | Mean=0.012; s.d.=0.109 |
| Minority party | Mean=0.105; s.d.=0.307 |
| No. of party | Mean=5.953; s.d.=1.947 |
| State | Mean=0.383; s.d.=0.486 |
| Link to the military | Mean=0.392; s.d.=0.392 |

**Table D**. The determinants of vote choice and vote intention between Bamar and ethnic minorities in the 2015 survey (other options vs. USDP)

|  | 2010 Election Vote Choice | | 2015 Election Vote Intention | | | | | | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | No vote vs. USDP | | Ethnic/other party vs. USDP | | | | No vote vs. USDP | | | | | |
|  | Bamar | Minorities | Bamar | | Minorities | | | Bamar | | Minorities | | | |
| Economic evaluation | -.071 (.115) | -.361 (.211) | -.442 (.276) | -.248 (.240) | .739 (.312)\* | .830 (.305)\*\* | | -.132 (.154) | -.213 (.140) | | .589 (.286)\* | .629 (.280)\* | | |
| Retrospective eco. eval. | .115 (.093) | -.317 (.189) | -.061 (.227) | -.026 (.195) | -.774 (.272)\*\* | -.562 (.254)\* | | -.034 (.123) | -.034 (.113) | | -.158 (.240) | .003 (.280) | | |
| Satisfaction with USDP gov | -.311 (.085)\*\*\* | -.037 (.132) | -.144 (.232) | -.221 (.197) | -.537 (.245)\* | -.740 (.235)\*\* | | -.338 (.124)\*\* | -.373 (.118)\*\* | | -.679 (.235)\*\* | -.862 (.222)\*\*\* | | |
| Support federalism | -.120 (.068) | -.084 (.142) | -.184 (.160) | -.379 (.134)\*\* | .069 (.210) | .075 (.199) | | -.118 (.090) | -.140 (.082) | | -.071 (.188) | -.074 (.177) | | |
| NLD identifier | 1.900 (.276)\*\*\* | 1062  (.577) | 3.711  (1.328)\*\* |  | -11.78  (1119) |  | | 2.904 (.535)\*\*\* |  | | 1.832  (1.038) |  | | |
| Other/ethnic party identifier | 1.910  (.582)\*\* | .863  (.855) | 7.884 (1.340)\*\*\* |  | 19.48  (1494) |  | | 2.915 (.948)\*\* |  | | 16.67  (1494) |  | | |
| No party ID | 1.848 (.205)\*\*\* | .410  (.437) | 3.735  (.994)\*\*\* |  | 3.704 (.877)\*\*\* |  | | 2.868 (.222)\*\*\* |  | | 2.499 (.489)\*\*\* |  | | |
| Voted ethnic/other parties in 2010 |  |  |  | 3.128  (.481)\*\*\* |  | 3.385 (.740)\*\*\* | |  | 1.498 (.278)\*\*\* | |  | 1.743  (.658)\*\* | | |
| No vote choice in 2010 |  |  |  | 1.612  (.468)\*\*\* |  | 1.951 (.580)\*\*\* | |  | 2.142 (.211)\*\*\* | |  | 1.414  (.457)\*\* | | |
| Male | -.146 (.155) | -.322 (.298) | -.182 (.395) | .018 (.330) | -.145 (.449) | -.477 (.416) | | .185 (.204) | .102 (.184) | | -.107 (.410) | -.434 (.376) | | |
| Age | -.023 (.006)\*\*\* | -.068 (.013)\*\*\* | -.024 (.016) | -.016 (.014) | -.025 (.019) | -.011 (.019) | | .012 (.008) | .019 (.007)\*\* | | -.007 (.017) | .006 (.017) | | |
| Education | .032 (.034) | -.183 (.069)\*\* | -.065 (.092) | -.153 (.077)\* | .046 (.106) | .110 (.100) | | -.022 (.044) | -.089 (.040)\* | | -.017 (.096) | .034 (.090) | | |
| Income | .027 (.126) | -.073 (.236) | .181 (.306) | -.057 (.263) | .180 (.370) | .172 (.346) | | .356 (.160)\* | .177 (.145) | | .256 (.338) | .237 (.311) | | |
| Urban | -.085 (.175) | .501 (.373) | -.534 (.451) | .206 (.369) | .136 (.583) | .338 (.537) | | -.208 (.230) | .115 (.211) | | .096 (.538) | .338 (.488) | | |
| State | .351  (.301) | 1.111  (.332)\*\*\* | 1.819  (.551)\*\*\* | 2.163  (.465)\*\*\* | 2.654 (.649)\*\*\* | 2.928 (.598)\*\*\* | | -.205  (400) | -.465  (.357) | | -.184  (.445) | .128  (.390) | | |
| Constant | 1.485  (.708)\* | 6.255 (1.401)\*\*\* | -.945  (1.957) | 1.531  (1.498) | -1.716  (2.080) | -1.433  (1.978) | | .563  (.941) | 2.183  (.874)\* | | 1.363  (1.808) | 1.477  (1.719) | | |
| Observations | 1155 | 417 | 1155 | | 417 | | | 1155 | | 417 | | | |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.1461 | 0.1344 | 0.3809 | 0.1871 | 0.3266 | 0.1837 | | 0.3809 | 0.1871 | | 0.3266 | 0.1837 | | |

Note: Standard errors are in the parentheses. Significance level \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001.

**Table E.** The determinants of vote choice and vote intention between Bamar and ethnic minorities in the 2020 survey (other options vs. USDP)

|  | 2015 Election Vote Choice | | | | 2020 Election Vote Intention | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Ethnic party vs. USDP | | No vote vs. USDP | | Ethnic party vs. USDP | | | |
|  | Bamar | Minorities | Bamar | Minorities | Bamar | | Minorities | |
| Economic evaluation | -.045 (.163) | -.012 (.338) | -.045 (.163) | .411 (.258) | -.036 (.500) | -.150 (.403) | -.445 (.517) | -.393 (.541) |
| Retrospective eco. eval. | .398 (.137)\*\* | -.132 (.320) | .398 (.137)\*\* | -.569 (.245)\* | .803 (.500) | .144 (.365) | .957 (.460)\* | 1.032 (.477)\* |
| Satisfaction with NLD gov | .051 (.385) | -.899 (.248)\*\*\* | .123 (.105) | -.540 (.203)\*\* | .348 (.360) | .276 (.270) | -.216 (.315) | .395 (.343) |
| Support federalism | 1.267 (.631)\* | -.166 (.211) | -.124 (.091) | -.032 (.163) | .156 (.287) | .011 (.222) | -.206 (.338) | -.195 (.351) |
| NLD identifier | 3.701 (1498) | -10.41 (891) | 3.909 (.620)\*\*\* | 6.256 (1.564)\*\*\* | 15.61 (809) |  | 3.711 (3112) |  |
| Other/ethnic party identifier | 35.61 (4682) | 5.278 (1.706)\*\* | 19.77 (4510) | 5.091 (1.718)\*\* | 36.55 (2814) |  | 36.85 (4201) |  |
| No party ID | 16.58 (1259) | 2.255 (.989)\* | 2.743 (.309)\*\*\* | 4.333 (.973)\*\*\* | 16.17 (809) |  | 19.37 (2813) |  |
| Voted NLD in 2015 |  |  |  |  |  | 3.281 (1.100)\*\* |  | 17.73 (1181) |
| Voted ethnic parties in 2015 |  |  |  |  |  | 16.35 (463) |  | 20.35 (1181) |
| No vote choice in 2015 |  |  |  |  |  | 3.439 (1.100)\*\* |  | 18.34 (1181) |
| Male | -.004 (.836) | -.242 (.499) | -.216 (.227) | -.490 (.374) | -.851 (.798) | -.048 (.580) | .339 (.723) | .533 (.809) |
| Age | -.022 (.028) | -.015 (.018) | -.019 (.007)\* | -.017 (.013) | -.048 (.028) | -.016 (.022) | -.043 (.027) | -.033 (.032) |
| Education | .004 (.201) | .046 (.121) | .003 (.051) | .153 (.092) | .064 (.173) | -.021 (.134) | .114 (.169) | .071 (.191) |
| Income | -1.289 (.834) | .392 (.400) | -.325 (.163)\* | -.184 (.307) | .333 (.500) | .692 (.422) | .525 (.559) | .536 (.586) |
| Urban | 1.975 (.937) | .044 (1.090) | .558 (.289) | 1.036 (.737) | .080 (1.085) | -.266 (.784) | -.663 (1.262) | -.500 (1.283) |
| State | -13.20 (1325) | 1.273 (.616)\* | -.093 (.376) | 1.057 (.405)\*\* | 1.181 (.996) | 1.014 (.833) | 1.149 (.874) | .710 (.894) |
| Constant | -25.24 (1259) | .874 (2.146) | -1.125 (.782) | -.022 (1.731) | -20.85 (809) | -5.558 (2.236)\* | -19.626 (2813) | -20.592 (1181) |
| Observations | 1089 | 417 | 1089 | 417 | 1089 | | 493 | |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.191 | 0.1344 | 0.1910 | 0.1344 | 0.3184 | 0.2172 | 0.3350 | 0.3565 |

**Table E.** The determinants of vote choice and vote intention between Bamar and ethnic minorities in the 2020 survey (other options vs. USDP) (continued)

|  | 2020 Election Vote Intention | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | No vote vs. USDP | | | |
|  | Bamar | | Minorities | |
| Economic evaluation | -.011 (.204) | .097 (.183) | -.155 (.427) | -.255 (.420) |
| Retrospective eco. eval. | -.010 (.166) | -.190 (.152) | .428 (.365) | .610 (.366) |
| Satisfaction with NLD gov | .269 (.124)\* | .334 (.112)\*\* | .188 (.247) | .586 (.266)\* |
| Support federalism | .112 (.107) | .145 (.102) | -.166 (.289) | -.329 (.281) |
| NLD identifier | 3.274 (.504)\*\*\* |  | 4.034 (1.073)\*\*\* |  |
| Other/ethnic party identifier | 17.45 (2696) |  | 19.23 (3120) |  |
| No party ID | 3.601 (.304)\*\*\* |  | 4.449 (.718)\*\*\* |  |
| Voted NLD in 2015 |  | 2.930 (.317)\*\*\* |  | 4.221 (.944)\*\*\* |
| Voted ethnic/other parties in 2015 |  | 14.16 (463) |  | 3.162 (1.195)\*\* |
| No vote choice in 2015 |  | 3.155 (.338)\*\*\* |  | 4.881 (.941)\*\*\* |
| Male | .130 (.281) | .041 (.261) | -.344 (.579) | -.669 (.606) |
| Age | -.006 (.009) | .004 (.009) | -.008 (.020) | .005 (.022) |
| Education | -.071 (.063) | -.136 (.059)\* | -.037 (.129) | -.182 (.133) |
| Income | .323 (.214) | .659 (.206)\*\* | -.544 (.446) | -.327 (.448) |
| Urban | .799 (.361)\* | .222 (.324) | .509 (.890) | .267 (.916) |
| State | -.079 (.497) | .354 (.416) | .689 (.603) | .429 (.603) |
| Constant | -2.088 (.929)\* | -2.150 (.897)\* | -.805 (2.283) | -.698 (2.316) |
| Observations | 1089 | | 493 | |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.3184 | 0.2172 | 0.3350 | 0.3565 |

Note: Standard errors are in the parentheses. Significance level \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001.