

Gender Differences in Political Interest in South and Southeast Asia

By

WINT, Kaung Phyo

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

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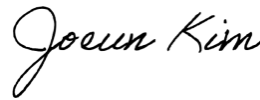
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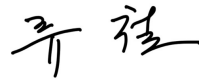
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ABSTRACT

Numerous socioeconomic variables, including educational attainment and labor force participation, have witnessed a decline in gender disparities in recent decades. According to numerous international research studies and surveys, women appear to be less politically active and less interested than men. In this context, women in Asia have traditionally been underrepresented in politics, home, economics, and society. Therefore, this study aims to observe gender disproportion in South and Southeast Asia, generate comparative data, and test existing theories. This study utilizes data from the seventh phase of the World Values Survey (WVS) for Myanmar, Bangladesh, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines. This paper is different from previous research in that it measures political interest, contentment with democracy, and non-institutionalized involvement in a greater number of nations. Quantitative techniques were used to gather and analyze data, such as descriptive analysis and regression. The OLS regression was used to find the relationship between political interest and other independent variables, and the multi-Level regression model was used to predict the political interest by gender in terms of country level democracy. The results of this study also show that socioeconomic factors and other country-level variables, like the Human Development Index, the Gross Domestic Product, and the number of women in parliament, don't have a big effect on the rise of women's interest in politics. Given these facts, this study suggests the level of liberal democracy, not resources or a patriarchal society, is the leading cause for the gender differences in political interest in South and Southeast Asia.

Key words: Political interest, South and Southeast Asia, socioeconomic, liberal democracy

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Statement of the Problem

In modern decades, gender disparities have diminished in numerous socioeconomic variables, such as educational achievement and labor force participation. This gain in equality has not, however, been supplemented by a comparable improvement in the gender difference in interest in politics. The previous studies still indicate a significant gender disparity in political interest since gender differences in socioeconomic variables decreased over times. Especially in the context of an individual's interest in politics, numerous studies have indicated that females are less politically interested than males (Beauregard, 2016; Fraile and Gomez, 2017). For example, Andersen (1975) demonstrated that the gender gap in term of socioeconomic variables decreased from 1952 to 1972 due to socio-demographic changes in the group of working women, although gender discrepancy in political interest continuously persist. Next, the empirical researches of Burns et al. (2021) showed that females still have less interest in politics than males because they have fewer resources and opportunity to develop a political interest. Again, Coffé (2013) illustrated that women are low likely than men to be fascinated in national as well as international political affairs.

The term “political interest” refer to the propensity of a citizen to engage on political developments at the cost of exploring related ideas (Lupia & Philpot, 2005). An interest in politics is crucial for making sense of politically relevant information and selecting a course of action that is sensible from a political standpoint. Therefore, how interested someone is in politics is crucial since, according to the findings of many empirical studies, interest in politics is frequently considered as a driver of political engagement. This unequal distribution of male and female political interest may generate a variety of normative challenges. If women consistently show less interest in politics than males, this could seriously hinder their

ability to make their voices heard in political debates and ultimately shape policy outcomes (Hudson et al., 2014).

Therefore, two main purposes of this study are to observe the gender disproportion in South and Southeast Asia context focusing on 5 different countries (Myanmar, Bangladesh, Vietnam, the Philippines and Thailand) to generate comparative data (using the most recent survey of WVS) and to test the feasibility of existing theories on the gender gap. To be specific, examine whether the gender gap is explained by individual-resource or family background, such as education, employment, age and marital status. Next, using multi-level regression analysis, I examine whether country-level factors (masculine political atmosphere such as parliament) explain the gender gap.

Regarding the disparities between genders in political involvement, a substantial mass of literatures has conducted to enlighten the gender divide in political interest, with research both in Western societies (Blondel, 1974; see also Bourque & Grossholtz, 1974; Davis and Silver, 2003; Lipset, 1981) and non-Western societies. Such as Asia and Africa (Choi, 2019; see also Isaksson et al., 2014; Liu, 2022; Sharma, 2014). However, the majority of available research has been conducted in the West, where it has been demonstrated numerous times again that female are less interested in politics than males. Few studies in non-Western countries, however, yield contradicting findings (Rosenstone et al., 2003), and making it difficult to explain how gender influences the political interests of individuals. To completely understand the relationship between political interests and gender, additional research is required.

Furthermore, examining the sex discrepancy in interest in politics in a non-Western framework may also give us with an important opportunity to complement existing theories, which are primarily based on data from the West. Socialization Theory, Structural Theory, and Situation Theory are three sets of theories that can be used to enlighten the gender gap in

political interest (Clark & Clark, 1986; Welch, 1977; Schlozman et al., 1994). The study of Schlozman et al., (1995) contends that women are lesser expected to involve in politics as they have limited right to use to assets. Women are significantly decrease in the probability of full-time job, and among U.S. respondents, employment is completely correlated with political interest, information, and usefulness. These previous studies show that there is a net difference among males and females in interest of politics as a result of women's lower levels of assets such as income, general social preconceptions and education. In addition, the majority of the previously published works concentrated on industrialized democratic western countries, and the findings demonstrated that gender inequalities are related to social philosophy. The dominant factor in gender inequality in interests in politics is the pervasive social norm that politics is the exclusive domain of males (Welch, 1977). This may not always be the case in non-Western contexts such as Southeast and South Asia, which exhibits a wide variety of political systems whose origin, development, and contemporary situations, are directly related to the historical evolution of the nations of the region. In Southeast and South Asia mostly adopted democratic governance after the colonial era. Thailand wasn't ever colonized, but its monarchy changed under democratic pressure and adopted forms of administration that limited its power (Gamer, 1967).

Next, the military gained influence in administration, not just in Vietnam, Myanmar, and Bangladesh, but also in the Philippines. Thus, South and Southeast Asia have experienced the most prominent severe regresses in democracy during the past decade. The increase of military intervention and other forms of military involvement in South and Southeast Asia will set democracy back by a number of years (Kurlantzick, 2022). In reaction to these regressive democratic tendencies, the people of Southeast and South Asia have fought for democracy for decades which is different from Western context in politics. In South and Southeast Asia, women have led successful popular uprisings against dictatorships

over the past decade and a half. For example, Corazon C. Aquino in the Philippines in 1986 and Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia in the 1990s in Bangladesh, inspired and organized mass demonstrations against non-democratic regimes (Thompson, 2002). Thus, there is no doubt that the South and Southeast Asian countries where women led democratic revolutions are patriarchal. Therefore, it is unclear whether the causes for female's political interest inequalities in Western democracies can be applied to Southeast and South Asia nations.

To sum up, the key contribution of this study is to introduce the country-level democracy level into the analyses. Since South and Southeast Asia's significant democratic erosion in past decades, democracy could be even more detrimental to political interest of people in the region. Along with adding to the substantial amount of evidence that relies significantly on socioeconomic resources, this study also presents this study also examines the correlation between the number of seats held by women in a male-dominated Parliament and female political interest. This paper's findings also indicate that socioeconomic factors and other country-level variables, such as the Human Development Index, the Gross Domestic Product, and women's participation in parliament, have no significant influence on the increase of women's political interest. Given these realities, I argue that, more than resource or patriarchal culture, the level of democracy is the key explanation.

1.2. Significance of the Study

The distinctions among women and men in term of political interest can be clearly stated by the superior cognitive and socioeconomic resources that males have compared to females. The different level of awareness between women has also been taken in other ways as a result of socioeconomic drawbacks that women have historically endured and carry on to endure, such as lower wages and lower positions in the workplace hierarchy (Powlick & Katz, 1998). In this case, Asia is an essential context to examine this interest in politics differences among sexes because traditional ideas regarding the functions of gender role in

society are deeply ingrained in Asian culture. The standing of women in Asia society has traditionally been low, and the population has tended to support men domination in the politics, home, economics, and society (Khaing, 1984; Harriden, 2012; Crouch, 2016; Minoletti, 2019). Therefore, Asian women are oppressed, disenfranchised, excluded, and discriminated against due to the cultural practices in the political, economic, social and religious arenas.

Realizing gender inequality in Asia countries and very little known about the gender discrepancy in interest in politics, this study selects five countries from South and Southeast Asia region to compare the political interest of people. The five countries are Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines from Southeast Asia and Bangladesh from South Asia. The reason why this study chooses these five countries as a study area is that they all are developing countries and has different political system and society. Moreover, these countries' economies are growing rapidly in recent years. Notwithstanding the improvement in economy and gender equality in those countries, most of the society in those countries are highly conservative and teaches that men are born with power, glory, and sanctity but women are not. The surrounding society teaches and reinforces the rules of what constitutes acceptable behavior for boys and girls and women and men. Except the Philippines, other four countries have the patriarchy society pattern. Therefore, these five countries require striking a delicate balance between traditional cultural and historical standards and modern-day realities and these reasons offers an opportunity to analyze how gender differences in political interest in those five countries.

1.3. Conceptual Framework

Democratic theorists argued that a state that delivers the great principles of freedom and rights to every citizen without discrimination, indicating equality among everyone is a concept of democracy (Sharma, 2014). Despite the importance of equality for everyone,

including women, as a core foundation of free democracy, the scholarly literature is divided on the precise relationship between democratic quality, gender equality, and security. While (Richards & Gelleny, 2007) discovered the positive relationship between gender equality and democracy, (Bego, 2014) found no association and (Paxton, 1997; Yoon, 2001) found a negative one. Recently, more in-depth research have been able to explore the political and economic components of democracy and gender to further dissect the link and come to more firm findings.

In this case, the selected five countries from South and Southeast Asia region have different political regimes. Politics in Bangladesh are carried out within the parameters of a parliamentary representative democratic republic, with the Prime Minister serving as the government's head and a structure that allows for multiple parties to compete for power. However, Bangladesh experienced the military regime between 1975 and 1990 (May & Selochan, 2004).

Myanmar's democracy was suspended after a takeover in 1962. Uncertainty and anarchy paved the stage for the establishment of a nationalist government in Myanmar. From 1962 through 1988, the Burma Socialist Programme Party administered the country as a one-party state guided by the Myanmar Way to Socialism. The State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) (known as military regime) took over the power in 1988 and then Myanmar successfully transformed to the democratic government in 2011 and practiced the democracy system till 2020 (Open Development Initiative, 2018). Since 2021 the State Administration Council was established and took over all legislative, executive and judicial powers in Myanmar (Global New Light of Myanmar, 2023).

Thailand is a constitutional monarchy. Since 1992, the National Assembly has held power, except for a 15-month period in 2006–07 when the military seized over. Elected parliaments began to influence politics in the 1980s. According to the constitution and

National Assembly laws, the bicameral National Assembly, Council of Ministers, and judiciary wield power (Baker & Pasuk Phongpaichit, 2022). The 2007 constitution (mainly based on that of 1997) directs the election of members of the lower house of the Assembly, to four-year terms, five-sixths from divisions with a single representative and the rest via proportionate representation from political parties. A military coup in May 2014 suspended the 2007 constitution (excluding monarchy provisions) and installed a military council (Ferrara, 2015).

The Philippines became the first nation in the region to overthrow an authoritarian government. The Philippines have United States model representative democracy. During the Aquino administration, the constitution of 1987 reinstated a presidential system of governance with a two-house legislature and an independent judiciary. In this democratic nation, a publicly chosen president functions as both head of government and head of state (Dressel, 2011). The current President, Mr. Rodrigo R. Duterte has "stayed the course" in conducting his campaign promise to conduct a deadly anti-drug campaign since winning the presidency. Benigno "Noynoy" S. Aquino, III's comparatively liberal and ostensibly reforming administration presided over six years of political stability and strong growth prior to Duterte's president (Thompson, 2016).

Vietnam practices the single political party, the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV). The head of state is President, while the Prime Minister is head of government in Vietnam. These positions were distinct from the General Secretary of Vietnam's the Communist Party, who presides over the Communist Party, the Politburo, and the Central Military Commission, and is therefore the de facto leader of Vietnam. The Party respects and promotes the people's ownership, relies on the people to create the Party, and is governed by the people. The operation of party organizations and party members is governed by the Constitution and statutes (Van et al., 2019).

In accordance with their different political system of five countries, the people of these five countries experienced the different government and political regime. CCMS(2011) , Galston (2004); Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996); McDevitt and Chaffee (2002); and Meirick and Wackman (2004) argued that people who are more politically effective typically have a greater understanding of democratic government and the processes involved in it. In this case, this study argued that the country Level democracy is an important variable that could explain people's political efficacy, particularly the vulnerable group of people, women.

1.4. Contribution of the Study

This study contributes in numerous ways. First, considering how crucial political interest is to so many different parts of our society, a dearth of studies that employ political interest as the dependent variable in their hypotheses for selected five countries from South and Southeast Asia region offers to undertake this thesis. Most of the existing studies have focused on western countries context (e.g. (Bourque & Grossholtz, 1974), or within-country variations on Asia countries context (e.g. (Liu, 2022)). Moreover, an in-depth study by using public opinion survey has not been conducted yet by comparing Asian countries.

Second, this study has important associations for how democratic government can change the people behavior and interest in domestic politics. The conventional wisdom has been that women are lowering educated about politics than males (Delli and Keeter, 1996 & Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1997). Therefore, my findings challenge the conventional idea of political interest of people in Asia by examining the association of democracy and gender differences in political interest.

Moreover, this study targets three groups of people: first, political behavior scholars, second, gender studies scholars, and third, the policymakers. Finally, I believe that the results

of my study will help people better understand which factors could affect women's political interests in general.

1.5. Research Questions

The following research questions will be looked into in this study:

- (i) Is there country variation on the gender differences in political interest for Myanmar, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam
- (ii) Whether the gap persists significant after controlling for gender variances in economic resources(income/employment/education)
- (iii) Whether the country's democracy level could explain the gender differences in political interest

1.6. Overview of structure

This paper includes five sections. First, Chapter 1 covers the introduction, objectives, significance, contribution, and research issues of the current study. Second, Chapter 2 reviews the conclusions from the available literature. Then, Chapter 3 describes the technique, including the data analysis approach and variable explanations. Chapter 4 discusses the conclusions of this paper's data analysis, including summary statistics, and regression results. Finally, the conclusion along with policy recommendations will be covered in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

This section's purpose is to examine the findings of relevant prior researches with the association between the gender and the interest in politics to investigate the country level factors which may influence political interest of people.

2.1. Gender Differences in Political Interest

Many studies conducted since the 1960s have revealed significant gender disparities in the political boldness and behaviors of both women and men. Most of the existing literatures are dedicated on the context of western countries. Bourque & Grossholtz, (1974) examined two issues for the United States: how political science reinforces the concept that politics is a men's world and sexual conception of politics. Ferrín et al. (2020) went into extensive depth about the rationale for why surveys frequently indicate gender inequalities in knowledge and a connection between women's representation and public opinion. They analyzed cross-national survey data from 120 countries to test the gender differences in political interest. Nonetheless, they failed to highlight some developing countries in Asia, such as Myanmar, Bangladesh, Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines etc. Along the same line, Davis and Silver (2003) also investigated the effect of stereotype threat that could lead to the gender gap in political understanding by surveying African American respondents. Again, Martín (2015) examined the gap in political interest between two European democracies, Spain and Greece, and discovered three reasons for a country's level of political interest: historical heritage, day-to-day politics, and crucial junctures. Nevertheless, his study focused on European Countries. Despite the development in women's rights in political resources and power in European and American democracies, these studies demonstrate that women in Europe and the United States are less interested in politics than males.

In Africa context, Isaksson (2010) examined the importance of individual resource endowments in explanation individual and group differences in African political engagement by using new information from over 27,000 participants in twenty rising African democracies of Afrobarometer survey. His study revealed consistent variations in participation based on gender, age, and residential location, but surprisingly little evidence of ethnic inequalities in participation, despite the vast literature emphasizing the relationship between ethnic identities and African voting behavior across the twenty African countries. However, he failed to highlight the gender discrepancy in interest of politics among different gender in Africa context.

Similarly in Asia, gender roles and political participation has been the topic of a considerable amount of research. For example, Liu (2022) conducted the analysis on the importance of gender in Asian political engagement by using the Asian Barometer Survey for 2010 demonstrates that Asian women and men vote at nearly identical rates in elections, but gender disparities remain in other forms of political participation. His research also indicates that gender remains important indicator of political participation and that women in Asia remain to be played down in the political sphere. Moreover, Choi (2019) exposes the disconnects between standard theoretical frameworks and studies that are skewed toward the established power structure on women's political advancement, as well as the conditions, procedures, and outcomes found in a number of Southeast Asian nations. Her findings demonstrated that women endure to be understated in the political institutions of the region, particularly at the local level of administration despite rising interest in Southeast Asian women's political representation in recent years. In South Asia context, Sharma (2014) showed that although women's involvement in the political course is increasingly expanding in Bangladesh, Pakistan, and India, their representation in representative bodies remains inadequate. However, the existing literatures only focused on gender gap in political

representation and participation in Asia context and they failed to highlight the gender variances in people's interest in politics. Therefore, an in-depth study by using public opinion survey has not been conducted yet by comparing South and Southeast Asian countries.

The existing literature raised two questions on the political interest gap depending on gender: Why is there a persistent gender disparity in political interest?; Where do gender inequalities in political interest originate? Over the past several decades, several empirical studies have been conducted in both developed and developing nations to investigate the gender differences in interest of politics by comparing voting behavior and political participation between men and women.

The earliest US surveys found out that women are less participatory in politics than men (Leiserson, 1959; Campbell et al., 1980; Baxter & Lansing, 1983; Wassenberg et al., 1983; Verba & Nie, 1987; Wright, 2015) and the studies of national elections in Great Britain (1963–1964, 1974), France (1958, 1967), Switzerland (1958, 1967) and West Germany (1972, 1976, 1980) by Mottier (1995) have also extensively recorded the same pattern. Furthermore, Powell (1981) conducted the study of gender gap in political norms and practices of five developed countries, both conventional and otherwise. Taking into account results of surveys conducted in Holland, Germany, UK, America, and Austria, he found out the same pattern of gender gap in political behavior between men and women. In addition to the first world, Japan, India and Nigeria (Sigel et al., 1979), Korea (Wade & Seo, 1996), and Russia (Carnaghan & Bahry, 1990) all reported seeing trends in gender gap in political interest that were very similar with previous literatures.

Alternatively, the other political surveys conducted in Germany (Rusciano, 1992), America (Blair & Stanley, 1991; Schlozman et al., 1995; Thomas & Welch, 1991), and Australia (McALLISTER & Studlar, 1992) over the course of the last two decades have shown modest gender inequalities in election participation, legislative activity, or political

ideology and some results found the minor and regular variations in gender differences in political interest (Rosenstone et al., 2003). In fact, when socio-economic factors are controlled for, the gender gap frequently fades (HANSEN et al., 1976; Pomper, 1975; Baxter & Lansing, 1980).

2.2. Individual-Level Factors

Additionally, at least two sets of hypotheses have been provided by preceding study on gender differences in political engagement in technologically advanced Western nations. First, a considerable percentage of the disparity has been attributed to systematic variations in socioeconomic resources between women and men at the individual level. In addition, women (whether or not they are employed) are more expected to be overloaded with household chores, which places additional demands on their time and resources and leaves them not as much of accessible for political engagement (Burns et al., 1997). Consequently, controlling for factors such as education, married status and employment mediates a considerable portion of the gender participation difference (Burns, 2007; Harrison & Munn, 2007).

Moreover, Isaksson (2010) examined the importance of individual resource endowments in explaining individual and group differences in African political engagement by using new information from over 27,000 participants in twenty rising African democracies of Afrobarometer survey. His study revealed consistent variations in participation based on gender, age, and residential location, but surprisingly little evidence of ethnic inequalities in participation, despite the vast literature emphasizing the relationship between ethnic identities and African voting behavior across the twenty African countries. Isaksson et al. (2014) tested the applicability of the causes of the gender gap in political involvement in Africa. They found out that the observed gender disparity in political engagement is due to structural variations in individual resource benefactions and service, as well as cultural differences

based on religion affiliations. In South Asia context, Sharma (2014) showed that although women's participation in the political process is increasingly expanding in Bangladesh, Pakistan, and India, their representation in representative bodies remains inadequate.

To summarize, research clarifying gender inequalities in political interest through South and Southeast Asia states is exceedingly scarce, and the existing assessments of specific socio-economic and attitude clarifications of the gender gap may need to be reevaluated.

2.3. Country-Level Factors

From a political standpoint, the previous researches have demonstrated that institutes play a major role in advancing gender equality in politics (Kittilson & Schwindt-Bayer, 2010). Specifically, power-sharing political systems encourage the participation of marginalized crowds, and thus women (Beauregard, 2016; Kittilson & Schwindt-Bayer, 2010). Therefore, different studies have used different country-level variables to measure the political interest of people. (Richards & Gelleny, 2007) conducted empirical analysis utilizing a pooled 1982–2003 cross-sectional time-series dataset consisting of 130 nations. He used five country-level variables such as Gender-related Development Index (GDI), Human Development Index (HDI), Gender-empower Measure (GEM), Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Democracy Level Index for those 130 countries. He used generalized estimation equation (GEE) assessment procedure with robust standard error and Ordered Logistic regression and his findings demonstrated that there is a solid positive associations between country's democracy and gender equality.

Furthermore, Bego (2014) conducted expert studies on the topic of portfolio importance in fourteen Eastern European nations between 1990 and 2002 to investigate the women participation and interest in politics and relation between country-level variables. The

dependent variables in his study involved the basic characteristics that may have a role in growing the women number in executive positions in Central and Eastern Europe. The independent variables are composed of women's education status, participation in a workforce and the country-level variables such as Human Development Index (HDI) and Freedom House's democracy score. In contrast to the result of (Richards & Gelleny, 2007), his result showed that there is no association between democracy and gender differences in participation in politics and interest.

Moreover, Paxton (1997) studied the cross-national analysis for the women participation in National Legislature by using a large cross-national sample of the United States for two cross-sectional time periods—1975 and 1988. The dependent variable in the study is the proportion of women in lower house of a country's state legislature, expressed as a fraction of the total membership. His independent variables include women labor force participation, women enrollment in tertiary education, marital status, log energy consumption per capita and liberal democracy index. He tested the association among the variables by using Ordered Logistic Regression and his result demonstrated that there is negative association between the liberal democracy index and gender equality in political participation and political interest in the US.

In the same vein, Martín (2015) examined the gap in political interest between two European democracies, Spain and Greece, and discovered three reasons for a country's level of political interest: historical heritage, day-to-day politics, and crucial junctures. Nevertheless, his study focused on European Countries. These studies demonstrate that women in Europe and America express lower level of interest in politics than males on average despite the enhancement in gender equivalence in political supremacy and resources in European and American democracies. Next, Yoon (2001) surveyed the impact of fresh democratization on African women's involvement in parliament. Cases are countries in sub-

Saharan Africa that held multiparty legislative elections between 1990 and 1999. Overall, the study concluded that democratization has lowered the number of women in parliament.

More commonly, Dalton et al. (2010) settle that liberal democracies allow the utilization of available resources for electoral politics, implying that socioeconomic factors will have a greater effect on political participation in wealthy democratic societies than in poorer, less democratic ones. Therefore, the most notable aspect of the country-level variable that stands out for the current body of research may be described as democracy at the country level.

2.4. Hypothesis

After examining the outcomes of prior researches, this study formulates the following hypotheses:

Ho: The country level democracy has no association with reducing the gender gap in interest in politics in Southeast and South Asia

H1: The country level democracy is significantly associated with reducing the gender gap in political interest in South and Southeast Asia

2.5. Summary

In summary, studying the gender differences in political interest indicated that gender differences in political interest and participation may vary depend on the socio-economic factors and country level variables like HDI, GDP and Democracy scores. After going back and looking at the findings of the earlier researches, the next section will provide an explanation of the methodology of this work, which will cover topics such as the selection of variables and the gathering of data.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

3.1. Data and Sample

The data used in this study are extracted from the World Values Survey (WVS) wave 7 for Myanmar, Bangladesh, Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines. The WVS-7 for Myanmar was conducted in 2020, Vietnam in 2020, the Philippines in 2019, Bangladesh in 2018 and Thailand in 2018. It includes questions about respondents' values and attitudes toward politics, the economy, society, and religion, as well as their activities within various types or organizations. The survey gathers information on permanent residents of those countries who were 18 years and above (<https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV7.jsp>).

The survey participants for Myanmar, Bangladesh, Vietnam and the Philippines are 1,200 people each and the participants for Thailand include 1,500 people. I combined the survey data for Myanmar, Bangladesh, Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines for the survey conducted year (one year period) from WVS wave-7. Therefore, there are 6,300 people (N=6,300) of survey participants for this study (Haerpfer et al, 2020). In addition to subjective evaluations of political interest, the survey includes a variety of other likely dealings of interest. Particularly, personnel socioeconomic data and gender information can contribute to the development of more complex national measures of political interest that was utilized in this study. Individual-level data from this merged dataset are utilized to generate the political interest headcount measure.

I obtained the country-level data from various sources. First, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) study provides Human Development Index (HDI) values for Myanmar, Bangladesh, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines at the country level.

Second, the Gender Development Index (GDI) data for Myanmar, Bangladesh, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines were then compiled from the UNDP report. According to the UNDP, According to the UNDP, the GDI attempts to measure gender inequalities in three fundamental human development aspects; education, measured by male and female projected years of schooling for youngsters and female and male mean years of schooling for adults aged twenty five and adult; health, measured by female and male lifespan at birth and knowledge over economic resources, measured by female and male estimated earned income. Consistent with previous research, this study evaluated the GDI as one of the factors that can help to clarify sex variances in political interest.

Then, the measure of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita for Myanmar, Bangladesh, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines is derived from the World Bank database. The inclusion of per capita GDP is also consistent with past research. According to the World Bank, gross domestic product (GDP) per capita is the total worth of goods and services produced within an economy's borders, plus the amount by which those goods and services are taxed (excluding subsidies), divided by the population at midyear. There is a solid relationship between persistent fiscal expansion and the decrease of poverty. The GDP per capita provides a fundamental measure of output per person, which is an indirect predictor of per capita income. GDP and GDP growth per capita are recognized as broad indices of economic expansion. In this study, growth is determined using GDP data in international currency at constant prices.

3.2. Measure

3.2.1. Dependent Variable

This study conducted to measure the gender differences in political interest of people in South and Southeast Asia. Therefore, the key independent variable for this study is

“political interest” of the respondents. The key quantity of interest is the 4-point political interest calculation defined as WVS-7 of Myanmar. In WVS-7 survey, respondents both men and women are questioned about their opinion on politics as “How interested would you say you are in politics?” Depending on the respondents’ answers (“very interest” (1), “somewhat interest” (2), “not very interest” (3), “not at all interest” (4). All items have been reverse-coded so that greater values reflect a greater level of confidence and interest. (“very interest” (4), “somewhat interest” (3), “not very interest” (2), “not all interest (1)). Respondents are not given a clear way to say “I don't know,” interviewees are told to categorize the responses such responses (if volunteered) uniquely so that it is possible to estimate the proportion of people who do not know how to calculate their interest in politics centered on those who pick not to answer the question. It is, therefore, to note that there are no missing data and also those who refuse to answer the question.

3.2.2 Key Independent Variables

The main independent variable of interest in this study is female. There is one question that specifically asks respondents to identify their gender in WVS wave-7. The answer is binary variable (1) represents “male” and (2) represents “female”. This study recoded the gender (“male” (1), “female” (2)) into female (“female” (1), “male” (0)). Those who refused to answer the questions were excluded in this study and the final analytical sample was 6291, where 3255 were women.

Then, this study takes into account demographic factors that are likely to have an effect on political interest and that may also be related to gender in some way which is also persistence with the previous literatures. First variable is the ages of the respondents (in years). The age in this survey is a continuous variable that can range from 18 to 103 years old. This study recoded age into four groups as per the generations. This study recoded ages as categorical variable and grouping the age from 56 to 103 years old as “Baby boomers” (1),

from 42 to 55 years old as “Gen X” (2), from 26 to 54 years as “Millennials” (3) and from 18 to 5 years as “Gen Z” (4).

Second variable is education which has traditionally been seen as a proxy for the cognitive capabilities necessary to handle complicated challenges. In WVS, education has been collapsed into nine categories in accordance with the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) from ISCED 0 (no education) to ISCED 8 (Doctoral or equivalent). There is no missing data in the survey. Therefore, I recoded education as a four-category variable that includes those who have below the primary education (ISCED 0 to ISCED 1 as “primary” (0), those who have below the lower secondary education (ISCED 2) as “lower secondary” (1), those who have upper secondary education (ISCED 3 to ISCED 4) as “upper secondary” (2) and those who have post-secondary education (ISCED 5 to ISCED 8) as “post-secondary” (3).

The next independent variable is marital. In WVS, the marital status of respondents is accessed as “Are you currently married (1), Living together as married (2), Divorced (3), Separated (4), Widow (5) and Single (6)”. Moreover, there is no missing data in this variable. This study created a dichotomous variable namely “marital status” and recoded as “married” (1) and others (from 2 to 6) as “not married” (0).

According to the previous literature, it was suggested that education and the experience of doing a salaried job would make available women with the abilities necessary to comprehend politics and engage in political activity, just as it did for males (Schlozman et al., 1995; Verba & Nie, 1987). Therefore, this study used the answers for the question in WVS as “Are you employed now or not”. The answers is a 8-points categorical variable: “Full Time” (1), “Part Time” (2), “Self Employed” (3), “Retired” (4), “Homemaker”(5), “Student” (6), “Unemployed” (7) and “Other” (8). This study recoded the answer as reversed

order four-categorical variable “employment status” as “Full Time” (4), “Part Time” (3), “Self employ” (2) and “Not working” (1) for others (from 4 to 6).

Then, political trust may be linked to a variety of positive outcomes for political interest of people. Although notions like political efficacy and political trust have become crucial to the study of political behavior, several research still conceptualize and operationalize these variables differently (Craig, 1979). Therefore, trust in political system of a country is used as independent variable for this study following the previous literatures’ procedures. In WVS, there is a survey question “Having a democratic political system” as “Very good” (1), “Fairly good” (2), “Fairly bad” (3), “Very bad” (4). This study renamed this answer as “Trust in democracy” and recoded as reverse order “Very good” (4), “Fairly good” (3), “Fairly bad” (2), “Very bad” (1).

Finally, this study used the idea of post materialism from WVS survey question “which would be most important” and the answer is “Maintaining order” (1), “Giving people more say in important government decisions” (2), “Fighting rising prices” (3) and “Protecting freedom of speech” (4). This study recoded this answer as “Post-materialism” (2 and 4) as (1) and “Materialism” (1 and 3) as (0).

3.2.3. Country-level Variables

This study included several country-level variables related to the behaviors that could determine the political interest status of people as well as be correlated with the level of political interest. As a country-level variable, I follow the procedures of the previous literatures and I added the HDI, GDI, LDI and GDP per capita in this study for each country.

The V-Dem report provides the data that will be used to determine the major argument of this study, the democracy at the national level. The liberal democracy index (LDI) of the V-Dem report is based on the evaluation of information about the right to vote,

the free and fair conduct of elections, the freedom to associate and express oneself, the protection of civil liberties, and the limitation of the powers of the executive branch. From 0 to 1, it progresses (most democratic).

3.3. Analytic Plan

This empirical study examined the gender metamorphoses in political interest of people from South and Southeast Asia countries. This study is different from the previous research in that it measures political interest, contentment with democracy, and non-institutionalized involvement in a greater number of nations than the majority of the previous studies have measured in the past. In contrast to prior studies, which focused mostly on Europe and developed democracies, this research includes low and middle income countries from South and Southeast Asia. This study is expanding the case collection to include a wider variety of nations. This provides a more complete picture of the impact of country-level variables on the dependent variables to measure the gender differences in political interest. Therefore, this study accessed the gender ideology, socioeconomic status as an individual-level variable that could enhance the gender gap in political interest in Myanmar, Bangladesh, Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines.

Quantitative techniques were used for data gathering and analysis so that STATA version 17 was selected to analyze data. Data analysis would be run with these steps: descriptive analysis and regression. In descriptive analysis, summarizing data and having an overview of the results, as well as determining the relationship and strength between variables were carried out. Then, inter-correlation and coefficient scores will be extracted, and regression between gender and political interest will be conducted. Therefore, this study used the OLS regression to find the relationship between political interest and other independent variables. Then, this study used the multi-Level regression model to predict the political interest by gender in terms of country level democracy.

3.4. Model Specification

This study applies an ordered logit model given that our dependent variables are ordinal (4, 3, 2,1). Consider a latent variable model in which y_i^* represents unobserved latent dependent variables and x_i is a vector of independent variables. β' is a vector of unknown, set of parameters that has yet to be determined, and ε is the error term assumed to have a standard logistic distribution.

$$y_i^* = \beta' x_i + \varepsilon$$

CHAPTER IV

Findings and Discussion

This chapter will now describe the conclusions of summary statistics and regression analysis after having discussed about the data and sample, selection of variables in the model, and analytical strategy.

4.1. Descriptive Statistics

Before providing findings from the main model, this study use the descriptive statistics stated in Table 1 to show the mean and standard deviation for each variable in the final analytic sample.

	Myanmar		Bangladesh		Philippines		Thailand		Vietnam	
Variable	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Political Interest	2.94	0.87	2.03	0.99	2.92	0.89	2.65	0.87	2.44	0.93
Female	0.49	0.50	0.51	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.53	0.49	0.55	0.49
Age Group	2.57	0.98	2.82	0.91	2.38	1.03	2.18	0.93	2.71	0.89
Education	1.14	1.01	0.84	0.95	1.12	1.04	0.92	1.09	1.82	0.88
Marital Status	0.73	0.45	0.86	0.35	0.58	0.49	0.71	0.45	0.72	0.45
Employment Status	2.05	0.86	1.73	1.01	1.30	0.46	2.30	0.99	2.61	1.19
Post Materialism	0.36	0.48	0.31	.046	0.36	0.48	0.36	0.48	0.37	0.48
Trust in Democracy	3.45	0.64	3.39	0.78	2.88	1.19	3.35	0.73	3.34	0.65

Table 1: Summary Statistics of variables by country based on WVS

	Myanmar		Bangladesh		Philippines		Thailand		Vietnam	
Variable	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Political Interest	2.91 (0.87)	2.97 (0.87)	1.89 (0.98)	2.18 (0.99)	2.99 (0.85)	2.85 (0.93)	2.59 (0.86)	2.72 (0.87)	2.32 (0.91)	2.59 (0.94)
Age Group	2.71 (0.90)	2.42 (1.03)	3.04 (0.83)	2.59 (0.93)	2.35 (1.03)	2.41 (1.03)	2.18 (0.92)	2.17 (0.94)	2.67 (0.89)	2.77 (0.91)
Education	1.09 (1.05)	1.19 (0.96)	0.76 (0.88)	0.91 (1.01)	1.11 (1.03)	1.12 (1.05)	0.89 (1.10)	0.95 (1.09)	1.75 (0.92)	1.89 (0.82)
Marital Status	0.70 (0.46)	0.75 (0.43)	0.88 (0.33)	0.84 (0.36)	0.57 (0.49)	0.59 (0.49)	0.72 (0.45)	0.69 (0.46)	0.76 (0.43)	0.68 (0.47)
Employment Status	1.88 (0.87)	2.21 (0.83)	1.10 (0.48)	2.38 (1.00)	1.85 (1.11)	2.49 (1.19)	2.17 (0.97)	2.47 (0.98)	2.44 (1.19)	2.81 (1.14)
Post Materialism	0.33 (0.47)	0.38 (0.49)	0.29 (0.46)	0.33 (0.47)	0.32 (0.47)	0.2 (0.45)	0.29 (0.45)	0.34 (0.47)	0.36 (0.48)	0.38 (0.49)
Trust in Democracy	3.34 (0.69)	3.57 (0.57)	3.31 (0.82)	3.46 (0.73)	2.85 (0.75)	2.90 (0.85)	3.38 (0.73)	3.33 (0.74)	3.30 (0.63)	3.37 (0.68)

Note: Standard errors in parentheses

Table 2: Summary Statistic for each country by gender based on WVS

As shown in Table 1, Bangladesh has the lowest mean value for political interest among the five nations (Myanmar, Bangladesh, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines), at 2.03, while Myanmar has the highest mean value at 2.94. It indicates that the citizens of Myanmar are the most interested in politics, while those of Bangladesh are the least. Moreover, there is no noteworthy alteration between the mean values for Myanmar (2.94), and the Philippines (2.92), suggesting that individuals in the Philippines are as interested in politics as their counterparts in Myanmar (Thailand, Vietnam and Bangladesh). People who are extremely engaged in politics reside in Myanmar and the Philippines, while those who are

moderately interested in politics reside in Thailand and Vietnam, and those who are not particularly interested in politics reside in Bangladesh.

In addition, the mean values for the female population are somewhere around 0.5, which indicates that there is not a huge amount of variation in the female population between Myanmar, Bangladesh, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines. Vietnam, on the other hand, has the world's largest female population, while Myanmar has the smallest female population among five countries. It can be assumed that Bangladesh and Vietnam have a higher life expectancy than the other three countries based on the mean value of the age group, which indicates that the oldest people may be found in Bangladesh and Vietnam (Myanmar, Thailand and the Philippines).

The country with the highest mean value for education is Vietnam (1.82), while the country with the lowest mean value for education is 0.84. Myanmar has a mean value of 1.14, the Philippines has a mean value of 1.12, and Thailand has a mean value of 0.92. As a result, Vietnam is the nation with the highest percentage of educated citizens, whilst Bangladesh is the nation with the lowest percentage of educated citizens. When it comes to marital status, Bangladesh has the highest marriage rate (0.86), while the Philippines has the lowest marriage rate (0.53) among five countries, while the other three countries all have a mean value of about (0.7). According to this research, it is reasonable to believe that the population of the Philippines has the lowest fertility rate, with Bangladesh having the lowest rate, and the other countries having a fertility rate that falls somewhere in the middle.

Furthermore, the mean value for employment status in Vietnam is the greatest in the world, while the mean values for employment status in the Philippines are the lowest in the world. As a result, Vietnam is the country where the greatest number of people can find work more easily than the other four countries. On the other hand, there is not a huge disparity between the mean values in Myanmar and Thailand. There are not many significant

differences between any of the five countries in terms of the mean value of post-materialism; nevertheless, Bangladesh has the lowest mean value of 0.30, while the other four countries have 0.36. Last but not least, the percentage of the population in Myanmar that supports version of government is significantly higher than the percentage in the Philippines. And the other three nations don't have significantly different mean scores when it comes to having faith in democratic political systems.

After discussing the mean and standard deviation for each variable, Table 2 above reports the mean values of all variables for women and men separately for each country, as well as the difference in means, which reveals the gender differences in the exclusion of controls. As demonstrated in Table 2, males in Bangladesh, Thailand, and Vietnam are more interested in politics than females, consistent with earlier research. However, there are no significant variations between male and female mean values for political interest in Myanmar and the Philippines. In all five countries, males have higher educational attainment than females. In all five countries, males are more likely to be employed than females. However, the disparity in mean values between men and women in Bangladesh is twofold. In every country except Thailand, males have a higher level of confidence in democratic governments than females.

4.2. Discussion of Trends for Country-level Variables by Country

Following the presentation of the descriptive statistics, it is a commonly held belief that women, on average, have a lower level of interest in politics than males, which is in line with the outcomes of the earlier studies (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). Therefore, in order to account for this gap, the connected explanations call upon country-level characteristics that adhere to the procedures described in the prior explanations (Burns et al., 1997; Lovenduski, 1998; Welch, 1977). So, this section will discuss the comparison of country-level variables

selected for this study: GDI, HDI, GDP per capita, and LDI among Myanmar, Bangladesh, Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines.

First, the human development index (HDI) is an important reference for international governance which incorporates indicators of both greenness and fairness. According to the UNDP report, Myanmar's HDI for 2020 is 0.6, Bangladesh's HDI for 2018 is 0.635, Thailand's HDI for 2018 is 0.795, Vietnam's HDI for 2020 is 0.7, and the Philippines' HDI for 2019 is 0.718. Figure 1 shows the comparison of HDI among five countries.

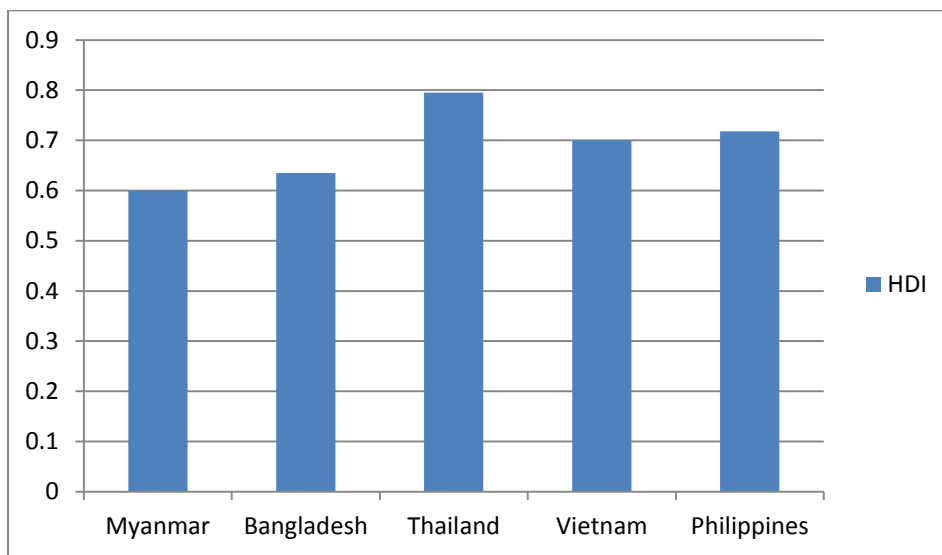


Figure 1 : Comparison of HDI by country

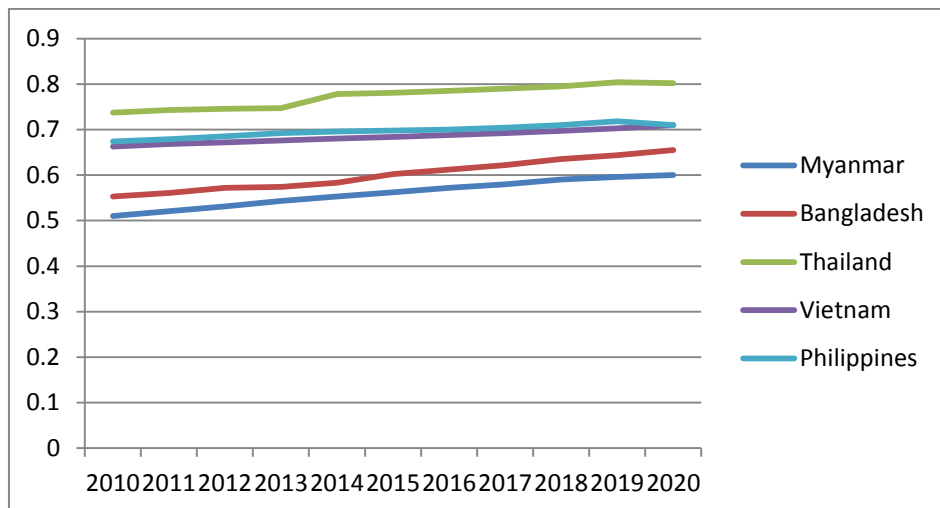


Figure 2: Trend of Human Development Index by country over 10 years

As figure 1 display, Thailand has the highest HDI among the countries whereas Myanmar has the lowest one. There are no noteworthy differences between Vietnam and the Philippines in terms of HDI. According to (Mohee et al., 2015), the human development index, also known as HDI, is a measurement of a citizen's standard of living; a higher HDI indicates a greater standard of living, which in turn indicates higher levels of good consumption. In other word, a high HDI indicates that the country offers access to adequate healthcare, education, and economic opportunities. Figure 2 depicts the trend of HDI for each country over a ten-year period to help understand the HDI trend among the five countries.

All countries' HDIs are progressively rising yearly. However, the data shows that Myanmar has the lowest HDI during the past ten years, whereas Thailand has the greatest HDI since 2010.

Second country-level variable is Gender Development Index (GDI). According to the UNDP Human Development Reports, Myanmar has a GDI value of 0.957, Bangladesh has a GDI value of 0.89, Thailand has a GDI value of 0.955, Vietnam has a GDI value of 0.957, and the Philippines has a GDI value of 0.956. Figures 3 and 4 illustrate the comparison of GDI by country during the survey year and the GDI trend over a ten-year period, respectively. Bangladesh has the lowest GDI score out of the five countries, as illustrated in figure 3. Figure 4 shows that the GDP of Thailand and Myanmar has fluctuated, with Myanmar experiencing a modest decline after 2019. However, over the past ten years, Bangladesh's GDI has grown steadily.

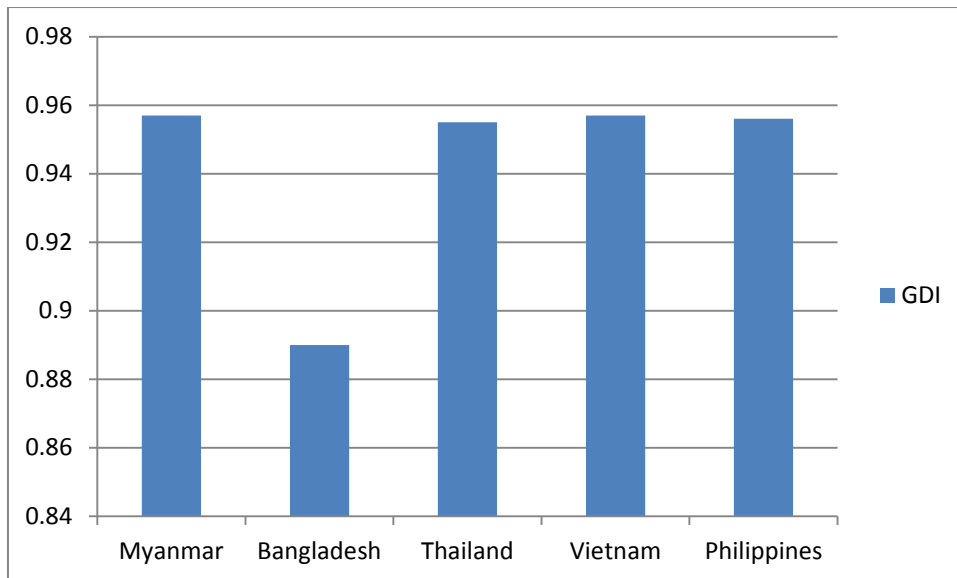


Figure 3: Comparison of GDI by country for one year

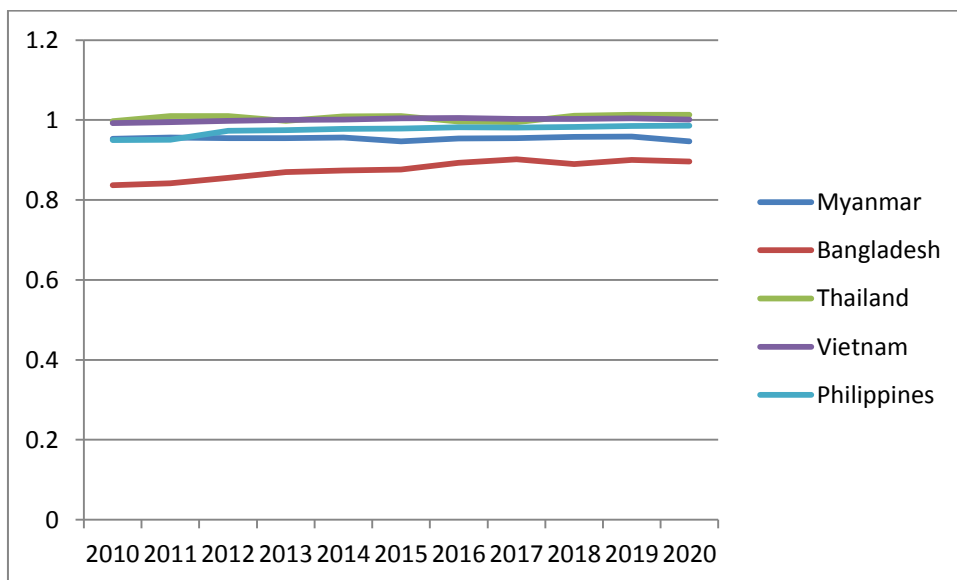


Figure 4: Trend of GDI for each country over 10 years

According to the corresponding survey year's GDP per capita values, Myanmar's GDP per capita is USD 1450.66, Bangladesh's is USD 1991.84, Thailand's is USD 7298.95, Vietnam's is USD 3526.27, and the Philippines' is USD 3485.34. Figure 5 compares the GDP per capita by country during the relevant survey year, and Figure 6 below shows the trajectory of GDP per capita in five countries.

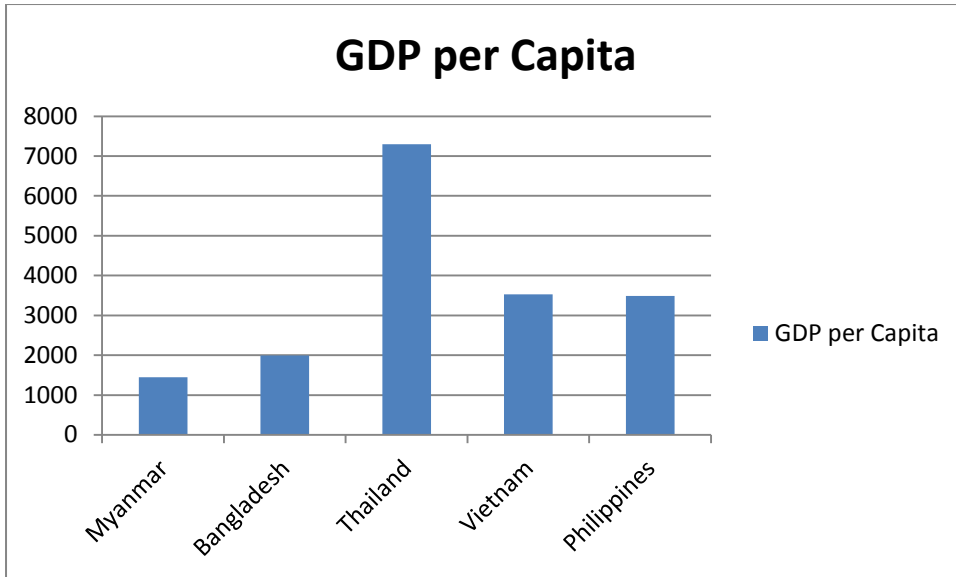


Figure 5: GDP per capita comparison by country for the respective survey year

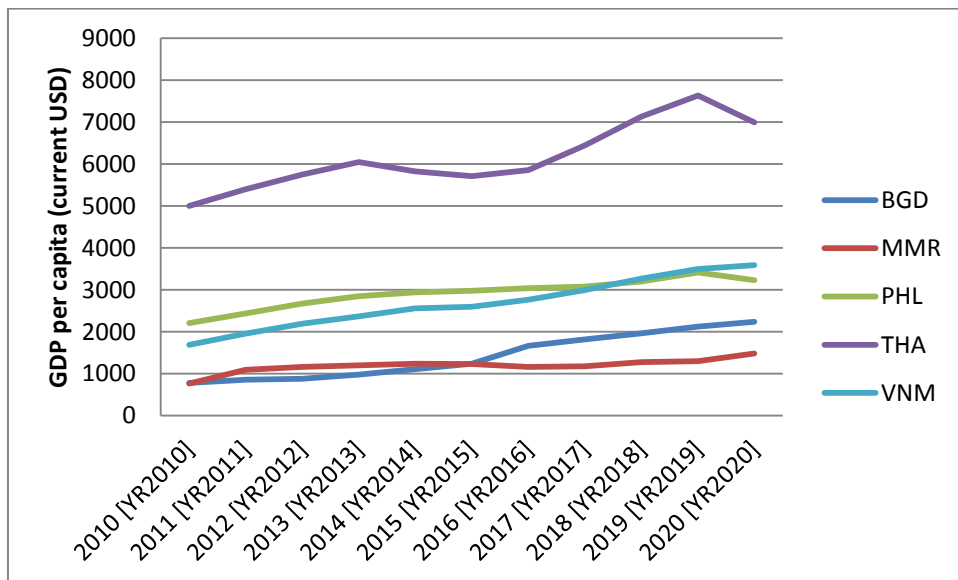


Figure 6: The trend of GDP per capita in Five Countries

According to Figure 5, Thailand has the greatest GDP per capita rate, while Myanmar has the lowest (at current USD). Figure 6 depicts GDP per capita trends in five nations from 2010 to 2020. Thailand has the greatest GDP per capita among the five countries, as seen in Figure 6. After 2017, Vietnam surpassed the Philippines, and Vietnam thereafter took second place. Furthermore, Bangladesh crossed via Myanmar and is ranked fourth out of five countries.

As figure 7 illustrates, the LDI for Myanmar is 0.27, for Bangladesh it is 0.12, for Thailand it is 0.11, for Vietnam it is 0.11, and for the Philippines it is 0.3 for the respective survey year of each country. Thailand and Vietnam have the lowest LDI, whilst Myanmar and the Philippines have the higher values. Figure 8 shows the LDI trend for five nations between 2010 and 2020. The Philippines has the highest Liberal Democracy Index, however it started to decline dramatically after 2015. Thailand's LDI was rising and peaked in 2012; however, in 2013, Thailand's democracy began to regress. After 2018, Thailand's LDI value started to increase once more. Myanmar's Liberal Democracy Index will gradually rise between 2010 and 2020. However, Bangladesh also experienced the democracy backsliding in 2013 and then LDI value is slightly fluctuated. Over a ten-year period, Vietnam's LDI rating has seen only minor fluctuations.

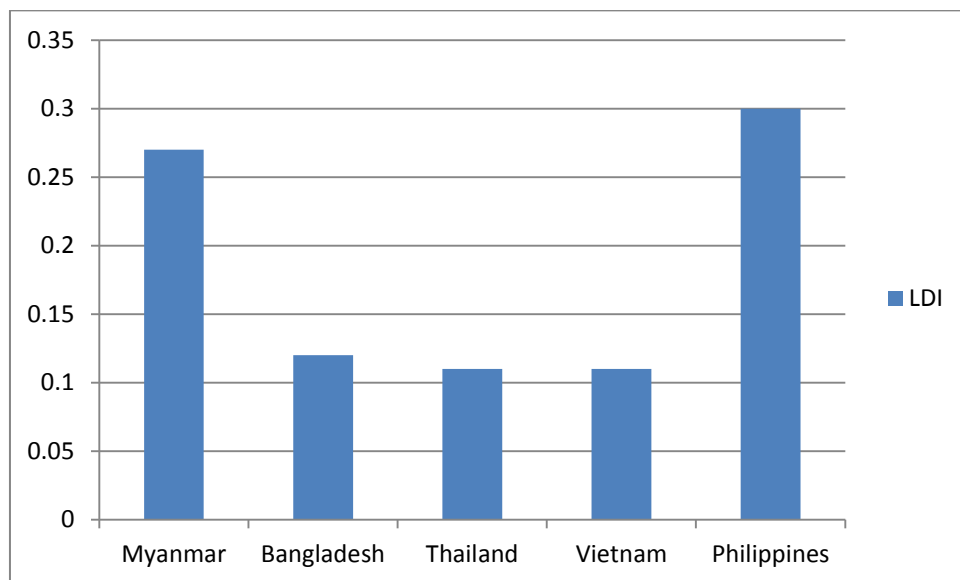


Figure 7: Comparison of LDI by country for the respective survey year

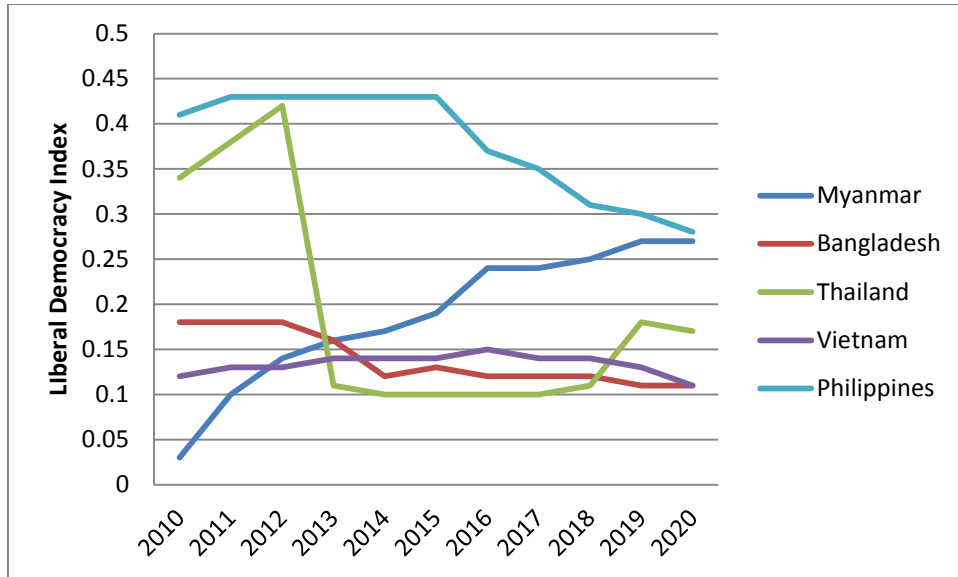


Figure 8: The Trend of LDI in five countries from 2010 to 2020

4.3. Regression Result

Having explained about descriptive statistics and the trend of country-level variables, the current researcher will analyze the collected data by using OLS model in the STATA software and the results of regression analysis were shown in Table 3 below:

	Myanmar pol_interest	Bangladesh pol_interest	Philippines pol_interest	Thailand pol_interest	Vietnam pol_interest
pol_interest					
female	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
female	-0.0244 (0.115)	-0.605*** (0.113)	0.264* (0.107)	-0.271** (0.0978)	-0.529*** (0.110)
postMaterialism	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
postMaterialism	0.191 (0.118)	-0.510*** (0.121)	0.158 (0.117)	0.439*** (0.104)	-0.0763 (0.113)
Demo	0.632*** (0.0929)	0.117 (0.0726)	0.113 (0.0678)	-0.157* (0.0670)	0.352*** (0.0846)
/					
cut1	0.109 (0.336)	-0.561* (0.268)	-1.924*** (0.228)	-2.788*** (0.254)	-0.688* (0.303)

	Myanmar pol_interest	Bangladesh pol_interest	Philippines pol_interest	Thailand pol_interest	Vietnam pol_interest
pol_interest					
cut2	0.695* (0.334)	0.545* (0.268)	-0.449* (0.213)	-0.937*** (0.242)	0.800** (0.303)
cut3	3.428*** (0.352)	2.380*** (0.281)	1.443*** (0.217)	1.144*** (0.243)	2.836*** (0.314)
<i>N</i>	1200	1086	1196	1441	1130

Standard errors in parentheses

Note: $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 3: Regression Result without controlling socioeconomic resources

The regression result in Table 3 shows that there aren't many variations in political interest between men and women in Myanmar (p -value > 0.5). In general, and statistically significantly, women in Bangladesh, Thailand, and Vietnam are less interested in politics than men. P -values are less than 0.001 and women in Bangladesh are 0.557 times less likely than men to be interested in politics. Then, the political interest of Thai women is 0.276 times lower than that of men, and the p -value is similarly less than 0.001. Additionally, women in Vietnam show 0.599 times less interest in politics than men do, with a statistically significant p -value of less than 0.001. Women in the Philippines are more likely than men to be interested in politics, in contrast to these other nations. In contrast to these nations, women in the Philippines are statistically more likely than males to be interested in politics. The findings show that Filipino women have 0.384 times higher political interest than Filipino men, and the p -value is less than 0.001.

	Myanmar pol_interest	Bangladesh pol_interest	Philippines pol_interest	Thailand pol_interest	Vietnam pol_interest
Male	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
female	0.0526 (0.124)	-0.557** (0.187)	0.348** (0.114)	-0.276** (0.101)	-0.599*** (0.115)
Primary edu	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)

	Myanmar pol_interest	Bangladesh pol_interest	Philippines pol_interest	Thailand pol_interest	Vietnam pol_interest
Lower Secondary	0.0681 (0.147)	-0.0225 (0.134)	-0.142 (0.131)	-0.364* (0.143)	0.222 (0.232)
Upper Secondary	0.0698 (0.158)	0.227 (0.182)	-0.474** (0.180)	-0.415** (0.158)	0.260 (0.227)
Post Secondary	0.159 (0.208)	0.668** (0.210)	-0.621*** (0.167)	-0.309 (0.177)	0.674** (0.248)
Baby Boomers	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Gen X	-0.424* (0.181)	0.142 (0.216)	-0.271 (0.154)	-0.0401 (0.133)	0.104 (0.214)
Millinniels	-0.231 (0.177)	0.368 (0.202)	-0.0618 (0.145)	-0.0995 (0.152)	-0.269 (0.212)
Gen Z	-0.445* (0.209)	0.0927 (0.231)	-0.145 (0.190)	0.158 (0.224)	-0.565* (0.246)
Not married	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Married	0.0355 (0.142)	-0.262 (0.189)	0.0535 (0.117)	0.630*** (0.120)	-0.127 (0.147)
Not Work	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Self Emp	0.251 (0.146)	-0.0155 (0.206)	0.399** (0.146)	0.479** (0.147)	-0.105 (0.167)
Part Time Employment	0.245 (0.225)	-0.0564 (0.268)	-0.0326 (0.195)	0.287 (0.184)	0.0433 (0.296)
Full Time Employment	-0.0899 (0.219)	0.226 (0.228)	0.248 (0.147)	0.107 (0.177)	-0.353* (0.167)
Materialism	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
postMaterialism	0.195 (0.118)	-0.527*** (0.122)	0.181 (0.118)	0.341** (0.107)	-0.0751 (0.114)
Trust in demo	0.618***	0.0879	0.136*	-0.124	0.325***

	Myanmar pol_interest	Bangladesh pol_interest	Philippines pol_interest	Thailand pol_interest	Vietnam pol_interest
Political Sys	(0.0933)	(0.0734)	(0.0687)	(0.0689)	(0.0849)
/					
cut1	0.0339 (0.393)	-0.554 (0.381)	-1.984*** (0.280)	-2.282*** (0.307)	-0.983* (0.407)
cut2	0.618 (0.391)	0.575 (0.381)	-0.494 (0.268)	-0.350 (0.300)	0.526 (0.407)
cut3	3.376*** (0.406)	2.426*** (0.392)	1.436*** (0.272)	1.819*** (0.304)	2.595*** (0.414)
<i>N</i>	1198	1085	1196	1424	1130

Standard errors in parentheses

Note: $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 4: Regression Result while controlling socioeconomic resources

The outcome of the OLS regression is presented in Table 4, which takes into account socioeconomic factors such as level of education, occupation, age group, or marital status. When the results of Table 4 and Table 3 are compared, there is no significant difference in the gender differences that exist in any nation. What this indicates is that the socioeconomic resources of those countries do not really matter when it comes to the fundamental issue of why there is a gender disparity in political involvement.

Moreover, there are no differences in educational status among Myanmarese individuals based on educational background. However, Bangladesh's educated population is more interested in politics than its uneducated population. In the Philippines, those with higher levels of education show less interest in politics than other groups. Due to the fact that those who have completed their secondary school show less interest in politics than those who have only completed their primary education, Thailand and the Philippines exhibit the similar tendency.

Vietnamese people, on the other hand, are more interested in politics the more educated they are. Vietnamese people with postsecondary levels are 0.674 times more interested in politics than Vietnamese with only primary education.

There aren't many differences across generations in terms of political interests across all nations. Generation Z is less interested in politics than Baby Boomers, but only in Myanmar and Vietnam. In Thailand, married people are more interested in politics than unmarried people are, according to marital status. The p-value is less than 0.0001 and the coefficient is 0.63, both of which are statistically significant. However, there is no statistically significant difference in political interest between married and unmarried people in the Philippines, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Myanmar, and Bangladesh.

Self-employed people are more interested in politics than those who are not employed in the Philippines and Thailand. Furthermore, compared to other working demographics in Vietnam, full-time employees have less interest in politics. People in Bangladesh who hold post-materialist ideologies are statistically significantly less interested in politics than those who have materialist ideologies. People in Vietnam who adhere to a post-materialist ideology, in contrast, are more interested in politics than those who do not. Politics is of more interest to those who support democratic systems of governance in Myanmar, Vietnam, and the Philippines.

Table 5 below shows the regression result of the interaction between female and male dominant country level variable: percentage of seat held by women in parliament for each country. According to data extracted from the IPU website (<https://www.ipu.org/parliament>), 20.8% of Bangladesh's Members of Parliament (MP) are female, 15.29% of Myanmar's MPs are female (during the democratic regime), 16.63% of Thailand's MPs are female (during democratic regime), 27.33% of the Philippines' MPs are female, and 30.26% of Vietnam's

MPs are female. When I interact female and percentage of Parliament, there is no significant improvement in gender gap in political interest of people in South and Southeast Asia.

	(1) pol_interest	(2) pol_interest
pol_interest		
female	0 (.)	0 (.)
female	-0.289 (0.179)	-0.163 (0.622)
Parliament_seat_women	-0.0178 (0.0524)	
female#c.parliament_seat_women	0 (.)	
female#c.parliament_seat_women	0.00126 (0.00793)	
Parliament_seat_male		0.0178 (0.0524)
female#c.Parliament_seat_male		0 (.)
female#c.Parliament_seat_male		-0.00126 (0.00793)
/		
cut1	-2.226 (1.195)	-0.451 (4.093)
cut2	-0.934 (1.195)	0.842 (4.093)
cut3	1.162 (1.195)	2.938 (4.093)
var(_cons[country])	0.466 (0.297)	0.466 (0.297)
N	6262	6262

Standard errors in parentheses
 * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5 Interaction between female and Numbers of seat held by male in parliament

	Model(1) pol_i	Model(2) pol_i	Model(3) pol_i	Model(4) pol_i
pol_i				
0.female	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
1.female	-0.816*** (0.110)	-0.808 (0.463)	-0.301** (0.0936)	-6.849*** (1.733)
Ldi	4.274*** (0.503)	5.899*** (0.412)	5.899*** (0.412)	5.381*** (0.912)
0.female#c.lidi	0 (.)			
1.female#c.lidi	3.119*** (0.558)			
Hdi	-6.773*** (1.306)	-7.137*** (1.344)	-6.748*** (1.306)	
Gdp	0.000278*** (0.0000455)	0.000277*** (0.0000455)	0.000272*** (0.0000471)	0.0000526 (0.0000371)
Gdi	13.78*** (1.240)	13.57*** (1.238)	13.57*** (1.238)	10.35*** (2.978)
0.female#c.hdi		0 (.)		
1.female#c.hdi		0.785 (0.662)		
0.female#c.gdp			0 (.)	
1.female#c.gdp			0.0000106 (0.0000215)	
0.female#c.gdi				0 (.)
1.female#c.gdi				6.976*** (1.835)
/				
cut1	8.253*** (1.331)	8.097*** (1.347)	8.347*** (1.330)	9.082*** (2.644)
cut2	9.553*** (1.333)	9.391*** (1.349)	9.641*** (1.332)	10.38*** (2.644)

	Model(1) pol_i	Model(2) pol_i	Model(3) pol_i	Model(4) pol_i
pol_i				
cut3	11.66*** (1.334)	11.49*** (1.351)	11.74*** (1.333)	12.47*** (2.646)
var(_cons[count ry])	6.02e-18 (0.000000448)	1.45e-17 (0.000000559)	3.67e-18 (0.000000345)	0.0123 (0.00954)
<i>N</i>	6262	6262	6262	6262

Table 6 : Multi-level regression result

After describing the regression results, Table 6 shows the multi-level regression results with the overall trend of gender disparities in political interest in South and Southeast Asia as well as the interaction with female and country-level variables such as liberal democracy index, GDP, GDI and HDI with 4 different models. Overall, women in South and Southeast Asian nations show less interest in politics than males do. As shown in model-1 of Table 6, the Liberal Democracy Index. Furthermore, a liberal democracy at the national level can statistically significantly enhance women's political interest by 3.119 times compared to men. The political interest of women can also increase by 13.78 times with an increase when female and the Gender Development Index are interact.

Throughout this study it has sought to describe the gender differences in term of political interest in the South and Southeast Asia countries. Overall, the main finding of this study is that women in South and Southeast Asia are generally less interest in politics than men which is also persistence with the previous literature (Burns, 2007; Fraile & Gomez, 2017; Kittilson & Schwindt-Bayer, 2010). The study also discovered that political interest varies by country. For instance, there are no gender differences in political interest in Myanmar, but women are more interested in politics than males are in the Philippines. The findings from other nations are consistent with earlier research. Additionally, the degree of democracy at the national level may spur women's involvement in politics. As a result, it is

evident that women in the Philippines and Myanmar, the two countries with the highest LDI scores, are just as interested in politics as males. Therefore, it can be said that liberal democratic ideals can raise public interest in politics. Moreover, the interaction between female and GDI results the significant increase in political interest of female in those countries. In this case, (Quaiyyum & Aiman Udoy, 2022) a positive association between the Gender Development Index and the World Democracy Index that was statistically significant. If nations can transition to a more democratic system, they will experience an improvement in gender equality. Overall, research demonstrates that democracy and gender equality constitute a mutually reinforcing relationship in which greater levels of liberal democracy are a prerequisite. Thus, the main argument here is that long-term fight for democracy together with women's participation in the democratic transformation campaign could provide new opportunities for female to promote their interest in politics through demonstration or boycott.

Myanmar, for instance, women historically possessed a great deal of autonomy and privileges, but their roles have diminished with time. After the coup of 1962, successive military administrations utilized isolationist policies to dominate and oppress the populace by isolating the nation from the rest of the world. For example, the military administration promoted nationalism by altering the interfaith marriage law to the prejudice of women. The new law stripped the property rights of women who married non-Buddhist or non-Myanmar men. Additionally, the military administration forbade women from forming networking partnerships and they only permitted organizations with the stated purpose of preserving Myanmar culture, which included reinforcing conventional gender norms and males' privileged position in society(Oo, 2021). Myanmar women had experiences in democratic backsliding and military administration frequently and they are using the current political phenomena as a chance to redefine the narrative of women's position in society for resisting

the military takeover. Beginning in 2011, the opening of the country and the move to democracy widened Myanmar women's eyes. As the world reengaged the country, they were exposed to new concepts about gender equality, feminism, and human rights. Therefore, in Myanmar, liberal democracy is one of the main factors that reduce the gender gap in political interest between men and women.

Most of the other countries in this study, like Myanmar, engaged in a struggle for democracy through rallies and rioting. Thus, in those countries, women are employing feminine attributes and newly acquired skills obtained since the opening to oppose military junta. So that, when a democratic government was established, women would respect it and work to preserve it. As a result, women in countries with more liberal democratic values are more interest in politics than women in other nations.

Chapter V

Conclusion and Recommendation

Political interest continues one of the greatest indicators of political participation and various formulas of political engagement. It may be possible to enhance gender equality and one day allow every citizen's voice to be heard by better comprehending the challenges that a worthy portion of the population of the world faces. Furthermore, the world's 139 countries began implementing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development on January 1, 2016, a transformative plan of action based on Seventeen Sustainable Development Goals to address significant global issues over the next fifteen years. Gender inequality has been identified as one of the most fundamental impediments to sustainable development since discrimination based on gender is prevalent and deeply rooted in all societies. Indicated by its inclusion in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and, later, the Sustainable Development Goals, gender equality became generally acknowledged as a development target (SDGs).

As a country scenario context, Myanmar, Thailand, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Bangladesh receive aid programs promoting gender equality and women's empowerment and also implementing the Sustainable Development Goals. Moreover, the structures of Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam and Bangladesh communities are patriarchal and the Philippines has matriarchal community structure. Since implementing the MDGs, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines have improved gender equality. And all the countries guarantee women equal rights and wages for similar work. However, this study shows that it needs to take more steps to address gender inequality by enhancing the democratic value of the respective country.

According to the results of the empirical investigation, focusing solely on the education sector, infrastructure sector, capacity building for women and economic growth are insufficient to combat patriarchal views; therefore, it is necessary to identify additional

influences that can increase gender equality such as leveraging liberal democratic values. To advance gender equality in the future, the broad fields of democracy will demand special attention in this instance. All countries must have a vision and strategy for eradicating gender stereotypical beliefs. To combat the prevalent male-dominated views in society, gender equality must be intensified. In addition, the desire for cooperation of male leaders in the country is a key aspect in combating gender stereotype ideas. To address the gender issue in the future, countries must collaborate with international organizations and communities in this situation.

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APPENDIX A

STATA v.17 outputs for Table 3: Regression Result without controlling

socioeconomic resources

```
. eststo: ologit pol_i i.female i.postMaterialism demo if country=="MMR"
```

```
Iteration 0: log likelihood = -1315.6475
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -1289.4498
Iteration 2: log likelihood = -1289.2245
Iteration 3: log likelihood = -1289.2244
```

Ordered logistic regression

```
Number of obs = 1,200
LR chi2(3) = 52.85
Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
Pseudo R2 = 0.0201
```

Log likelihood = -1289.2244

pol_i	Coefficient	Std. err.	z	P> z	[95% conf. interval]	
female female	-.0243922	.1146127	-0.21	0.831	-.249029	.2002446
postMaterialism Post Materialism	.1905601	.1175122	1.62	0.105	-.0397596	.4208798
demo	.6318719	.0928559	6.80	0.000	.4498776	.8138662
/cut1	.1087019	.3358756			-.5496021	.7670059
/cut2	.6948059	.3338561			.04046	1.349152
/cut3	3.427516	.3515675			2.738456	4.116576

(est1 stored)

```
. eststo: ologit pol_i i.female i.postMaterialism demo if country=="BGD"
```

```
Iteration 0: log likelihood = -1391.2847
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -1366.4725
Iteration 2: log likelihood = -1366.43
Iteration 3: log likelihood = -1366.43
```

Ordered logistic regression

```
Number of obs = 1,086
LR chi2(3) = 49.71
Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
Pseudo R2 = 0.0179
```

Log likelihood = -1366.43

pol_i	Coefficient	Std. err.	z	P> z	[95% conf. interval]	
female female	-.6047619	.112644	-5.37	0.000	-.8255401	-.3839837
postMaterialism Post Materialism	-.5098358	.1205385	-4.23	0.000	-.7460869	-.2735847
demo	.1165543	.0725813	1.61	0.108	-.0257024	.258811
/cut1	-.5614693	.2678172			-1.086381	-.0365572
/cut2	.5453864	.2675704			.020958	1.069815
/cut3	2.37988	.2812998			1.828542	2.931217

(est2 stored)

. eststo: ologit pol_i i.female i.postMaterialism demo if country=="PHL"

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -1487.7363
 Iteration 1: log likelihood = -1482.3244
 Iteration 2: log likelihood = -1482.3201
 Iteration 3: log likelihood = -1482.3201

Ordered logistic regression

Number of obs = 1,196
 LR chi2(3) = 10.83
 Prob > chi2 = 0.0127
 Pseudo R2 = 0.0036

Log likelihood = -1482.3201

pol_i	Coefficient	Std. err.	z	P> z	[95% conf. interval]	
female female	.2635708	.1070814	2.46	0.014	.0536951	.4734465
postMaterialism Post Materialism	.1577434	.1170069	1.35	0.178	-.071586	.3870727
demo	.112766	.0677848	1.66	0.096	-.0200897	.2456217
/cut1	-1.924051	.2277944			-2.37052	-1.477583
/cut2	-.4494947	.2133518			-.8676565	-.0313328
/cut3	1.442989	.217482			1.016732	1.869246

(est3 stored)

. eststo: ologit pol_i i.female i.postMaterialism demo if country=="THA"

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -1794.0493
 Iteration 1: log likelihood = -1777.7413
 Iteration 2: log likelihood = -1777.7077
 Iteration 3: log likelihood = -1777.7077

Ordered logistic regression

Number of obs = 1,441
 LR chi2(3) = 32.68
 Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
 Pseudo R2 = 0.0091

Log likelihood = -1777.7077

pol_i	Coefficient	Std. err.	z	P> z	[95% conf. interval]	
female female	-.2710396	.0977559	-2.77	0.006	-.4626377	-.0794416
postMaterialism Post Materialism	.4387143	.1042202	4.21	0.000	.2344465	.6429821
demo	-.1565987	.066957	-2.34	0.019	-.2878321	-.0253653
/cut1	-2.787894	.2539187			-3.285565	-2.290222
/cut2	-.9368354	.2420032			-1.411153	-.4625179
/cut3	1.14373	.2434126			.6666501	1.62081

(est4 stored)

```
. eststo: ologit pol_i i.female i.postMaterialism demo if country=="VNM"
```

```
Iteration 0: log likelihood = -1470.5286
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -1448.7995
Iteration 2: log likelihood = -1448.7396
Iteration 3: log likelihood = -1448.7396
```

Ordered logistic regression

Number of obs = 1,130

LR chi2(3) = 43.58

Prob > chi2 = 0.0000

Pseudo R2 = 0.0148

Log likelihood = -1448.7396

pol_i	Coefficient	Std. err.	z	P> z	[95% conf. interval]	
female						
female	-.5294236	.1103677	-4.80	0.000	-.7457403	-.3131068
postMaterialism						
Post Materialism	-.076347	.1125016	-0.68	0.497	-.2968462	.1441522
demo	.3516194	.0845518	4.16	0.000	.1859009	.5173379
/cut1	-.687886	.3026238			-1.281018	-.0947543
/cut2	.7996416	.3027214			.2063185	1.392965
/cut3	2.836381	.3142485			2.220465	3.452297

(est5 stored)

APPENDIX B

STATA output for Table 4: Regression Result while controlling socioeconomic
resources

```
. eststo: ologit pol_i i.female i.edu_status i.age_gp i.marital_sta i.emp_status i.postMateriali
> alism demo if country=="MMR"
```

```
Iteration 0: log likelihood = -1312.4534
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -1280.1979
Iteration 2: log likelihood = -1279.8611
Iteration 3: log likelihood = -1279.861
Iteration 4: log likelihood = -1279.861
```

Ordered logistic regression

Number of obs = 1,198

LR chi2(13) = 65.18

Prob > chi2 = 0.0000

Pseudo R2 = 0.0248

Log likelihood = -1279.861

pol_i	Coefficient	Std. err.	z	P> z	[95% conf. interval]	
female						
female	.0525904	.1237642	0.42	0.671	-.1899829	.2951637
edu_status						
Lower Secondary	.0681336	.1465861	0.46	0.642	-.2191699	.3554371
Upper Secondary	.069791	.1575209	0.44	0.658	-.2389443	.3785264
Post Secondary	.1593501	.2077141	0.77	0.443	-.2477621	.5664623
age_gp						
Gen X	-.4243055	.1805321	-2.35	0.019	-.7781419	-.070469
Millennials	-.2305765	.1771484	-1.30	0.193	-.5777809	.1166279
Gen Z	-.4447492	.2094041	-2.12	0.034	-.8551738	-.0343246
marital_sta						
Married	.0355173	.1418828	0.25	0.802	-.2425679	.3136024
emp_status						
Self Employed	.2508295	.1455122	1.72	0.085	-.0343692	.5360282
Part Time	.2454527	.2246324	1.09	0.275	-.1948188	.6857242
Full Time	-.0899347	.2191618	-0.41	0.682	-.519484	.3396146
postMaterialism						
Post Materialism	.1945475	.1183728	1.64	0.100	-.037459	.426554
demo	.6177518	.0932816	6.62	0.000	.4349233	.8005804
/cut1	.0338926	.3927463			-.735876	.8036613
/cut2	.6176853	.3912064			-.1490653	1.384436
/cut3	3.375711	.4062827			2.579411	4.17201

(est1 stored)

```
. eststo: ologit pol_i i.female i.edu_status i.age_gp i.marital_sta i.emp_status i.postMateri
> alism demo if country=="BGD"
```

```
Iteration 0: log likelihood = -1389.9836
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -1352.6265
Iteration 2: log likelihood = -1352.5128
Iteration 3: log likelihood = -1352.5128
```

Ordered logistic regression

```
Number of obs = 1,085
LR chi2(13) = 74.94
Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
Pseudo R2 = 0.0270
```

Log likelihood = -1352.5128

pol_i	Coefficient	Std. err.	z	P> z	[95% conf. interval]	
female						
female	-.5572547	.1872259	-2.98	0.003	-.9242107	-.1902988
edu_status						
Lower Secondary	-.0225076	.1340848	-0.17	0.867	-.2853091	.2402938
Upper Secondary	.2270051	.1824949	1.24	0.214	-.1306784	.5846886
Post Secondary	.6681379	.2097074	3.19	0.001	.2571189	1.079157
age_gp						
Gen X	.1417098	.2156744	0.66	0.511	-.2810043	.5644239
Millennials	.3679234	.2017091	1.82	0.068	-.0274192	.7632659
Gen Z	.0927354	.2311168	0.40	0.688	-.3602453	.5457161
marital_sta						
Married	-.2624894	.1889721	-1.39	0.165	-.6328679	.1078891
emp_status						
Self Employed	-.0154889	.2059312	-0.08	0.940	-.4191067	.3881288
Part Time	-.0564107	.2680351	-0.21	0.833	-.5817498	.4689283
Full Time	.226229	.2284361	0.99	0.322	-.2214975	.6739555
postMaterialism						
Post Materialism	-.5265276	.1216795	-4.33	0.000	-.7650151	-.2880402
demo	.087924	.0734018	1.20	0.231	-.0559409	.2317889
/cut1	-.5543432	.3814928			-1.302055	.193369
/cut2	.5747046	.3812215			-.1724758	1.321885
/cut3	2.426367	.3915708			1.658903	3.193832

(est2 stored)


```
. eststo: ologit pol_i i.female i.edu_status i.age_gp i.marital_sta i.emp_status i.postMateri
> alism demo if country=="PHL"
```

```
Iteration 0: log likelihood = -1487.7363
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -1466.4
Iteration 2: log likelihood = -1466.3306
Iteration 3: log likelihood = -1466.3306
```

Ordered logistic regression

```
Number of obs = 1,196
LR chi2(13) = 42.81
Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
Pseudo R2 = 0.0144
```

Log likelihood = -1466.3306

pol_i	Coefficient	Std. err.	z	P> z	[95% conf. interval]	
female						
female	.3482639	.1137761	3.06	0.002	.1252669	.5712609
edu_status						
Lower Secondary	-.1417628	.1307948	-1.08	0.278	-.3981159	.1145902
Upper Secondary	-.4743309	.1795437	-2.64	0.008	-.8262301	-.1224317
Post Secondary	-.6209436	.1670489	-3.72	0.000	-.9483534	-.2935339
age_gp						
Gen X	-.2707514	.1542315	-1.76	0.079	-.5730395	.0315368
Millennials	-.0618143	.1447753	-0.43	0.669	-.3455687	.22194
Gen Z	-.1450106	.1901715	-0.76	0.446	-.5177399	.2277187
marital_sta						
Married	.0535061	.1174141	0.46	0.649	-.1766213	.2836335
emp_status						
Self Employed	.3985517	.1455006	2.74	0.006	.1133757	.6837276
Part Time	-.0326412	.1949164	-0.17	0.867	-.4146702	.3493879
Full Time	.2476851	.1469474	1.69	0.092	-.0403264	.5356967
postMaterialism						
Post Materialism	.1806994	.1181519	1.53	0.126	-.0508741	.4122729
demo	.1360286	.0686988	1.98	0.048	.0013813	.2706758
/cut1	-1.98391	.2798966			-2.532498	-1.435323
/cut2	-.4944393	.2684607			-1.020613	.031734
/cut3	1.43622	.2716296			.9038352	1.968604

(est3 stored)

```
. eststo: ologit pol_i i.female i.edu_status i.age_gp i.marital_sta i.emp_status i.postMateriali
> alism demo if country=="THA"
```

```
Iteration 0: log likelihood = -1768.1392
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -1712.9239
Iteration 2: log likelihood = -1712.5138
Iteration 3: log likelihood = -1712.5136
Iteration 4: log likelihood = -1712.5136
```

Ordered logistic regression

```
Number of obs = 1,424
LR chi2(13) = 111.25
Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
Pseudo R2 = 0.0315
```

Log likelihood = -1712.5136

pol_i	Coefficient	Std. err.	z	P> z	[95% conf. interval]	
female						
female	-.276435	.1012634	-2.73	0.006	-.4749076	-.0779624
edu_status						
Lower Secondary	-.3638455	.1434457	-2.54	0.011	-.644994	-.0826971
Upper Secondary	-.4154604	.1580294	-2.63	0.009	-.7251923	-.1057286
Post Secondary	-.30862	.177095	-1.74	0.081	-.6557198	.0384798
age_gp						
Gen X	-.0400856	.1334329	-0.30	0.764	-.3016093	.2214381
Millennials	-.0995165	.1523631	-0.65	0.514	-.3981428	.1991097
Gen Z	.1581617	.2239841	0.71	0.480	-.280839	.5971625
marital_sta						
Married	.6297202	.1201473	5.24	0.000	.3942359	.8652044
emp_status						
Self Employed	.4787805	.1473689	3.25	0.001	.1899427	.7676183
Part Time	.2865762	.1836391	1.56	0.119	-.0733498	.6465022
Full Time	.1070917	.1765384	0.61	0.544	-.2389171	.4531005
postMaterialism						
Post Materialism	.3413421	.1068252	3.20	0.001	.1319686	.5507156
demo	-.1240225	.0689305	-1.80	0.072	-.2591238	.0110788
/cut1	-2.282423	.3073732			-2.884863	-1.679982
/cut2	-.3496399	.3001361			-.9378959	.2386161
/cut3	1.81851	.3035023			1.223656	2.413363

(est4 stored)

```
. eststo: ologit pol_i i.female i.edu_status i.age_gp i.marital_sta i.emp_status i.postMateri
> alism demo if country=="VNM"
```

```
Iteration 0: log likelihood = -1470.5286
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -1436.0378
Iteration 2: log likelihood = -1435.8787
Iteration 3: log likelihood = -1435.8787
```

Ordered logistic regression

```
Number of obs = 1,130
LR chi2(13) = 69.30
Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
Pseudo R2 = 0.0236
```

Log likelihood = -1435.8787

pol_i	Coefficient	Std. err.	z	P> z	[95% conf. interval]	
female						
female	-.5986603	.114526	-5.23	0.000	-.8231271	-.3741936
edu_status						
Lower Secondary	.2216155	.2320602	0.95	0.340	-.2332142	.6764451
Upper Secondary	.2598904	.2273737	1.14	0.253	-.1857539	.7055347
Post Secondary	.673848	.2484592	2.71	0.007	.186877	1.160819
age_gp						
Gen X	.1038198	.2138402	0.49	0.627	-.3152993	.5229388
Millennials	-.2685124	.2121173	-1.27	0.206	-.6842546	.1472299
Gen Z	-.5647368	.2463417	-2.29	0.022	-1.047558	-.081916
marital_sta						
Married	-.1274914	.1466656	-0.87	0.385	-.4149507	.1599679
emp_status						
Self Employed	-.1050887	.1665979	-0.63	0.528	-.4316146	.2214372
Part Time	.0433387	.295818	0.15	0.884	-.5364538	.6231312
Full Time	-.353371	.1670091	-2.12	0.034	-.6807028	-.0260393
postMaterialism						
Post Materialism	-.0750835	.1136269	-0.66	0.509	-.2977881	.1476211
demo	.3254096	.0848678	3.83	0.000	.1590717	.4917474
/cut1	-.9826464	.4069968			-1.780345	-.1849474
/cut2	.526213	.4068969			-.2712902	1.323716
/cut3	2.594929	.4141368			1.783236	3.406622

(est5 stored)

APPENDIX C

STATA output for Table 5: Interaction between female and Numbers of seat held by male in parliament

```

. meologit pol_i female##c.par|| country:

Fitting fixed-effects model:

Iteration 0:  log likelihood = -8218.4384
Iteration 1:  log likelihood = -8194.7255
Iteration 2:  log likelihood = -8194.7111
Iteration 3:  log likelihood = -8194.7111

Refining starting values:

Grid node 0:  log likelihood = -7854.2836

Fitting full model:

Iteration 0:  log likelihood = -7854.2836 (not concave)
Iteration 1:  log likelihood = -7853.6593 (backed up)
Iteration 2:  log likelihood = -7845.9512
Iteration 3:  log likelihood = -7835.4008
Iteration 4:  log likelihood = -7835.3628
Iteration 5:  log likelihood = -7835.3628

Mixed-effects ologit regression              Number of obs   =       6,262
Group variable: country                     Number of groups =         5

Obs per group:
      min =       1,177
      avg =     1,252.4
      max =       1,485

Integration method: mvaghermite              Integration pts. =         7

Wald chi2(3) =       31.48
Prob > chi2  =       0.0000
Log likelihood = -7835.3628


```

pol_i	Coefficient	Std. err.	z	P> z	[95% conf. interval]	
female						
female	-.2890409	.1787487	-1.62	0.106	-.6393819	.0613002
par	-.0177525	.0523609	-0.34	0.735	-.1203779	.0848729
female#c.par						
female	.0012618	.007926	0.16	0.874	-.0142729	.0167966
/cut1	-2.226416	1.195479			-4.569513	.1166797
/cut2	-.9335718	1.195197			-3.276115	1.408972
/cut3	1.162275	1.195171			-1.180216	3.504767
country						
var(_cons)	.4655604	.2965132			.1336134	1.622192

```

LR test vs. ologit model:  chibar2(01) = 718.70          Prob >= chibar2 = 0.0000

```

APPENDIX D

STATA output for Table 6: Multi-level regression result

```
. eststo: ologit pol_i i.female##i.age_gp i.edu_status marital_sta i.emp_status demo
```

```
Iteration 0: log likelihood = -7904.446
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -7824.811
Iteration 2: log likelihood = -7824.6219
Iteration 3: log likelihood = -7824.6218
```

Ordered logistic regression

Number of obs = 6,047

LR chi2(15) = 159.65

Prob > chi2 = 0.0000

Pseudo R2 = 0.0101

Log likelihood = -7824.6218

pol_i	Coefficient	Std. err.	z	P> z	[95% conf. interval]	
female						
female	-.3414795	.1115798	-3.06	0.002	-.560172	-.122787
age_gp						
Gen X	-.4035052	.0999672	-4.04	0.000	-.5994372	-.2075731
Millennials	-.4903405	.0970638	-5.05	0.000	-.680582	-.300099
Gen Z	-.6374293	.12064	-5.28	0.000	-.8738793	-.4009793
female#age_gp						
female#Gen X	.2745087	.1425519	1.93	0.054	-.0048878	.5539053
female#Millennials	.2617127	.136311	1.92	0.055	-.005452	.5288775
female#Gen Z	.2218399	.1612628	1.38	0.169	-.0942293	.5379091
edu_status						
Lower Secondary	.0310526	.0622062	0.50	0.618	-.0908693	.1529745
Upper Secondary	-.0441196	.0678463	-0.65	0.516	-.177096	.0888567
Post Secondary	.1012756	.0787106	1.29	0.198	-.0529943	.2555455
marital_sta	-.2045206	.058172	-3.52	0.000	-.3185357	-.0905056
emp_status						
Self Employed	.4883061	.0617535	7.91	0.000	.3672714	.6093408
Part Time	.3778047	.0906492	4.17	0.000	.2001356	.5554739
Full Time	.168305	.0723462	2.33	0.020	.0265091	.3101009
demo	.0308344	.0319101	0.97	0.334	-.0317083	.093377
/cut1	-1.883997	.1474988			-2.17309	-1.594905
/cut2	-.6743291	.1456283			-.9597553	-.388903
/cut3	1.305139	.1464177			1.018165	1.592112

(est6 stored)

```
.
end of do-file
```

