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Introduction

The political landscape in Myanmar underwent a dramatic shift on February 1, 2021, when the military, known as the Tatmadaw, executed a coup d'état. This coup dismantled the legally constituted government, dissolved the parliament, and established the State Administrative Council (SAC) to govern the country. According to independent observers and international entities, the military justified its actions by alleging widespread electoral fraud in the November 2020 general elections despite the lack of substantial evidence to support these claims. This sudden seizure of power halted a decade of significant political progress towards democratization that began in 2011, following nearly five decades of military rule. The 2015 elections, which brought the National League for Democracy (NLD) to power under Aung San Suu Kyi, and the subsequent 2020 elections, were seen as pivotal steps towards establishing civilian rule.

In response to the coup, widespread protests erupted across Myanmar, with significant participation from various sectors of society, including students, professionals, and civil servants. These protests were part of the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM), which advocated non-violent resistance against the military regime. The Tatmadaw responded with a brutal crackdown, leading to widespread violence, arrests, and numerous casualties. The political situation was further complicated with the formation of the Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH) by the ousted members of parliament. This committee later established the National Unity Government (NUG), which many Myanmar citizens and the international community recognize as the legitimate government of Myanmar. The NUG has been leading a peaceful uprising and striving to restore democracy, creating a stark power struggle between the civilian-led NUG and the military-led SAC. Amidst this turmoil, the military regime announced plans to hold elections in August 2023, widely viewed as an attempt to legitimize their rule, raising concerns about their legitimacy and potential for election-related violence.

Examining the impact of the military coup on Myanmar's governance, peace, and stability is crucial for several reasons. The implications of the coup are profound and multifaceted, affecting every aspect of the nation's socio-political fabric. Firstly, the coup has dismantled the democratic institutions and processes built over the past decade, creating a governance vacuum characterized by authoritarian control and the erosion of the rule of law. Understanding this erosion helps identify the challenges in restoring civilian rule and rebuilding democratic institutions. Secondly, Myanmar's peace processes aimed at resolving long-standing conflicts with various Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs) have been severely disrupted. The coup has exacerbated tensions and jeopardized fragile ceasefires, making it critical to examine how these processes have been affected and what steps are needed to revive them. Thirdly, the instability triggered by the coup has wide-ranging consequences, both domestically and regionally. The violent crackdown on protests and the widespread civil unrest have led to significant human rights abuses and humanitarian crises. Understanding the impact on stability provides insights into the potential for prolonged conflict and the measures needed to restore order and security.

This research aims to critically examine the multifaceted impact of the military coup on Myanmar's governance, peace processes, and overall stability. The research seeks to analyze the immediate and long-term effects of the coup on Myanmar's democratic institutions and governance structures, including the dismantling of civilian rule, the imposition of martial law, and the resulting governance vacuum. It also seeks to evaluate the disruption of peace processes and ethnic reconciliation efforts, examining the impact on ongoing negotiations, ceasefires, and the relationships between the military and ethnic minority groups. Additionally, the research aims to investigate the escalation of tensions and the potential for renewed armed conflicts, studying the interactions between the military and ethnic armed groups, the risks of reigniting disputes, and the implications for internal security. Furthermore, the research will assess the international community's response and its effectiveness in addressing the crisis, including diplomatic efforts, economic sanctions, and international condemnation, as well as proposing strategies for increased international pressure and support for democratic reforms. Finally, the research aims to explore pathways for achieving lasting peace and federal democracy in Myanmar, identifying necessary democratic reforms, strategies for inclusive governance, and the roles of local and international actors in supporting Myanmar's transition to a stable and democratic state. The scope of this

research encompasses a comprehensive review of relevant literature, analysis of current events, and case studies of specific incidents and their broader implications, contributing to a deeper understanding of the challenges facing Myanmar and proposing actionable recommendations for restoring democracy and ensuring long-term peace and stability.

Methodology

The research methodology for this study involved a comprehensive investigation using in-depth interviews and a thorough desk review to evaluate the capacity and current state of local governance in Chin State and Karenni State. The primary objective was to gain profound insights into the emerging local governance structures and the resilience of communities in the face of political instability. To achieve this, the methodology was meticulously designed to ensure the collection of rich, relevant, and unbiased data. The in-depth interviews were a central component of the data collection process. These interviews were designed to be open-ended, allowing respondents to provide detailed and nuanced answers. This approach facilitated the exploration of complex issues and uncovering profound insights. The interview questions were carefully crafted to be interrelated, ensuring that responses to some questions logically contributed to addressing the primary research goals. This interconnectivity in questioning allowed for a comprehensive understanding of the topics under investigation. A vital aspect of the interview process was the recurrent transcription and analysis. Specific responses were extracted and analyzed to address the study objectives and obtain significant insights directly. This iterative process involved repeatedly reviewing the transcripts to identify recurring themes, patterns, and substantial data points. The analysis was conducted impartially and professionally, with the researcher taking great care to avoid subjective bias. This ensured that the findings were based solely on the data provided by the participants, maintaining the integrity and credibility of the study.

Before data collection, the study established connections with on-ground members of civil society organizations to ensure efficient and effective data collection. These organizations were crucial in facilitating access to participants and providing logistical support. Assistant researchers were chosen based on their proficiency in specific regional dialects, which is essential for effective communication and accurate data collection. This linguistic alignment helped to build trust and rapport with participants, encouraging them to share their experiences and insights more openly.

The study involved seven civil society organizations from the Chin State and six from the Karenni State as primary sources of information. These organizations are directly engaged in the management and operations of townships and regional governments, providing valuable insights into local governance practices. Including these organizations ensured that the study captured various perspectives and experiences, contributing to a comprehensive understanding of the regional governance landscape. The in-depth interviews included five female participants, highlighting the gender dynamics within civil society organizations in Chin and Karenni States, where most leadership positions are held by males. This gender representation provided a balanced view of the governance structures and women's roles in these organizations. In summary, the research methodology systematically investigated local governance's capacity and current state in Chin State and Karenni State. The study gathered rich and unbiased data through in-depth interviews, recurrent transcription and analysis, and the involvement of local civil society organizations. The preparatory seminars and careful selection of assistant researchers further ensured the quality and reliability of the data collection process. This comprehensive methodology enabled the study to achieve its objectives and provide significant insights into the emerging local governance structures and resilience in post-coup Myanmar.

Escalation of Tensions with Ethnic Minority Groups in Post-Coup

The historical tensions between Myanmar's military, known as the Tatmadaw, and the country's ethnic minority groups have deep roots that predate the recent coup. Myanmar is a diverse nation with over 135 officially recognized ethnic groups, many of which have longstanding grievances against the central government. These grievances often stem from autonomy, resource control, and cultural rights. Since independence from British colonial rule in 1948, ethnic minority groups, such as the Kachin, Shan, Karen, and Chin, have sought greater autonomy and recognition. The military's approach has historically been characterized by brutal tactics, including scorched-earth policies, mass displacements, and human rights abuses, which have further entrenched mistrust and hatred between the Tatmadaw and ethnic communities.

The February 2021 coup exacerbated these historical tensions significantly. The military's actions, including the imposition of martial law and violent crackdowns on protesters, have disproportionately affected ethnic minority regions. For instance, areas like Kachin, Northern Shan

state, chin and Karen states have seen intensified military operations, leading to renewed clashes between the Tatmadaw and ethnic armed groups. These groups, which had been in fragile ceasefires or ongoing peace talks with the government before the coup, viewed the military takeover as a direct threat to their aspirations for autonomy and self-determination. In response, several ethnic armed organizations (EAOs) have resumed or escalated their armed resistance against the military regime. The resurgence of these conflicts underscores the deeply ingrained distrust of the Tatmadaw within ethnic minority communities, who see the military's consolidation of power as a barrier to achieving long-term peace and political resolution. The Tatmadaw's aggressive military campaigns and the retaliatory actions of EAOs have already resulted in significant casualties and displacement of civilians. For example, in Karen State, the Karen National Union (KNU), one of the oldest EAOs, has seen renewed fighting with the Tatmadaw, displacing thousands of villagers and leading to a humanitarian crisis. Similarly, in Kachin State, Chin State and Karenni State have intensified their operations, attacking military convoys and outposts. The fragmentation and alliance shifts among various ethnic groups further complicate the situation, making it difficult to predict and contain potential flashpoints.

The implications for Myanmar's internal security and stability are profound. The resurgence of ethnic conflicts disrupts local governance and exacerbates humanitarian crises as thousands of people are forced to flee their homes. Displacement not only creates immediate needs for food, shelter, and medical care but also strains the resources of neighboring regions and countries, particularly Thailand and India, which have historically been a refuge for those fleeing conflict in Myanmar. Indeed, the continuation and escalation of armed conflicts can lead to a broader breakdown of social cohesion. The prolonged violence and insecurity undermine efforts to build trust between ethnic communities and the regime government, making future reconciliation and nation-building efforts more challenging. The military's focus on suppressing ethnic insurgencies also diverts resources and attention from other critical issues, such as managing the COVID-19 pandemic and addressing the country's economic downturn. The pervasive environment of fear and repression stifles civil society and limits the space for dialogue and peaceful resolution of conflicts.

Internationally, the instability in Myanmar poses significant security concerns for the region. Neighboring countries like Thailand, China, and India, which share borders with Myanmar, are

directly affected by the spillover of refugees and potential cross-border insurgencies. The instability can also impact regional trade routes and economic initiatives, such as China's Belt and Road Initiative, which relies on stable infrastructure development and investment conditions. Moreover, the protracted conflict could attract foreign fighters and lead to the proliferation of arms in the region, increasing the risk of transnational crime and terrorism. Indeed, the historical tensions between Myanmar's military and its ethnic minority groups, exacerbated by the recent military coup, have created a highly volatile and dangerous situation. The military's actions have reignited armed conflicts, leading to severe implications for internal security and stability. The ongoing violence disrupts local governance, causes significant humanitarian crises, and hinders economic development, further entrenching poverty and instability in ethnic minority regions. The potential for broader regional instability is also substantial, posing security concerns for neighboring countries and impacting regional economic initiatives. Addressing these challenges requires a concerted effort to revive peace processes, promote inclusive governance, and ensure that the rights and aspirations of ethnic minority groups are recognized and respected.

Governance Experience of Myanmar

This study reviewed Myanmar's governance reform experience during the democratic transitional period pre- and post-coup of Myanmar. The idea of 'Governance' is not recent; it is as old as the government itself. Both terms originated in the old French words "gouvernance" and "government" (Thomas, 2012). In the beginning, their meanings were quite similar, relating to the actions or methods of governing. The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific defined governance as "the process of decision-making by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented)." Thomas explained governance as patterns of rule or practices of governing, and it can be explicitly used to describe changes in the nature and role of the state following the public-sector reforms of the 1980s and '90s. Governance has various contexts, such as corporate, international, national, and local. In the earliest phase, the general use of governance enables the exploration and analysis of the construction of social orders, social coordination, or social practices, irrespective of their specific content (Santiso, 2001). Governance is the process of policy decision-making and deciding which processes are implemented or not. It is found when analyzing the decision-making process in practice that formal and informal actors are involved in

it. UNESCAP's article pointed out that the government is one of the actors in governance. Other actors involved depend on the level of government (UNESCAP).

In addition, The World Bank defined Good Governance as "how power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. According to the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, good governance comprises eight significant characteristics: participatory, consensus-oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective, efficient, equitable, and inclusive, and follows the rule of law. Furthermore, it has to be ensured that corruption is minimized, that the perspectives of minority groups are considered, and that the voices of the most vulnerable members of society in decision-making are listened to. Additionally, it must be responsive to both present and future societal needs (Santiso, 2001). Furthermore, the critics of UNESCAP are relevant to apply in the study of the current situation in Myanmar. UNESCAP emphasizes the level of participation, respect for the rule of law, transparency of information that grants for everyone, the responsiveness of all stakeholders, consensus-oriented in the decision-making process, equity, and inclusivism of the community regardless of race, religion, gender, and disability, the effectiveness and efficiency of the administration body and accountability of every institution involved in good governance in the society.

In the case of Myanmar, governance is a new phenomenon, and the study of local governance is limited. The country was under military rule for over sixty years until the 2010 multi-party general election. During this period, the government lacked democracy, freedom of expression, and respect for human rights. Military leaders and their elite supporters controlled state power and the economy. The transition to a new political system began with the enactment of the 2008 constitution. The reform process commenced in November 2010 when a new civilian government, backed by the military, replaced military rule. U Thein Sein, a former military general, assumed the presidency after the 2010 general election. In his inaugural address to Parliament on January 30, 2011, he addressed governance as follows: "Democracy will promote only hand in hand with good governance. This is why our government responsible for Myanmar's democracy transition will try hard to shape good administrative machinery." (Editor, 2011)

Thus, there is no doubt that the concept of governance was introduced to Myanmar by former President U Thein Sein. It was the first time for Myanmar's people, who had never heard of any government before his tenure (EBO, 2011). He tried to bring change beyond the Constitution's framework during his era. Simultaneously, he seemed open to amending the Constitution to attain national unity and reconsolidation. However, in the 2008 Constitution, states and regions have no decentralization power except for the Development Affairs Committee (DAO) in the municipal sector. Based on the Constitution, union-level authorities exercise firm control over every government ministry, including at the state and regional levels. As a result, the power-sharing among Union and state/regional levels is unclear, and the "local government or local governance" space did not improve. Fortunately, state and regional governments still controlled the municipal sector instead of the Union government in the 2008 constitution. This stands as a critical exception to the current administrative structure, as municipal agencies are the only fully decentralized bodies in the country (Series et al., 2015). It allows the state and regional governments to generate revenue within their township, exercise discretion over its allocation, provide various social services, and oversee local economic governance as part of their comprehensive governance process.

For instance, township municipal committees were established in various townships, with the Chairman of the Municipal Development Committee and the committee members being elected by their respective local communities. Township Municipalities or DAO gained autonomy to manage municipal activities within their constituencies under the supervision of the Township Development Committee. However, it is essential to note that DAO focuses solely on urban governance and does not include rural areas, which remain under the jurisdiction of the Border Affairs Ministry. In addition, in each state and region, parliament must have the right to enact development affairs laws to define municipal governance for their respective areas.

Based on the critique of George Stigler, two principles of jurisdictional demount design, such as a representative government works best the closer it is to the people, and people should have the right to vote for the kind and number of public services they want (Shad, 2017). To facilitate this, the implementing government should be the closest place to the people and require their full participation. By analyzing the experience of Myanmar's local governance, the Myanmar governance system is two tiers except for the Municipality sector, besides a more centralized

system. Indeed, the concept of good governance, emphasized by President U Thein Sein during his inaugural speech for the civilian government (2010 to 2015), saw little development during his tenure. Interestingly, this term appeared to fade during the government of the National League for Democracy (2015-2020). However, since the military takeover in 2021, activities related to good governance have emerged. Unfortunately, these efforts do not have a substantial impact on our citizens. Consequently, new political actors in Myanmar still need to address local governance during the period of the revolution.

Emerging Negotiated Governance in Chin State and Karenni State

In the face of escalating conflict across Chin State and Karenni State, local armed resistance groups and political activists have established a form of locally initiated public administration in areas outside the control of the State Administration Council (SAC). These regions, referred to as "controlled areas," have developed unique governance structures emphasizing bottom-up approaches. This grassroots method ensures that governance is reflective of the local tribes and clans, which are typically linked to specific geographic areas along the mountain ranges. The formation of these township administrations involves members of central bodies being proposed and elected by revolutionary groups, including Members of Parliament (MPs) who were elected in the 2020 election, thus incorporating a level of democratic legitimacy into their governance.

This new form of administration includes township name-based public administrations, regional-based public administrations that provide self-rule for particular tribes, and district or administrative territories with aspirations exceeding those of traditional local governments. The regional administration bodies in these areas are elected by village representatives but are facilitated by defense forces at the village level. For instance, representatives of village administrations based on their mountain ranges are elected during village meetings. The township and region-level administrations assert themselves as the ultimate power holders within their respective areas. Their administrative focus includes humanitarian aid, healthcare, and education, often in collaboration with non-governmental organizations and individual donors from the Chin diaspora.

In the case of Chin State, the negotiated governance illustrates a complex and adaptive system that balances traditional tribal affiliations with modern administrative needs and aspirations for greater autonomy. By incorporating elected representatives and involving local defense forces in the facilitation process, these administrations maintain a degree of legitimacy and local support. They also underscore a critical aspect of resilience and adaptability among ethnic minority groups in Myanmar, who continue to strive for self-determination and effective governance despite ongoing conflict and external pressures.

Similarly, in the Karenni State, local governance has evolved in response to the intensifying conflict. Local armed resistance groups and political activists have established their own administration forms in controlled areas. These administrations reflect the local tribal and ethnic composition and are designed to include the diverse communities within the state. The Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP) and its armed wing, the Karenni Army, play significant roles in facilitating these local governance structures. They work to ensure that governance is participatory and responsive to the needs of local communities, focusing on areas such as education, healthcare, and infrastructure development.

In both Chin and Karenni States, the emergence of negotiated governance structures demonstrates a significant shift from traditional top-down approaches imposed by the central government. These locally driven administrative models provide a framework for self-rule and greater autonomy, reflecting the aspirations of the ethnic minority groups for more control over their affairs. They also highlight the importance of local knowledge and leadership in addressing the unique challenges faced by these communities. Collaboration with non-governmental organizations and the involvement of the diaspora in supporting these local administrations underscore the interconnectedness of local and global efforts to sustain these emerging governance models. The focus on humanitarian aid, healthcare, and education is particularly crucial, as the central government often neglects these areas, leaving local communities to fend for themselves. The experience in Chin and Karenni States offers valuable insights into how locally initiated public administration can function effectively in conflict zones. By leveraging local knowledge, democratic processes, and international support, these regions have maintained a semblance of governance and stability amidst ongoing turmoil. This approach not only empowers local

communities but also provides a potential model for other areas of Myanmar and beyond, facing similar conflict and governance challenges.

Therefore, the emerging negotiated governance in Chin and Karenni States represents a significant development in Myanmar's political landscape. These locally driven administrative models, grounded in bottom-up approaches and reflective of tribal affiliations, offer a resilient and adaptive framework for self-rule. They underscore the importance of local leadership and democratic processes in achieving effective governance and highlight the critical role of international support in sustaining these efforts. As Myanmar continues to navigate its complex political and social dynamics, the experiences of Chin and Karenni States provide valuable lessons on the potential for locally initiated governance to contribute to peace, stability, and development.

Pathways to Lasting Peace and Federal Democracy

Achieving lasting peace and federal democracy in Myanmar requires a multiple approach that addresses the root causes of conflict, promotes inclusive governance, and supports sustainable development. The journey towards a peaceful and democratic Myanmar is complex and involves various stakeholders, including ethnic minorities, civil society, international actors, and the military. To build a stable peace and a federal democratic system, focusing on several vital pathways is essential.

Firstly, addressing the historical political discourse of ethnic minority groups is crucial. Myanmar's ethnic diversity is both a strength and a challenge. For decades, ethnic minorities have sought greater autonomy and recognition of their cultural and political rights. The central government's policies of assimilation and military suppression have fueled resentment and resistance. A genuine commitment to political and administrative decentralization is necessary to move forward. This involves granting greater autonomy to ethnic states, allowing them to govern their affairs and manage their resources. Establishing federalism, where power is shared between the central government and the ethnic states, can provide a framework for facilitating the diverse aspirations of Myanmar's ethnic groups. Constitutional reforms should enshrine these principles, ensuring that ethnic minorities have a meaningful role in the political system.

Secondly, inclusive dialogue and peace negotiations are vital. The peace process in Myanmar has experienced structural breakdowns and mistrust, particularly between/among ethnic minorities as well. To build sustainable peace, engaging all relevant stakeholders in comprehensive peace talks is essential. This includes not only the ethnic armed organizations (EAOs) but also civil society groups, women's organizations, and youth representatives. The peace process should be transparent, inclusive, and driven by the needs and aspirations of the people. In this situation, International mediators and observers can play a crucial role in facilitating and monitoring the peace process, ensuring that all parties adhere to their commitments.

Thirdly, promoting human rights and transitional justice is fundamental. The military coup of February 2021 has highlighted the fragility of Myanmar's democratic institutions and the pervasive human rights abuses by not only the Tatmadaw but also armed resistance groups as well. To build a federal democracy, it is essential to establish strong institutions that uphold the rule of law and protect human rights. This includes reforming the judiciary to ensure its independence, strengthening the capacity of law enforcement agencies to operate within the bounds of the law, and holding perpetrators of human rights violations accountable. National reconciliation efforts should address past atrocities, providing transitional justice and reparations to victims. Building a culture of respect for human rights and the rule of law is crucial for gaining the population's trust and ensuring the legitimacy of the democratic system.

Therefore, the pathways to lasting peace and federal democracy in Myanmar are multifaceted and interdependent. Addressing historical grievances, promoting inclusive dialogue, upholding human rights and the rule of law, fostering economic development, building a robust civil society, garnering international support, and promoting an inclusive national identity are all crucial components of this journey. While the challenges are significant, the resilience and determination of the Myanmar people provide hope for a future where peace and democracy can flourish. Through a concerted and collaborative effort, it is possible to build a federal democratic Myanmar that respects the rights and aspirations of all its citizens and provides a stable and prosperous future for generations to come.

Conclusion

In the aftermath of the February 2021 military coup in Myanmar, the country has witnessed a significant shift in its political and administrative landscape, particularly in regions such as Chin State and Karenni State. This summary explores the key findings on emerging local governance, resilience, and political stability in post-coup Myanmar. Following the coup, areas beyond the reach of the State Administration Council (SAC) have developed unique governance structures. In Chin State, local armed resistance groups and political activists have established locally initiated public administrations in these controlled areas. These new administration forms are characterized by bottom-up approaches, reflecting the needs and aspirations of local tribes and clans. Governance structures often involve members of central bodies proposed and elected by revolutionary groups, including Members of Parliament (MPs) elected in the 2020 election.

This emerging governance model in Chin State includes township name-based public administrations, regional-based public administrations that provide self-rule for particular tribes, and districts with broader aspirations than traditional local governments. Local governance structures have evolved to reflect the ethnic and cultural diversity of the region. The armed groups from Chin State and Karenni State play significant roles in facilitating these local governance structures, ensuring that governance is participatory and responsive to the needs of local communities. The formation of these administrations is often facilitated by local defense forces and village-level representatives. These bodies focus on providing humanitarian aid, healthcare, and education, often in collaboration with non-governmental organizations and individual donors from the diaspora. This model demonstrates a significant shift from traditional top-down governance approaches, highlighting the importance of local knowledge and leadership in addressing community challenges. The resilience of Myanmar's local communities in the face of political upheaval has been remarkable. Establishing locally initiated public administrations in controlled areas demonstrates a robust adaptive capacity. Despite the central government's instability, these communities have developed governance structures that ensure continuity in essential services, such as healthcare and education.

One of the critical aspects of this resilience is the reliance on traditional tribal affiliations and community solidarity. By leveraging these social structures, local governance bodies have

managed to maintain order and provide essential services, even without centralized support. This bottom-up approach has fostered a sense of ownership and accountability among local populations, further strengthening community resilience. Collaborating with non-governmental organizations and international donors has also played a crucial role. These partnerships have provided much-needed resources and support, enabling local administrations to address the immediate needs of their communities. The diaspora's involvement has been particularly significant, as remittances and donations have helped sustain local initiatives.

Achieving lasting stability in Myanmar requires addressing the underlying causes of conflict and fragmentation. Engaging all relevant stakeholders, including ethnic armed organizations, civil society groups, and international actors, in comprehensive peace talks is crucial. Transparent and inclusive dialogue can help build trust and address the root causes of conflict. Granting greater autonomy to ethnic states and implementing federalism can accommodate the diverse aspirations of Myanmar's ethnic groups. Constitutional reforms should ensure that ethnic minorities have a meaningful role in the political system. For instance, establishing strong institutions that uphold the rule of law and protect human rights is fundamental. This includes reforming the judiciary, strengthening law enforcement agencies, and holding perpetrators of human rights violations accountable.

Finally, the emerging local governance structures in Chin and Karenni States reflect the resilience and adaptability of Myanmar's ethnic communities in the face of political turmoil. While these initiatives provide stability and continuity in essential services, the overall political landscape remains fragmented and unstable. Addressing the underlying causes of conflict, promoting inclusive governance, and supporting sustainable development is crucial for achieving lasting peace and federal democracy in Myanmar. Through nationally and internationally collaborative efforts, Myanmar can move towards a more stable and prosperous future.

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