

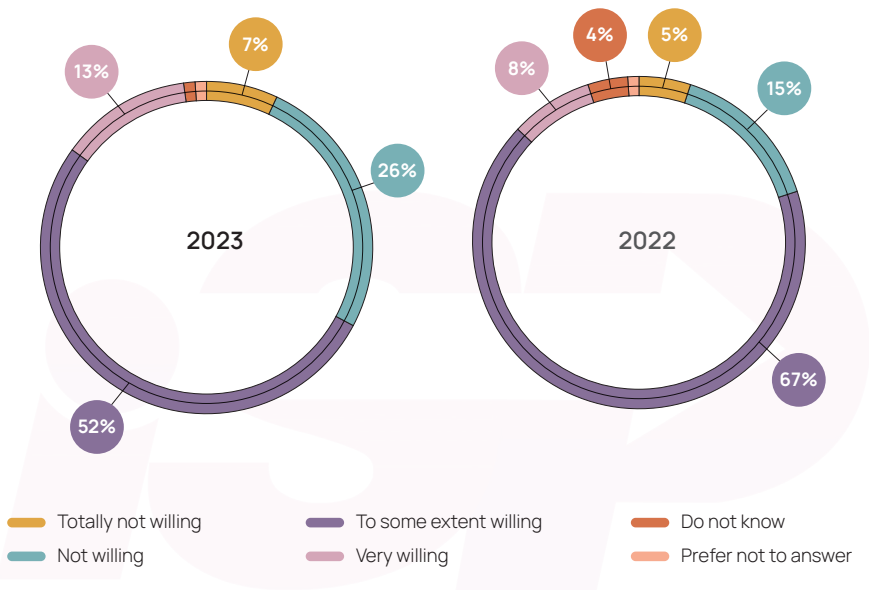
# 3

## Perceptions of the Role of China in Myanmar's Peace Process

Question-33

### To what extent is China willing to achieve peace in Myanmar?

For survey question No. 33, respondents were asked to rank a response to the question of to what extent China is willing to achieve peace in Myanmar. A four-point scale ranged from 1. Totally not willing, to 4. Very willing.



Of all survey respondents, **52 percent** answered “to some extent willing,” while **13 percent** responded “very willing.” In contrast, **26 percent** answered “not willing,” while **seven percent** selected “totally not willing.”

In contrast to the 2022 survey, there has been a **15 percent** decrease in respondents who believed that China has the will to achieve peace in Myanmar, while there has been an **11 percent** increase in those who perceived that China is not willing.

Analysis of the Survey Results

The survey indicates that the majority of respondents from nearly all groups perceive China as keen to achieve peace in Myanmar. Members of political society (**86 percent**), the business community (**85 percent**), and EAOs (**80 percent**) perceived that China is keen to achieve peace in Myanmar (represented by the responses "to some extent willing" or "very willing"). Civil society organizations are divided as **42 percent** of them perceive China is willing to achieve peace in Myanmar but **54 percent** of the respondents believed that China does not want peace in Myanmar (represented by the responses "totally not willing" or "not willing"). Notably, among PDFs/LDFs respondents, **36 percent** indicated that China lacks interest in peace for Myanmar (represented by the responses "not willing"). Conversely, another **36 percent** within the same group expressed the belief that China is highly eager to achieve peace in Myanmar (represented by the response "very willing").

Question-33

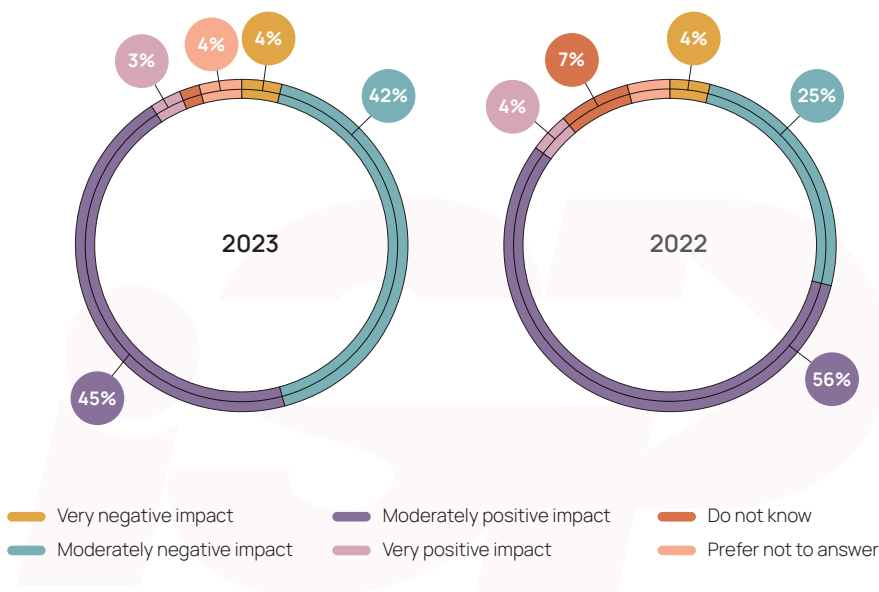
To what extent is China willing to achieve peace in Myanmar?

	Overall	Civil Society Organizations	Political Society	Business Community	Prominent Individuals	EAOs	PDFs/LDFs
Totally not willing	7%	14%	0%	0%	2%	13%	0%
Not willing	26%	40%	10%	15%	18%	7%	36%
To some extent willing	52%	36%	57%	63%	67%	73%	28%
Very willing	13%	6%	29%	22%	10%	7%	36%
Do not know	1%	2%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Prefer not to answer	1%	2%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%

Question-34

### What impact does China's involvement have on Myanmar's peace process?

For survey question No. 34, respondents were asked to assess the impact of China's involvement on Myanmar's peace process using a four-point scale, ranging from 1. Very negative impact to 4. Very positive impact.



Regarding the impact of China's involvement on Myanmar's peace process, **45 percent** of the respondents answered "moderately positive impact," while **42 percent** of the respondents selected "moderately negative impact."

There was an **11 percent** decrease in respondents who found that China's involvement was beneficial compared with the previous survey. On the contrary, there was a **17 percent** increase in those believing that China's involvement impacts Myanmar's peace process negatively.

**Analysis of the Survey Results**

Comparing the responses across six policy communities, most PDFs/LDFs (**73 percent**) and civil society organization respondents (**63 percent**) answered that China's involvement has a negative impact on Myanmar's peace process (represented by the responses "very negative impact" or "moderately negative impact"). By contrast, a majority of political society (**71 percent**), business community (**64 percent**), and EAO respondents (**60 percent**) and prominent individuals (**58 percent**) perceived China's involvement as a positive influence (represented by the responses "moderately positive impact" or "very positive impact"). Notably, **Thirty-three percent** of civil society organizations similarly shared this positive view.

**Question-34**

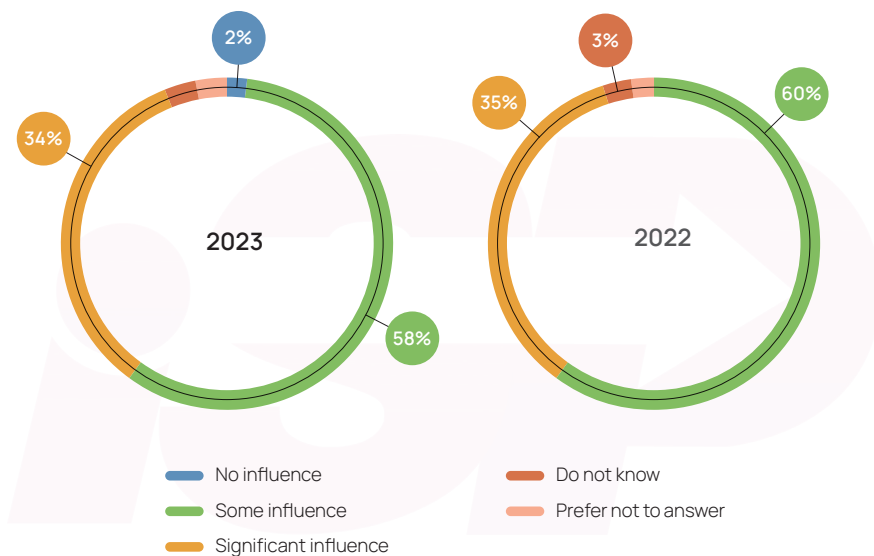
What impact does China's involvement have on Myanmar's peace process?

	Overall	Civil Society Organizations	Political Society	Business Community	Prominent Individuals	EAOs	PDFs/LDFs
Very negative impact	4%	7%	0%	0%	0%	13%	9%
Moderately negative impact	42%	56%	19%	22%	39%	20%	64%
Moderately positive impact	45%	31%	57%	59%	56%	60%	18%
Very positive impact	3%	2%	14%	5%	2%	0%	0%
Do not know	2%	4%	5%	2%	0%	0%	0%
Prefer not to answer	4%	0%	5%	12%	3%	7%	9%

Question-35

### How much influence does China have over ethnic armed organizations (EAOs) in northern Shan State?

For survey question No. 35, respondents were asked how much influence China has over ethnic armed organizations (EAOs) in northern Shan State and to rank the degree of influence on a scale, with responses ranging from 1. No influence at all to 4. Significant influence.



The majority of respondents, totaling **58 percent**, noted that China retains some influence over EAOs in northern Shan State. Specifically, **34 percent** indicated "significant influence," while a mere **two percent** reported "no influence."

There were only a few minimal changes observed compared to the previous year's survey, with only a **two percent** decrease in responses indicating "some influence" and a **one percent** increase in responses indicating "significant influence."

**Analysis of the Survey Results**

The majority of Myanmar's key stakeholders across six policy communities predominantly believed that China has some or significant influence among the EAOs in northern Shan state. All of EAO respondents, **99 percent** of prominent individuals, **93 percent** of civil society organization respondents, **91 percent** of political society respondents, **83 percent** of business community respondents, and **82 percent** of PDFs/LDFs respondents answered in this way. Significantly, **48 percent** of political society respondents selected "significant influence."

Question-35

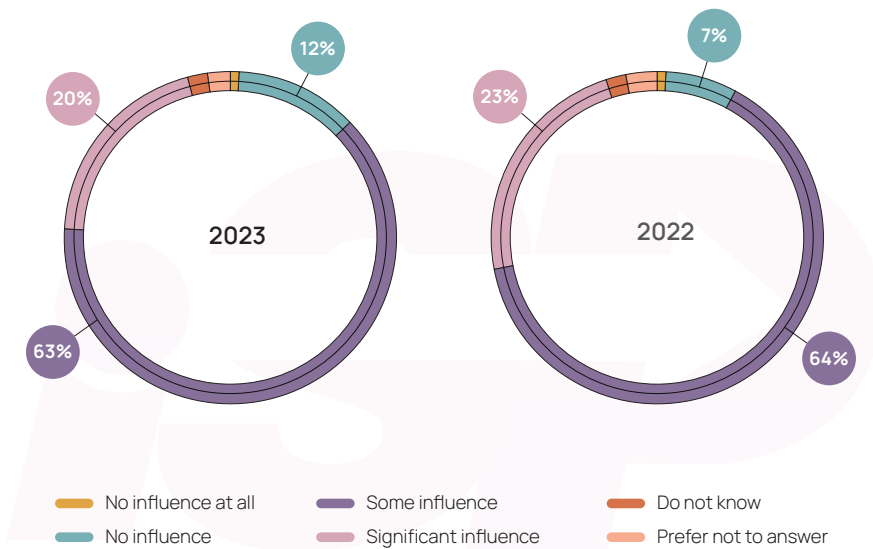
How much influence does China have over ethnic armed organizations (EAOs) in northern Shan State?

	Overall	Civil Society Organizations	Political Society	Business Community	Prominent Individuals	EAOs	PDFs/LDFs
No influence at all	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	9%
No influence	2%	3%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%
Some influence	58%	57%	43%	49%	69%	67%	55%
Significant influence	34%	36%	48%	34%	30%	33%	27%
Do not know	3%	3%	4%	2%	0%	0%	9%
Prefer not to answer	3%	1%	0%	10%	1%	0%	0%

Question-36

### How much influence does China have over the State Administration Council (SAC)?

For survey question No. 36, respondents were asked to assess China's influence over the SAC using a four-point scale ranging from 1. No influence at all to 4. Significant influence.



Among the respondents, **63 percent** answered “some influence,” while **20 percent** selected “significant influence.” Only **12 percent** responded, “no influence,” and **one percent** answered, “no influence at all.”

No remarkable changes were observed in comparison with the 2022 survey other than a **five** increase in perceiving no influence and a **three percent** decrease in perceiving significant influence.



Analysis of the Survey Results

The majority of respondents from all communities answered that China has an influence over the SAC. The full cohort of PDFs/LDFs respondents perceive this to be the case (represented by the responses "some influence" or "significant influence"). Similarly, civil society organization respondents (**95 percent**), prominent individuals (**79 percent**), EAOs (**73 percent**), members of the political community (**71 percent**), and business community respondents (**61 percent**) answered that China wields influence over the SAC (represented by the responses "some influence" or "significant influence"). Remarkably, among PDF/LDF respondents answering that China has an influence on the SAC, **45 percent** selected "some influence," while the other **55 percent** answered "significant influence."

Question-36

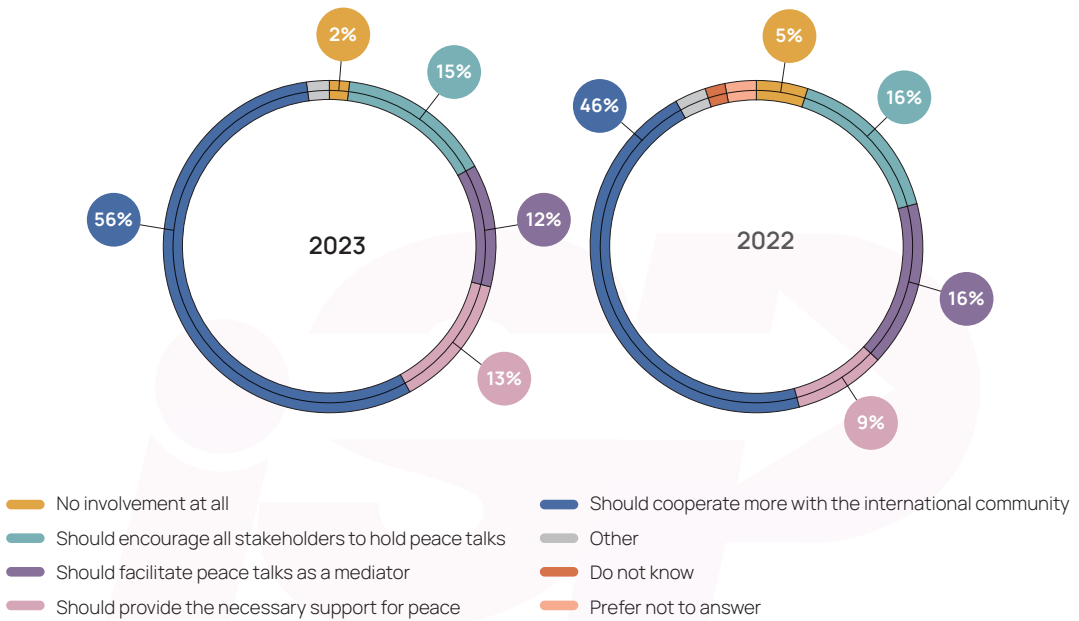
How much influence does China have over the State Administration Council (SAC)?

	Overall	Civil Society Organizations	Political Society	Business Community	Prominent Individuals	EAOs	PDFs/LDFs
No influence at all	1%	0%	0%	5%	2%	0%	0%
No influence	12%	4%	19%	22%	15%	27%	0%
Some influence	63%	68%	71%	54%	61%	60%	45%
Significant influence	20%	27%	0%	7%	18%	13%	55%
Do not know	2%	1%	10%	5%	1%	0%	0%
Prefer not to answer	2%	0%	0%	7%	3%	0%	0%

Question-37

### How should China help Myanmar's peace process succeed?

In survey question No. 37, respondents were asked how China should help Myanmar's peace process succeed and had to choose one from among several options.



The largest proportion of respondents, **56 percent**, answered that China should cooperate more with the international community to help Myanmar's peace process succeed. On the other hand, **15 percent** answered that China should encourage all stakeholders to engage in peace talks, while **13 percent** answered that China should provide the necessary support for peace. Only **12 percent** selected that China should facilitate peace talks as a mediator.

Upon comparison with the results from the 2022 survey, a **10 percent** increase can be identified in the respondents perceiving that China should cooperate more with the international community to drive Myanmar's peace process forward. At the same time, there is a **three percent** decrease in those who preferred no involvement of China in the process.

**Analysis of the Survey Results**

The survey reveals that most of the policy communities believed that China should cooperate more with the international community to help Myanmar's peace process succeed. PDFs/LDFs (**73 percent**) represented the largest group of respondents in this perspective, followed by civil society organizations (**68 percent**), prominent individuals (**54 percent**), EAOs (**47 percent**), the business community (**39 percent**), and political society (**29 percent**). Notably, another **29 percent** of political society respondents answered that China should facilitate peace talks as a mediator.

**Question-37**

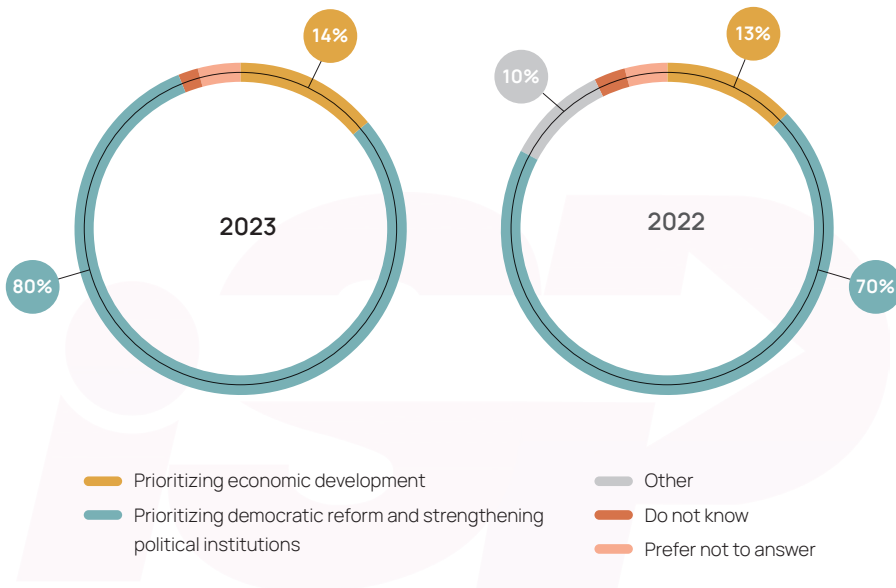
How should China help Myanmar's peace process succeed?

	Overall	Civil Society Organizations	Political Society	Business Community	Prominent Individuals	EAOs	PDFs/LDFs
No involvement at all	2%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Should encourage all stakeholders to hold peace talks	15%	10%	24%	15%	18%	20%	18%
Should facilitate peace talks as a mediator	12%	4%	29%	17%	16%	20%	0%
Should provide the necessary support for peace	13%	11%	9%	27%	8%	13%	9%
Should cooperate more with the international community	56%	68%	29%	39%	55%	47%	73%
Other	2%	1%	9%	0%	3%	0%	0%
Do not know	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Prefer not to answer	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%

Question-38

### Two strategies to achieve peace in Myanmar

For survey question No. 38, respondents were asked to choose one of two plausible strategies for achieving peace in Myanmar.



When asked about the most plausible strategy to achieve peace in Myanmar, the majority of respondents, **80 percent**, chose the option of “prioritizing democratic reform and strengthening political institutions.” Only **14 percent** answered “prioritizing economic development.”

A **ten percent** increase was seen in the answer “prioritizing democratic reform and strengthening political institutions” compared with the 2022 survey.

Analysis of the Survey Results

The survey reveals that the majority of the respondents across all policy communities chose the option of “prioritizing democratic reform and strengthening political institutions,” except the business community. Notably, all respondents from EAOs chose this option. Civil society organizations (**92 percent**), PDFs/LDFs (**91 percent**), prominent individuals (**84 percent**), and political society (**67 percent**) also responded this way. On the other hand, business community respondents (**46 percent**) selected “prioritizing economic development.”

Question-38

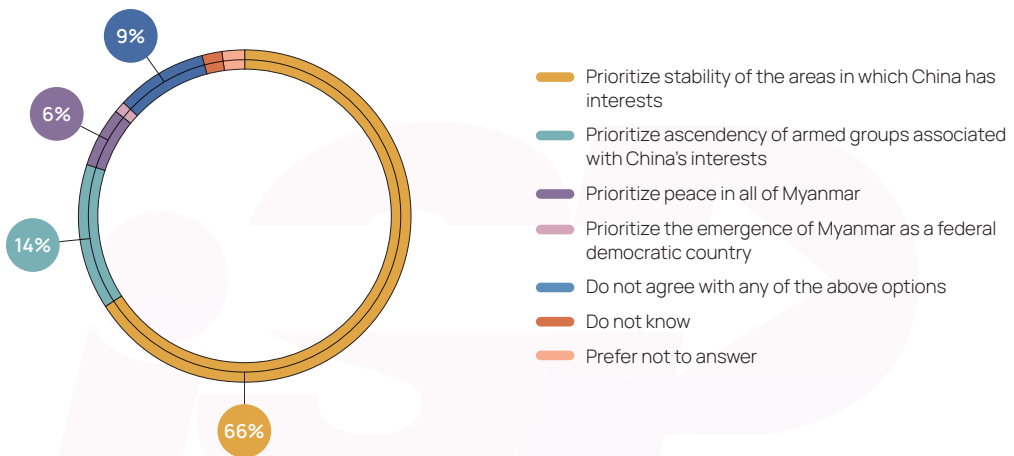
Two strategies to achieve peace in Myanmar

	Overall	Civil Society Organizations	Political Society	Business Community	Prominent Individuals	EAOs	PDFs/LDFs
Prioritizing economic development	14%	2%	29%	46%	13%	0%	9%
Prioritizing democratic reform and strengthening political institutions	80%	92%	67%	44%	84%	100%	91%
Do not know	2%	3%	4%	2%	0%	0%	0%
Prefer not to answer	4%	3%	0%	8%	3%	0%	0%

## Question-39

## View on China's efforts towards Myanmar's peace process

For survey question No. 39, respondents were asked to choose one option that best matches their view on China's effort regarding Myanmar's peace process following the 2021 coup.



In asking about China's emphasis, which is a newly introduced question in this year's survey, **66 percent** of the respondents answered that China prioritizes stability of the areas in which China has interests, while **14 percent** believed that China prioritizes the ascendency of armed groups associated with its interests. **Six percent** answered that China prioritizes peace in all of Myanmar, while **one percent** perceived that China prioritizes the emergence of Myanmar as a federal democratic country. **Nine percent** of respondents did not agree with any of the options, while **two percent** each selected "do not know" and "prefer not to answer."

Analysis of the Survey Results

The survey reveals that the majority of respondents predominantly believed that China only emphasizes stability for the areas where its interests exist. Prominent individuals (**84 percent**), PDFs/LDFs (**82 percent**) and EAOs (**80 percent**), civil society organizations (**58 percent**), political society (**57 percent**), and the business community (**54 percent**) selected this answer.

Question-39

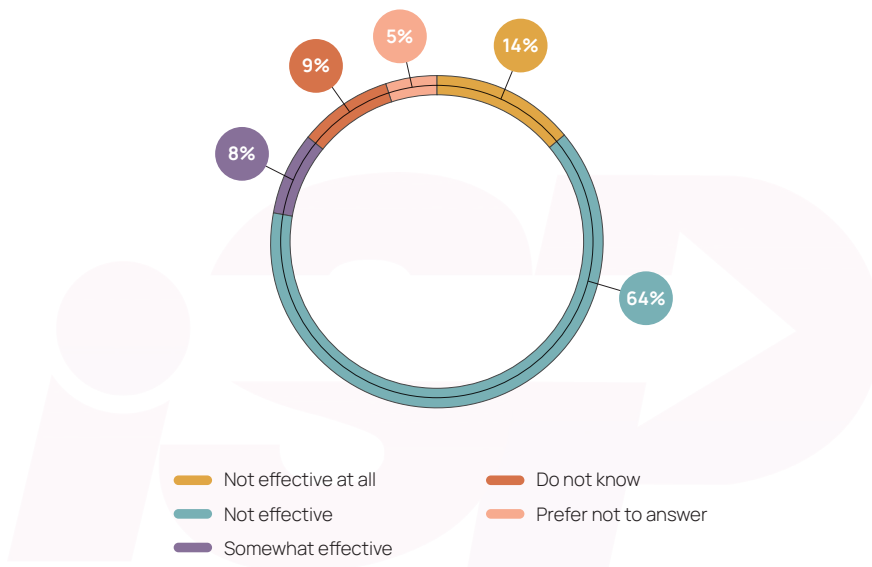
View on China's efforts towards Myanmar's peace process

	Overall	Civil Society Organizations	Political Society	Business Community	Prominent Individuals	EAOs	PDFs/LDFs
Prioritize stability of the areas in which China has interests	66%	58%	57%	54%	84%	80%	82%
Prioritize ascendancy of armed groups associated with China's interests	14%	25%	10%	5%	5%	13%	0%
Prioritize peace in all of Myanmar	6%	2%	19%	15%	5%	7%	0%
Prioritize the emergence of Myanmar as a federal democratic country	1%	2%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%
Do not agree with any of the above options	9%	12%	5%	10%	5%	0%	18%
Other	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Do not know	2%	1%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%
Prefer not to answer	2%	0%	4%	9%	0%	0%	0%

## Question-40

## How effective is China in helping the Rohingya repatriation process?

For survey question No. 40, respondents were asked to rate the effectiveness of Myanmar, Bangladesh, and China's tripartite solution for Rohingya repatriation. The responses range from 1. Not effective at all to 4. Very effective.



The survey this year included this new question, and **64 percent** of the respondents viewed Myanmar, Bangladesh, and China's tripartite solution for Rohingya repatriation as ineffective (represented by the response "not effective"). This process is considered not effective at all by **14 percent** of the respondents, while only **eight percent** answered "somewhat effective." However, **nine percent** of respondents do not know about the effectiveness of the process.



**Analysis of the Survey Results**

Myanmar's key stakeholders from all communities perceive that China's help in the Rohingya repatriation process is ineffective. The majority of civil society or- ganization respondents (**89 percent**), prominent individuals (**82 percent**), EAO respondents (**80 percent**), business community respondents (**64 percent**), PDFs/LDFs respondents (**54 percent**), and political society respondents (**53 per- cent**) answered not effective. Significantly, **36 percent** of PDFs/LDFs respond- ents answered that the process was somewhat effective.

**Question-40**

How effective is China in helping the Rohingya repatriation process?

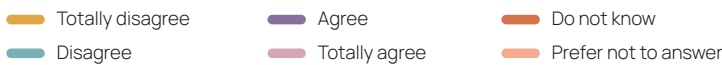
	Overall	Civil Society Organizations	Political Society	Business Community	Prominent Individuals	EAOs	PDFs/LDFs
Not effective at all	14%	15%	5%	10%	20%	13%	18%
Not effective	64%	74%	48%	54%	62%	67%	36%
Somewhat effective	8%	3%	19%	12%	5%	7%	36%
Very effective	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Do not know	9%	6%	14%	17%	8%	7%	10%
Prefer not to answer	5%	2%	14%	7%	5%	6%	0%

Note : Ineffective means the combined results of "Not effective at all" and "Not effective," while effective means "Somewhat effective" and Very effective."

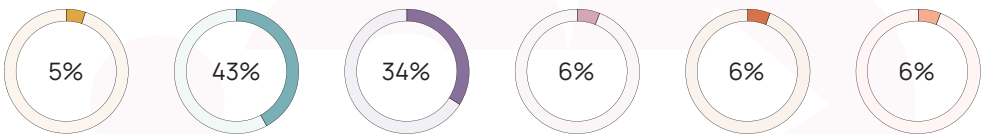
Questions-41 to 44

### What are the impacts of China's mediated discussions between the SAC and northern Shan State EAOs?

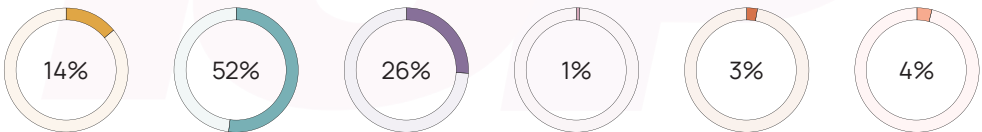
For survey questions No. 41 to 44, the respondents were asked to choose their perspective on the impacts of China's mediated discussions between the SAC and northern Shan State EAOs and rank their views on four questions with a four-point scale, ranging from 1. Totally disagree to 4. Totally agree.



**Question-41** Weaken the emerging political entities following the coup



**Question-42** Helpful for Myanmar's peace process



**Question-43** Worsen Myanmar's conflict



**Question-44** Steer towards short-term ceasefires



Analysis of the Survey Results

Most of Myanmar's key stakeholders predominantly viewed that China's mediated discussions will not weaken the political forces formed after the coup. The majority of EAO respondents (**60 percent**), civil society organization respondents (**51 percent**), prominent individuals (**48 percent**), business community respondents (**44 percent**), PDFs/LDFs respondents (**36 percent**), and political society respondents (**34 percent**) shared this perspective (represented by the responses "agree" or "totally agree"). The majority also did not perceive that the discussions are supportive of Myanmar's peace process. Civil society organization respondents (**82 percent**) and members of political society (**43 percent**) disagreed that they are supportive (represented by the responses "totally disagree" and "disagree"). Significantly, another proportion of the political society respondents (**43 percent**) answered that they are supportive (represented by the responses "agree" or "totally agree"). A majority of civil society organizations (**70 percent**) and PDFs/LDFs respondents (**64 percent**) agreed that the discussions worsened Myanmar's conflict and only aimed for short-term ceasefires (represented by the responses "Agree" or "totally agree"). By contrast, EAO (**60 percent**) and business community respondents (**59 percent**), prominent individuals (**56 percent**) and members of political society (**53 percent**) disagreed (represented by the responses "totally disagree" and "disagree").

Question-41

Weaken the emerging political entities following the coup

	Overall	Civil Society Organizations	Political Society	Business Community	Prominent Individuals	EAOs	PDFs/LDFs
Totally disagree	5%	6%	5%	5%	5%	0%	9%
Disagree	43%	45%	29%	39%	43%	60%	27%
Agree	34%	34%	38%	29%	36%	27%	46%
Totally agree	6%	9%	5%	3%	3%	7%	9%
Do not know	6%	3%	9%	12%	10%	0%	0%
Prefer not to answer	6%	3%	14%	12%	3%	6%	9%

Question-42

Helpful for Myanmar's peace process

	Overall	Civil Society Organizations	Political Society	Business Community	Prominent Individuals	EAOs	PDFs/LDFs
Totally disagree	14%	16%	5%	5%	16%	13%	28%
Disagree	52%	66%	38%	39%	48%	40%	36%
Agree	26%	15%	43%	37%	25%	40%	36%
Totally agree	1%	1%	0%	2%	2%	0%	0%
Do not know	3%	1%	5%	7%	5%	0%	0%
Prefer not to answer	4%	1%	9%	10%	4%	7%	0%

Question-43

Worsen Myanmar's conflict

	Overall	Civil Society Organizations	Political Society	Business Community	Prominent Individuals	EAOs	PDFs/LDFs
Totally disagree	2%	1%	5%	5%	0%	7%	0%
Disagree	40%	23%	48%	54%	56%	53%	36%
Agree	43%	63%	29%	22%	31%	33%	46%
Totally agree	4%	7%	5%	0%	2%	0%	18%
Do not know	7%	5%	5%	10%	7%	0%	0%
Prefer not to answer	4%	1%	8%	9%	4%	7%	0%

Question-44

Steer towards short-term ceasefires

	Overall	Civil Society Organizations	Political Society	Business Community	Prominent Individuals	EAOs	PDFs/LDFs
Totally disagree	2%	1%	5%	5%	0%	7%	0%
Disagree	40%	23%	48%	54%	56%	53%	36%
Agree	43%	63%	29%	22%	31%	33%	46%
Totally agree	4%	7%	5%	0%	2%	0%	18%
Do not know	7%	5%	5%	10%	7%	0%	0%
Prefer not to answer	4%	1%	8%	9%	4%	7%	0%