

ISP Series

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Event Recap Memo No. 4 • Published on October 25, 2024.

MAKING DATA SPEAK

Capturing Conflicts and Human Security Agenda in Myanmar

The recap memo of *the 30 Minutes with the ISP* live event was held on October 5, 2024, highlighting how ISP is trying to capture conflicts and human security using data-driven research.



Design: San Win

30 Minutes with the ISP Event 4

MAKING DATA SPEAK

Capturing Conflicts and Human Security Agenda in Myanmar

Concept Note

Myanmar's conflict margins are rapidly changing. The opposition forces are vibrant in their resistance, displaying various goals and dreams that do not always align. Over the past three years since the coup, ISP-Myanmar's data shows that there have been at least 17,000 clashes between Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs), People's Defence Forces (PDFs), and the Myanmar Armed Forces (MAF), affecting about 70 percent of the towns within the country. However, since Operation 1027 late last year, EAOs and PDFs emerging from the Spring Revolution have managed to capture at least 74 towns, including the MAF's North Eastern Regional Military Command (RMC). These significant defeats for the MAF have captured the attention of both neighboring countries and international observers.

ISP-Myanmar has diligently mapped out the ongoing conflict zones and widespread clashes, using maps, graphs and charts to provide as much clarity and detail as possible. Understanding the grand strategies and operations is no easy task; conveying them in a clear and accessible way to varied audiences is even more challenging. Similarly, we aim to map and report the economic interests, trade, and political economy driving these conflicts as thoroughly as possible. A concerning aspect of the conflict is the increasing difficulty in providing safety and protection for civilians. ISP-Myanmar's data-based estimates suggest that more than 6.5 million internally displaced persons have been forced to flee their homes due to the conflict.

The greatest challenge in unpacking the conflict's strategies and operations lies in understanding the shifting calculations of armed actors, their willful actions, warfare objectives, and decision-making processes. This is further complicated by the often ambiguous and complex viewpoints of the armed resistance groups, which are not straightforward to interpret. Amid these limitations, we are doing our best to analyze the conflicts' grand strategy and operational plans. The conflict continues to evolve rapidly, with its intensity steadily escalating.

The military victory celebrations are louder than the cries of the war victims. Capturing the margins of conflict and presenting the societal issues faced by the public is also challenging. At ISP-Myanmar, we promptly record the swiftly unfolding conflicts, verify news, and report our insights. The immense suffering of civilians in conflict zones is profound, with their stories being both heartbreaking and devastating. Recording and reporting these are merely the tip of the iceberg.

These data-driven presentations by ISP-Myanmar aim to highlight the human security aspects of conflicts. We have also tried to understand and present the darker side of these conflicts. This episode's 30-minute discussion aims to reveal the behind-the-scenes efforts of these attempts. We want to share how ISP-Myanmar's researchers confront and navigate the intricacies of conflicts and security perspectives.

ISP နှင့်အတူ မိနစ် ၃ဝ

30 MINUTES with the ISP

MAKING DATA SPEAK

Capturing Conflicts and Human Security Agenda in Myanmar



Kyaw Htet

Program Head
ISP Conflict, Peace and Security Program
Lead Panelist



Zaw Htet

Program Officer
ISP Conflict, Peace and Security Program
Co-panelist



Pan Su

Program Associate

ISP Conflict, Peace and Security Program
Co-panelist

Ingyin May
Program Head
ISP Communications
Event Host

This event was held on October 5, 2024, exclusively for ISP Gabyin Community members. This English translation of the event's recap memo was published on October 25, 2024. DVB broadcasts the recorded video with English subtitles of the live event on its channel regularly on Mondays and Wednesdays.



Ingyin May Program Head ISP Communications Event Host

reetings to all Gabyin members attending today's program, 30 Minutes with the ISP. I am Ingyin May, your MC for today's program. This is the fourth event of 30 Minutes with the ISP. Today's discussion topic is "Making Data Speak: Capturing Conflicts and Human Security Agenda in Myanmar."

The panelists are Kyaw Htet, Program Head of the Conflict, Peace & Security Program (CPSP), Zaw Htet, Program Officer (CPSP), and Pan Su, Program Associate (CPSP). After the panelists' presentation, we will answer Gabyin members and attendees' questions and remarks. In addition to asking live, questions can be sent via the chat function. If we could not answer live due to program limitations, we'll answer these questions through email afterwards. The recorded video will be aired on DVB broadcasts, ISP-Myanmar websites, and social media.

Let's begin the discussion. I'll give the floor to the panelists.



Kyaw Htet
Program Head
ISP Conflict, Peace and
Security Program
Lead Panelist

irst and foremost, I would like to
express my gratitude to everyone
attending today or watching the
video. Our discussion will be divided into
three sections. First, we'll present some
findings and the complexity of the current
situation. Second, we'll address the
challenges we faced in conducting
empirical data-based research. Finally,
we'll share the perspectives and viewpoints that shaped our research and
discussions. I will discuss the first section.

After the military coup, our country has descended into chaos. In response, we, at ISP-Myanmar, initiated the Conflict Data Program. According to the data collected, armed conflict broke out in 187 out of 330 townships in Myanmar since the coup to December 2022. As of August 2024, conflict has expanded to 236 townships.

The number of conflicts is rising into tens of thousands nationwide and when we look at the number of armed groups, it was just over 20 before the coup, but surged to over 700 and systematic research indicates that approximately 500 armed organizations are there in Myanmar. At the same time, the dynamics of these conflicts are constantly shifting. When we examine the Myanmar Armed Forces (MAF), it has lost at least 100 Light Infantry Battalions (LIBs). When we look at the command chain, the MAF lost three Military Operation Commands (MOCs), one Regional Operations Commands (ROC) in Laukkai and recently, one Regional Military Command (RMC) in Lashio. In short, the data clearly indicates that the Myanmar Armed Forces (MAF) is losing. We have also previously reported on this.

See the PowerPoint slides used during the event in the Appendix Section of this recap memo from page 20 to 21.

These losses marked a historical defeat for the MAF. Moreover, all MAF's Regional Operation Commands are the frontline one way or another. You can see it on this map. However, the MAF (SAC) does not seem to perceive it this way. Their top leader's speech and talks only promote the narrative that resistance forces are undermining the stability of the state, the stability of the region. This shows that they cannot even acknowledge the defeats.

The situation is deeply complex. Every day, there is a plethora of news on conflict incidents and related news, presented in various forms, with various underlying purposes, combined with the intricate and complex realities on the ground, making it

challenging for ordinary people to keep up. This also raises questions about how individuals, policymakers, and researchers like us can effectively make sense of the situation. Based on these questions and gaps, ISP-Myanmar conducts data-based analyses and studies the profiles of organizations and their leadership nature. We study their decision making calculus, their impulsive and willful decisions and behaviors or logical decisions through comparative case studies of examining the past events. So, our study examines both the behaviors and thought processes of conflict actors. This helps us understand the strategic thinking and tactics used in war and conflict. Now, Zaw Htet will talk about the challenges faced during our research process.

Catch up on previous episodes by scanning the QR codes below to visit our YouTube channel.



Introduction To Sino-Myanmar Relations Survey: 2023



Naypyitawlogy – Three Words Characterizing Naypyitaw



Breathless in Adversity: The Strangling Effects of Conscription Law on Socioeconomic Hardship



Zaw Htet
Program Officer
ISP Conflict, Peace and
Security Program
Co-panelist

In this second section, I want to discuss the challenges encountered in conducting research. Doing research in a conflict environment comes with significant difficulties and challenges for researchers. We must carefully select methods and tools that are relevant to our research questions. Navigating the complexities of armed conflict is challenging. Setting a research framework based on academic theories, and determining how to collect data and then analyzing them effectively are all difficult tasks. Even after the analysis is completed and published, the main challenge for the researchers is the question of whether the findings truly

reflect reality. For this section, I would like to talk about two key challenges.

The first challenge we face is in collecting data. When it comes to data, there are many research organizations studying conflict in Myanmar. Usually, the figures published by each organization vary from one another. This discrepancy generally arises from employing different methodologies. The other reason could be the different sources of data. Moreover, these sources themselves have various limitations, e.g. researchers must ensure to distinguish between reliable source and propaganda. Additionally, it's very important

to clearly define our own unit of study. For instance, how do we define a clash? When we talk about airstrikes, are we referring to the number of strikes, the number of bombs dropped, or the number of aircraft involved? Similarly, when we talk about internally displaced persons (IDPs), are we only referring to those in IDP camps? Based on these definitions, we must collect data consistently. Without clear definitions and a unified collection method, the quality of the research could be questioned. Moreover, it is crucial to validate the collected data by crosschecking it with other sources, for example, cross-checking with organizations that gather ground information and civil society organizations. What I have discussed so far is the challenge encountered in collecting the data.

Secondly, I would like to discuss about selecting appropriate research methods and tools. Once we have the data, it is essential to analyze them in various ways. Researchers will have their own research question they want to answer. And there is collected data. So, for every research organization, it is very important to select the appropriate research analysis methods and tools in order to effectively address the questions based on the collected data. At ISP-Myanmar, we utilize a range of methods and tools to analyze the data once we have collected and validated them. Our tools of analysis

include examining different time periods through time series analysis, assessing conflict escalation by geo-location, and differentiating the types of conflict based on the actors involved. These methods help us categorize the conflicts, understand their processes, and evaluate their impacts. However, we still face certain limitations and challenges at this stage. For example, when creating conflict maps, sometimes situational constraints can make it difficult to obtain accurate legends and geo-location points. Although many organizations publish conflict figures, they do so in aggregate figures for multiple years or regional aggregates, which make it difficult to dissect shorter time span analysis or smaller units of analysis. Amid these challenges, ISP-Myanmar's researchers strive to collect, validate, analyze and present the data to the best of their abilities.

I would like to summarize my discussion here. Myanmar's current armed conflict is both intricate and far-reaching. To make sense of these complex realities for the public, we researchers must continually work to fully grasp our own research questions, maintain systematic data collection and storage, and choose the most effective research methods and tools.

Now, I'd like to invite Pan Su to discuss the next section.



Pan Su Program Associate ISP Conflict, Peace and Security Program Co-panelist

In this third section, I'd like to focus on the human security of the conflict. ISP-Myanmar has consistently emphasized the importance of human security perspectives. The challenges faced by civilians are so immense that they resemble a mountain range. In the blink of an eye, people lose their families, live long savings earned through sweat and blood vanish into thin air. Countless cases of these are happening. While many celebrate victories in armed conflict against the dictatorship, the voices of those suffering in the chaos of war are often overshadowed. It is truly challenging to capture the full extent of the socio-economic hardships people are enduring. As we said in our concept note,

documenting and reporting these issues are just the tip of an iceberg.

As Kyaw Htet and Zaw Htet discussed earlier, in our every research, we prioritize the benefit of community, social environment, and human security. National interest, economic profit, and power dynamics can sometimes be delayed due to timing and situational constraints. But, we cannot afford to delay matters that directly affect the survival, security and peace of the people, to let them sleep at night peacefully. In other words, living in daily fear is a violation of the most basic level of socio-economic security. When these violations persist over time, the

survival of ordinary people becomes increasingly difficult. Therefore, as researchers, we must systematically study the impacts of armed conflict on individuals and their socio-economic challenges.

One of our current research projects, launched in November 2023, aims to assess security impacts across the country in three categories, with data collected and analyzed every three months. This research is developing three indexes related to conflict impacts. The first is the Security Risk Index, which measures the intensity of security risks associated with armed conflict in each township. The second is the Humanitarian Crises Index, which evaluates the severity of humanitarian crises in each area. For example, this index examines what percentage of IDPs constitutes the total population of a township and the index indicates whether that township is experiencing a humanitarian crisis or not. The third index is the Public Service Absence Index, which measures the extent of unavailable public services for the population.

Each index is rated using three levels: 'High,' 'Low,' and 'Nil,' and is represented in bar charts. Overall, our findings indicate that the frequency of 'High' ratings has increased with each assessment in all four previous studies. Each index reflects the level of security risk faced by the population, and the number of townships categorized as 'High' is particularly significant. Townships marked as 'High' raise serious concerns regarding security, humanitarian crises, and public services, as illustrated on the map. According to our latest data collected in August, 71 townships are classified as "High" in all three indexes. This number represents an increase compared to previous data. When we compare the data collected in February 2024 with that from May 2024, the difference is quite substantial. By August 2024, at least 71 townships are rated high risk, highlighting the level of security risks and challenges residents face in their communities. Could Kyaw Htet discuss the conclusion?

Connect with us on LinkedIn for the latest updates on Myanmar's affairs. Scan here!



See the PowerPoint slides used during the event in the Appendix Section of this recap memo from page 20 to 21.



Kyaw Htet
Program Head
ISP Conflict, Peace and
Security Program
Lead Panelist

As we mentioned earlier, conducting research in the conflict environment is quite difficult and challenging for us researchers. Another critical point is the perspective and focus from which we will approach the research and the topic we will study.

ISP-Myanmar typically conducts research that hits three key sweet spots. First, our topics of research usually reflect current affairs and current issues. We want to address and solve the current issues rather than studying historical events. Second, we make sure our approaches are theoretically and methodologically informed. Zaw Htet has largely discussed this point. Third, rather than simply satisfying our curiosity, we aim to provide insights with policy implications. As Pan Su discussed, our aim is to address human security and socio-economic hardships, while providing policy recommendations and theory of change that could help Myanmar emerge from this chaotic situation.

Even with a systematic approach, there will always be limitations and blind spots. That is why we greatly value feedback and constructive criticism from others. We regularly review feedback on our ISP-Myanmar Facebook page and other social media platforms. When explaining these complex realities, we avoid discussing and reporting based on wishful thinking and we avoid portrayals that obscure the truth when explaining this complex situation. In presenting the results of our research, we consciously steer clear of binary thinking, dogmatic divisions, any ideological biases or indoctrination. Our task is to present the empirical data based findings, and to identify potential scenarios, and to provide policy recommendations. In this discussion, we want to showcase a glimpse of behindthe-scenes efforts that powered our research findings. I would like to conclude our presentation by highlighting how ISP-Myanmar's researchers are striving to capture the armed conflict and various dimensions of human security while overcoming challenges and limitations.



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Ingyin May
Program Head
ISP Communications
Event Host

Thank you, Kyaw Htet, Zaw Htet and Pan Su for the discussion. Next, we'd like to continue with the Q&A section. We've selected three common advanced questions received through email from our Gabyin members. The first question here asks:



"It is good to conduct research. However, some people said that 'isn't it better to conduct research for the resistance movement's victory or research that supports the movement?' What do you think about this statement?"



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Zaw Htet
Program Officer
ISP Conflict, Peace and
Security Program
Co-panelist

Generally, there are various types of research: exploratory research, inquiry research, confirmatory research, etc. It's also crucial to consider who is conducting the research and for what purpose. For example, foreign governments have their own research teams and organizations, while political parties also maintain their own research units. The research they conduct typically aims to achieve certain goals, such as advancing their agendas, assessing their operations, or influencing policy making. As an independent, non-partisan, and non-governmental research organization, ISP-Myanmar conducts research in the interest of the public, aiming to highlight the public's suffering.



Ingyin May
Program Head
ISP Communications
Event Host

Thank you, Zaw Htet, for your response. The second question is:



"Thank you for conducting research on conflict and socioeconomic hardship.
Lately, I noticed that more organizations also use mappings to explain the conflict.
How do ISP-Myanmar's maps differ from them?"



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Pan Su Program Associate ISP Conflict, Peace and Security Program Co-panelist

Conducting research on various topics is a positive trend. At ISP-Myanmar, we do not assess the value of a study based solely on its subject matter. Like, this is an interesting topic to study or not interesting. Rather, we choose our research topics based on the theory of change that is relevant to helping our country emerge from the crisis. In this consideration, we prioritize human security and human dignity. Additionally, we study current leaders' accountability and responsibility and focus on how to hold these leaders accountable and responsible for their actions. Moreover, as Kyaw Htet mentioned earlier, we focus on research topics that align with the three 'sweet spots' in our analysis.



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Ingyin May
Program Head
ISP Communications
Event Host

Thank you, Pan Su, for your response. The third question is:



"After the capture of Lashio by the MNDAA and its allies, there are speculations of potential offensives toward Mandalay and Naypyitaw. How should we interpret these points?"



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Kyaw Htet
Program Head
ISP Conflict, Peace and
Security Program
Lead Panelist

I think many people will be curious about this question. I would like to briefly answer this question. There are two key approaches to consider. The first is the strategic approach, considering the whole picture. The other is the operational approach, more concerned with the technical aspect. From a strategic perspective, we have previously pointed out that when the interests of China align with those of the conflict actors in Myanmar, developments can take place swiftly. Regarding the potential offensives toward Naypyitaw and Mandalay following the capture of Lashio, the crucial question is who would lead such offensives. It's unlikely for the Three Brotherhood Alliance to take the lead in the offensive, due to political and strategic concerns, as China would likely disapprove of such an action. The MNDAA's statement reflected this situation. However, they can be partially involved in the operational aspect. Although they may not lead the military campaign, it is highly likely that they may support local resistance forces in their operations. However, all these things still have many limitations.



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Ingyin May
Program Head
ISP Communications
Event Host

Thank you, Kyaw Htet, for your response. We will now accept one question and one comment from the Gabyin members present today. If you would like to ask a question or provide feedback, please click the 'Raise Hand' button. Is there anyone who would like to ask a question? If not, I will address a question submitted through the chat box



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Gabyin Audience



"Is the lack of unity among the resistance forces a result of their failure to represent the hardships faced by the people?"



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Kyaw Htet
Program Head
ISP Conflict, Peace and
Security Program
Lead Panelist

According to research literature, there is no causal relationship between these two variables. The shifting dynamics of the revolution and the unity among resistance forces is one aspect, while the hardships faced by the people are another. As we discussed in our presentation, we focus on presenting human tragedy and human security perspective when we discuss our methodology and the challenges we encountered. The second point is the impact: the conflict's impact on the people. To go back to the point, there is no correlation between the two. As armed conflict spreads, people face increasing socioeconomic hardships. This is also observed in many other cases around the world. I would like to conclude my brief answer here.



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Ingyin May
Program Head
ISP Communications
Event Host

Thank you very much, Kyaw Htet for your answer. We are going to accept one more question or comment. There is one question asked in the chat. The question asked:



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Gabyin Audience



"Do you see any overarching grand strategy among the Bamar resistance forces and the non-Bamar ethnic resistance forces that go beyond strategies?"



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Kyaw Htet
Program Head
ISP Conflict, Peace and
Security Program
Lead Panelist

After Operation 1027, it is evident that conflict actors are conducting operations by launching offensives and capturing territories based on their respective capacities. However, at the operational level, there is some degree of coordination among them. When we look at the strategic and political levels, there is still a lack of consensus on how to coexist or unite in a post-conflict future. Currently, conflict actors primarily focus on their own processes, so, we have not observed a grand strategy, as mentioned in the question.



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Ingyin May
Program Head
ISP Communications
Event Host

Thank you, Kyaw Htet, for your response, and special thanks to Gabyin members for your questions. Before we conclude our program, would any of our panelists like to share their final thoughts or remarks?



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Kyaw Htet
Program Head
ISP Conflict, Peace and
Security Program
Lead Panelist

Whenever we conduct research, we bear in mind that there will always be blind spots in our pursuit of the truth. Therefore, we exercise caution in relying on a single approach, ideology, or research method in our studies, discussions, and

writings. We consistently consult and employ multiple perspectives and approaches. Additionally, other than the Conflict, Peace, and Security Program, ISP-Myanmar has various research programs including the China Studies Program, Socioeconomic Studies Program, and Governance Studies Program. We always work together among our different research programs. This collaborative approach allows us to analyze each topic from multiple angles. With that, I would like to conclude my discussion here.



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Ingyin May
Program Head
ISP Communications
Event Host

Thank you. For the questions we could not answer live today, we'll answer them in our Recap memo via email. You can also explore other research data, maps, and findings on ISP-Myanmar's website at www.ispmyanmar.com and on our social media platforms. I would like to express my sincere appreciation to all the members in attendance, and with that, I'll conclude today's program. ■

Appendix 1

This appendix includes responses to the questions we collected in advance of the event and the questions received via chat and Q&A buttons during the event.

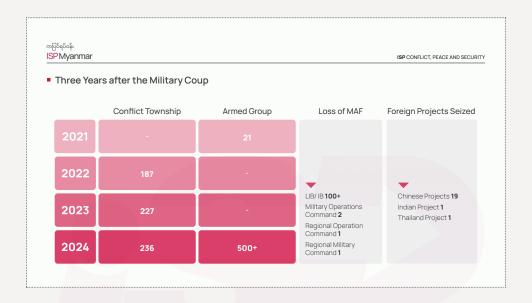
- O How can we shape a democratic system in Myanmar setting to politically deescalate conflict?
- When discussing Myanmar's armed conflict, it is often noted that the country has yet to complete its nation-building process. This issue is further complicated by successive military dictatorships, which has contributed to ongoing chaos. A central question remains over the time: should the priority be on democracy or the establishment of a federal union. Since the political reforms of the 2010s, the term "Federal Democratic Union" has gained traction, leading many to recognize the interconnectedness of federalism and democracy. Under this understanding, both federalism and democracy are seen as mutually dependent. The selection and implementation of a federal model should be a topic of discussion among conflict stakeholders. Political discussions should be made upon power-sharing arrangements between the federal and state governments, the number of states, collaborative security mechanisms, electoral systems, and parliamentary structures. ■

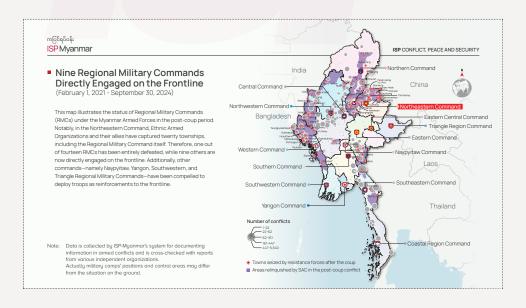
To stay updated on Myanmar politics, scan this and read ISP series.

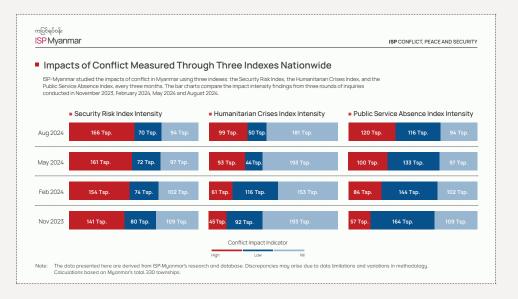


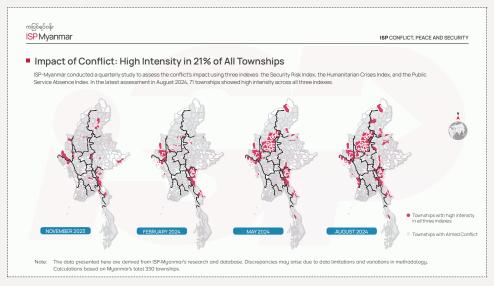
Appendix 2

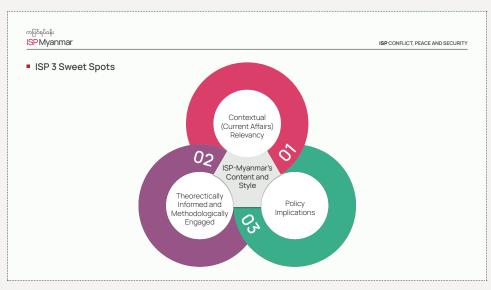
This is a collection of the PowerPoint slides shown during the event. Access the high resolution PowerPoint slides on the ISP-Myanmar website's **Data Gallery** Section.













Welcome to the "30 Minutes with the ISP" program!

We are excited to launch this new TV show to provide a platform for all members of the ISP's Gabyin community to participate and discuss various topics. After three years of the military coup in Myanmar, discussions among politicians, activists, and citizens have primarily been focused on 'emergency' to address life-saving needs and 'solidarity' to show unity among the forces struggling against injustice in Myanmar politics. These are all for good reasons. Nevertheless, the discussions often lack robust analysis and deliberation. With freedom of expression suppressed by the junta, the State Administration Council (SAC), and ongoing conflict, hunger, and countless crises, the opportunities for Myanmar citizens to receive evidence-based information and nurture critical thinking are limited. Unfortunately, labeling opposing views as "enemy's informers (dalan)" and imposing "self-censorship" due to the growing "cancel culture" has become the norm, discouraging free thinkers and people with different opinions. This has resulted in many people choosing to preference falsification, while many 'taboos' continue to add to the politics.

When people live in oppressive conditions, experience extreme poverty, and cannot express their opinions freely, diversity of thought and perspectives struggle to thrive. This makes it challenging to analyze and deliberate on important subjects. As a result, people tend to stick to their entrenched perspectives and fail to find alternatives. Many online discussions today tend to drag on without presenting new information or insights, which can bore and disengage listeners. It's evident that discussions are receiving less attention with a dwindling audience despite the need for Sannipata (dialogue or deliberation) to foster more engagement.

Against this backdrop, ISP-Myanmar is pleased to introduce the '30 Minutes with the ISP' TV show. The program's purpose is to create a community that values public interests, encourages research-based conversations, and promotes freedom of expression and tolerance of diverse perspectives. The program seeks to share rather than persuade, aiming to present research findings honestly and stimulate the audience's curiosity. The goal is to incubate an epistemic community where people can have informed, evidence-based discussions. We are committed to building a tower of knowledge with a strong foundation of deliberative culture. Our approach to intellectual integrity is not about staying consistent but about examining evidence, rectifying errors, filling the gaps, and incorporating new findings into our existing knowledge base. Ultimately, this approach to open-minded learning will help us gain deeper insights that benefit Myanmar.

Content-wise, ISP-Myanmar envisions this program to be a must-watch show to exercise and exemplify our intellectual approach and deliberative culture. In style, the program is designed to present research-based information in a concise manner without wasting time on lengthy discussions that may strain audience attention spans. The primary focus is delivering valuable content within a 30-minute time-frame rather than sensationalization or popularity. The first 15 minutes will be devoted to presenting research-based information, while the remaining 15 minutes will be an open forum for Q&A and discussion. The program is intended to be a must-watch show that viewers' time is well-spent and helps them evolve their thinking beyond the program's conclusion.

We invite you to join '30 minutes with the ISP'.

Institute for Strategy and Policy-Myanmar

- +66 80 747 9712
- PO Box 149, Chiang Mai University PO, Chiang Mai, 50202.
- info@ISPMyanmar.com
- www.ISPMyanmar.com