# Global Innovation Index 2025

Myanmar ranking in the Global Innovation Index 2025

Myanmar ranks **122nd** among the 139 economies featured in the GII 2025.

The Global Innovation Index (GII) ranks world economies according to their innovation capabilities. Consisting of roughly 80 indicators, grouped into innovation inputs and outputs, the GII aims to capture the multi-dimensional facets of innovation.
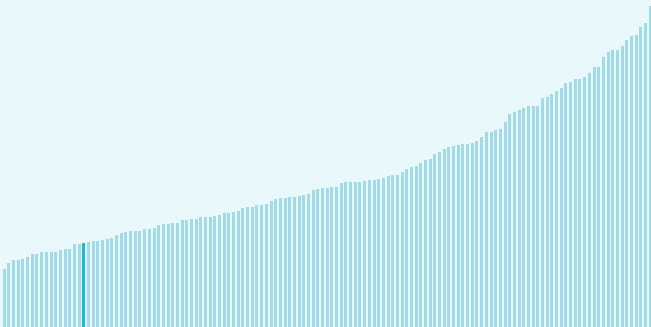
Myanmar ranks 30th among the 37 Lower middle-income group economies.
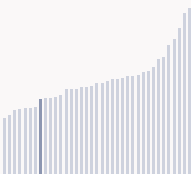
Myanmar ranks 17th among the 17 economies in South East Asia, East Asia, and Oceania.
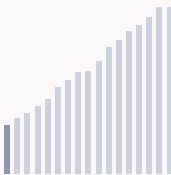
› Myanmar GII Ranking (2020-2025)

The table shows the rankings of Myanmar over the past six years. Data availability and changes to the GII model framework influence year-on-year comparisons of the GII rankings. The statistical confidence interval for the ranking of Myanmar in the GII 2025 is between ranks 110 and 124.

Year	GII Position	Innovation Inputs	Innovation Outputs
2020	129th	129th	120th
2021	127th	128th	120th
2022	116th	122nd	104th
2023	n/a	n/a	n/a
2024	125th	128th	114th
2025	122nd	131st	99th

Myanmar performs better in innovation outputs than innovation inputs in 2025.

This year Myanmar ranks 131st in innovation inputs. This position is lower than last year.

Myanmar ranks 99th in innovation outputs. This position is higher than last year.

Myanmar has no clusters in the world's top innovation clusters of the Global Innovation Index.

Global Innovation Index 2025

> Global Innovation Tracker

The Global Innovation Tracker 2025 shows what is the current state of innovation in Myanmar, how rapidly is technology being embraced and what are the resulting societal impacts.

> For Myanmar, 3 indicators have improved in the short-term and 4 indicators have worsened.

Science and innovation investment

	Scientific publications	R&D investments	Venture capital deal numbers	International patent filings
Short term	▼ -9.9 % 2023 - 2024	▼ -31.8 % 2022 - 2023	n/a	n/a
Long term (annual growth)	▲ 16 % 2014 - 2024	▼ -18.4 % 2018 - 2023	n/a	n/a

Technology adoption

	Safe sanitation	Connectivity		Robots	Electric vehicles
		Fixed broadband	5G		
Short term	▼ -0.1% 2023 - 2024	▲ 34.4% 2022 - 2023	n/a	n/a	n/a
Long term (annual growth)	▼ -0.1% 2014 - 2024	▲ 42.3% 2011 - 2023	n/a	n/a	n/a
Penetration	60.5 per 100 inhabitants in 2024	2.8 per 100 inhabitants in 2023	n/a	n/a	n/a

Socioeconomic impact

	Labor productivity	Life expectancy	Temperature change
Short term	▲ 2.2 % 2023 - 2024	▲ 0.6 % 2022 - 2023	+ 2 °C 2024
Long term (annual growth)	▲ 2.9 % 2014 - 2024	▲ 0.3 % 2013 - 2023	+ 0.9 °C 2014
Level	11,432.2 USD in 2024	66.9 years in 2023	n/a

Notes: Not all indicators of the Global Innovation Tracker are used to calculate the Global Innovation Index. Long-term annual growth refers to the compound annual growth rate (CAGR) over the indicated period. For each variable, a one-year growth rate is set for the short run, and ten-year CAGR is set for the long run; time windows might differ when gaps exist in data availability. The end period corresponds to the most recent available observation, which may differ among countries. Temperature change is an exception: it indicates the change in degrees Celsius with respect to the average temperature in the countries. from 1951–1980. Figures are rounded.
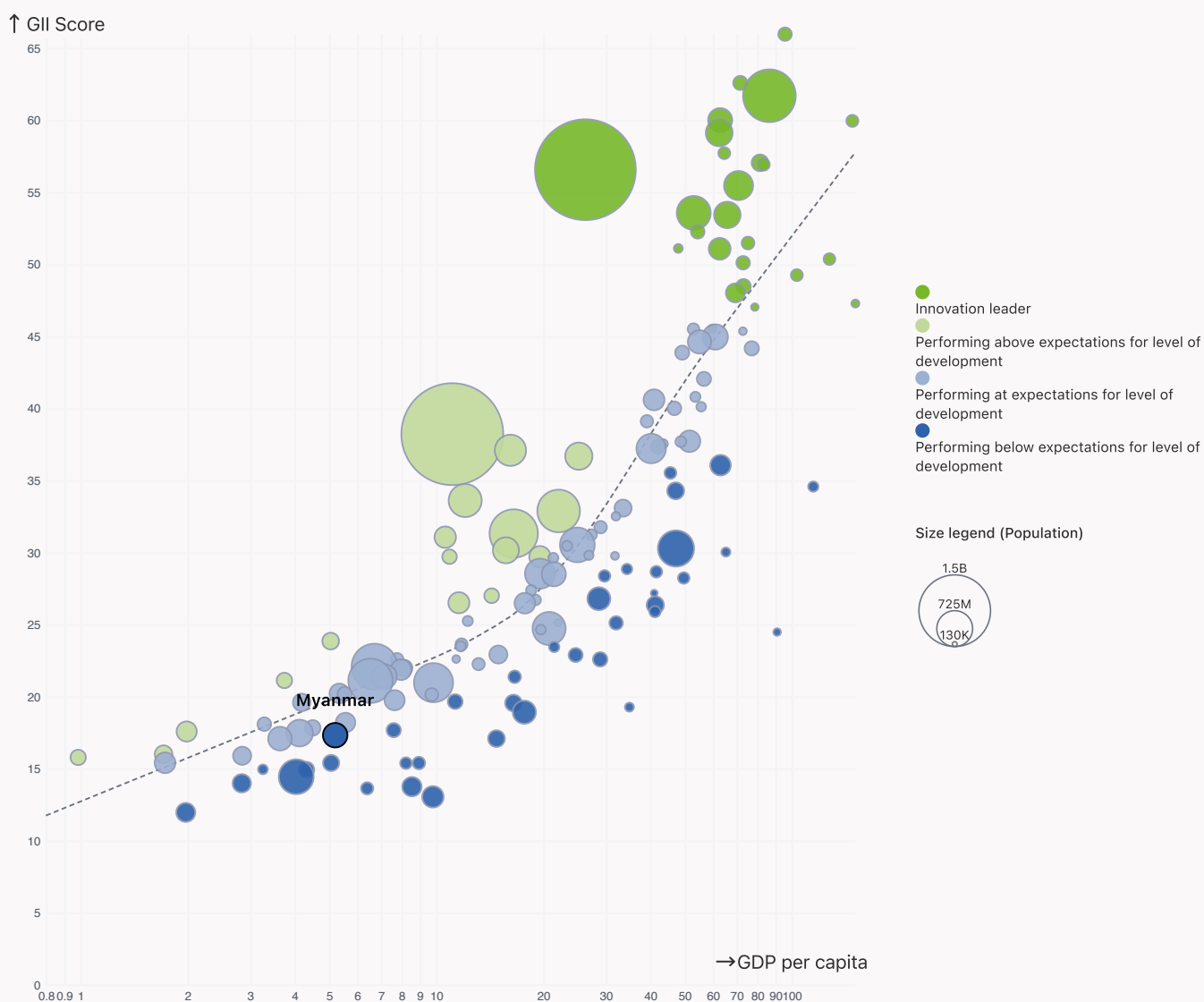
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Expected vs. Observed Innovation Performance

The bubble chart below shows the relationship between income levels (GDP per capita) and innovation performance (GII score). The trend line gives an indication of the expected innovation performance according to income level. Economies appearing above the trend line are performing better than expected and those below are performing below expectations.

> ⟳ Relative to GDP Myanmar performs below expectations for its level of development.

> Innovation overperformers relative to their economic development

↑ GII Score

Myanmar

→GDP per capita

Innovation leader

Performing above expectations for level of development

Performing at expectations for level of development

Performing below expectations for level of development

Size legend (Population)

1.5B
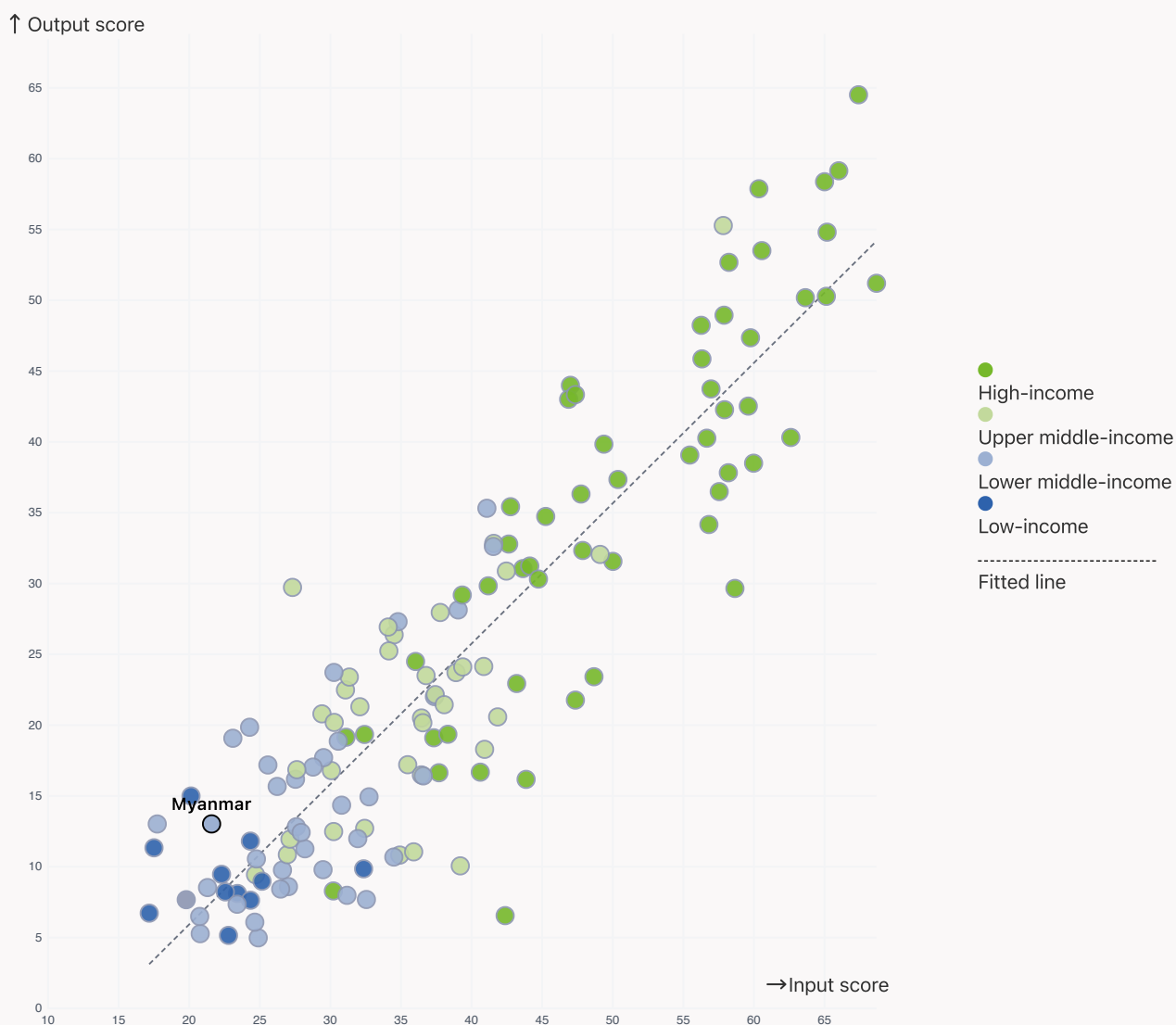725M
130K

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Effectively translating innovation investments into innovation outputs

The chart below shows the relationship between innovation inputs and innovation outputs. Economies above the line are effectively translating costly innovation investments into more and higher-quality outputs.

💡 **Myanmar produces more innovation outputs relative to its level of innovation investments.**

> Relationship between innovation inputs and outputs

↑ Output score

→ Input score

- ● High-income
- ● Upper middle-income
- ● Lower middle-income
- ● Low-income
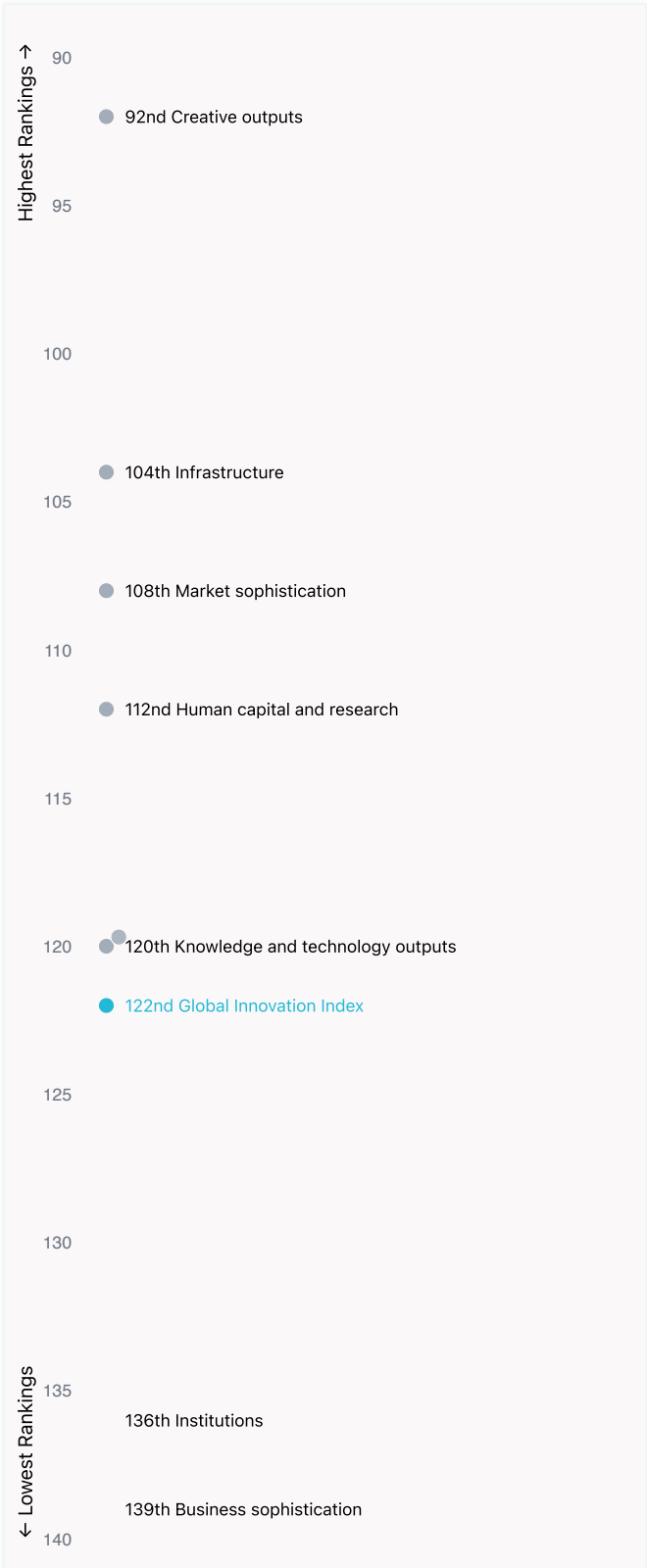- ------------------------ Fitted line

Myanmar

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Overview of Myanmar's rankings in the seven areas of the GII in 2025

The chart shows the ranking for each of the seven areas that the GII comprises. The strongest areas for Myanmar are those that rank above the GII (shown in blue) and the weakest are those that rank below.

Highest Rankings →

- 90
- 92nd Creative outputs
- 95
- 100
- 104th Infrastructure
- 105
- 108th Market sophistication
- 110
- 112nd Human capital and research
- 115
- 120 120th Knowledge and technology outputs
- 122nd Global Innovation Index
- 125
- 130
- 135 136th Institutions
- 139th Business sophistication
- 140

← Lowest Rankings

Highest Rankings

Myanmar ranks highest in Creative outputs (92nd), Infrastructure (104th), Market sophistication (108th) and Human capital and research (112nd).

Lowest Rankings

Myanmar ranks lowest in Business sophistication (139th), Institutions (136th) and Knowledge and technology outputs (120th).

🔗 The full WIPO Intellectual Property Statistics profile for Myanmar can be found on https://www.wipo.int/edocs/statistics-country-profile/en/mm.pdf

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Benchmark of Myanmar against other economy groupings for each of the seven areas of the GII Index

The charts shows the relative position of Myanmar (blue bar) against other economy groupings (grey bars)
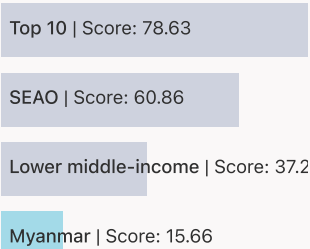
Lower middle-income economies
Myanmar performs above the Lower middle-income group average in Creative outputs.
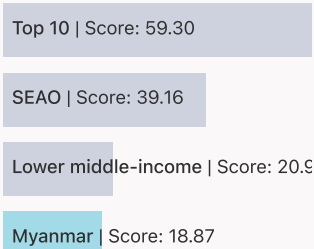
South East Asia, East Asia, and Oceania
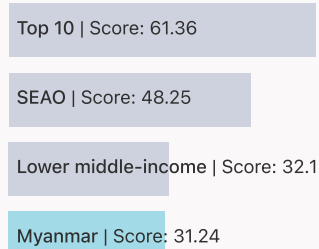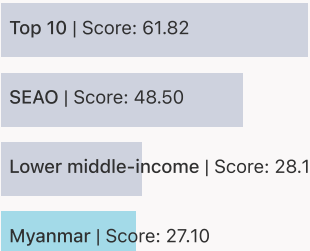Myanmar performs below the regional average in all pillars.

Institutions
- Top 10 | Score: 78.63
- SEAO | Score: 60.86
- Lower middle-income | Score: 37.2
- Myanmar | Score: 15.66

Human capital and research
- Top 10 | Score: 59.30
- SEAO | Score: 39.16
- Lower middle-income | Score: 20.9
- Myanmar | Score: 18.87

Infrastructure
- Top 10 | Score: 61.36
- SEAO | Score: 48.25
- Lower middle-income | Score: 32.1
- Myanmar | Score: 31.24

Market sophistication
- Top 10 | Score: 61.82
- SEAO | Score: 48.50
- Lower middle-income | Score: 28.1
- Myanmar | Score: 27.10

Business sophistication
- Top 10 | Score: 59.10
- SEAO | Score: 39.02
- Lower middle-income | Score: 25.3
- Myanmar | Score: 15.36

Knowledge and technology outputs
- Top 10 | Score: 54.93
- SEAO | Score: 29.47
- Lower middle-income | Score: 15.4
- Myanmar | Score: 10.21

Creative outputs
- Top 10 | Score: 55.98
- SEAO | Score: 32.64
- Myanmar | Score: 15.72
- Lower middle-income | Score: 13.8

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Innovation strengths and weaknesses in Myanmar

The table below gives an overview of the indicator strengths and weaknesses of Myanmar in the GII 2025.

Myanmar's best-ranked innovation strengths are **Graduates in science and engineering, %** (rank 11), **Gross capital formation, % GDP** (rank 17) and **Trademarks by origin/bn PPP$ GDP** (rank 19).

Strengths

Rank	Code	Indicator name
11	2.2.2	Graduates in science and engineering, %
17	3.2.3	Gross capital formation, % GDP
19	7.1.2	Trademarks by origin/bn PPP$ GDP
21	6.2.4	High-tech manufacturing
22	4.3.1	Applied tariff rate, weighted avg., %
24	4.1.3	Loans from microfinance institutions, % GDP
44	7.2.4	Creative goods exports, % total trade
60	5.1.3	Youth demographic dividend, %
61	5.3.3	ICT services imports, % total trade
66	4.3.3	Domestic market scale, bn PPP$

Weaknesses

Rank	Code	Indicator name
139	1.1.2	Government effectiveness*
138	1.2.2	Rule of law*
138	7.3.1	Top-level domains (TLDs)/th pop. 15–69
116	2.2.3	Tertiary inbound mobility, %
116	4.2.4	VC investors, deal count/bn PPP$ GDP
100	5.2.5	Patent families/bn PPP$ GDP
94	5.1.5	GERD financed by business, %
80	2.3.4	QS university ranking, top 3*
53	6.2.2	Unicorn valuation, % GDP
44	2.3.3	Global corporate R&D investors, top 3, mn USD

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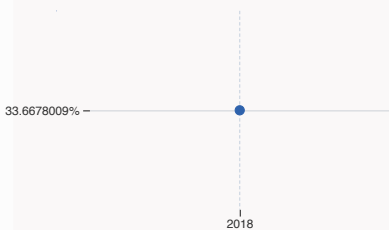
Myanmar's innovation system

As far as practicable, the plots below present unscaled indicator data.

❯ Innovation inputs in Myanmar

2.1.1 Expenditure on education

was equal to 2 % GDP in 2019, up by 0.007 percentage points from the year prior – and equivalent to an indicator rank of 127.

2.2.2 Graduates in science and engineering

was equal to 33.67 % of total graduates in 2018 – and equivalent to an indicator rank of 11.

2.3.1 Researchers

was equal to 28.009 FTE per million population in 2023, up by 6.11% from the year prior – and equivalent to an indicator rank of 102.

2.3.2 Gross expenditure on R&D

was equal to 0.02 % GDP in 2023, down by 0.01 percentage points from the year prior – and equivalent to an indicator rank of 112.
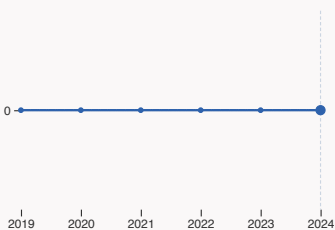
2.3.4 QS university ranking

The country does not have any universities in the QS world universities ranking in 2024.
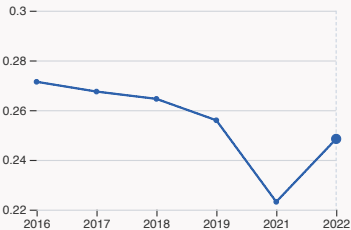
4.3.2 Domestic industry diversification

was equal to an index score of 0.25 in 2022, up by 11.34% from the year prior – and equivalent to an indicator rank of 94.
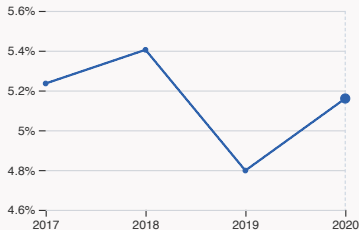
5.1.1 Knowledge-intensive employment

was equal to 5.16 % in 2020, up by 0.36 percentage points from the year prior – and equivalent to an indicator rank of 112.

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> ## Innovation outputs in Myanmar
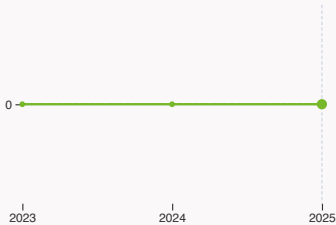
6.2.2 Unicorn valuation

The country does not have unicorns in 2025.
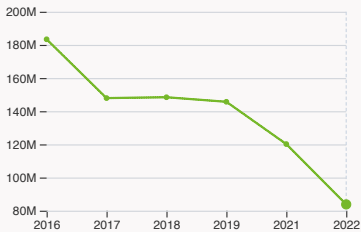
6.2.4 High-tech manufacturing

was equal to 83.81 high-tech manufacturing output in million USD in 2022, down by 30.27% from the year prior – and equivalent to an indicator rank of 21.
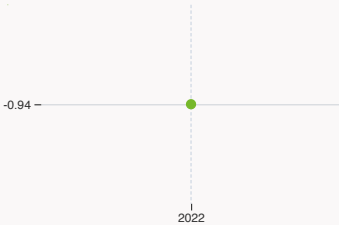
6.3.2 Production and export complexity

was equal to a score of -0.94 in 2022 – and equivalent to an indicator rank of 113.

6.3.3 High-tech exports

was equal to 200.73 million USD in 2023, down by 2.13% from the year prior – and equivalent to an indicator rank of 70.
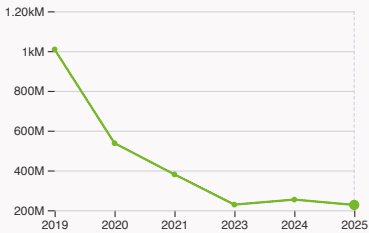
### 7.1.3 Global brand value, top 5,000

was equal to 226.77 million USD for the brands in the top 5,000 in 2025, down by 10.59% from the year prior – and equivalent to an indicator rank of 72.

7.3.3 Mobile app creation

was equal to 7.22 million global downloads of mobile apps in 2024, up by 7.6% from the year prior – and equivalent to an indicator rank of 97.

Myanmar's innovation top performers

Data not available for 2.3.3 Global corporate R&D investors, 2.3.4 QS university ranking of top universities, 5.2.3 University–industry & international engagement, 6.2.2 Top Unicorn Companies and 7.1.1 Top 15 intangible-asset intensive companies.

Disclaimer: This section contains only the top performers per country. For the complete list, please visit the GII Innovation Ecosystems and Data Explorer website.

7.1.3 Top 5,000 companies in Myanmar with highest global brand value

Rank	Brand	Industry	Brand Value, mn USD
1	MPT	Telecoms	226.8

Source: Brand Finance (https://brandirectory.com).
Note: Rank corresponds to within economy ranks.

Myanmar

Output rank	Input rank	Income	Region	Population (mn)	GDP, PPP$ (bn)	GDP per capita, PPP$
99	131	Lower middle	South East Asia, East Asia, and Oceania	54.5	283.7	5,205.8

	Score / Value	Rank	
🏛 **Institutions**	15.7	136	◇
1.1 Institutional environment	10	137	◇
1.1.1 Operational stability for businesses*	20	132	◇
1.1.2 Government effectiveness*	0	139	○ ◇
1.2 Regulatory environment	13.3	138	◇
1.2.1 Regulatory quality*	13.6	137	◇
1.2.2 Rule of law*	13	138	○ ◇
1.3 Business environment	23.7	[114]	
1.3.1 Policy stability for doing business†	🕐 23.7	116	
1.3.2 Entrepreneurship policies and culture†	n/a	n/a	
👥 **Human capital and research**	18.9	112	
2.1 Education	27.4	131	
2.1.1 Expenditure on education, % GDP	🕐 2	127	
2.1.2 Government funding/pupil, secondary, % GDP/cap	🕐 10.2	84	
2.1.3 School life expectancy, years	🕐 11.7	99	
2.1.4 PISA scales in reading, maths and science	n/a	n/a	
2.1.5 Pupil–teacher ratio, secondary	🕐 27.2	119	
2.2 Tertiary education	29.1	70	
2.2.1 Tertiary enrolment, % gross	🕐 20.4	104	
2.2.2 Graduates in science and engineering, %	🕐 33.7	11	●
2.2.3 Tertiary inbound mobility, %	🕐 0.05	116	○
2.3 Research and development (R&D)	0.1	119	
2.3.1 Researchers, FTE/mn pop.	28	102	
2.3.2 Gross expenditure on R&D, % GDP	0.02	112	
2.3.3 Global corporate R&D investors, top 3, mn USD	0	44	○ ◇
2.3.4 QS university ranking, top 3*	0	80	○ ◇
⚙ **Infrastructure**	31.2	104	
3.1 Information and communication technologies (ICTs)	47.4	115	
3.1.1 ICT access*	63.1	105	
3.1.2 ICT use*	60.1	104	
3.1.3 Government's online service*	18.9	133	◇
3.2 General infrastructure	32.1	74	
3.2.1 Electricity output, GWh/mn pop.	🕐 386.1	117	
3.2.2 Logistics performance*	n/a	n/a	
3.2.3 Gross capital formation, % GDP	32.3	17	●
3.3 Ecological sustainability	14.2	99	
3.3.1 GDP/unit of energy use	10.9	68	
3.3.2 Low-carbon energy use, %	16	79	
3.3.3 ISO 14001 environment/bn PPP$ GDP	0.1	127	
📊 **Market sophistication**	27.1	108	
4.1 Credit	12.3	114	
4.1.1 Finance for startups and scaleups†	n/a	n/a	
4.1.2 Domestic credit to private sector, % GDP	🕐 29	100	
4.1.3 Loans from microfinance institutions, % GDP	🕐 1.5	24	●
4.2 Investment	0.1	[127]	
4.2.1 Market capitalization, % GDP	n/a	n/a	
4.2.2 Venture capital (VC) received, deal count/bn PPP$ GDP	n/a	n/a	
4.2.3 Late-stage VC deal count, % global VC	n/a	n/a	
4.2.4 VC investors, deal count/bn PPP$ GDP	0.005	116	○ ◇
4.2.5 VC investor co-participation/bn PPP$ GDP	0.003	114	◇
4.3 Trade, diversification and market scale	68.8	67	
4.3.1 Applied tariff rate, weighted avg., %	1.2	22	●
4.3.2 Domestic industry diversification	62.4	94	
4.3.3 Domestic market scale, bn PPP$	283.7	66	●

	Score / Value	Rank	
💼 **Business sophistication**	15.4	139	◇
5.1 Knowledge workers	18.4	137	◇
5.1.1 Knowledge-intensive employment, %	🕐 5.2	112	◇
5.1.2 Females employed w/advanced degrees, %	🕐 7.2	89	
5.1.3 Youth demographic dividend, %	40.2	60	●
5.1.4 GERD performed by business, % GDP	n/a	n/a	
5.1.5 GERD financed by business, %	🕐 0	94	○ ◇
5.2 Innovation linkages	6.5	[133]	
5.2.1 Public research–industry co-publications, %	0.9	93	
5.2.2 University–industry R&D collaboration†	n/a	n/a	
5.2.3 University industry & international engagement, top 5*	n/a	n/a	
5.2.4 State of cluster development†	🕐 11.3	131	
5.2.5 Patent families/bn PPP$ GDP	0	100	○ ◇
5.3 Knowledge absorption	21.2	100	
5.3.1 Intellectual property payments, % total trade	🕐 0.2	98	
5.3.2 High-tech imports, % total trade	5.5	112	
5.3.3 ICT services imports, % total trade	🕐 1.6	61	●
5.3.4 FDI net inflows, % GDP	2.5	74	
5.3.5 Research talent, % in businesses	n/a	n/a	
🚀 **Knowledge and technology outputs**	10.2	120	
6.1 Knowledge creation	2.1	[130]	
6.1.1 Patents by origin/bn PPP$ GDP	n/a	n/a	
6.1.2 PCT patents by inventor origin/bn PPP$ GDP	n/a	n/a	
6.1.3 Utility models by origin/bn PPP$ GDP	-	-	
6.1.4 Scientific and technical articles/bn PPP$ GDP	1.2	135	
6.1.5 Citable documents H-index	2.8	126	
6.2 Knowledge impact	19.1	99	
6.2.1 Labor productivity growth, %	-3.5	135	◇
6.2.2 Unicorn valuation, % GDP	0	53	○ ◇
6.2.3 Software spending, % GDP	0.2	70	
6.2.4 High-tech manufacturing	40.7	21	●
6.3 Knowledge diffusion	9.5	110	
6.3.1 Intellectual property receipts, % total trade	🕐 0.07	70	
6.3.2 Production and export complexity	27.8	113	
6.3.3 High-tech exports, % total trade	1.5	70	
6.3.4 ICT services exports, % total trade	🕐 0.9	91	
6.3.5 ISO 9001 quality/bn PPP$ GDP	1.5	96	
🎨 **Creative outputs**	15.7	[92]	
7.1 Intangible assets	18.5	[80]	
7.1.1 Intangible asset intensity, top 15, %	n/a	n/a	
7.1.2 Trademarks by origin/bn PPP$ GDP	71.3	19	●
7.1.3 Global brand value, top 5,000, % GDP	0.3	72	
7.1.4 Industrial designs by origin/bn PPP$ GDP	n/a	n/a	
7.2 Creative goods and services	7.5	[80]	
7.2.1 Cultural and creative services exports, % total trade	🕐 0.08	101	
7.2.2 National feature films/mn pop. 15–69	n/a	n/a	
7.2.3 Entertainment and media market/th pop. 15–69	n/a	n/a	
7.2.4 Creative goods exports, % total trade	1	44	●
7.3 Online creativity	18.5	104	
7.3.1 Top-level domains (TLDs)/th pop. 15–69	0.03	138	◇
7.3.2 GitHub commits/mn pop. 15–69	0.4	129	
7.3.3 Mobile app creation/bn PPP$ GDP	55	97	

NOTES: ● indicates a strength ○ a weakness ◆ an income group strength ◇ an income group weakness * an index † a survey question 🕐 that the economy's data is outdated. Square brackets [ ] indicate the the data minimum coverage (DMC) requirements were not met at the sub-pillar or pillar level, n/a represents missing values, a dash - indicates an indicator which is not relevant to this economy and thus not considered for DMC thresholds.

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Data Availability

The following tables list indicators that are either missing or outdated for Myanmar.

> 🛢️ **Myanmar has missing data for eighteen indicators and outdated data for twenty indicators.**

Missing data for Myanmar

Code	Indicator name	Economy year	Model year	Source
1.3.2	Entrepreneurship policies and culture†	n/a	2024	Global Entrepreneurship Monitor
2.1.4	PISA scales in reading, maths and science	n/a	2022	OECD, PISA
3.2.2	Logistics performance*	n/a	2023	World Bank, Logistics Performance Index 2023
4.1.1	Finance for startups and scaleups†	n/a	2024	Global Entrepreneurship Monitor
4.2.1	Market capitalization, % GDP	n/a	2022	World Federation of Exchanges; World Bank
4.2.2	Venture capital (VC) received, deal count/bn PPP$ GDP	n/a	2024	PitchBook Data, Inc.; International Monetary Fund
4.2.3	Late-stage VC deal count, % global VC	n/a	2024	PitchBook Data, Inc.
5.1.4	GERD performed by business, % GDP	n/a	2023	UNESCO Institute for Statistics; Eurostat; OECD; RICYT
5.2.2	University–industry R&D collaboration†	n/a	2024	World Economic Forum, Executive Opinion Survey (EOS)
5.2.3	University industry & international engagement, top 5*	n/a	2025	Times Higher Education, World University Rankings 2025
5.3.5	Research talent, % in businesses	n/a	2023	UNESCO Institute for Statistics; Eurostat; OECD; RICYT
6.1.1	Patents by origin/bn PPP$ GDP	n/a	2023	World Intellectual Property Organization; International Monetary Fund
6.1.2	PCT patents by inventor origin/bn PPP$ GDP	n/a	2024	World Intellectual Property Organization; International Monetary Fund
6.1.3	Utility models by origin/bn PPP$ GDP	n/a	2023	World Intellectual Property Organization; International Monetary Fund
7.1.1	Intangible asset intensity, top 15, %	n/a	2024	Brand Finance
7.1.4	Industrial designs by origin/bn PPP$ GDP	n/a	2023	World Intellectual Property Organization; International Monetary Fund
7.2.2	National feature films/mn pop. 15–69	n/a	2023	OMDIA; United Nations, World Population Prospects
7.2.3	Entertainment and media market/th pop. 15–69	n/a	2024	PwC, GEMO; United Nations, World Population Prospects; International Monetary Fund

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Outdated data for Myanmar

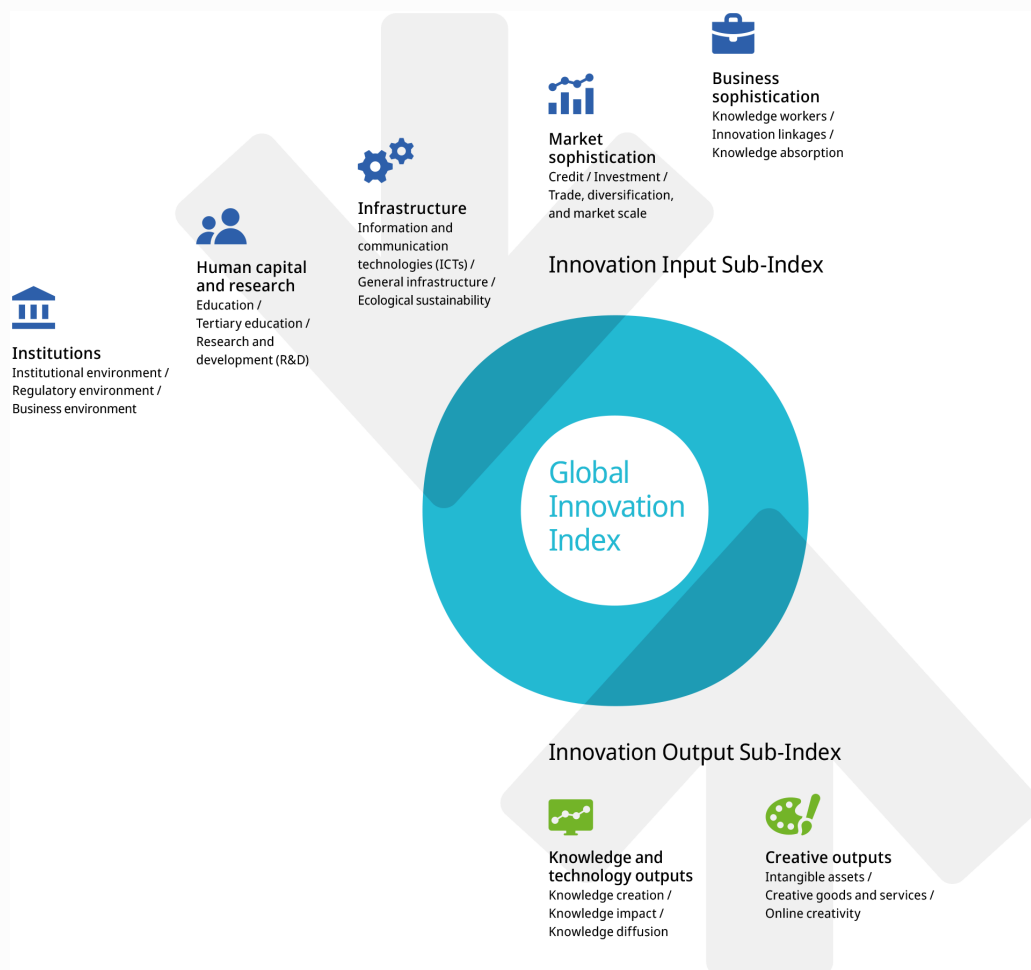| Code	Indicator name	Economy year	Model year	Source
1.3.1	Policy stability for doing business†	2015	2024	World Economic Forum, Executive Opinion Survey (EOS)
2.1.1	Expenditure on education, % GDP	2019	2023	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
2.1.2	Government funding/pupil, secondary, % GDP/cap	2018	2021	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
2.1.3	School life expectancy, years	2018	2023	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
2.1.5	Pupil–teacher ratio, secondary	2018	2023	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
2.2.1	Tertiary enrolment, % gross	2018	2023	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
2.2.2	Graduates in science and engineering, %	2018	2022	UNESCO Institute for Statistics; Eurostat; OECD
2.2.3	Tertiary inbound mobility, %	2018	2023	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
3.2.1	Electricity output, GWh/mn pop.	2022	2023	International Energy Agency
4.1.2	Domestic credit to private sector, % GDP	2020	2023	International Monetary Fund; World Bank and OECD GDP estimates
4.1.3	Loans from microfinance institutions, % GDP	2019	2023	International Monetary Fund, Financial Access Survey (FAS)
5.1.1	Knowledge-intensive employment, %	2020	2024	International Labour Organization
5.1.2	Females employed w/advanced degrees, %	2020	2024	International Labour Organization
5.1.5	GERD financed by business, %	2017	2022	UNESCO Institute for Statistics; Eurostat; OECD; RICYT
5.2.4	State of cluster development†	2015	2024	World Economic Forum, Executive Opinion Survey (EOS)
5.3.1	Intellectual property payments, % total trade	2020	2023	World Trade Organization, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
5.3.3	ICT services imports, % total trade	2020	2023	World Trade Organization and United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
6.3.1	Intellectual property receipts, % total trade	2020	2023	World Trade Organization, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
6.3.4	ICT services exports, % total trade	2020	2023	World Trade Organization and United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
7.2.1	Cultural and creative services exports, % total trade	2020	2023	World Trade Organization, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

Global Innovation Index 2025

About the Global Innovation Index

- The Global Innovation Index (GII) is published by the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), a specialized agency of the United Nations.

- Recognizing that innovation is a key driver of economic development, the GII aims to provide an innovation ranking and rich analysis referencing around 140 economies. Over the last decade, the GII has established itself as both a leading reference on innovation and a "tool for action" for economies that incorporate the GII into their innovation agendas.

Institutions
Institutional environment /
Regulatory environment /
Business environment

Human capital and research
Education /
Tertiary education /
Research and development (R&D)

Infrastructure
Information and communication technologies (ICTs) /
General infrastructure /
Ecological sustainability

Market sophistication
Credit / Investment /
Trade, diversification, and market scale

Business sophistication
Knowledge workers /
Innovation linkages /
Knowledge absorption

Innovation Input Sub-Index

Global Innovation Index

Innovation Output Sub-Index

Knowledge and technology outputs
Knowledge creation /
Knowledge impact /
Knowledge diffusion

Creative outputs
Intangible assets /
Creative goods and services /
Online creativity

The Index is a ranking of the innovation capabilities and results of world economies. It measures innovation based on criteria that include institutions, human capital and research infrastructure, credit, investment, linkages, the creation, absorption and diffusion of knowledge and creative outputs.

The GII has two sub-indices: the Innovation Input Sub-Index and the Innovation Output Sub-Index, and seven pillars, each consisting of three sub-pillars.