

Survey on the economic and political situations of Myanmar

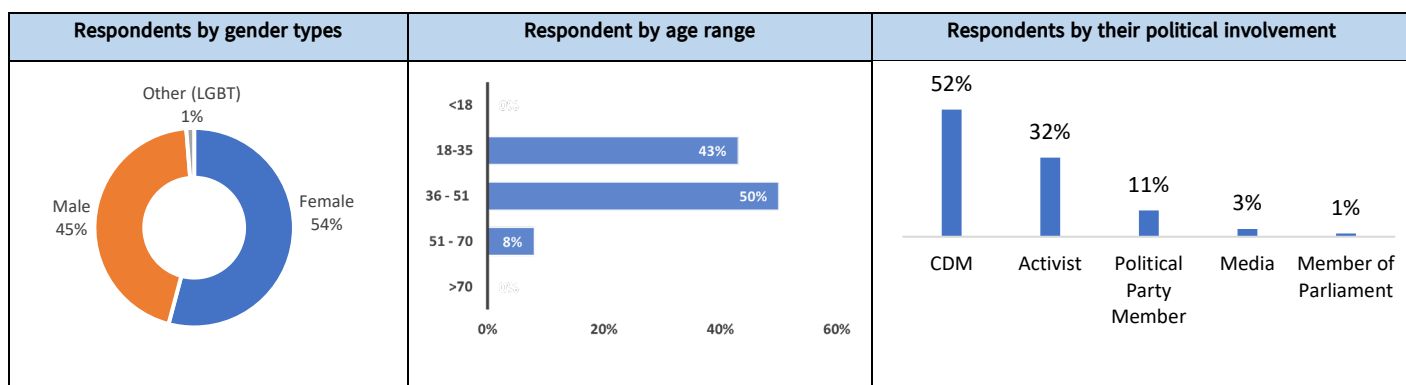
Date: December 15th, 2023

Introduction

New Myanmar Foundation (NMF) is currently conducting humanitarian assistance programs and supporting human rights, and as an attempt to provide assistance to those who are running for their lives, NMF implemented a humanitarian assistance program with the financial support of an international organization, FHI 360, to provide pro-democracy and human right activists within Myanmar. The program provided **direct cash assistance** to pro-democracy and political activists, and human rights defenders who fled from their homes to escape the military arbitrary detention. A total of **157 activists and human rights defenders** benefited from the programs. These beneficiaries were requested to complete a questionnaire survey reflecting the current socioeconomic and political situations, and the results are presented below.

Basic information about the survey

There are two main sections in this report: **Part (1) the socioeconomic situation**, and **Part (2) the political situation** since the military coup. The survey was targeted at political and human rights activists who have been running for their lives within Myanmar, and who received financial assistance from the New Myanmar Foundation. The survey was carried out in a questionnaire survey form via the google platform. The questionnaire form was **distributed to 157 individuals** through **Telegram Messenger**, and the responses were accepted until 22nd November 2023. The responses from **all 157 individuals** were received, and their demographic information was presented as follows.



Part (1): Survey on the socioeconomic situations

The information described below is the results of the questionnaire survey to which 156 individuals responded.

1.1 Job security

The respondents' job security situation was included in the survey and the results are presented in Figure (1.1). The results highlighted that job security was severely affected by the military coup, and **only 1.8% of the respondents gave feedback that they were able to continue their original jobs**, while **98.4% responded that they were unable to continue their jobs**. It can be concluded that **all pro-democracy and human right activists cannot carry on their original jobs**, and the reasons why they cannot continue their jobs is reported in the following section.

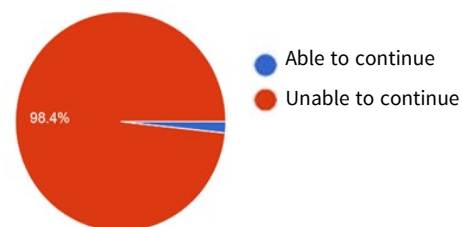


Figure 1.1 – Situation of the job security

1.2 Why respondents unable to continue their original jobs

As almost all respondents could not continue their original jobs, they were asked **why they could not continue** their jobs. The results are shown in **Figure 1.2**.

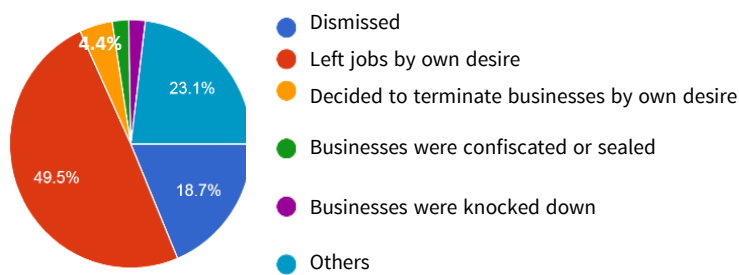


Figure 1.2 - Why the respondents unable to continue their jobs

It was found that the percentage of those who decided to leave their jobs by themselves was highest among the respondents with 49.5% as they cannot continue their jobs under the administration of military regime. Specifically, they are former civil servants who have participated in civil disobedience movement (CDM) to oppose the military coup, and those who previously worked with the private corporations, and organizations that closely cooperated with the military owned

corporation. One of the reasons why the respondents unable to continue their jobs is that they were dismissed or removed by their employers due to their involvement in the anti-coup and anti-regime activities, which was feedbacked by 18.7% of the respondents. It was also found that some respondents decided to terminate their businesses in fear of arbitrary detention due to their activities against the regime, which was amounted to 4.4% of the respondents. Other feedback included that the businesses were confiscated and sealed off by the military regime (2.2%), the businesses were knocked down by the junta regime (2.2%), and others (23.1%) The figures indicate that the military junta have unjustly and continuously oppressed the businesses and individuals who opposed them. It can be concluded that political and human right activists are not able to continue their jobs and businesses under the military regime.

1.3 Income earning jobs

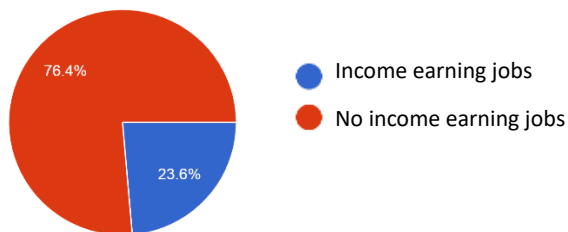


Figure 1.3.1 Employment situations

According to Figure 1.3.1, the majority of respondents, 76.4%, responded that they don't have any income-earning jobs, while only 23.6% answered that they have some income-earning jobs. After the military took over, the majority of the respondents were not able to continue their jobs, and the results highlighted the increased amount of unemployment.

As indicated in Figure 1.3.1, 23.6% of the respondents have income-earning jobs, and detailed questions on the types and categories of their

employment were included in the questionnaire and the results are described in Figures 1.3.2 (Types of employment) and 1.3.3 (Categories of employment). As shown in Figure 1.3.2, only 11.8% of the respondents engaged in full-time jobs, while the remaining 88.2% engaged in part-time jobs. In addition, the survey also attempted to find out what kind of jobs the respondents are engaging in, and the results are shown in Figure 1.3.3. The majority of respondents are engaged in any jobs that come by, such as casual workers (67.3%), daily wage labors (19.2%), and salaried workers (13.5%). It can be concluded that the income-earning jobs and other job opportunities for the political and human rights activists are significantly and severely degrading.

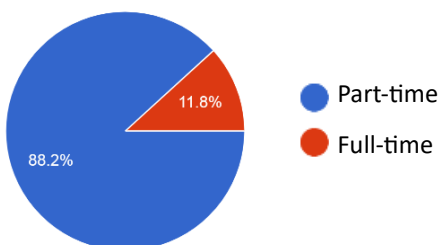


Figure 1.3.2 Types of employment

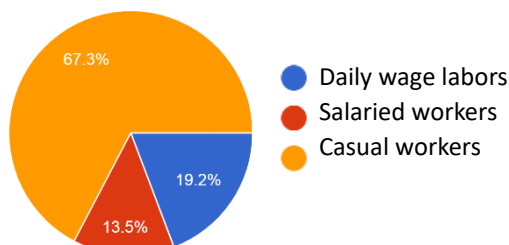


Figure 1.3.3 Categories of employment

1.4 Family income

In addition to the income earning jobs and job opportunities, the survey also sought to understand the families' income. Based on the results indicated in Figure 1.4, the majority of respondents (64.8%) highlighted that they haven't had any income since the military coup, while 25.8% responded that their families' incomes decreased sharply, 3.3% feedbacked fairly decreased income, and 3.8% answered

slight decreased in their families' income. The results indicated that the military coup have significantly and adversely affected the families' income of most of the households as over 90% of respondents revealed a sharp decline in the families' income. It was also found that only 1.1% reported a slight increase in families' income, no responses were observed for the highly increased and fairly increased families' income.

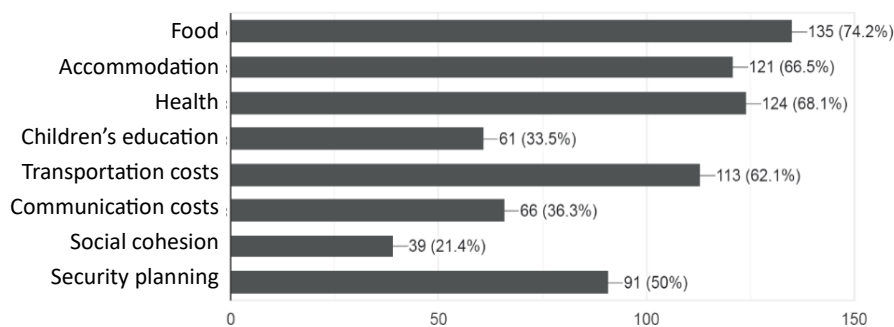


Figure 1.6.2 Difficulties of respondents' families

1.5 Families' monthly incomes and expenses

The range of households' income is described in Figure 1.5.1. As shown in the figure, over half of the respondents' families (55%) earned less than 100,000 MMK (≈48 USD) per month. In addition, 93.4% of the respondents' families received less than 300,000 MMK (≈ 142 USD).

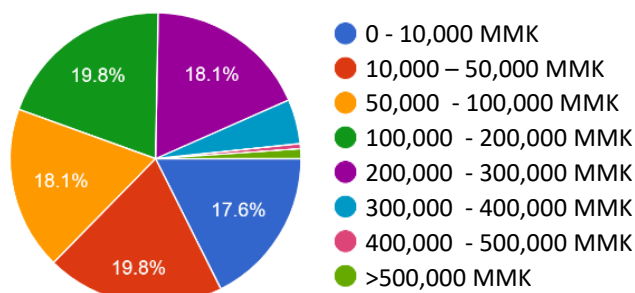


Figure 1.5.1 Income ranges

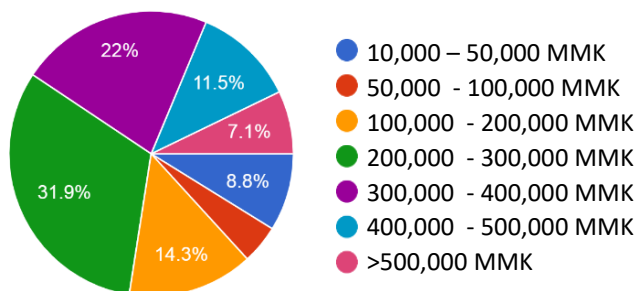


Figure 1.5.2 Expenses

The situation of families' monthly expenditures is described in Figure 1.5.2. Although over half of the respondents' families (55%) earned less than 100,000 MMK, the families with the expenses of over 100,000 MMK are 86.9%. Only 6.6% of respondents' families earned over 300,000 MMK, while 41% of the respondents' families had over 300,000 MMK expenses.

These results highlighted the significant imbalance between the income and expenditure pro-democracy and human rights activists, and they are facing harsh living conditions while absconding from the military arbitrary detention.

1.6 Situation of families' living conditions

The situation of employment and income earning jobs were severely degraded after the military took over, and consequently, it significantly affected the family living conditions. The families' living conditions as revealed by the survey are described in Figure 1.6.1. According to the figure, 33.5% responded that they are facing very severe living conditions, while 27.5% mentioned that they are facing fairly severe living conditions and 29.7% indicated slightly severe living conditions. Overall, over 90% of the respondents responded that they are facing harsh living conditions.

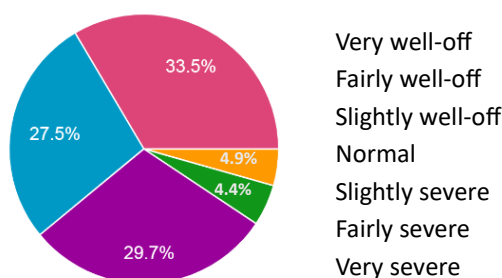


Figure 1.6.1 Situation of families' living conditions

Based on these results, a further question on what kind of hardships they are encountering was included in the survey, and the results are shown in Figure 1.6.2. As shown in Figure, the most responded difficulty is food security (74.2%), while 68.1% are encountering health issues. Due to involvement in political activities, most of the families also have problems with safe accommodation which was responded by 66.5% of the respondents. In addition, 62.1% of the respondents feedbacked that they have difficulties for the transportation costs for absconding from the military arbitrary detention. Other difficulties responded are shown in Figure 1.6.2.

1.7 Situation of commodity prices

The above-mentioned results highlighted that military coup significantly affected job security, employment opportunities, families' income and living conditions, and majority of the households are encountering various difficulties. As these conditions are closely linked with the commodity prices, the survey also attempted to reflect the situation of commodity prices that the respondents' families are currently facing. The results were depicted in **Figure 1.7**.

Almost all respondents (98.4%) gave feedback that commodity prices are significantly increased.

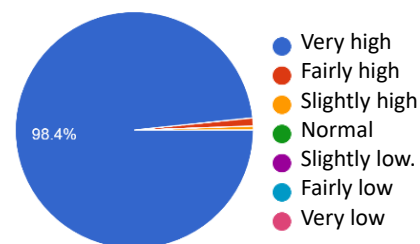


Figure 1.7 Situation of commodity price

1.8 Situation of small family businesses and business operations

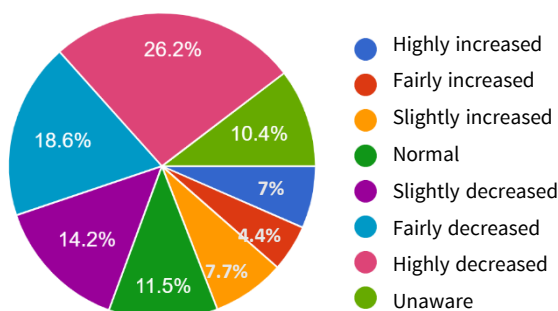


Figure 1.8 Situation of family business and business operations

the small family business and business operations. Meanwhile, 11.5% of the respondents viewed the situations are normal, and some respondents answered that they are not aware of the situations.

The survey also attempted to depict the situation of small family businesses and business operations, which is closely linked with the commodity prices and the economic situations in a village/ward. The results are shown in **Figure 1.8**. According to the figure, 26.4% of the respondents gave feedback that family businesses in the surroundings was significantly decreased, while 18.7% responded the fair decreased, and further 14.3% indicated the slightly decreased in the family business and business operations in the respondents' families. Overall, **59.4% feedbacked the decrease in**

1.9 Situation of employment and wealth inequalities

The survey attempted to reflect the situation of employment and wealth inequalities after the military took over the country in a coup. The results are shown in Figure 1.9.1, 1.9.2, 1.9.3. The situation of employment opportunities is shown in **Figure 1.9.1**. The results indicated

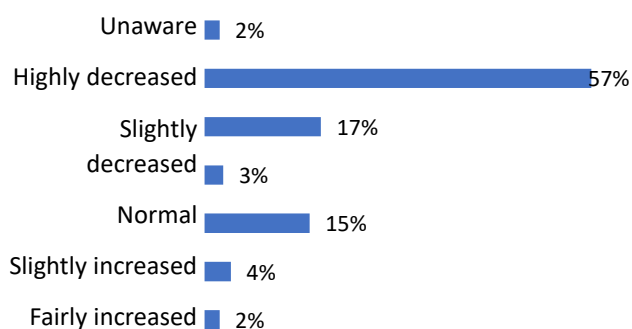


Figure 1.9.1 Situation of employment opportunity

In addition, the respondents' opinion on whether there is an increase or decrease in the percentage of people in poverty, and the results are shown in **Figure 1.9.2**. According to the figure, **59% of respondents gave feedback about the high increase in the percentage of people in poverty**, while 15% responded the fair increase, and 10% answered the slight increase in the percentage of people in poverty. Therefore, it can be said that 84% of the respondents feedbacked the increase in the percentage of people in poverty, while 15% responded the decrease in the percentage of people in poverty.

fewer employment opportunities were the highest response rate with 57%. In addition, 17% responded the slight decrease in employment opportunities. Overall, 74% of the respondents gave feedback the decrease in the employment opportunities, while 21% responded the more employment opportunities, while 3% responded employment opportunities remain unchanged, and 2% answered that they were unaware of the situations.

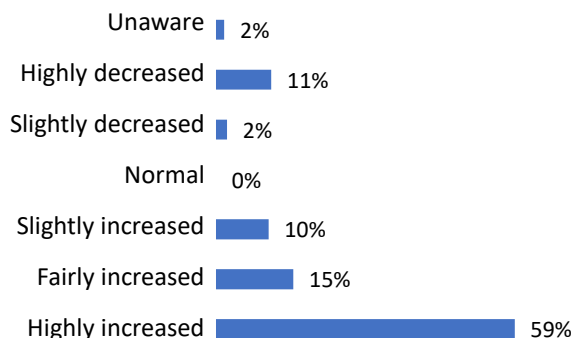


Figure 1.9.2 Situation of people in poverty

The opinions of respondents on whether there is an increase or decrease in the percentage of wealthy families in their surroundings, and the results are indicated in **Figure 1.9.3**. The highest responses were observed (39%) that the percentage of wealthy families fairly decreased, and 21% responded the slight decrease in the percentage of wealthy families. Therefore, it can be said that the decrease in the percentage of wealthy families was answered by 60% of the respondents.

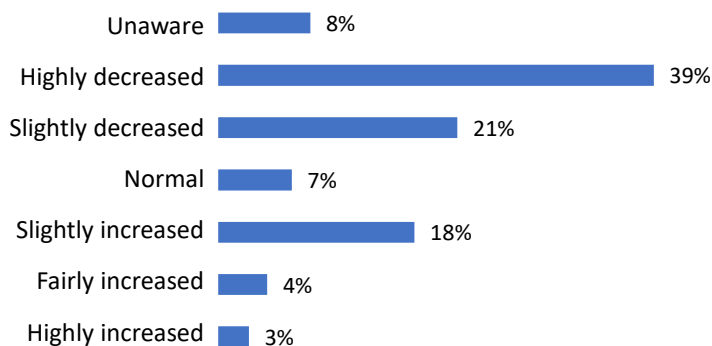


Figure 1.9.3 Situation of wealthy families

1.10 Respondents' opinion about crimes

There is a general speculation that the crime rates are abruptly increased, while rule of law after the coup are seriously deteriorating under the military regime. Questions related to the situation of crimes and the ones responsible for committing such crimes were included in the survey. The results are shown in Figure 1.10.1, 1.10.2, and 1.10.3.

Figure 1.10.1 shows the respondents' opinion on whether there is an increase or decrease in the frequency of crimes. As indicated in the figure, most of the respondents, 66%, answered the very high increase in the frequency of crimes, while 14% responded the fair increase, and 12% responded the slight increase in the frequency of crimes. Therefore, 92% of the respondents highlighted the increase in the frequency of crimes in their surroundings, and only 4% gave feedback the decrease in the frequency of crimes, and 2% was unaware of the situation and 2% feedbacked the situation remained unchanged.

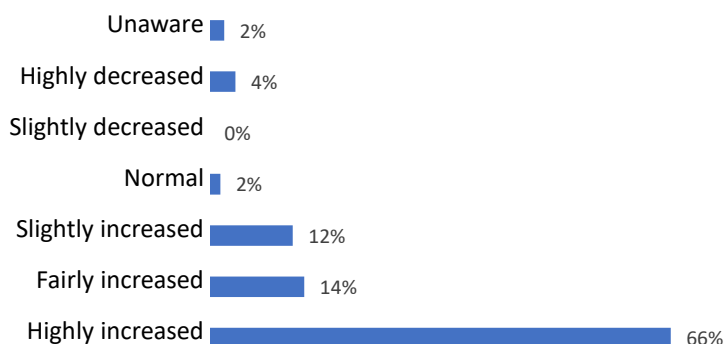


Figure 1.10.1 Situation of wealthy families

The respondents were asked to categorize the types of crimes their surroundings, and the results are shown in **Figure 1.10.2**. The highest number of crimes they noticed was theft which was responded by **88.5%** of the respondents, followed by **robbery (85.7%)**, **bandit (68.7%)**, **drug dealings (56%)**. Other crimes revealed by the participants in the survey are shown in **Figure 1.10.2**.

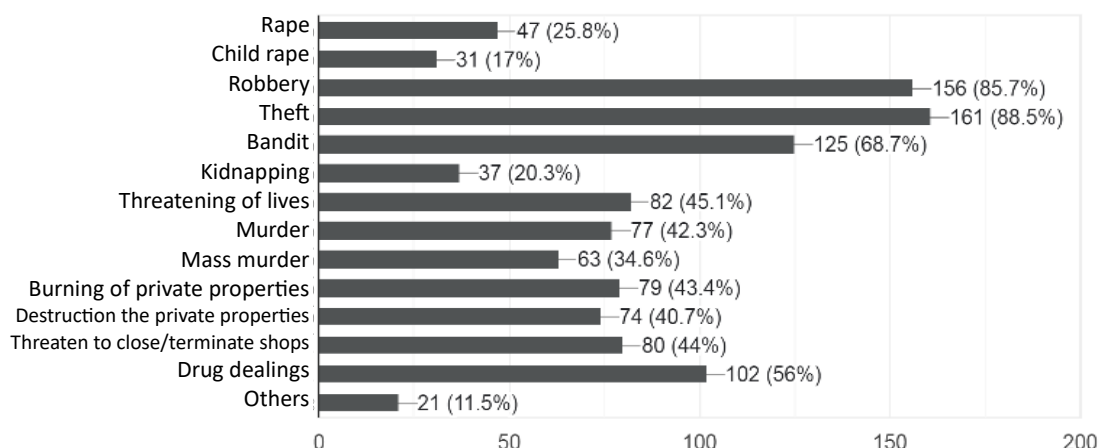


Figure 1.10.2 Crime categories in the respondents' surroundings

An additional question related to the person who committed the crimes was added to the survey. The results indicated that most of the **crimes were committed by the regime's soldiers (with 86.8% response rate)**, and **Pro-military groups such as Phy Saw Htee, Thway Thaut, Swan Arr Shin, pro-USDP (with 84.1% response rate)**, **police forces (with 76.9% response rate)**. Similarly, the respondents also answered that extreme religious based groups (37.9%), such as Patriotic Associations of Myanmar (Ma Ba Tha, Myo Chit in Burmese) were also

responsible for the increase of crime rate after the military coup. Although there were crimes committed by individuals not related to the above-mentioned groups, the percentage was much lower. In addition, the respondents reported that there were crimes committed by the anti-coup resistance groups such as **People Defense Force (PDF), Local PDF, and underground guerrillas. However, the percentage was relatively low with only 1%** as shown in **Figure 1.10.3**.

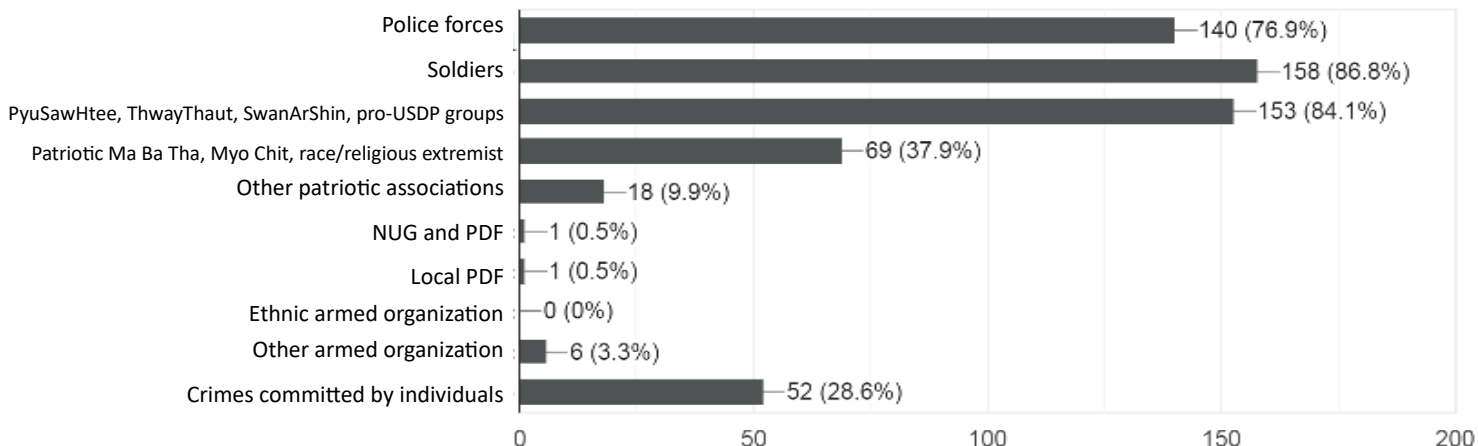


Figure 1.10.3 Categories showing Perpetrators of the crimes in the respondents' surroundings

1.11 Situation of physical and mental issues

The above-mentioned results highlighted the worsening situation of the country which affects each and everyone in the country. Some family members of the respondents were arrested and jailed, tortured to death, and their properties were confiscated and sealed. Due to such harsh conditions under the military regime, they absconded for their lives and could not continue their income earning jobs. Therefore, the physical and mental well-being of the respondents were also included in the survey since most of the respondents suffered from serious human rights violation under the oppressive military regime. The results are described in **Figures 1.11.1 and Figure 1.11.2**.

According to the respondents (**Figure 1.11.1**), **92.3% responded that they were in debt**, while **72.7% responded that they had to sell their properties**, while **67.2% responded that they had to mortgage their properties**. Other than the above-mentioned issues, 45.4% of the respondents lost part of their family's properties, and 37.7% lost all their properties.

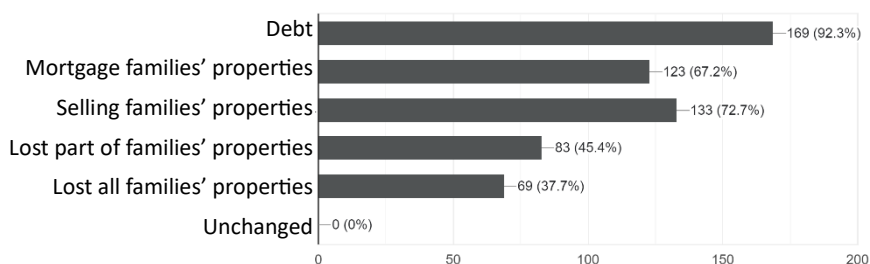


Figure 1.11.1 – Physical problems of respondents

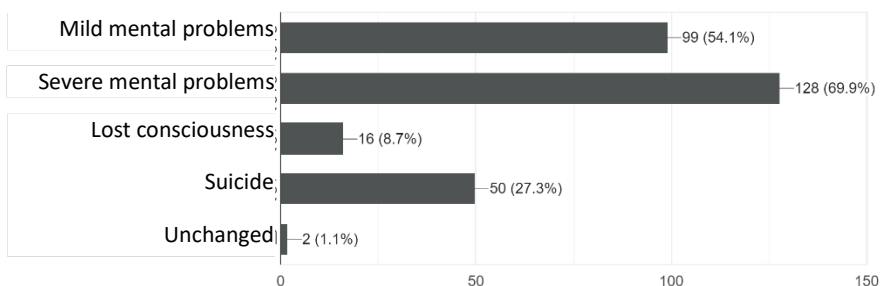


Figure 1.11.2 – Mental issues of respondents

The responses on situations of mental well-being were described in **Figure 1.11.2**. According to the responses, they were always worried about their physical security, and **69.9% of the respondents mentioned that they suffered from serious mental problems**, while **54.1% responded that they have minor mental problems**. Furthermore, **27.3% responded that they noticed the suicide cases** due to the security and economic hardships in their

environment, while **8.7% mentioned that some people in their environment lost consciousness**. Based on these results, it can be concluded that people suffered from physical and mental problems under current military regime.

1.12 Situation of internally displaced persons (IDP)

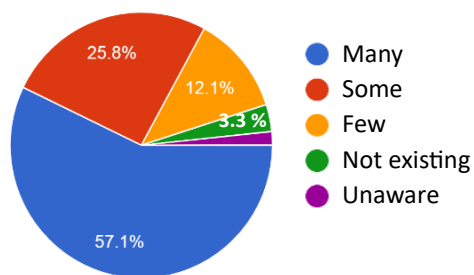


Figure 1.12 Situation of internally displaced person (IDPs)

According to the above-mentioned results, it can be clearly seen that the socioeconomic situation of the country is seriously deteriorating after the military took over the country in a coup. Meanwhile, arm-conflicts and political instability triggered the situation to worsen as millions of peoples are internally displaced. According to **UNOCHA - United Nation's Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the number of internally displaced people has risen to 1.6 million** since the military coup in 2021. This situation was also reflected in the results of this survey, and it is described in **Figure 1.12**. According to the figure, 57.1% of the respondents gave feedback that there are many IDPs, while 25.8% mentioned there are some IDPs, and 12.1% responded that there are

few IDPs in their surroundings. According to such figures, **it can be concluded that the number of IDPs has increased since the coup as 95% of the respondents indicated in the survey.**

1.13 Migration for better job opportunities

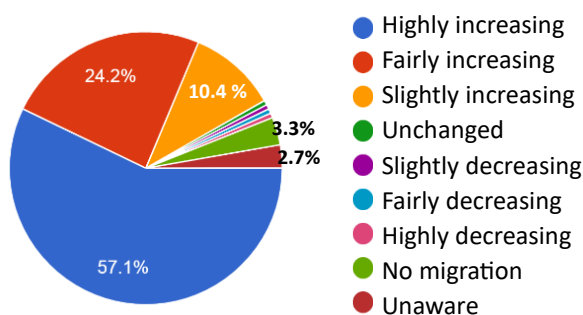


Figure 1.12 Situation of migration

As mentioned in the results above, the military coup affected job opportunity, commodity prices, and significant imbalance between incomes and expenses. As a result, a significant amount of population left the country for better job opportunities, making the losses in the labor force within the country. To reflect the situation, the survey collected information about human migration for the purpose of better job opportunities, and the results are described in **Figure 1.12**. As shown in Figure 1.12, **57.1% responded that the movement of migrant workers to outside of the country is highly increasing**, while 24.2% responded a fair increase, and slight increase in the

numbers of migrant workers was responded by 10.4%. Based on these figures, **it can also be concluded that the military coup in Myanmar caused the movement of labor forces to outside of the country.**

Summary of the results (Part 1) of the socioeconomic situation

The results of part one suggested that military coup significantly severely affected the millions of Burmese population resulting in the destruction of emerging economy, and the loss of job opportunities. A summary of findings reflecting the current socioeconomic situations of the respondents is described below.

- **98.4%** responded that they could not continue their initial employment.
- **76.4%** responded that the job opportunities were terminated/lost and limited people don't have regular income.
- **64.8%** responded that they don't have any income, 25.8% responded that their income reduced significantly.
- **55%** of the respondents have monthly income lower than 100,000 MMK, but **86.9%** of the respondents have monthly expenses higher than 100,000 MMK.
- **90.7%** responded that their family faced very harsh living conditions.
- **74.2%** responded they faced financial difficulties for food security, **68.1%** have difficulties for health expenses, **68.1%** have difficulties for safe and secure accommodation, **62.1%** responded they have difficulties for the transportation expenses.
- **98.4%** responded the commodity prices were very high.
- **84%** responded the reduction of business activities.
- **68.2%** responded the reduction of business operations and trade activities.
- **74%** responded that the scarcity of job opportunities.
- **84%** responded the increase number of people in poverty.
- **60%** responded the decrease in the number of wealthy populations.
- **92%** answered the increasing number of crimes.

- The response rate for the person responsible for the crimes included military soldiers (**86.8%**), police forces (**76.9%**), and pro-military groups (**84.1%**).
- According to the respondents, were people in debt (**92.3%**), sold (**73.1%**) their properties, and (**76.9%**) mortgaged their properties.
- **45.6%** responded that they lost part of their properties, businesses, and estate, while 37.9% lost all of their properties.
- **54.4%** responded that they suffered from minor mental problems, and 69.8% have serious mental problems.
- **27.5%** expressed that they noticed the increased number of suicide cases in their environment.
- **8.8%** answered that there has been some people who suffered from serious mental illness.
- **95%** of the respondents reported the increasing number of IDPs due to the political instability and intensified arm-conflicts.
- There has been an increasing number of migrations outside of the country due to the scarcity of jobs and looking for better job opportunities abroad was reported by **91.7%**.

General conclusion on the results of Part 1: Survey on the socioeconomic situation

According to the findings, the socioeconomic conditions of the Burmese people have been significantly impacted by the military coup in 2021 and its consequential devastations. The aftermath of this coup resulted in widespread job losses, rendering many Burmese citizens without regular employment, and facing economic hardships in their daily lives. In response to the scarcity of job opportunities, individuals turned to casual employment to address their livelihood challenges, exacerbated by soaring prices.

Businesses have also been affected by the brunt of these adverse conditions, with the survey respondents highlighting the deterioration of trading conditions in their surroundings. The survey results highlighted job losses, limited employment opportunities, and a growing population facing economic hardships. Additionally, the military's oppressive measures, including the confiscation of real estate and assets, as well as arbitrary closures and seizures of businesses, have been widely reported, aligning with the survey outcomes, and verified by independent organizations such as the Association for the Assistance of Political Prisoners (AAPP). Individuals, grappling with the loss of employment and property, found themselves compelled to borrow money to handle their daily livelihood challenges. Consequently, they resorted to selling and mortgaging their possessions as a means of addressing their financial difficulties.

According to the survey findings, most Burmese people have been suffering from mental and physical health issues due to the negative economic consequences and the ruthless repression and threats imposed by the military, and tragically, some individuals lost their consciousness, and even worse, some committed suicide.

In the post-coup period, crime rates have surged, primarily attributed to the military forces, police, and military-backed groups, according to survey respondents. Not only the military's oppression but also the ongoing conflicts between anti-coup groups and military forces have further fueled a significant increase in internally displaced persons (IDPs). Moreover, the combination of economic difficulties and a shortage of domestic job opportunities has led to a notable rise in the number of individuals seeking employment abroad.

In conclusion, the 2021 military coup has set off a series of challenges, including fewer job opportunities, declining family incomes, rising commodity prices, wealth inequality, increased criminal cases, serious deterioration of law enforcement, increased number of Internally displaced persons (IDPs), and a notable surge in seeking job opportunities abroad. The survey results underscore these adverse effects as a result of the coup on the physical and mental well-being of the Burmese people.

Part 2. Survey on Current Political Environment

The information described below are the results of the questionnaire survey which was responded by 156 individuals.

2.1 Situation of political stability after the military took over

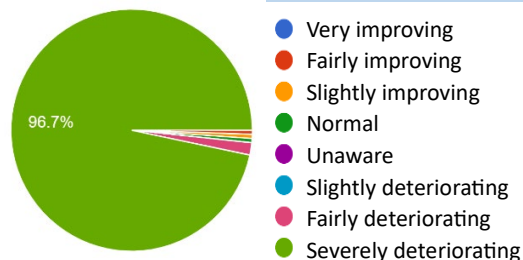


Figure 2.1 The situation of political stability

The situation of political stability in Myanmar after the military took over the country in a coup was included in the survey, and the results are presented in **Figure 2.1**. Almost all respondents (**96.7%**) gave feedback about the situation of political stability as **very deteriorating** as shown in the figure.

2.2 Situation of rule of law

The participants were also asked their opinion on the situation of rule of law in their surrounding environment. The results are mentioned in **Figure 2.2**. As shown in the figure, **83.4% of the respondents indicated that there was no rule of law**, while **15.3% responded that the rule of law somewhat existed**. Based on the results, it can be concluded that the rule of law in Myanmar are seriously degrading after the military coup.

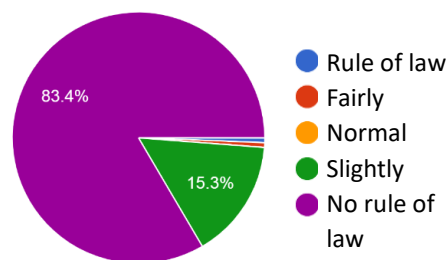


Figure 2.2 Situation of rule of law

2.3 Situation of judicial system after the military coup

Following the 2021 military coup, individuals opposing it have faced violent suppression, leading to arrests and harsh judgments by military courts, including long-term prison sentences and death penalties. The opinion of the respondents on the judicial system under the military regime was depicted in **Figure 2.3**. The results reveal a remarkable lack of belief of the Burmese people in the judgments of the military courts. In Figure 2.3, the majority of the respondents (**87.9%**) indicated that the courts were incapable of deciding cases in accordance with the law. Nobody responded that the court decided the cases in conformity with the law. The results highlighted the **lack of public trust** in the judicial system under the military regime.

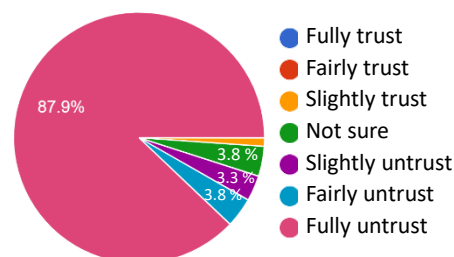


Figure 2.3 Situation of public trust on judicial system

2.4 Security concerns of the families after the military coup

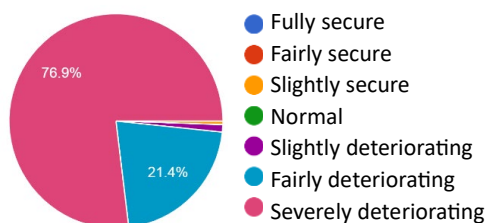


Figure 2.4 – Security concern of the families

After the military took over the country in a coup, the political situation has been seriously deteriorating. Apart from political instability, the concern on the security of millions of families has also been increasing. It can be frequently seen in various social media that the military arrests and detains their family members as hostages if they do not find the pro-democracy actors they wanted and this survey results indicate that situation. According to an independent organization called Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (AAPP), over 25,500 people have been arrested after the military coup. A question related to family security was included in the

questionnaire, and the results are shown in **Figure 2.4**. According to Figure 2.4, **76.9% responded that their families are encountering security risks and threats, and the security is seriously deteriorating**, while **21.4% responded the security is somewhat deteriorating**. In total, 98.3% of the respondents gave feedback on the deterioration of the security of their families.

2.5 Acceptability or rejection of military coup

Burmese people have been suffered from the serious violation of human rights and democratic norms since the previous military coups in 1962 and 1990. The respondents were asked about their opinion on acceptability or rejection of the latest military coup in 2021, and the results are shown in **Figure 2.5**. The results reveal that **almost all respondents (99.5%) did not express any support for the current military regime.**

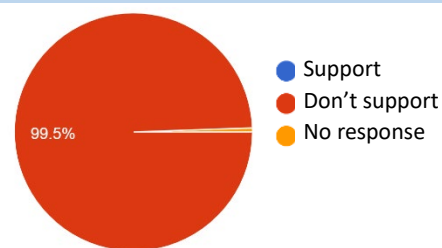


Figure 2.4 – Acceptability or rejection of military coup

2.6 Situations of public services under the military coup

Following the military coup, the military persisted in executing the governmental functions of the country under the name of the State Administration Council. To gauge the effectiveness of their actions in serving the interests of the nation and its citizens, A question was included in the survey on the political situation to reflect the situation of public services. During this survey, key sectors such as education, health, electricity, communication, and the banking system, along with economic conditions, were scrutinized. The findings suggest that a majority of respondents gave negative feedback of lack of progress/having significant regression in the above-mentioned sectors.

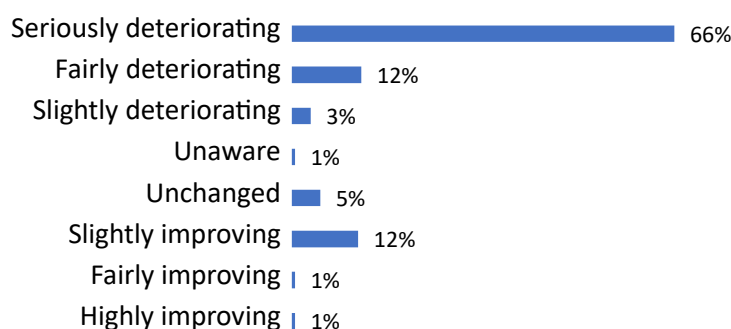


Figure 2.6.1 Healthcare service under military regime

As shown in **Figure 2.6.1**, most of the respondents (66%) suggest that the healthcare services are seriously deteriorating, while 12% responded the fairly deteriorating situation in healthcare services, and 3% responded the slight deteriorating in this aspect. Therefore, it can be concluded that the healthcare services under the military has been deteriorating as responded by 81% of the respondents. As shown in the figure, only 14% of the respondents answered the improvement of healthcare services after the military coup.

The respondents' opinion on the education services under the military rule is described in Figure 2.6.2. as shown in the figure, majority of the respondents highlighted the serious deteriorating situation in the education sector, while 11% and 3% of the respondents gave feedback, "fairly deteriorating and slightly deteriorating" in education sector, respectively. In addition, only a small percentage of respondents (17%) viewed positively on military controlled education sector.

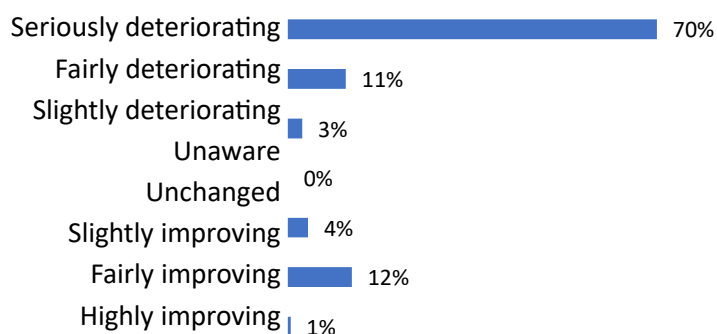


Figure 2.6.2 Education sector under military regime

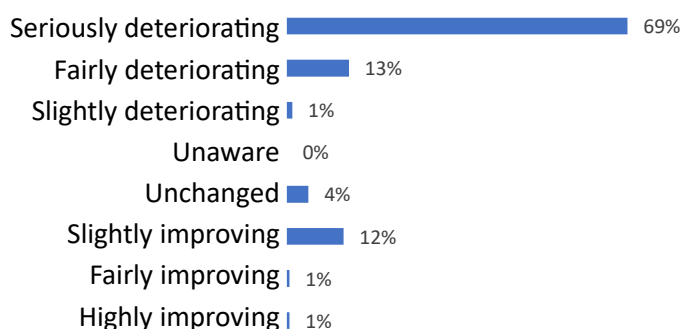


Figure 2.6.3 Electricity and drinking water sector under military regime

Negative feedback was observed for sectors: the electricity and drinking water availability (**Figure 2.6.3**). The majority of respondents (69%) answered that the mentioned aspects are seriously deteriorating under the military regime. Similarly, 13% and 1% of the respondents gave feedback that the sectors are fairly deteriorating and slightly deteriorating, respectively. In contrast, only 1% reported the highly improving electricity and drinking water availability, while 12% responded the slightly improving situation and 1% responded the fairly improving situation. Overall, 83% gave negative feedback, while only 14% responded the positive feedback. Meanwhile, 4% of the respondents thought the situation remained unchanged.

The survey also attempted to depict the situation in the communication sector, which included mobile phone and mobile internet access. As shown in **Figure 2.6.4**, the majority of the respondents (**84%**) gave negative feedback on the communication sector. More specifically, 66% of the respondent indicated that the communication sector is seriously deteriorating, while 16% and 2% responded that the communication sector is fairly deteriorating and slightly deteriorating. However, only **13% gave positive feedback** on the communication sector.

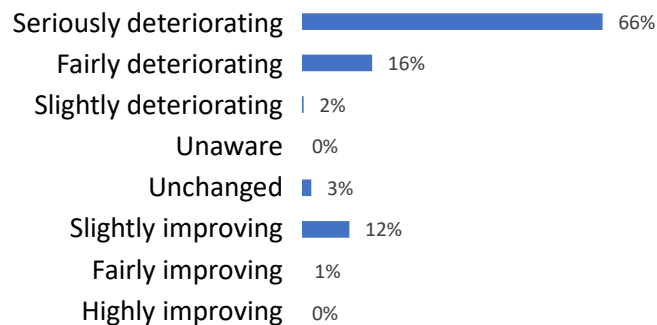


Figure 2.6.4 Communication sector under military regime

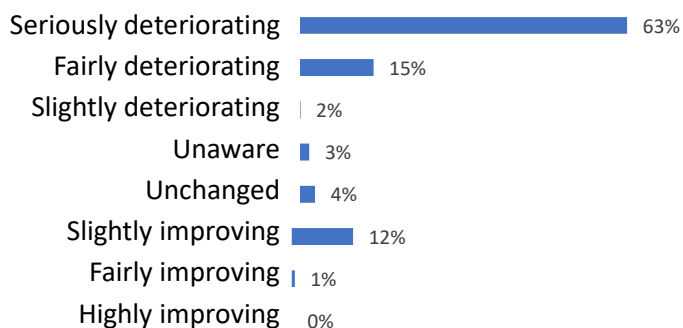


Figure 2.6.5 Banking sector under military regime

The situation of banking sectors including money transfer, money deposit was also attempted to be reflected in the questionnaire survey. According to the results, the situation of the banking sector is severely deteriorating as responded by 63% of respondents, while 15% responded fairly deteriorating and 2% responded that the banking sector is slightly deteriorating. In contrast, **only 13% of the respondents answered positively** as shown in **Figure 2.6.5**. It can be concluded that the banking sector is deteriorating according to the feedback made by 80% of the respondents.

The economic sector is also degrading, as revealed by the survey results. In total, **84% of the respondents viewed the current situation in economic sector negatively** as shown in **Figure 2.6.6**. In contrast, only **13% of the respondents gave positive feedback** on the economic condition under the military coup.

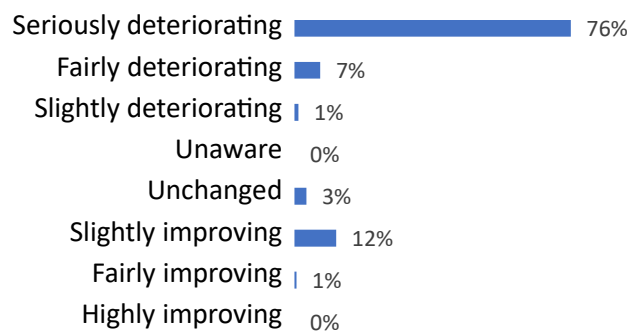


Figure 2.6.6 Economic sector under the military regime

The overall survey results indicate that, following the military takeover, the military's governance has proven ineffective and has resulted in adverse conditions for the populace, **as all public services sectors have been severely deteriorating.**

2.7 Fulfillment of primary responsibilities by the military and police forces following the military coup in 2021

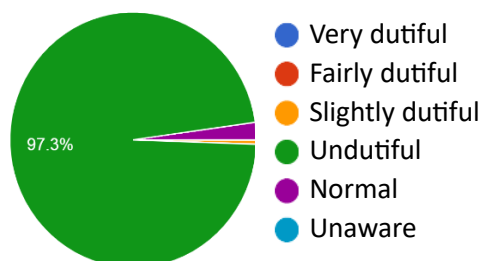


Figure 2.7.1 Opinion on the services of military

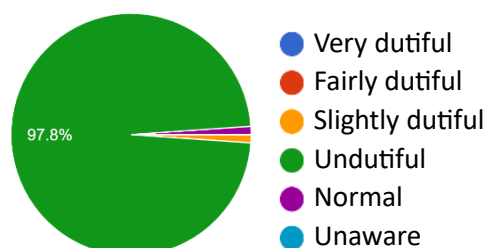


Figure 2.7.2 Opinion on the services of police force

After the 2021 military coup, the military and police forces violently cracked down the peaceful demonstrations, and they have been committing serious human right violations according to several independent organizations and international and local media outlets. The public opinions on the military and police after the coup d'état are incorporated in this survey. The survey results are mentioned in **Figure 2.7.1 and 2.7.2**. The results indicate that a majority of respondents said that both the army and the police have been unable to fulfill their primary duties. **Almost all respondents (97.3%) stated that the military has not been operating its responsibility**, and an overwhelming **97.8% indicated that the police were failing in their duty of law enforcement**.

2.8 The primary cause of the current dilemma

In the aftermath of military coup, the Burmese citizens has been suffering from the political instability and rapid economic crisis. The respondents were asked their opinion on the root cause of current economic crisis, and the results are shown in Figure 2.8. As illustrated in Figure 2.8, almost all respondents (92.9%) said that the root cause of the political and economic crises was the military coup.

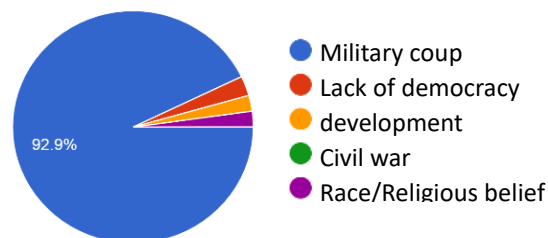


Figure 2.9 – The primary cause of current dilemma

2.9 Devastating Impacts of the Military Coup on both the nation and its populace

The majority of survey respondents pointed to the military coup as the primary cause of the general crisis, the most serious consequences of the military coup are described in **Figure 2.9**.

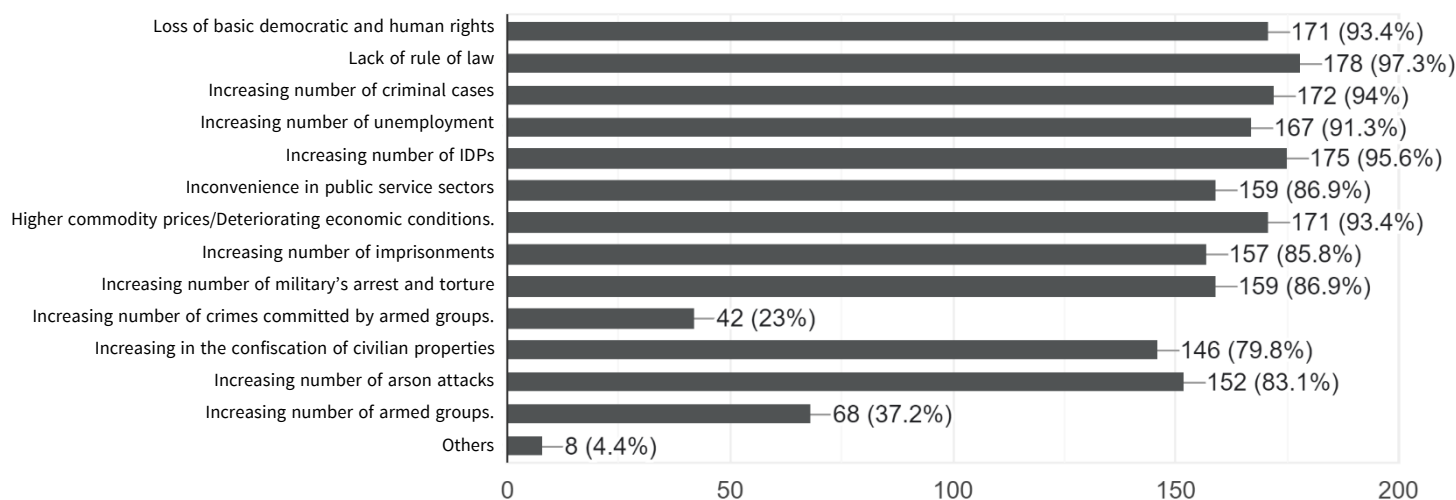


Figure 2.9 The serious consequences of the military coup

2.10 Opinion on the military regime

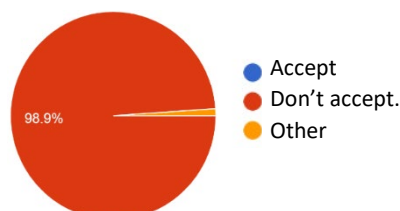
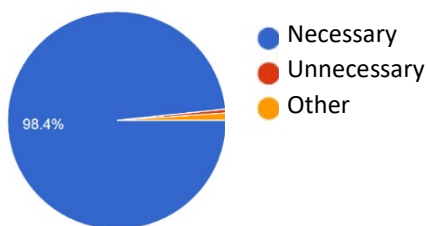


Figure 2.10 – Military's involvement in the administration affairs

The above-mentioned results indicated that the root cause of current political dilemma and economic hardships is the military coup. The survey explored the people's opinions regarding the military's governance and the results are depicted in **Figure 2.10**. Relating to the military's involvement in the legislative, judicial, and administrative sectors, **almost all respondents (98.9%) stated they would never accept the militar regime**.

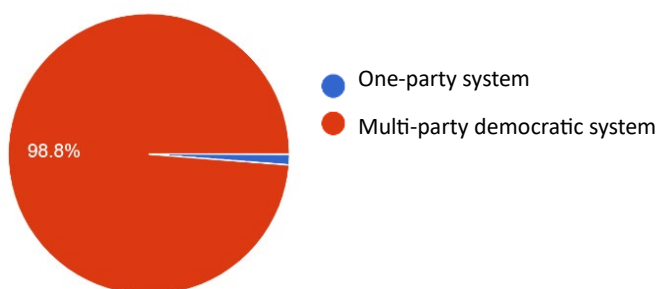
2.11 Opinions on eradication of the military regime



Based on the aforementioned findings, it is evident that the majority of the Burmese citizens opposed the military coup and dictatorship. As depicted in Figure 2.11, **98.4% of survey respondents express a desire not only to liberate themselves from military dictatorship but also to permanently abolish the military regime in Burma.**

Figure 2.11 - Respondents' opinions on the total reformation of military

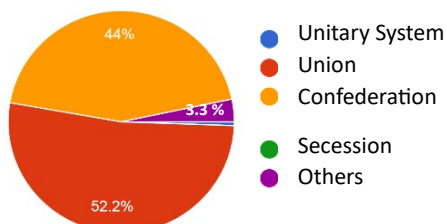
2.12 Opinions on the future political system



According to the result mentioned above, the majority of respondents demanded a reformation of the military and don't want the military to be involved in the country's administration affairs. A total of 98.4% described their desire for the permanent elimination of the military regime in Burma, and **98.9% of respondents expressed a preference for implementing a multi-party democratic system**, as illustrated in Figure 2.12.

Figure 2.12 – Opinion on the future political system.

2.13 Opinions on the future governance system



In the survey on the preferred governance system, **52.2% of respondents indicated a preference for the union state.** Additionally, **44% expressed a desire to implement a confederation.**

Figure 2.12 – Opinions on the future governance system

2.14 Opinions on the potential negotiations with the military in the future

To address the ongoing political crisis in Burma, the survey included a question about the acceptability of engaging in potential negotiations which are likely to be held by the military without the involvement of all stakeholders. The survey results, as illustrated in **Figure 2.14**, reveal that 87.4% of respondents expressed a refusal to engage in dialogues with the military. In contrast, only 8.8% of respondents indicated a willingness to hold such dialogues.

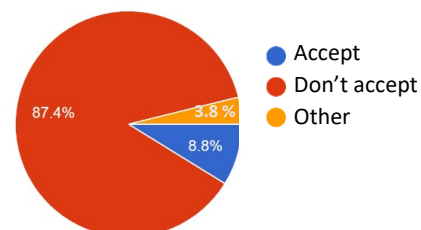


Figure 2.14 – Opinions on the potential negotiation with the regime without the involvement of all stakeholders

2.15 Respondents' opinions on the potentiality of resolving political dilemma through dialogues without NLD

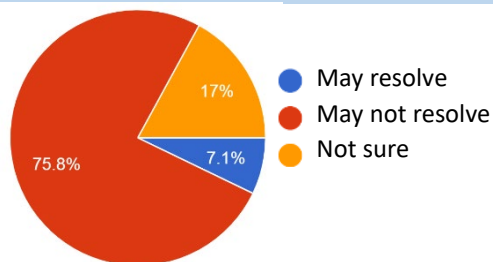


Figure 2.14 – Opinion on if the negotiation would solve the political issues

The military is arranging to hold dialogues with their alliances political and armed groups without NLD party led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and National Unity Government and People Defence Force (PDF). So, a question about the possibility for resolving the ongoing political dilemmas through political dialogue was included in the survey. The results, illustrated in **Figure 2.15**, indicate that **75.8% of respondents believed the political dilemmas would not be resolved through political dialogue**. Only **7.1% expressed positive feedback** about resolving the ongoing political dilemmas through political dialogue, while **17% of the respondents were uncertain**.

In light of these findings, **it can be inferred that the ongoing peace talks led by the military may not be successful. The resolution of the country's political crisis and the restoration of peace and stability can be achieved only through inclusive dialogues involving all relevant stakeholders.**

2.16 Opinions on Stakeholders' Involvement in political dialogues

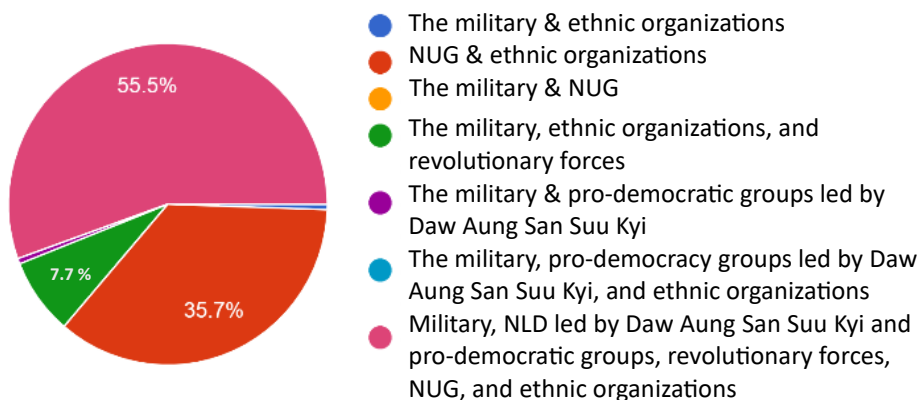


Figure 2.14 – Opinions on stakeholders' involvement in the possible political negotiation

Continuously, a survey question regarding the possibility of achieving success and progress through conducting political dialogues with various stakeholders. The outcomes are described in **Figure 2.16**. Analyzing the responses, diverse viewpoints are observed. The majority, 55.5%, emphasized the necessity of inclusive dialogue involving the military, Aung San Suu Kyi, the National League for Democracy-NLD, all democratic groups, revolutionary groups, and all ethnic organizations for resolving the current crisis. Additionally, 35.7% believed

that engaging in friendly negotiations with the NUG and ethnic organizations could lead to a resolution. A smaller percentage, 7.7%, considered dialogue with revolutionary groups as a viable option.

In light of these findings, **it can be inferred that the ongoing peace talks led by the military may not be successful. The resolution of the country's political crisis and the restoration of peace and stability can be achieved only through inclusive dialogues involving all relevant stakeholders.**

2.17 The necessity of nation-wide ceasefire before conducting peace negotiations or talks

Presently, the military is encountering a significant opposition from civilians in response to the military coup. A survey was conducted to get feedback on initiating a ceasefire.

Results indicated that **70.3% of respondents believe a ceasefire should be initiated**, **14.8% expressed their view on unnecessary of ceasefire**, suggesting that dialogue processes should be facilitated through ongoing conflicts. Additionally, 14.8% of respondents showed their uncertainty. Therefore, **it can be concluded that for peace talks to occur, cessation of armed fires is deemed necessary.**

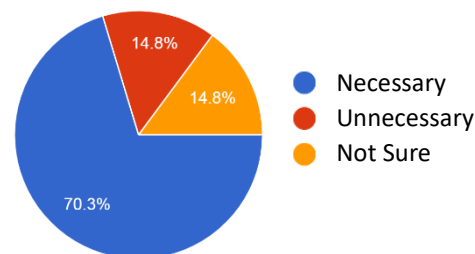


Figure 2.17 – Opinions on the necessity of cease fire for political negotiation

2.18 The necessity of international supervision on the political negotiation and peace talks

If there will be political dialogues in the future, the respondents' opinion on the necessity of international supervision was included in the survey, and the results are presented in **Figure 1.18.1**. According to the survey results, the respondents persisted in the necessity of international supervision for a ceasefire, and peace talks, revealing that **65.9% of respondents consider international supervision as essential**, while **14.8% responded it is unnecessary**, and 19.2% responded that they are not sure.

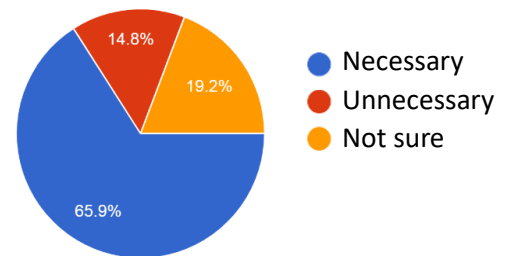


Figure 2.18.1 – Opinions on the necessary of international supervision

Based on the results, respondents were asked to give feedback on the involvement of countries/organizations for the supervision of the potential dialogues. The results are shown in **Figure 2.18.2**. Concerning the preferred entity for international supervision, if it is necessary, **68.7% of respondents favored the supervision of the United Nations (UN)**, while **58.8% preferred that of the United States**. Additionally,

48.9% endorsed the ASEAN for oversight, and **40.7% suggested European Union (EU)**. Notably, only 9.9% of respondents expressed a preference for **China** and **2.2% for Russia**, signaling a lack of trust and desire for their supervision despite their consensus for international supervision in the talks.

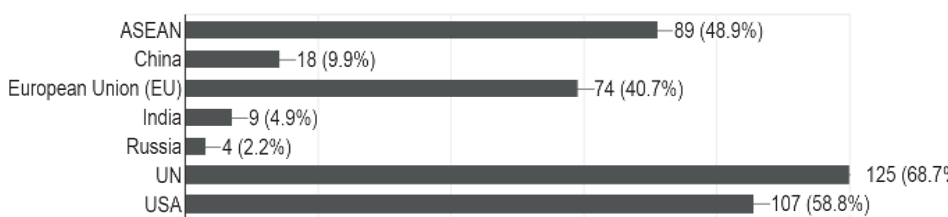


Figure 2.18.2 - Opinions on the involvement of the nation/organization to supervise the dialogues

2.19 Opinions on the possibility to resolve the current political dilemma through the potential General Election held by Junta Regime

The current military staged a coup with an accusation of election fraud and promised several times that the election will be held since the coup occurred. The military has been trying to hold an election with the support of pro-military political parties excluding the other political parties with a huge public support. The survey included a question that reflect the opinion of the respondents on whether the potential general election held by the military would be able to resolved the current political dilemma. The results are shown in **Figure 2.19**. According to the figure, **96.7% responded that they don't have don't have any trust in the election to be held by military** and they claimed that would not resolve the current political dilemma could not be resolve by it.

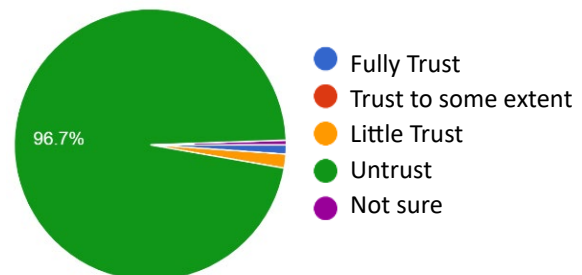


Figure 2.19 – Opinion on the general election to be held by regime

2.20 Opinions on the election without the participation of NLD

Military council restricted the political parties with huge public support to be involved in the general election by enacting the political party registration law. To reflect the opinion of respondents, the question on whether the general election without the involvement of National League for Democracy led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi would be able to solved the current political crisis was included in the survey. According to the results described in **Figure 2.20**, **80.8% don't not think that the election without the involvemnet of NLD**

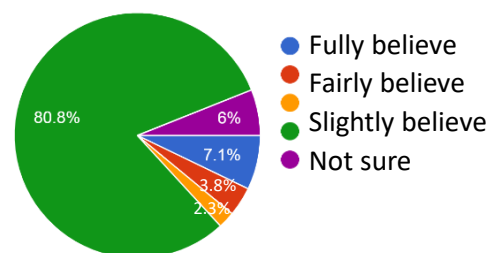


Figure 2.19 – Opinion on the election without the participation of NLD would resolve the current dilemma

would not solve the crisis, while 7.1% responded that the election would solve the crisis, and 6% answered that they don't know the situation.

2.21 Opinions of the respondents on the future priority sectors in Myanmar

The survey also included a question on what sectors would be given priority after the post military regime, and the results were presented in Figure 2.21. The results indicated that the first priority would be given to **develop a democratic nation (90.2%)**, to **ensure basic human rights (86.3%)**, to **eliminate the military involvement in the country administration (83.6%)**. Other priority sectors responded are shown in Figure 2.21.

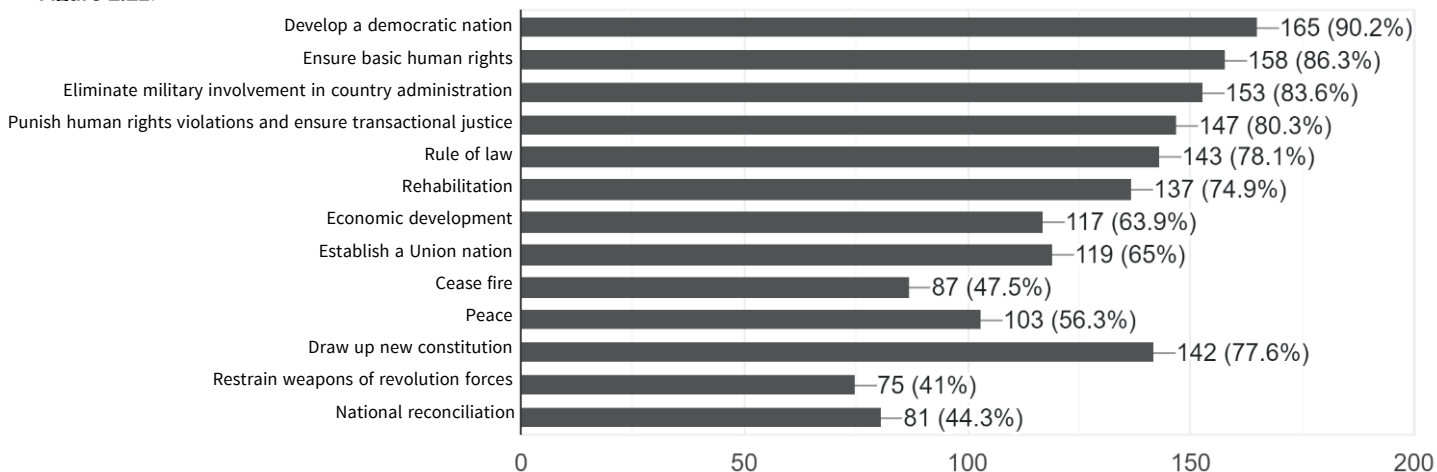


Figure 2.24 – Opinion on the priority area in post military regime era

2.22 The role of military and police force in the future

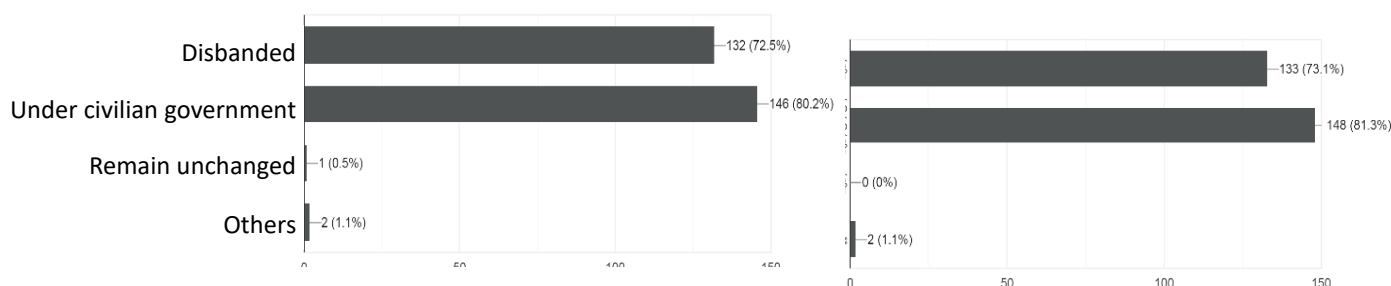


Figure 2.22.2 - Opinion on the future status of police force

Figure 2.22.1 - Opinions on the future status of military

According to the results mentioned above, it was

found that the general public of Myanmar wants the military to protect the people and country from external threats and involvement in any other political sectors should be restricted. Based on these results, the respondents were asked on how the military and police forces would be handled in the future and the results are presented in Figures 2.22.1 and 2.22.2 respectively. The results indicated that **81.3% wants the military should be under the administration of civilian government as union military**, and **73.1%** responded that the new military forces should be formed. Similarly, **80.2% of the respondents wants the current police forces should be under the administration of civilian government as union police force**, and **72.5% responded that the police forces should be disbanded and new structure should be formed**. Based on the results above, **it can be concluded that the current military and police forces will be needed to reform reform in the post military regime era.**

2.23 Opinions on the transactional justice

The respondents were asked if military should take accountability for its human rights violations should be punished, and the results are presented in **Figure 2.23**. **Almost all respondents (93.4%) gave feedback that military's human right violations and violence against its own citizens since 1962 should be punished in conformity with existing laws.** The results highlight the importance of transactional justice.

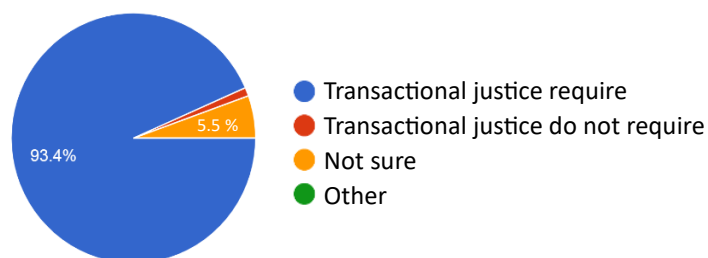


Figure 2.23 - Opinions on transactional justice

2.24 How transactional justice should be carried out

The survey also attempted to find out how the transactional justice should be carried out. The results are shown in **Figure 2.24**.

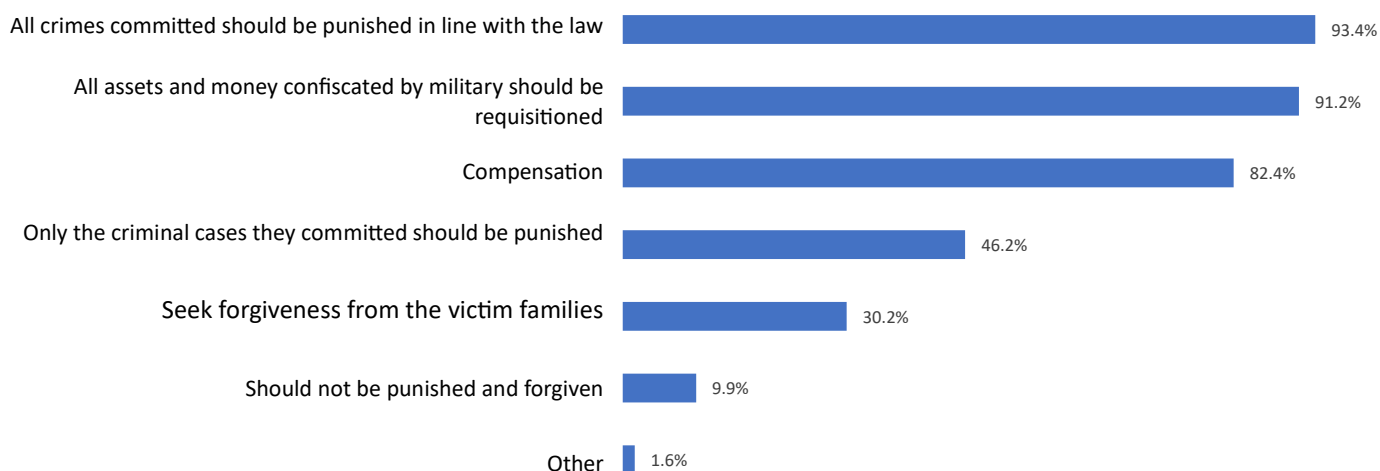


Figure 2.24 - Opinions on how transactional justice should be carried out

The majority of the respondents, **93.4%**, **feedbacked that the crimes committed by military should be punished in line with the law**, while **91.2%** responded that **all the assets and money confiscated by military should be requisitioned**, and other **82.4%** responded to **allow a compensation**. On the other hand, **46.2%** mentioned that **military should only be responsible for the criminal cases they committed** and **30.2%** highlighted to **seek the forgiveness of the victim families**. Only a small number of respondents, **9.9%**, described that **the military should not be punished**. It is clearly seen that **the public recognition on the current military regime is very low**.

Summary of the results (Part 2) of the Political situation

The survey indicates that political instability under the military governance, particularly affecting the administrative and law enforcement sectors. The findings reveal huge negative impacts of the military coup on public services and the overall well-being and safety of the nation's citizens. Key results related to the actual challenges forced by the people of Burma face under the current political circumstances and attitudes toward the military and so-called State Administration Council include:

- 96.7% expressed that they are experiencing terrible political instability.
- Lack of rule of law was responded by 98.7%, the courts are incapable of making judgements in line with the law was reported by 87.9% claimed that this situation becomes worsen.
- 98.3% of respondents, highlighted experiencing unsafe conditions not only for themselves but also for their families
- 99.5% of respondents expressed that they do not accept military coup.
- The following survey results, show a significant deterioration in various public services managed by the military:
 - 81% responded that there is only deterioration in the health sector.
 - 84% stated a lack of progress in the education sector.
 - 83% indicated that there are no positive changes in accessing electricity and drinking water.
 - 84% gave feedback that there are no advancements in the communication sector.
 - 80% described that there are no improvements in the sector of banking system and money transfer.

- 84% expressed that no development has been found in the economic sector.
- A notable 97.3% of respondents stated that the military has not been operating its duty to protect the nation's citizens against foreign threats. Additionally, 97.8% of respondents mentioned that the police are inadequate in enforcing the law.
- Regarding the root cause of the ongoing crisis faced by the nation and its people, 92.9% of the total respondents attributed it to the military coup.
- Respondents' feedback on various topics, highlighting the most concerning consequences of the current situation, are as follows:
 - 37.4% of respondents find a significant concern on increasing number of armed forces.
 - 86.8% of respondents expressed the destruction of the infrastructure and public services.
 - 86.3% of respondents indicated the rising number of arrests and imprisonments by the military.
 - An equal 86.8% of respondents described increasing number of arrests, torture, and killings of pro-democratic actors and civilians by the military.
 - Another 80.2% of respondents expressed the escalating confiscation and destruction of civilian property by the military forces.
 - Similarly, 83.5% of respondents stated the increase at arson attacks in villages and urban areas by the military.
 - 94% of respondents highlighted the rise in crimes.
 - Another 91.2% of respondents highlighted the rapid rise of unemployment.
 - 95.6% of respondents expressed the escalating displacements and refugees.
 - 94% of respondents find the high prices and economic downturn to be a major issue.
 - 93.4% of respondents underlined the loss of basic democracy and human rights.
- 98.9% the respondents expressed their strong opposition to the military coup, as well as the military regime.
- 98.4% expressed willingness to permanently abolish the military regime.
- Following the complete eradication of the military regime, 98.9% of respondents want a multi-party democratic system, while 52.2% demand a Union system. Additionally, 44% expressed a preference for implementing the confederation system.
- 87.4% of respondents indicated their unwillingness to accept the political dialogue initiated by the military.
- 75.8% responded that the country's political dilemmas cannot be resolved through negotiation with only ethnic organizations and that the participation of all stakeholders including the NLD party led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, democratic groups, NUG, and revolutionary forces is vital.
- Regarding dialogue participants, 55.5% of respondents emphasized that only an inclusive dialogue, involving the military, Aung San Suu Kyi, NLD party, democratic groups, NUG, revolutionary groups, and ethnic organizations, can effectively address the current crisis. Meanwhile, 35.7% mentioned that the crisis could be resolved through negotiations with the NUG and ethnic organizations.
- 70.3% of respondents insisted that a nationwide ceasefire is essential before engaging in political negotiations, while 14.8% think it is not necessary.
- If political negotiations and a ceasefire were conducted, 65.9% of respondents answered that international supervision would be necessary. Among the preferences for supervision:
 - 68.7% favor supervision by the United Nations.
 - 58.8% prefer the United States to oversee.
 - 40.7% suggest supervision by the European Union.
 - 48.9% propose ASEAN for supervision.
 - Only 9.9% think supervision by China and 2.2% think supervision by Russia is suitable.
- 96.7% of respondents expressed their disbelief that an election held by the military would improve the current political crisis. Furthermore, 80.8% responded that an election with the exclusion of Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD could not resolve the crisis.
- In building a future democratic Myanmar, 83.5% of respondents indicated that the elimination of any roles assumed by the military and no more participation of the military in the country's governance is the first priority. Additionally, 80.8% claimed that the military should take accountability for their human rights violations through transitional justice mechanisms.
- 73.1% proposed that the existing army should be abolished and reorganized. Then, 81.3% suggested rebuilding it as a Union army.

- Similarly, 72.5% highlighted the abolition and reorganization of the current police force. Among them, 80.2% suggested reorganizing it as a federal police force.
- An overwhelming 93.4% of respondents emphasized the need to identify and take action against human rights violations and acts of terrorism committed by the military from 1962 to the present.
- The respondents' recommended actions for crimes committed by the military:
 - 93.4% said that any offense should be prosecuted and took action according to the law.
 - 91.2% proposed to confiscate the state/public assets taken by perpetrators.
 - 82.4% suggested paying damages/compensation for both individuals and materials affected by the offenses.
 - In contrast, 7.3% expressed their opinion that the perpetrators should be forgiven without taking any actions.
 - 46.2% responded that it should be sought the forgiveness of the victims' families.

General conclusion on the results of Part 2: Survey on Current Political Situation

According to the survey results, there has been a lack of stability in the political environment and security concerns for Burmese citizens in the aftermath of the 2021 military coup. There has also been a significant deterioration in the sector of public services. In addition, the respondents claimed that there has been an obvious lack of rule of law and the military courts were incapable of judging the cases following the law. All respondents expressed their strong opposition to the military regime and their willingness to completely overthrow the military dictatorship. The survey results show that most respondents are willing to establish a federal democratic union system in future Burma, and a few want to implement the confederation system.

Only a very few respondents were willing to accept potential peace talks initiated by the military. The results described that the reason for accepting the military-initiated peace talks by only a few people is the inability to include all the stakeholders. Most respondents agreed that peace talks with the inclusion of all stakeholders are the only resolution to the current challenges in Burma.

If the talks happened, it is essential to seek a ceasefire agreement between the respective stakeholders, the talks are to be held with the involvement of international community, such as United Nations as well as the United States. The results highlighted the low credibility of general public on the involvement of China and Russia in the negotiation table.

On the other hand, military council is arranging the general election. However, the public trust on the election is very low because regime, with all its efforts, prohibits the participation of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and NLD party, and the majority of the population distrust that the election without the participation of all stakeholders would not resolve the current political crisis.

Further, the majority of the respondents don't want the military to participate in the administration affairs of the country, and they also want to seek justice for all serious human right violation and the military to be punished. In addition, the results also highlights that all the public/private properties unjustly confiscated by the military. Only a small percentge of resonded to pardon the crimes committed by the regime. Meanwhile, the large number of respondent crave for the abolition of the current military and police force and restructure them as a union military and police forces.

In conclusion, the mass public strongly disagree the military coup, and do not have the desire the political negotiations and dialogues as they are not useful in the resolving the current political dilemma because they will not be all-inclusive. On the other hand, the results highlighted the important role of transactional justices in which all the human right violations and and all the abuses which are not in line with the law committed by the military should be punished. It was also found the lowest level of trust by the majority of respondents on he general election that the military is planning to be conducted because the general election will not be a platform to find a solution for the current political bottleneck affecting the millions of people of Myanmar.