



សាកលវិទ្យាល័យកម្ពុជា
THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBODIA

UC OCCASIONAL PAPER SERIES

Volume 1

Issue 1



The University of Cambodia Press
March 2017

UC OCCASIONAL PAPER SERIES

Volume 1, Issue 1

March 2017

To cite this article:

In, S., Kong, M., Pich, P., & Chum, R. (2017). Students' Perceptions on Cambodia-China Relations toward the South China Sea Conflict. *UC Occasional Paper Series, 1*(1), 19-39.

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Students' Perceptions on Cambodia-China Relations toward the South China Sea Conflict

Sophal In, Matta Kong, Panha Pich, and Rortha Chum
The University of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Abstract

Even though Western scholars view Cambodia-China relations regarding the South China Sea dispute negatively, Cambodian perceptions are relatively more supportive. This divergence of views in academia raises the question of how the Cambodian public generally perceives Cambodia's current relations with China. Given that most Cambodian academics are positive concerning this topic, it is assumed that the Cambodian public would be supportive of the current relations. Therefore, this study aims to prove this perception by studying the attitudes of students in The University of Cambodia, specifically on how they perceive Cambodia's current relations with China in the context of the South China Sea dispute. Using a quantitative approach, questionnaires were employed to measure the students' perceptions towards five dimensions of the Cambodia-China relations. These include economy, trade, conflict management, geopolitics, foreign policy, and benefits for Cambodia. Data was collected and analyzed from 11 classes and 292 participants. The analysis involved steps such as data cleaning, determining the reliability of responses, and descriptive statistical analysis. The results from the analysis confirms the view that Cambodians are generally supportive of Cambodia's current relations, and do not view Cambodia's actions as contradicting or harming ASEAN. However, they have expressed reservations on China's contributions to democracy, and are wary of Cambodia's aid dependency. On the other hand, the perceptions observed reflect the need for a balanced and pragmatic approach to foreign policy. Furthermore, Cambodians believe that all relations require mutual reciprocity between Cambodia and all nations.

Keywords: Cambodia-China relations; South China Sea conflict; Cambodia's foreign policy

I. Introduction

Cambodia's diplomatic relations with China can be traced back to the Angkor period when Chinese diplomat Zhou Daguan visited and recorded his stay in Cambodia (Long, 2009); however, modern diplomatic relations are seen by various experts to have started during the

1950s by Prince Sihanouk and gained new momentum during 1997 (see Radio Free Asia (RFA), 2016; Thayer, 2013; Chheang, 2009). The year 1997 was also the turning point in Cambodia's relations with China, and since then Cambodia has received immense support from the latter (RFA, 2016; Thayer, 2013; Chheang, 2009;). However, this relationship with China has come under scrutiny by various experts in light of the South China Sea dispute. One important event that led to such attention was an ASEAN meeting chaired by Cambodia that failed to produce a joint communiqué for the first time in the ASEAN summit's history (Phoak, 2014; RFA, 2016). This outcome has led some experts (Ciorciari, 2013; Thayer, 2013) to believe that Cambodia is heavily influenced by China, and that this relationship is harmful for both Cambodia and ASEAN.

Concerns about China's relations with Cambodia have been reported by other experts who state that Cambodia has become China's proxy, and that Chinese investments spark unrest (Sok, 2014). However, Cambodian experts believe the relations with China were borne out of necessity (Long, 2009; Chheang, 2009). According to Chheang (2009), China's aid was unconditional, making it more favorable than Western aid. China's diplomacy was also considered as a polite diplomacy, borne out of necessity, and not a result of Cambodia's geopolitical calculations (Long, 2009). Phoak (2014) also noted that China's aid definitely helps the government but has not won the confidence of the Cambodian people, nor does it promote democracy, human rights, and other governance issues. He pointed out how China could help gain more trust from the Cambodian people.

Concerning how Cambodia's relations with China affects ASEAN, Sutter (2013) stated that China used Cambodia to prevent the South China Sea dispute from being discussed in ASEAN and exploited ASEAN's division. Former ASEAN Secretary General Ong Keng Yong also perceived Cambodia as China's client state, and stated that Cambodia will continue to stay in ASEAN because China wants it to (as cited in Wai, 2016). However, Ciorciari (2013) and Thayer (2013) see that Cambodia may act like China's client but it is not powerless. Both believed Cambodia could use its geographic location at the heart of Southeast Asia to leverage against China. However, another analyst Mertha was reported as saying that Prime Minister Hun Sen is smart and could withdraw from China's influence if he needed to (RFA, 2016). Thus, Cambodia is seen as uncooperative and selfish by the foreign academics and media. Yet again, Cambodian intellectuals do not agree with the criticism. Var (2015) and Leng (2014) supported Cambodia's position with China. Var (2015) stated that by upholding

neutrality on the South China Sea issue, Cambodia is serving the interests of ASEAN. Leng (2014) supported Cambodia's stance in the conflict and said that balancing between China and ASEAN as a whole was the wisest decision. Phoak (2015), however, criticized the blaming of Cambodia and stated that blaming Cambodia was not the solution and doubted the results would have differed should another country have dealt with the matter.

Yet, despite the controversy surrounding Cambodia's position with China regarding the South China Sea conflict, there are signs that the Cambodia-China relations have not made the situation worse. The conflict was once seen as a potential flashpoint by analysts (Thayer, 2009); however, Weissman noted that the handling of the South China Sea conflict serves as an example of successful conflict prevention (Weissmann, 2010). Among the factors, what he attributed to this success was building personal relationships with ASEAN leaders and China accepting the ASEAN Way. Despite this optimistic view, Kosandi (2014) challenged this view and stated that ASEAN's success was minor and insufficient, although he did note that the dispute did not affect economic cooperation between ASEAN and China.

Therefore, it can be seen that opinions are divided regarding Cambodia's relations with the China in the context of the South China Sea. Cambodia's relations with China are seen as both positive and negative to the country itself and to ASEAN. Opinions also diverge on whether Cambodia's position is self-serving or whether it also serves the interests of ASEAN too. This divergence of ideas between foreign academics and Cambodian academics reveals a lot about the perspective of academics and the media, but do not reveal the opinions of Cambodian people. All the literature mentioned focuses on the macro-level of analysis, and does not analyze the individual level. Thus, this study attempts to fill this knowledge gap and explore how Cambodians view the current relationship between Cambodia and China in the context of the South China Sea. It intends to explore how Cambodians perceive China's influence, Cambodia's relationship with China compared to ASEAN, and Cambodia's foreign policy choices. Through this study, the effects of Cambodia-China relations can be quantified and evaluated. It also aims to provide a quantitative analysis at the individual level of international relations (IR). The main question this study intends to answer how the relationship between Cambodia and China affects ASEAN in the South China Sea dispute. It seeks to test if Cambodians see the relationship between Cambodia and China as not only beneficial to Cambodia, but also beneficial to ASEAN.

II. Research Methodology

In this chapter, the methods employed to conduct the research will be shown. This chapter will include the method for data gathering procedure, population, sample size, sample sampling technique, research tool, and statistical analysis. This study uses primary data to answer the research questions.

1. Data gathering procedure

This study used a quantitative approach and was also a cross-sectional study covering the focus group. The research tool to gather data was a questionnaire. The purpose of the questionnaire was to understand the perception of University of Cambodia students on “Cambodia and China relations toward the South China Sea dispute”, and the questionnaire was divided into two parts. Part one surveys demographic information and part two comprises statements under different categories such as economy/trade, conflict management, foreign policy, geopolitics and benefits Cambodia receives in the context of the South China Sea dispute.

The questionnaire was designed based on the available literature reviewed and the research questions formulated. After the first draft was completed, two professors were sought for their feedback. One professor was an expert in research methodology, and another was an expert in International Relations. Based on the feedback, the first draft underwent revision and a second draft was formulated. This second draft was checked by peers to ensure clarity of information. Feedback from the peers led to another round of revisions. The third revision was piloted with 10 Master degree students from Techo Sen School of Government and International Relations, and minor typing errors were corrected. The next revision was checked again by peers before being finalized. Once the final version was created, another round of test surveys was done on 10 students. The data from these 10 students were used to test the SPSS analysis. When the SPSS analysis was found to be sound and applicable, real data collection was conducted.

A total of 316 students were surveyed. These students came from 11 different class sessions selected at random. The researchers requested permission and assistance from the class lecturers at The University of Cambodia. The class lecturers devoted some time for conducting the survey and collected the survey for the researcher at the end of the class. The

language used in the survey was in English and Khmer to ensure that all students fully understood the statements. After the survey was administered, the number of surveys returned for analysis was 292, equalling 92% of the desired population sample. After the surveys were collected, data was entered and analysed using SPSS 23 software.

1.1. Population

The University of Cambodia (UC) is one of the universities in Cambodia that provides courses in International Relations. According to the Office for Student Academic Affairs in term three, the total amount of students in the university is 1495. This number comprises undergraduate and postgraduate students and does not include students studying other programs provided by UC such as its Center for English Studies in term three. For this reason, the number of undergraduate and postgraduate students serves as the population size of the study.

1.2. Sample size

The total population of this study was one thousand and four hundred and ninety five (1495) students. However, a sample from that population was selected in order to ensure practicality. In order to meet the demands of practicality and reliability, the population sample needed to fulfil had a 95% level of confidence and 5% error margin. Based on these criteria, the sample size formula employed was calculated as below:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + Ne} \cdot 2 = \frac{1495}{1 + (1495)(0.05)} \cdot 2 = \frac{1495}{1 + 3.73} = \frac{1495}{4.73} = 316$$

N= total population; n=sample size; e=error

Therefore, based on the calculation, the sample size of this study is 316 students.

1.3. Sample sampling techniques

The sample sampling techniques (SST) was used to select the respondents in this study. As of the time of the study, there were nine weekday classes and six weekend classes for undergraduate and graduate students. Out of these classes, 11 were conveniently selected for

the survey, and the total students surveyed equalled 316. However, the research was able to obtain 292 responses from students for analysis.

1.4. Questionnaire design

The questionnaire was designed into two parts. The first part covered demographical information in order to provide some background about the respondents. The second part covered the theme of the research and was divided into five subsections.

In the first part, demographic information included sex, age, marital status, occupation, birth of place, religion, monthly income, studying time, and study major. Each item either provided a range of choices for students to choose from, or had a blank for students to fill in.

In the second part, statements were categorized into different categories in the following order: economic/trade, conflict management, geopolitics, foreign policy, and benefits of Cambodia in the context of the South China Sea dispute. A Likert scale measurement was provided to respondents, so they could evaluate their opinions on the statements provided in the survey. The measurements ranged from 1 to 5, of which 1 equalled strongly disagree and 5 meant strongly agree.

In total, there were forty eight items used to explore students' perceptions on Cambodia's relations with China. These forty eight items were grouped into different subsections. Subsection A, covering economics/trade had 13 items. Subsection B, which covered conflict management, had eleven items. Subsection C, which was related to geopolitics, had six items. Subsection D, which covered perception on foreign policy had seven items. As for Subsection E, this section covered benefits Cambodia received and had eleven items

1.5. Statistical analysis of data

To analyse the data, descriptive statistics was used. The percentage of frequencies, and the mean values were calculated. The software used to operate all these calculations was SPSS version 23.0. A Cronbach's alpha test was also done on the data to ensure reliability of the data. The overall score on the Cronbach's alpha test was 0.83. This makes the questionnaire answers reliable on more than 80% of the sample.

III. Findings and Discussion

1. Demographic information

1.1. Gender and age range

The number of male students (55%) slightly exceeds that of female students (45%). However, this may be a result of available students at the time of the study, and does not affect the representativeness of the sample population. An overwhelming number of respondents are aged 18 to 24 (see Table 1 below). As the age range progresses, the number of students decrease. This age composition is reflective of university studies, where a majority of students are young adults.

Table 1: *Gender and age range of the respondents*

Categories	Features	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	155	55
	Female	127	45
Age	18 – 24	229	78.4
	25 – 31	42	14.4
	32 – 38	7	2.4
	39 – 44	3	1.0
	45 and above	1	0.3

1.2. Education

A significant number of students are undergraduate students, and the number decreases as the level of education progresses. In fact, graduate students comprise less than 15% of the sample population (see Table 2).

Table 2: *Educational background of the respondents*

Educational Background	Percentage
Bachelor's	85.6
Master's	11.3
PhD	2.1

1.3. General findings

In general students are neutral regarding Cambodia's current relations with China. However, a majority agree that the current relationship with China is beneficial, while many disagreed that the current relationship is helpful to conflict management in the South China Sea dispute. Respondents were neutral on issues such as economy/trade, geopolitics, and foreign policy. A study of each sector reveals that the students views of Cambodia's relationship with China is generally positive, and that view can vary according to gender, and educational background

2. Analysis by sector

2.1. Perceptions on economy/trade

Regarding the perceptions of students on economy and trade, students have a positive view in general. They believe the current relations can increase trade with China and will not decrease trade with Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Brunei. They agree that Cambodia needs investment from China. While neutral on several issues, after separating the neutral responses, students expressed agreement and strong agreement on issues such as boosting economic growth in Southeast Asia, strengthening trade cooperation among ASEAN members, not affecting Cambodia's trade with EU, and needing investment with China. The negative comments from students include lost investment opportunities with the conflicting parties in ASEAN, the US, and Japan. They also see that ASEAN and China may use their economic aid to influence Cambodia.

2.2. Perceptions on conflict management

Regarding conflict management in the South China Sea dispute, students see the relationship with China as having a negative effect. However, they do not believe that Cambodia's relationship with China will lead to an armed conflict in the region. Yet they do not see the relationship as bringing peace and stability either. They disagree that Cambodia's relations with China will bring a win-win solution to the conflicting parties, minimize the dispute, prevent future wars, enable Cambodia to play as mediator, and use the relations as a model for conflict resolution. They also see a threat in China's rise. They believe the rise will affect conflict resolution mechanisms in the dispute, and can cause internal conflict in ASEAN. However, while most are neutral regarding US involvement in the South China Sea Conflict,

students who agree and strongly agree on conflict management believe the dispute can be resolved without US involvement.

2.3. Perceptions on geopolitics

Regarding geopolitics, Cambodian students see the importance of geography in the current situation. They believe Cambodia's location at the center of Southeast Asia is the reason China has relations with Cambodia. Furthermore, this convenient location makes Cambodia important for trade in ASEAN, and links the countries together. They believe both China and ASEAN respect Cambodia's right to making political decisions within the country. They also believe Cambodia must have good relations with both China and ASEAN.

2.4. Perceptions on foreign policy

Cambodian students are supportive of Cambodia's neutral stance regarding the South China Sea dispute, and believe this stance is consistent with ASEAN's norms. They do not believe this position will lead it to expulsion from ASEAN. However, they are neutral on whether Cambodia's relationship with China can strengthen cooperation with the ASEAN community. Even when splitting the opinions between those who either agreed/strongly agreed against those who disagreed/strongly disagreed, the opinions were almost evenly split at 26.45 and 24.6% respectively. They think that this stance may affect Cambodia's relations with Vietnam, and may lead to political and diplomatic pressure. Yet they also believe that Cambodia must have good relations with each other to strengthen their bond.

2.5. Perceptions on benefits for Cambodia

According to Cambodian students, Cambodia receives benefits from her relationship with China in terms of infrastructure development, human resources development, military capability, the number of exports to China, receiving more unconditional aid, and low interest loans. They are neutral regarding whether China's aid can shield Cambodia against Western pressure, with those on both sides of the spectrum almost evenly split. Those who strongly agreed/agreed consisted of 29.6% while those who disagreed/strongly disagreed consisted of 28.5%. The students were also neutral concerning whether China's aid improves good governance. However, by cancelling neutral responses, it was found that more Cambodian students agreed China helps improve good governance. Regarding democracy, Cambodian students were neutral but cancelling neutral responses reveal that more students agreed that

Cambodia's relations with China affects democracy. As for negative responses, Cambodian students believe that Cambodia is too dependent on aid from China.

3. Analysis by gender

To measure whether there was a difference between the responses of males and females, an independent T-test was run and all items except 3 can be assumed to have equal variances. This allows for a good comparison between male and female respondents. In general, males agreed more than females regarding Cambodia's relationship in general. However, female respondents were more likely to view Cambodia's relations with China as affecting trade with other ASEAN countries, harming the free flow of goods in the region, and impacting trade with the EU. However, they also viewed the relations as a cause for boosting economic growth in the region, inducing other ASEAN nations, the US, and Japan to invest in Cambodia. More female respondents believed that Cambodia needed investment from ASEAN and that ASEAN could use economic aid to influence Cambodia.

Female respondents were also more positive than their counterparts regarding conflict management. More of them agreed that Cambodia's relations with China could pacify and stabilize the region, minimize the dispute, and prevent wars. Their views on foreign policy were consistent with this stance as more of them believed Cambodia's current relations with China could strengthen cooperation in ASEAN. Furthermore, they were more likely to report that Cambodia's relations with China could help protect Cambodia from Western pressure, and also believed China could help improve good governance.

In short, both genders have similar views. However, female respondents saw more opportunities in trade, and conflict resolution than their male counterparts. Apart from trade/economy and conflict resolution, males held more positive views about all other factors such as geopolitics, foreign affairs, and benefits. This divergence of view on trade/economy and conflict resolution is a pattern that may require an in-depth study on how women differ from men in terms of foreign policy affairs.

IV. Conclusion

In general Cambodians have a positive view of Cambodia's relations with China, and Cambodia's neutral stance. However, they hold some reservations regarding China's

contribution towards democracy, and Cambodia's aid dependence. They also view that the relationship with China may affect trade with the US and Japan, and may even harm relations with neighboring countries. This may imply that Cambodian students prefer a balanced and pragmatic approach to foreign policy. They also perceive Cambodia as susceptible to outside influence, and believe all relationships require reciprocity. In other words, this paper proves the hypothesis that a section of the Cambodian population support Cambodia's stance and even see this stance as consistent with ASEAN norms.

The implication for this study is that Cambodians hold a pragmatic view regarding foreign affairs. They see all relations have benefits and drawbacks. For this reason, they view maintain good relations with the US, Japan, the EU, and ASEAN as equally important. They are also aware of the potential influence exerted by all countries who have a relationship with Cambodia. With everything being equal, all nations will try to induce Cambodia to acting in favor of their respective interests through aid. This reciprocal relationship seems to be viewed as a part of international relations, and the pursuit of national interests is normal. This attitude could explain why respondents acknowledged both the benefits and cost of aid dependence. It also explains why respondents are concerned about China's rise, but also believes the South China Sea dispute can be resolved without US involvement.

Further research is recommended regarding the differing gender-based attitudes towards foreign policy. This kind of research will provide a truly unique perspective in IR, and may provide useful insights on the individual level of analysis of IR such as how gender differences can reflect differing views in current issues such as ASEAN and the South China Sea dispute. It also provides a framework to examine the current norms, which were created in a male-dominated world. Such a study may provide useful insights on how to manage current problems differently.

In short, the study shows that a sample of Cambodians holds a nuanced view of foreign relations, and the views of academics do not necessarily represent the views of the general populace. However, the validity of expert views versus the views of the population regarding international relations deserves another study, and is not the focus of this study. The focus of this study is how the public views the current relations, and based on the views of the respondents compared to the view of experts, it can be seen that the public is perceptive of the current relations, and understanding their views on IR issues is well-deserved.

Acknowledgements

This paper may be the result of the whole team, but this paper would not have been possible without the contributions of Professor Din Merican and Professor Sieng Sokha, who provided invaluable feedback through all the stages of completing this paper. We would also like to thank our peers, particularly Mr. Heng Kimkong, for the constant feedback that has allowed this paper to evolve into its final form.

The Authors

Sopha IN is a PhD student of International Relations at the Techo Sen School of Government and International Relations. Sopha has extensive experience in language assessment, instructional leadership, and TESOL. He is a lecturer, teacher trainer, and English instructor. Currently, he works at the American Education Center and Paññāsāstra International School. He can be reached at sopha_in81@yahoo.com.

Matta KONG is a PhD student of International Relations at the Techo Sen School of Government and International Relations. He currently teaches English at the Royal University of Phnom Penh. He can be reached at kongmatta2017@gmail.com.

Panha PICH is a PhD student of International Relations at the Techo Sen School of Government and International Relations. He is the Clinical Supervisor for Transcultural Psychosocial Organization (TPO) Cambodia. He has extensive experience in psychology. He can be reached at pichpanha@tpocambodia.org.

Rortha CHUM is a PhD student of International Relations at the Techo Sen School of Government and International Relations. He is a Vice Chief Human Resource Officer at the Personnel Department for the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport. He can be reached at chum_rortha@yahoo.com.

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Appendix A

កម្រងសំណួរ

Questionnaire

ទស្សន ស្តីពីទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងកម្ពុជា និងចិន ចំពោះជម្លោះសមុទ្រចិនខាងត្បូង

Perception on Cambodia-China Relations toward the South China Sea Dispute

ការណែនាំ: ការសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវនេះដើម្បីសិក្សាស្វែងយល់អំពី "ការយល់ឃើញរបស់និស្សិតនៃសកលវិទ្យាល័យកម្ពុជាលើទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងប្រទេសចិនចំពោះបញ្ហាជម្លោះសមុទ្រចិនខាងត្បូង" ។ សូមលោក លោកស្រី អ្នកនាង កញ្ញា បំពេញនូវកម្រងសំណួរដែលមានដូចខាងក្រោម ហើយរាល់ព័ត៌មានទាំងឡាយរបស់លោកអ្នកនឹងត្រូវរក្សាការសំងាត់ ។ នៅពេលអ្នកបានបំពេញកម្រងសំណួរនេះចប់ សូមបញ្ជូនកម្រងសំណួរនេះត្រឡប់ទៅលោក គង់ មេត្តា ។ ប្រសិនបើអ្នកមានសំណួរ សូមមេត្តាទាក់ទងគាត់តាមលេខទូរស័ព្ទ ០៦៩ ៣៩១ ៣១៦ ឬក៏តាមរយៈអ៊ីម៉ែល kongmatta2017@gmail.com. សូមអរគុណ។

ផ្នែកទី១ (Part I): ប្រជាសាស្ត្រ (Demography)

ភេទ (Sex): ប្រុស (Male): ស្រី (Female):

អាយុ (Age):

ស្ថានភាពគ្រួសារ (Marital status): នៅលីវ (Single) រៀបការ (Married)

លែងលះ (Divorced) ពោះម៉ាយ ឬ មេម៉ាយ (Widow/Widower)

ផ្សេងៗ (Other)

កម្រិតវប្បធម៌ (Educational background) :បរិញ្ញាបត្រ (Bachelor)

បរិញ្ញាបត្រជាន់ខ្ពស់ (Master) បណ្ឌិត (Ph.D.)

មុខរបរ (Occupation): ការងារពេញម៉ោង (Full time job) ការងារក្រៅម៉ោង (Part Time job)

ទីកន្លែកំណើត (Place of Birth) :

សាសនា (Religion): ព្រះពុទ្ធ (Buddhist) អ៊ីស្លាម (Muslim)

គ្រីស្តសាសនា (Christian) ផ្សេងៗ (Others):.....

ប្រាក់ចំណូលប្រចាំខែ (Monthly Income):

ពេលសិក្សា (Studying time): ថ្ងៃធម្មតា (Week days) ចុងសប្តាហ៍ (Weekend)

មុខវិជ្ជា (Major):

ផ្នែកទី២ (Part II) . កម្រងប្រយោគ (Statements)

សូមអានកម្រងប្រយោគខាងក្រោមនេះ តើអ្នកយល់ស្រប ឬមិនយល់ស្របនឹងប្រយោគទាំងអស់នេះ កម្រិតណា? សូមគូសរង្វង់លើកម្រិតមាត្រដ្ឋានពី លេខ ១ ដល់ លេខ ៥ ដែល ៖

១= មិនយល់ស្របខ្លាំងណាស់ ២=មិនយល់ស្រប ៣=អព្យាក្រឹត ៤=យល់ស្រប

៥=យល់ស្របខ្លាំងណាស់ (Please read statements below, how much do you agree with the statements below? Circle the number that best fits your idea)

1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= Neutral, 4= agree, 5= strongly agree

A. Perception on Economy/Trade						
1.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជានិងចិនអាចបង្កើនពាណិជ្ជកម្មកម្ពុជាជាមួយនិងប្រទេសចិន Cambodia-China relations can increase Cambodia's trade with China	1	2	3	4	5
2.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចកាត់បន្ថយពាណិជ្ជកម្មជាមួយប្រទេសសមាគមន៍ប្រជាជាតិអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍ដូចជាប្រទេសវៀតណាម ហ្វីលីពីន ម៉ាឡេស៊ី និងប្រទេសប្រ៊ុយណេ។ Cambodia-China relations can decrease Cambodia's trade with ASEAN countries such as: Vietnam, Philippine, Malaysia, and Brunei	1	2	3	4	5
3.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងប្រទេសចិនអាចបង្កើនសេដ្ឋកិច្ចនៅអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍ Cambodia-China relations can boost economic growth in Southeast Asia	1	2	3	4	5
4.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចប៉ះពាល់លំហូរទំនិញដោយសេរីនៅក្នុងតំបន់សមាគមន៍ប្រជាជាតិអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍ Cambodia-China relations can harm free flow of goods in ASEAN	1	2	3	4	5
5.	ការកើនឡើងសេដ្ឋកិច្ចរបស់ប្រទេសចិនអាចជួយពង្រឹងកិច្ចសហប្រតិបត្តិការពាណិជ្ជកម្មក្នុងចំណោមសមាជិកនៃសមាគមន៍ប្រជាជាតិអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍ China's economic rise can strengthen the trade cooperation among ASEAN members	1	2	3	4	5
6.	ភាគីទំនាស់ទាំងបួននៃសមាគមន៍ប្រជាជាតិអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍ (វៀតណាម ហ្វីលីពីន ឥណ្ឌូនេស៊ី និង ប្រ៊ុយណេ) ចង់វិនិយោគនៅកម្ពុជាដោយសារតែប្រទេសកម្ពុជាមានទំនាក់ទំនងល្អជាមួយប្រទេសចិន Four ASEAN conflicting parties (Vietnam, Philippine, Indonesia and Brunei) in South China Sea will want to invest in Cambodia because of Cambodia-China relation	1	2	3	4	5
7.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិននឹងធ្វើឲ្យប៉ះពាល់ទៅលើពាណិជ្ជកម្មរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងសហគមន៍អឺរ៉ុប Cambodia-China relation will give	1	2	3	4	5

	the negative impact on Cambodia-EU trade					
8.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិននឹងផ្តល់ឱកាសដល់សហរដ្ឋអាមេរិកដើម្បីធ្វើវិនិយោគនៅកម្ពុជា Cambodia-China relation will give opportunity for United States to invest in Cambodia	1	2	3	4	5
9.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិននឹងផ្តល់ឱកាសដល់ប្រទេសជប៉ុនដើម្បីធ្វើវិនិយោគនៅកម្ពុជា Cambodia-China relation will give opportunity for Japan to invest in Cambodia	1	2	3	4	5
10.	ប្រទេសកម្ពុជាត្រូវការវិនិយោគទុនពីប្រទេសចិន Cambodia needs investment from China	1	2	3	4	5
11.	ប្រទេសកម្ពុជាត្រូវការវិនិយោគទុនពីប្រទេសនៃសមាគមន៍ប្រជាជាតិអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍ Cambodia needs investment from other ASEAN nations	1	2	3	4	5
12.	ប្រទេសជាសមាជិកនៃសមាគមន៍ប្រជាជាតិអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍ផ្សេងទៀតប្រើប្រាស់ជំនួយសេដ្ឋកិច្ចក្នុងការបញ្ចុះបញ្ចូលកម្ពុជាដើម្បីសម្រេចគោលបំណងរបស់ខ្លួន Other ASEAN countries use its economic aid to persuade Cambodia to follow its goals	1	2	3	4	5
13.	ប្រទេសចិនប្រើប្រាស់ជំនួយសេដ្ឋកិច្ចរបស់ខ្លួនក្នុងការបញ្ចុះបញ្ចូលកម្ពុជាដើម្បីសម្រេចគោលបំណងរបស់ខ្លួន China uses its economic aid to persuade Cambodia follow its goal	1	2	3	4	5

B. Perception on Conflict Management

14.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចនាំឱ្យមានទំនាស់ប្រដាប់អាវុធនៅក្នុងទំនាស់សមុទ្រចិនខាងត្បូង Cambodia-China relation can lead to armed conflict in South China Sea	1	2	3	4	5
15.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចនាំមកនូវសន្តិភាព និងស្ថេរភាពនៅក្នុងតំបន់ក្នុងទំនាស់សមុទ្រចិនខាងត្បូង Cambodia-China relation can bring peace and stability in region on the South China Sea dispute	1	2	3	4	5
16.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចនាំមកនូវដំណោះស្រាយឈ្នះៗចំពោះសមាជិកនៃទំនាស់របស់សមាគមន៍ប្រជាជាតិអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍ក្នុងជម្លោះសមុទ្រចិនខាងត្បូង Cambodia-China relation can bring a win-win solution to the disputing members in ASEAN on South China Sea	1	2	3	4	5
17.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចបន្ថយទំនាស់នៅតំបន់ទាក់ទងនឹងទំនាស់សមុទ្រចិនខាងត្បូង Cambodia-China relations can minimize the dispute in the region regarding to the South China Sea conflict	1	2	3	4	5
18.	ទំនាក់ទំនងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចទប់ស្កាត់មិនអោយមានសង្គ្រាម	1	2	3	4	5

	នៅតំបន់សមុទ្រចិនខាងត្បូងនៅពេលអនាគត Cambodia-China relations can prevent future wars in the South China Sea					
19.	ប្រទេសកម្ពុជាអាចដើរតួនាទីជាអ្នកសម្របសម្រួលក្នុងការដោះស្រាយទំនាស់សមុទ្រចិនខាងត្បូង Cambodia can play as a mediator to solve the South China Sea dispute	1	2	3	4	5
20.	សេដ្ឋកិច្ច និងកិច្ចសហប្រតិបត្តិការរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចជាគំរូមួយក្នុងការដោះស្រាយទំនាស់នៅក្នុងទំនាស់សមុទ្រចិនខាងត្បូង Cambodia-China economic and cooperation can be a model for conflict resolution in the South China Sea	1	2	3	4	5
21.	ការងើបឡើងនៃប្រទេសចិនអាចគំរាមគំហែងសន្តិសុខក្នុងតំបន់ទាក់ទងទៅនឹងទំនាស់សមុទ្រចិនខាងត្បូង The rise of China can threaten security in the region on South China Sea dispute	1	2	3	4	5
22.	ការកើនឡើងនៃសេដ្ឋកិច្ចរបស់ប្រទេសចិនអាចមានឥទ្ធិពលក្នុងការអនុវត្តន៍យន្តការដោះស្រាយទំនាស់ក្នុងជំនួរសមុទ្រចិនខាងត្បូង China's economic rise may affect the implementation of conflict resolution mechanisms in the South China Sea	1	2	3	4	5
23.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចបណ្តាលឲ្យមានទំនាស់ផ្ទៃក្នុងនៃសមាជិករបស់សមាគមន៍ប្រជាជាតិអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍ Cambodia-China relations can cause internal dispute among ASEAN members	1	2	3	4	5
24.	ការដោះស្រាយទំនាស់ចំពោះជម្លោះសមុទ្រចិនខាងត្បូងអាចដោះស្រាយបានដរាបណាគ្មានការចូលរួមពីសហរដ្ឋអាមេរិក The South China Sea conflict can be resolved without US involvement	1	2	3	4	5

C. Perception on Geopolitics						
25.	ប្រទេសចិនជ្រើសរើសប្រទេសកម្ពុជាជាដៃគូពីព្រោះតែប្រទេសកម្ពុជាស្ថិតនៅចំកណ្តាលនៃតំបន់អាស៊ីភាគខាងកើត China chooses Cambodia as partnership because it is located at the center of Southeast Asia	1	2	3	4	5
26.	ទីតាំងភូមិសាស្ត្ររបស់ប្រទេសកម្ពុជាគឺមានសារសំខាន់សម្រាប់ពាណិជ្ជកម្មកម្ពុជារបស់សមាគមន៍ប្រជាជាតិអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍នៅក្នុងតំបន់ Cambodia's location is important for ASEAN trade in the region	1	2	3	4	5
27.	ទីតាំងភូមិសាស្ត្ររបស់ប្រទេសកម្ពុជា គឺមានសារសំខាន់ក្នុងការផ្សារភ្ជាប់ទៅនឹងប្រទេសក្នុងតំបន់អាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍ Cambodia's location is important to link Southeast Asia countries in the region	1	2	3	4	5
28.	ប្រទេសកម្ពុជាត្រូវការទំនាក់ទំនងល្អជាមួយនឹងប្រទេសជាសមាជិកដទៃទៀតនៃសមាគមន៍ប្រជាជាតិអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍ Cambodia needs good relations with other ASEAN members	1	2	3	4	5

29.	ប្រទេសចិនគោរពសិទ្ធិរបស់រដ្ឋាភិបាលកម្ពុជាក្នុងការសម្រេចចិត្តលើទិសដៅនយោបាយរបស់ខ្លួន China respects the Cambodian government's right to decide on the country's political destiny	1	2	3	4	5
30.	ប្រទេសជាសមាជិកនៃសមាគមន៍ប្រជាជាតិអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍គោរពសិទ្ធិរបស់រដ្ឋាភិបាលកម្ពុជាក្នុងការសម្រេចចិត្តលើទិសដៅនយោបាយរបស់ខ្លួន ASEAN respects the Cambodian government's right to decide on the country's political destiny	1	2	3	4	5

D. Perception on Foreign Policy						
31.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចពង្រឹងកិច្ចសហប្រតិបត្តិការជាមួយសហគមន៍អាស៊ាន Cambodia-China relations can strengthen cooperation within ASEAN community	1	2	3	4	5
32.	ជំហរអព្យាក្រឹតរបស់ប្រទេសកម្ពុជាលើបញ្ហាទំនាស់សមុទ្រចិនខាងត្បូងគឺឈរលើធម្មនុញ្ញ និងក្រមរបស់សមាគមន៍អាស៊ាន Cambodia's neutral position on the South China Seas dispute is consistent with ASEAN's norms and constitution	1	2	3	4	5
33.	ប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនត្រូវតែមានទំនាក់ទំនងល្អជាមួយគ្នាទៅវិញទៅមកដើម្បីពង្រឹងការទូត គោលនយោបាយការបរទេស និងកិច្ចសហប្រតិបត្តិការអន្តរជាតិ Cambodia and China must have good relations with each other in order to strengthen their diplomacy, foreign policy and international cooperation.	1	2	3	4	5
34.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចធ្វើឲ្យបែកបាក់ចំណងមិត្តភាពរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងវៀតណាមទាក់ទងទៅនឹងជម្លោះសមុទ្រចិនខាងត្បូង Cambodia-China relations can break down Cambodia's friendship with Vietnam on the South China Sea dispute	1	2	3	4	5
35.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចបណ្តាលឲ្យមានសំពាធនយោបាយ និងការទូតពីប្រទេសវៀតណាមចំពោះជំហររបស់កម្ពុជាទាក់ទងជម្លោះសមុទ្រចិនខាងត្បូង Cambodia-Cambodia-China relations can result in political and diplomatic pressures from Vietnam because of the South China Sea dispute	1	2	3	4	5
36.	ជំហរអព្យាក្រឹតរបស់កម្ពុជាចំពោះបញ្ហាសមុទ្រចិនខាងត្បូងគឺជាជំរើសមួយដ៏ត្រឹមត្រូវសម្រាប់កម្ពុជា Cambodia's neutral stance towards South China Sea dispute is the right choice	1	2	3	4	5
37.	ប្រទេសសមាជិកអាស៊ានផ្សេងទៀតនឹងចង់ឲ្យកម្ពុជាចាកចេញពីសមាគមន៍នេះដោយសារតែកម្ពុជាមានទំនាក់ទំនងល្អរបស់កម្ពុជាជាមួយចិន Other ASEAN members will want Cambodia to leave ASEAN because of Cambodia's good relations with China	1	2	3	4	5

E. Perception on Benefit of Cambodia						
38.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និង ចិនគឺជួយឲ្យប្រទេសកម្ពុជាអភិវឌ្ឍន៍លើ ហេដ្ឋារចនាសម្ព័ន្ធរបស់ប្រទេសដូចជា ការកសាងវារីអគ្គិសនី ការសាងផ្លូវថ្នល់ និងស្ពានជាដើម Cambodia-China relations can make Cambodia able to improve infrastructure development such hydroelectricity, roads, bridges.	1	2	3	4	5
39.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចបង្កើនជំនួយបន្ថែមទៀតពីប្រទេស ចិនក្នុងការបណ្តុះបណ្តាលធនធានមនុស្សរបស់ប្រទេសកម្ពុជា Cambodia-China relation can increase China's aid for human resources in Cambodia	1	2	3	4	5
40.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចជួយពង្រឹងសមត្ថភាព និងជំនាញ ផ្នែកយោធាដល់កងទ័ពកម្ពុជា Cambodia-China relation can strengthen Cambodia's military capability and competency	1	2	3	4	5
41.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនជួយកម្ពុជាក្នុងការកាត់បន្ថយសំពាធនយោបាយ និងបញ្ហាសិទ្ធិមនុស្សពីប្រទេសលោកខាងលិច Cambodia-China relation help Cambodia from Western's political and human right pressure	1	2	3	4	5
42.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចពង្រឹងអភិបាលកិច្ចល្អដល់ ប្រទេសកម្ពុជា Cambodia-China relation can improve good governance in Cambodia	1	2	3	4	5
43.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចបង្កើនការនាំចេញផលិតផលពី ប្រទេសកម្ពុជាទៅប្រទេសចិន Cambodia-China relation can increase Cambodia's export to China	1	2	3	4	5
44.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចជួយបង្កើនជំនួយបន្ថែមទៀតពី ប្រទេសចិនដោយគ្មានលក្ខខណ្ឌ Cambodia-China relation can improve China's aid to Cambodia without conditions	1	2	3	4	5
45.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចកាត់បន្ថយលទ្ធិប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ នៅកម្ពុជា Cambodia-China relation decrease democracy in Cambodia	1	2	3	4	5
46.	ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិនអាចជួយបង្កើនប្រាក់កម្ចីពីប្រទេសចិន ដោយអត្រាការប្រាក់ទាប Cambodia-China relation can increase loan from China with low interest	1	2	3	4	5
47.	ប្រទេសកម្ពុជាពឹងផ្អែកច្រើនណាស់ទៅលើជំនួយ និងប្រាក់កម្ចីពី ប្រទេសចិន ច្រើនពេក Cambodia depends too much on China's aid and loan	1	2	3	4	5
48.	សម្ព័ន្ធភាពផ្នែកនយោបាយ និងទំនាក់ទំនងការទូតរវាងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងចិន គឺអាចមានផលប៉ះពាល់ដល់កម្ពុជាក្នុងការអនុវត្តន៍គោលការណ៍លទ្ធិប្រជាធិបតេយ្យនៅកម្ពុជារយៈពេលយូរអង្វែង Cambodia-China on political alliance	1	2	3	4	5

	and diplomacy is harmful in implementation of democracy principles in Cambodia in the long term					
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មតិយោបល់ (Comment)

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សូមអរគុណ (Thank you).