

RAKHINE MIGRANT WORKERS IN HLAINGTHAYA TOWNSHIP, YANGON:  
THEIR WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

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รัฐระโค่น หรือ ที่รู้จักในชื่อ อาระกัน  
มีการอพยพย้ายถิ่นของประชากรจำนวนมากมาตลอดหลายทศวรรษ  
ผู้อพยพชาวระโค่นในปัจจุบันกระจัดกระจายอยู่ทั้งภายในประเทศและในต่างประเทศ  
แม้ว่ารัฐระโค่นจะมีทรัพยากรธรรมชาติอุดมสมบูรณ์ แต่กลับมีโอกาสได้งานทำน้อยที่สุดในเมียนมาร์  
มานานกว่าทศวรรษ นอกจากนี้  
อัตราการอพยพย้ายถิ่นและตั้งรกรากนอกรัฐระโค่นของกลุ่มคนหนุ่มสาวก็เพิ่มสูงขึ้น  
แม้ว่าจะมีชาวระโค่นอพยพไปสู่รัฐกะฉิ่น ประเทศไทย และประเทศมาเลเซีย  
แต่ผู้อพยพที่อยู่ในนครย่างกุ้ง ก็มีจำนวนมากว่าที่อื่นๆ

ผู้อพยพชาวระโค่นในย่างกุ้งส่วนมากทำงานในเขตอุตสาหกรรม  
โดยมีเครือข่ายทางสังคมที่แน่นแฟ้นและระยะทางที่ใกล้กับย่างกุ้งเป็นปัจจัยสนับสนุนการอพยพย้ายถิ่น  
เนื่องจากเขตอุตสาหกรรมฮ์โล่งททยาเป็นหนึ่งในเขตที่ใหญ่ที่สุดในย่างกุ้ง  
แรงงานอพยพชาวระโค่นจำนวนมากจึงเป็นกำลังแรงงานสำคัญในการขับเคลื่อนอุตสาหกรรมให้ดำเนิน  
ไปได้อย่างราบรื่น

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่ออธิบายและสร้างความเข้าใจถึงสภาพการทำงานและการ  
ดำรงชีวิตของแรงงานอพยพชาวระโค่นในเขตอุตสาหกรรมฮ์โล่งททยาโดยใช้วิธีการศึกษาแบบผสมผล  
งาน ดังนั้น งานศึกษานี้จึงได้ระบุถึงสาเหตุของการอพยพย้ายถิ่นด้วย ซึ่งได้แก่ โอกาสได้งานทำที่จำกัด  
การขาดทางเลือกในการทำงาน ความสมัครใจทำงานในย่างกุ้ง และความต้องการพัฒนาคุณภาพชีวิต  
แม้ว่าชีวิตความเป็นอยู่ของแรงงานอพยพชาวระโค่นในย่างกุ้งไม่ได้เปลี่ยนแปลงอย่างมีนัยสำคัญ  
แต่แรงงานเหล่านี้ก็ไม่ต้องการเดินทางกลับ  
เนื่องจากไม่มีโอกาสได้งานทำในรัฐระโค่นและสถานการณ์บ้านเมืองยังไม่สงบเรียบร้อย  
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แรงงานอพยพที่ไม่ต้องการเดินทางกลับ และการอพยพย้ายถิ่นจะยังคงดำเนินต่อไป

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Rakhine State, known as Arakan to the outside world for centuries, has suffered from massive migration throughout the decades. As a result, Rakhine migrants are currently scattered both internally and internationally. Despite its rich natural resources, Rakhine State has the scarcest employment opportunity in Myanmar for more than a decade. Furthermore, the rate of youth migration and settlement in new environments out of Rakhine State has intensified. Although migrants also go to Kachin State, Thailand, and Malaysia, the number of people flocking to Yangon has outnumbered other places.

In Yangon, many Rakhine migrants are working in industrial zones. Strong migration and social networks and proximity to Yangon are some of the factors facilitating migration. As Hlaingthaya industrial zone is one of the largest zones in Yangon, many Rakhine migrant workers fulfill enormous labour requirements so that industries run smoothly.

Using mixed methods, the purpose of this study is to describe and understand the working and living conditions of Rakhine migrant workers in Hlaingthaya Industrial City. In doing so, this study also identifies the reasons for their migration. These reasons include limited employment opportunities, lack of employment options, the locals' willingness to work in Yangon, and the quest to improve their lives. Despite these, their lives have not changed significantly in Yangon but they do not wish to go back to Rakhine State as there are no opportunities for employment availability and the peace and order situation has not improved. Thus, thesis concludes that, so long as employment opportunities are not created in Rakhine State, the migrants' desire to return home is unlikely to materialize and in fact more migration will happen instead.

Field of Study: Southeast Asian Studies

Student's Signature .....

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ANSO	Arakan National Social Organization
AHRDO	Arakan Human Rights and Development Organization
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BNI	Burma News International
DHSHD	The Department of Human Settlement and Housing Development
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IHLCA	Integrated Household Living Conditions Assessment
ILO	International Labor Organization
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MSR	Myanmar Survey Research
NRCs	National Registration Certificates
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNRC/HC MR	UN Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator for Myanmar
YCOWA	Yaung Chi Oo Workers' Association

## Chapter I Introduction

### 1.1 Rationale of Study

Myanmar ranks the lowest– when comparing various sectors with other countries – in ASEAN, and is one of the lowest country in developing Asia as well as one of the lowest income countries in the world (Toshihiro, KUMAGAI et al. 2013). Myanmar had been under military rule for nearly fifty years. From the outset of military ruling days to present, the government offers limited employment opportunities and decades of economic stagnation triggers many Myanmar people to migrate to Thailand via unofficial channels to fulfill demand of Thai's fishery, garment and construction industries or to serve as domestic servant as being cheap labor. A smaller number of Myanmar workers also can be found in some neighboring countries such as Singapore and Malaysia (Weng 2013). According to Andy Hall, a British migrant labor expert at Bangkok's Mahidol University, 10% of Myanmar population is working overseas.

Truthfully, Myanmar – combined by 14 states and regions – is a resource rich nation, in which Rakhine State is regarded as one of the most natural resource abundance regions due to oil and gas possession. However, unfortunately, the State has been a shabby region where job opportunity is scarcest when compare to other states and regions in Myanmar and people live with extreme poverty for decades (AHRDO 2012). Arakan Human Rights and Development Organization (AHRDO) characterizes the modern socioeconomics of Rakhine State as an extreme lack of development. AHRDO – by citing the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) figures from June 2007 – reveals that more than half of Rakhine State's inhabitants suffer inadequate improved water and sanitation (AHRDO 2012). On primary school enrolment rate and young adult literacy level, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) report ranked Rakhine State at the lowest. Among the states and regions, Rakhine State ranked the lowest rate of youth literacy (MDGs 2013). These figures ranked the state lowest and second lowest respectively when compared with other states and regions of Myanmar. At the same time, MDGs report noted that the lowest

labor force participation rates are reported in Rakhine (58%), where economic dependency ratios are found to be very high (MDGs 2013).

Two major projects – oil & gas pipeline project in Khauk Phyu and deep sea port project in Sittwe, capital city of Rakhine State – have been under construction currently in Rakhine State. At the outset of China's gas and pipeline project, many anticipated that the project would bring higher living standard with regular income for local inhabitants. However, in contradiction with their expectations, the situation of local residents have deteriorated in reality, such as land confiscations and losing fishing areas along the route of the gas pipeline (Narinjara 2012). In addition, the livelihood of local dwellers was badly affected by the wastes of Shwe Gas Project (Narinjara 2013). Therefore, the local inhabitants and activists had revealed their concerns about the potential negative impacts of the Kaladan deep sea project, which includes (1) land confiscation and forced eviction, (2) forced labor, and (3) loss of livelihood and environment damage. All in all, instead of creating job opportunities, both the two projects brought disadvantages to the local populace. In addition, through military regime to Thein Sein administration, local people have been damaged due to so-called development projects implementation including Sittwe-Yangon highway and Sittwe-Ann-Minbu railway projects. According to the Kaladan movement report, forced labor, forced relocation of villages, human right abuses and environmental impacts, and historical and cultural impacts occurred due to those projects (Kaladan Moment 2013).

Rakhine State has been facing massive migration annually. The resulting effect of rare job opportunity had compelled the Rakhine people to migrate out of their home land since the last decade and has been increasing until recently (Burmese Radia Free Asia 2014). When many migrants going to Yangon in search of job opportunity, some migrate to Thailand, Malaysia and China. According to the Mizzima (2014), there are more than 80,000 Rakhine migrants in Malaysia. News and media are already highlighting this rising migration issue in Rakhine State. For example, local media recently revealed that the rate of women migration increases due to job

opportunity scarcity in Rakhine State. Besides, according to Irrawaddy media, young people from Rakhine State usually go to a great metropolis such as Yangon, Mandalay, and some migrate further up to neighboring countries such as Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore (Irrawaddy 2014).

The emergence of Rakhine community based youth organizations and Rakhine civil society group around the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Yangon presumably result from high level of migration from Rakhine to Yangon since 2000s. It is important to note that many of the small Rakhine civil society are based at Hlaingthaya Township. According to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) report, the rate of migration from Rakhine State to Yangon enormously increased within a decade. The report showed that the total population in 2001 becomes 138,000, by comparison with 7,100 in 1991 (UNFPA 2010). It is estimated by the Media that more than 500,000 Rakhine people currently live in Yangon. Zaw Aye Maung, a minister for Rakhine affairs, estimates that more than 150,000 Rakhine people are moving back and forth toward Yangon city in every year. Nevertheless the total population of Rakhine people in Yangon will come out soon because the government had taken a census in April 2014. Rakhine people are commonly known as one of the most populated ethnicity in Yangon and the rate of migration from Rakhine to Yangon is significantly higher yearly to date. The reason why people migrate are many and are often complex and interrelated, with poverty alone not the only cause (Chantavanich 2013). However, there is little to nary strikethrough studying concerning this specific issue yet. Therefore, responding to this insufficiency of information about life of Rakhine migrant workers in Yangon is the aim of this research. This thesis will explore working and living conditions of Rakhine migrant workers in Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone in Yangon.

## 1.2 Research Question

1. What are the factors underpinning migrants' decision-making to leave Rakhine State?
2. To what extent are the decisions to migrate driven by perceived opportunities in the destination, notably in Yangon?
3. How are migrant workers' lives in terms of working and living conditions in Yangon?

## 1.3 Research Objectives

There are three main objectives of this research as follows:

1. To identify the cause of migration in Rakhine State
2. To examine the reasons of why they migrate to Yangon and subsequent process of their migration
3. To analyze migrant workers' lives in terms of working and living conditions in Yangon

## 1.4 Significance and Usefulness of Research

Migration phenomenon and the characteristics of migrants are important factors in the socio-economic development of any country whether developed or developing. Examination and understanding of the volume, levels, pattern of migration and the characteristics of migrants, is therefore beneficial to policy makers as well as planners to formulate better policies on socio-economic and political development of a country (Nyi 2013).

There are many researches about migration of Myanmar people which mainly focus on cross border migration or international migration. Some research focus on life of migrants in Thailand, while other focus on remittances. However, there was no previous research which talks about life of internal migrant workers in urban industrious zones, especially in Yangon. Although the administrative capital of



Myanmar was officially moved to Naypyitaw on 6 November 2005, Yangon remains commercial hub of the country to date where there are many heavy industrial zones in which a lot of internal migrants from around the country are working. Among the Yangon industrial zone, Hlaingthaya is one of the largest industrial zone as well as a place where a large number of internal migrants are working and living. Among the migrant workers in Hlaingthaya, apart from Burmese, Rakhine people significantly outnumber other ethnicities.

This research is significant because of the following:

First of all, this research will fulfill the huge gap of data requirement regarding causes of internal migration of Rakhine to Yangon and the pattern and trend of regional migration in Myanmar. Secondly, this research would lead to further studies on the impact of migration in Rakhine State. And thirdly, the findings of this research will provide useful source for the policy makers from both regional level and national level (sending and receiving areas) and facilitate decision-making regarding the problem of internal migration.

### **1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study**

It has been reportedly said that Rakhine State is undergoing massive migration and Rakhine people are leaving their homeland for more opportunities. While some Rakhine people are departing overseas, many are dispersed around the country. The major population of Rakhine people and their major ethnicities are found in Yangon. According to the local media, it is estimated that about 500,000 Rakhine people are living in Yangon today. This thesis however will solely focus on life of Rakhine migrant workers in terms of working and living conditions who are working at factories in Hlaingthaya Township (Hlaingthaya Industrial City) and will not pay attention to any other kinds of Rakhine migrants' life in Yangon.

There were a few problems while conducting this research. First of all, the data availability to access actual information was a major challenge in Myanmar. Moreover, although many people enjoy freedom of expression due to significant

political climate in the aftermath of the new government since 2011, many government officials unfortunately remain the same which means they are still afraid of sharing information although some of them are already unclassified. Besides, they do not want to discuss any kind of issues which is related to government's bad management. For example, when I interview an officer from the township labor office about labor dispute, he said that "I had better not to speak out". Moreover, since factory workers have reportedly been exploited in terms of wages and salaries, none of factory managers want to be interviewed about their employees.

Secondly, existing literature which address the internal migration of Myanmar are still limited, whereas there are tons of reliable sources in international migration or cross-border migration about Myanmar. Therefore, related sources of internal migration in Myanmar may not be found copiously in the literature review of this study.

Thirdly, the chosen sampling was small. The researcher could not do large simple size due to time limitation and lack of financial support. Nevertheless, in terms of reason for migration, working and living condition of workers in Hlaingthaya, as the respondents' answers are not too different, it is reasonable to draw a conclusion that this study covers causes of mainstream migration of Rakhine people and their working and living conditions in Hlaingthaya Industrial City despite small sampling.

All in all, despite these limitations, this study brings significant findings which would be helpful in highlighting issues of internal migration not only for Rakhine State but for other states and regions in Myanmar. Furthermore, since no one has conducted research on this particular issue, this study provides preliminary findings for further studies on life of Rakhine people in Yangon city.

### 1.6 Study Site

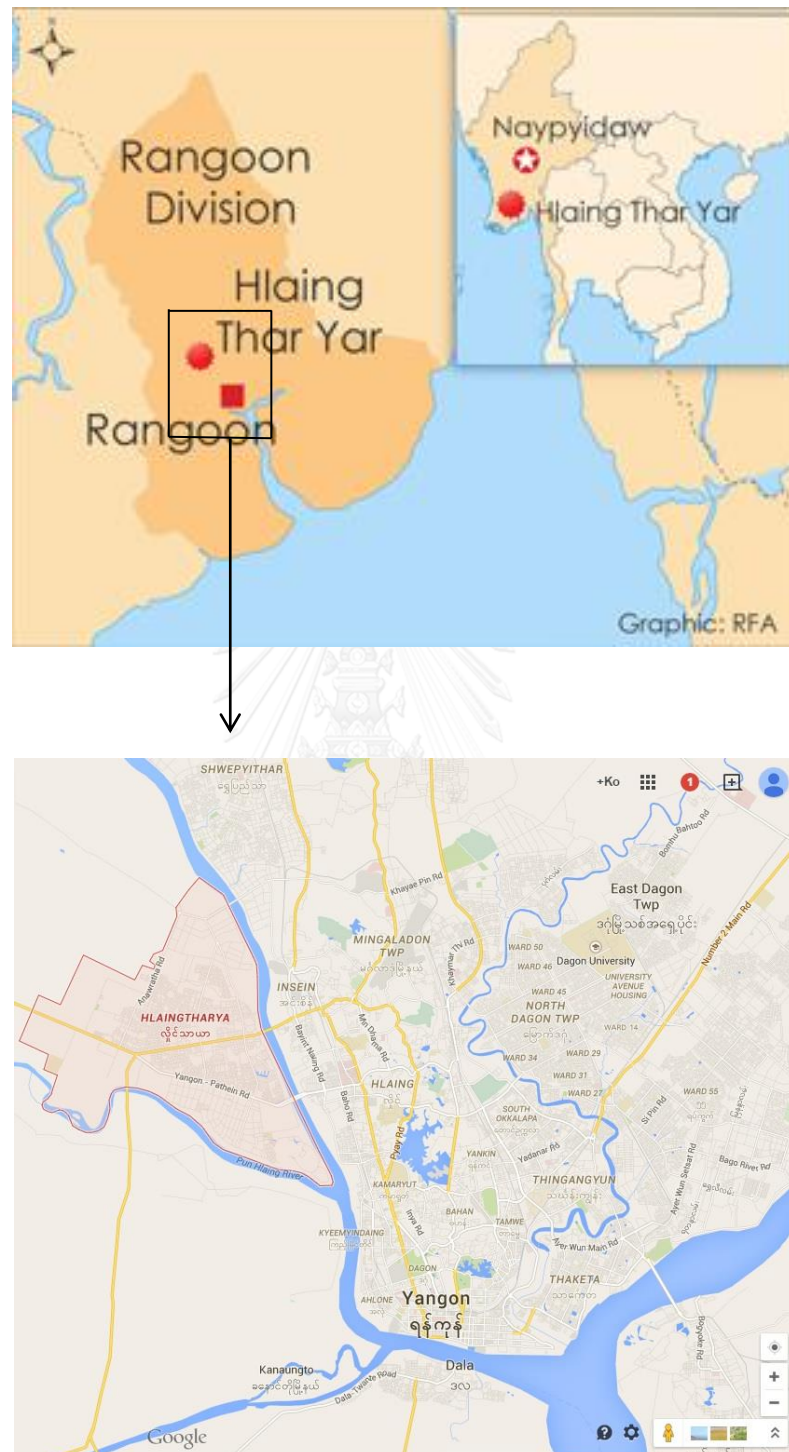
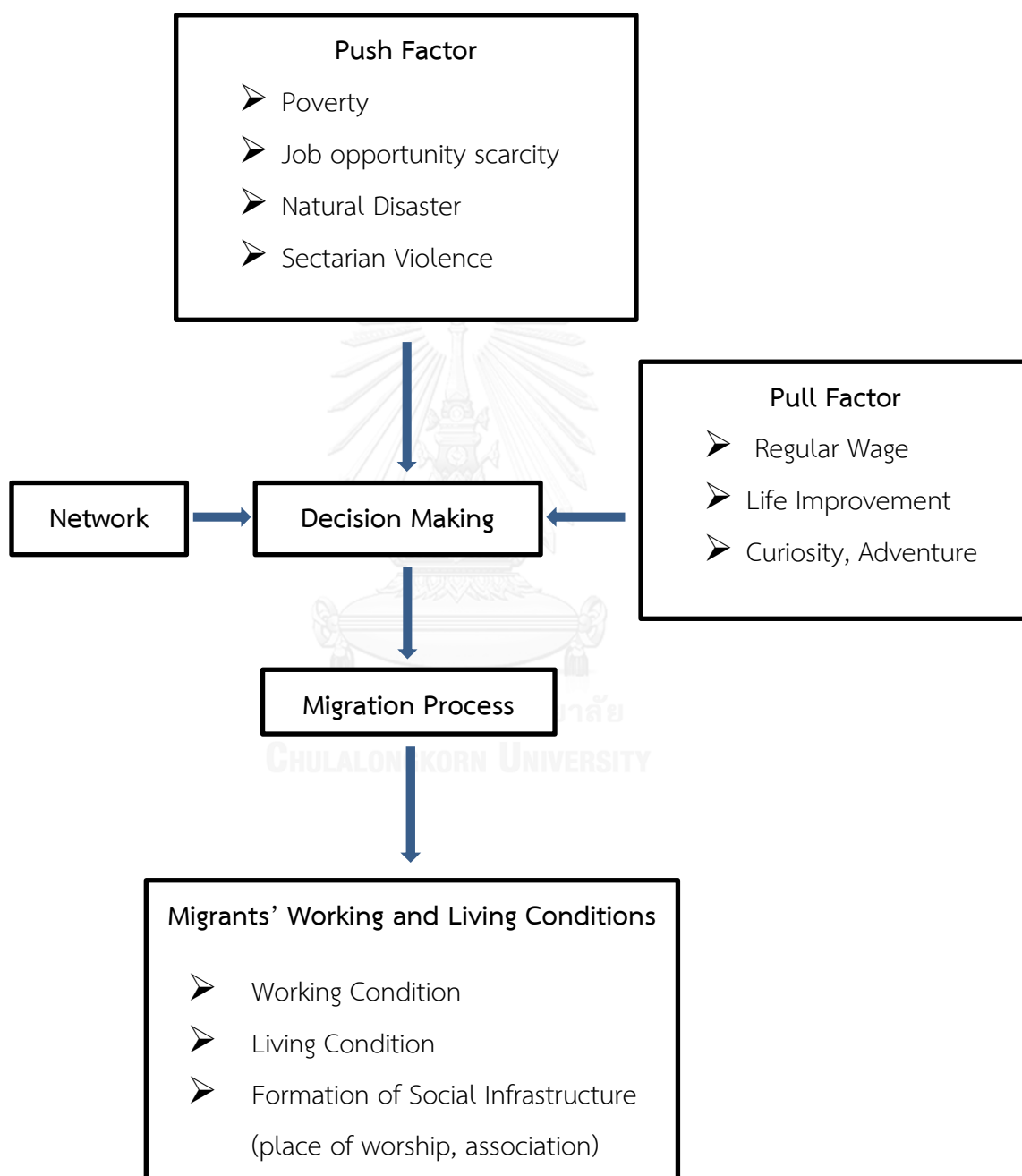


Figure (1) map of Yangon and Hlaingthaya

## 1.7 Conceptual Framework

Figure (2) Conceptual Model



## 1.8 Research Methodology

In order to collect the required data to answer the causes of migration, migration process, working and living conditions of Rakhine migrants in Hlaingthaya Industrial City, this research applied both qualitative and quantitative approaches which include questionnaire, key-informant interviews, focus group discussions, and observational method.

### 1.8.1 The procedure for the research methodology

The study was applied in accordance with the following procedure;

- ❖ Literature review was initially started for gathering data and information via secondary sources, which includes documents released by the Myanmar government, academic articles, as well as periodicals related to this study regardless in Myanmar and English
- ❖ The study site chosen to carry out research was in Hlaingthaya Industrial City in Yangon. Subsequently, field research was conducted for primary data collection through questionnaire with 235 factory workers, and additionally conducted focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with respective stakeholders, such as community leaders and government officers of township labor office.
- ❖ Data Analysis

### 1.8.2 Data Collection

#### 1.8.2.1 Primary Data Collection

Hlaingthaya Township in Yangon is chosen for my study area because Hlaingthaya itself is an industrial city and is a major labor-receiving area where many Rakhine migrant workforces are also working. Subsequently, field research was conducted for primary data collection through questionnaire, in-depth and semi-

structured interview (See Table - 1). All participants are Rakhine and interviews were conducted in Hlaingthaya Industrial City.

The field research was started through interview questionnaires with 235 workers from diverse factories located in Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone. Furthermore, focus group discussions were made twice with local dwellers, community leader, factory workers, street vendors, and hostel caretaker. In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted with community leader, government officer of township labor office, squatters, and senior supervisor from garment factory. With regard to the in-depth interview and focus group discussion, the main discussions with migrants were about the reasons of leaving their place of origins, how they came to Yangon by the help of whom and what happened on the way, plus working and living conditions of migrant workers in Hlaingthaya. Besides, I also visited their habitations, such as hostels, illegal shacks, and rent houses and observed their living conditions. The primary data was collected from September to October 2014.

Table (1) Participants at the Study Site

<b>Participants Information</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>Types of Interview</b>	<b>Location</b>
Factory Workers	235	Questionnaire	Hlaingthaya
Manual Worker	7	In-depth interview	Hlaingthaya
Squatter	2	In-depth interview	Hlaingthaya
Community Leader	1	In-depth interview	Hlaingthaya
Officer from township labor office	1	In-depth interview	Hlaingthaya
Senior Supervisor from garment factory	1	In-depth interview	Hlaingthaya
Member of Labor Union	1	In-depth interview	Hlaingthaya
FGD1: Community leader, workers, local dwellers	7	semi-structure interview	Hlaingthaya
FGD1: Workers, hostel supervisor, street vendor	6	semi-structure interview	Hlaingthaya
<b>Total</b>	<b>261</b>		

### 1.8.2.2 Secondary Data Collection

This study additionally relied on documentary research from diverse sources. Reports from United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and Arakan Human Rights and Development Organization (AHRDO) were main sources on the situation of Rakhine State. Moreover, since the government has not yet released the total population of Rakhine people in Yangon, although a census was conducted in April 2014, the study relied on United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) report in which the population of Rakhine migrants in Yangon is presented.

With respect to the official documents of statistic of labor, number of factory, and information of Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone, the study relied on documents from the township labor office under the Ministry of Labor, Employment and Social Security and Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone Committee. Labor laws and other related documents such as daily newspaper issued by Myanmar government were used as secondary sources.

In addition, further information was gathered for this thesis from academic articles, books, periodicals related to this study in Myanmar and English, online database, and reliable reports.

### 1.8.3 Interview Guide

For the quantitative method, the questionnaire used as major tool for this study was developed into 3 parts, and each part is designed to address respective objective of the study (See appendix).

Table (2) Objectives of the Interview Guide

No	Description	Objective
Part 1	General Background	To find out the general information and background of migrant workers, which includes education level,
Part 2	Factors influencing people migration from Rakhine State to Yangon and their migration process	To examine influencing factors which triggered decision for coming to Yangon,
Part 3	Living and working conditions of migrant in new environment	To explore life of migrants in Hlaingthaya Industrial City

#### 1.8.4 Data analysis

The analysis of survey data was conducted by using SPSS.

#### 1.9 Organization of the Study

This thesis includes six chapters.

The first chapter is comprised of the rationale of study, research questions, research objective, significance and usefulness of research, scope and limitation of study, conceptual framework, research methodology, and organization of study.

The second chapter is about theoretical framework of the study and literature review. In this chapter, causes of migration, rural to urban migration, social networks migration, and community formation are used as main concepts and theories of this study. Moreover, rural to urban migration in Myanmar, level, trends and patterns of internal migration in Myanmar, background of Rakhine State, economic status of



Rakhine State, natural disaster and sectarian violence, Yangon and opportunity booms are discussed in literature review.

The third chapter focuses on findings, particularly causes of migration, migration process and role of social network.

The fourth chapter also focuses on findings especially working condition of migrants in factories located in Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone.

The fifth chapter focuses on living condition of migrant workers and formation of social infrastructure and social activity in Hlaingthaya Industrial City.

The sixth chapter is the conclusion, discussion, and recommendations.



## Chapter II Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

### 2.1 Concepts and Theories

#### 2.1.1 Causes of Migration

Migration is simply defined as a process of movement by a person or a group of people, either across a recognized international border or within a state (Loi 2005, OSCE 2013). Although searching information are sometime limited and often prohibited, certain level of each may be an essential condition for migration (Stark 1984). Sripiean argues that the decision to migrate is not determined by the migrants themselves but the situation. social and economic structures, for instance, poverty problems, can force migration (Sripiean 2001).

The Neoclassical General Equilibrium theory says that labor will migrate from the low wage to the high wage region until real wages are equalized, with the assumptions of a comparative static framework, homogeneous labor, constant returns of scale, zero migration costs, and perfect competitive labor markets (Garnjana-Goonchorn 1974). According to De Haas (2010) of migration and development: a theoretical perspective, the neoclassical theory can be explained by classifying two levels – macro-level and micro-level. At the macro-level, neo-classical economic theory explains migration by geographical differences in the supply and demand for labor. He argued that the result of differentials in wages trigger worker to migrate from low-wage and labor-surplus regions to high-wage and labor-scarce regions. Subsequently, migration will reduce the need of labor demand at the destination and cause labor scarcity at the place of origin in consequence. However, at the micro-level, the neo-classical migration theory views migrants as individual, rational actors, who decide to move on the basis of a cost-benefit calculation. Upon on free choice and full access to information, the migrants are likely to go where they can be the most productive and are enable earning the highest wages. But the capacity of earning much money is wholly depends on the specific skill a person has and specific structure of labor markets (De Haas 2010).

In 1966, Lee attempted to construct a completely new theory on migration after law of migration by Ravenstein (Nyi 2013). He provided a general framework to analyze the volume of migration and developed new concepts on push and pull model factors which is one of the most commonly known theoretical model of migration (Thielemann 2003). According to his theory, every migration process involves a place of origin, a place of destination, and an intervening set of obstacles no matter how short or how long, how easy or how difficult (Lee 1966).

Lee (1966) argued that the main factors of migration are associated with not only place of origin and place of destination but intervening obstacles and personal issues. The push and pull model consists of a number of negative or push factors in the country of origin such as exorbitant housing costs, growing gridlock, rising crime rates, skyrocketing tax rates, poor climate, or lack of a satisfying well-paying job that cause people to move away, in combination with a number of positive or pull factors such as promise of a higher paying job, a pleasant physical setting, the availability of affordable housing, a desirable climate, or the lure of nearby family members that attract migrants to a receiving country (Schoorl, Heering et al. 2000, Nyi 2013). However, it was also observed that a push factor for some could be a pull factor for others (Nyi 2013).

### **2.1.2 Rural to Urban Migration**

According to Lipton (1980), 'migration from rural areas' means the departure of individuals or households, for more than a week or so, from the small, primarily agricultural community in which they live. The reasons for migration could be for marriage, for work or for study and place of destination maybe to cities or to villages for a temporary or for life.

According to Loi (2005), rural-to-urban migration is the outcome of industrialization and modernization and she saw that it is a process of rebalancing the economic resources (human and physical ones) in order to set up a new stage of economic development. A huge flow of rural-urban migration is not a problem until the urban planning and infrastructures, for instance housing, are good enough to

absorb the migration flow adequately. However, it is seen as a negative process and put strict control on migration when infrastructure and urban planning are poor (Loi 2005). Nevertheless, the degree of control over migration may be different from one country to another. For example, whereas Indonesia has adopted a flexible system based on dissuasion instead of prohibition, China strictly controlled urban growth and the movement of people to its cities (Dang, Goldstein et al. 1997).

On migration scholars' view, the rural-urban migration is a process of labors movement from less developed to more advanced areas. Lewis (1954) considers the cause of rural-urban migration is due to rebalancing workforce between subsistence and modernization areas. In another meaning, rural-urban migration cause when labor intensive work, such as industrial sector, where many employment opportunities are available and are also suffering from labor shortage demand workforce from rural areas where is suffering from unemployed and underemployed (Lewis 1954). Under this circumstance, the surplus of labor force from rural areas will fulfill the workforce requirement in urban areas and, rural-urban starts by this way. However, some researchers argue that despite rural-urban migration, migrants from rural areas do not always go to industrial sector of urban area as in Lewis' theory, but they may work for low productivity and low wage sectors in the informal economy of the city, such as sundry menial labors, construction workers and street-vendors (Loi 2005).

Environmental change is another aspect which triggered the increase of rural-urban migration in some situations. The Foresight Report (2011) shows that rural-urban migration is very much related to environmental change in some countries. Evidence from Bangladesh suggests that rural-to-urban migration occurred as a survival strategy of households affected by environmental events. A survey from the island of Hatia, coastal Bangladesh, showed that 22% of households migrated to cities as a survival strategy due to tidal surges, followed by 16% due to riverbank erosions. In addition, in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, a cross-country study of causes of urbanization found that worsening rainfall conditions do escalate rural-

urban migration. However, in contrast with above examples, the report also shows that the disaster affected people are unable to migrate in some countries. Evidence from Mali reveals that people who have been affected during the 1983-85 droughts are less able to afford to migrate to cities (Foresight Report 2011).

Since over the last four decades, migration has become a crucial component of urban population growth and the urbanization process in the developing countries (Luong 2009). For instance, in 2009, there were 145 million rural-urban migrants in China, accounting for about 11 per cent of the total population (Hu 2012). According to Deshingkar (2006), internal migration has greater potential for poverty reduction, meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and contributing to economic growth in developing countries than does international migration.

### **2.1.3 Social Networks Migration**

Regarding the migration process, the migration systems theory suggests that migratory movements generally arise from the existence of prior links between sending and receiving countries based on colonization, political influence, trade, investment or cultural ties (Castles 2009). The family and community play crucial role in migration networks. Social networks through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin are central components in migration systems analysis (Boyd 1989, Massey 1993). They link migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas. The expansion of networks can function as an information network with regard to the migration process (Choldin 1973) and reduces the costs and risks of movement (Massey 1993). Research on Asian migration has shown that migration decisions are usually made not by individuals but by families or households (Castles 2009). Family linkages often provide the financial, cultural and social capitals which make migration possible. Once a movement is started, the migrants mostly follow the old path used by earlier migrants and they are helped by relatives and friends who are already in the destination (Castles 2009). This network based family or community help provide supports such as shelter, work, and support personal difficulties. Therefore, whether or not people will migrate depend on their

(or their relatives'/friends) migration experience, their social connection with other migrants, and their household's decision migration decision (Chantavanich and Risser 1996).

#### **2.1.4 Community formation**

Social migration networks facilitate migratory process safe and more convenient for the migrants and their families. Besides, migration networks also facilitate to construct community formation and settlement process in the area of migration. The migrant groups then develop their own social and economic infrastructure which includes place of worship, associations, shops, and other services (Castles 2009). After a period of time in the receiving country, whereas some of these 'primary migrants' return home, others prolong their stay or return and then re-migrate. This may be because of relative success; they find the living and working conditions in the new countries to be better than in the homeland (Seng 2006).

### **2.2 Literature Review**

#### **2.2.1 Rural to Urban Migration in Myanmar**

While reliable data on internal migration of Myanmar are limited, it was fortunate enough that Chaw Chaw contributes to fulfill data gap on "rural women migrating to urban garment factories in Myanmar". The article was written for social challenges for the Mekong Region published by Chiang Mai University in 2003.

Chaw (2003) started her article by introducing the industrial development in Myanmar. She said that the tentative opening of the economy in 1988 to foreign trade and investment has provided opportunities for companies from newly industrializing economies like South Korea and neighboring countries like Thailand to gain comparative advantage by moving their labor-intensive industries to Myanmar. Moreover, there have also been other state-initiated incentives to promote industrialization through the impetus of foreign investment in Myanmar. Two types of industrial zones were developed in and around Yangon between 1988 and 1999. The first one is oriented towards general industries owned by local entrepreneurs, and

the second type aims to attract foreign investors. The Department of Human Settlement and Housing Development (DHSHD) established eight industrial zones in the satellite towns and surroundings of Yangon.

By the mid-1990s, the number of garment factories had increased significantly. The data in Table (3) on the growth of registered private industries provided by Industrial Zones Supervision Committees show that the number of garment factories increased from 17 in 1992 to 69 in 1996, and then to nearly 100 by 1998. Along with the increased factories, the requirement for labor also increased. It is important to note that despite lower number of garment factory when compared to textile factory, number of workers in the garment factory has tremendously increased and reached more than half of the total textile factory workers when it came to 1998 (See Table-3).

Table (3) Textile and garment factories and employee numbers

	1992		1996		1997		1998	
	Fact's	Workers	Fact's	Workers	Fact's	Workers	Fact's	Workers
Textile	1,520	10,543	2,348	17,334	2,353	17,512	2,337	17,500
Garment	17	230	69	8,870	77	9,967	98	10,187

Source: Industrial Zones Supervisions Committee 2000

Chaw (2003) views the establishment of industrial zones around Yangon as a significant turning point for internal migration in Myanmar because many young rural women have been recruited into the urban labor market. She argues that this rural-urban migration is a new phenomenon in Myanmar and as a result of migration, women that were previously under parental control, economically dependent and confined within a small geographical area, are now earning their own incomes and being exposed to the wider socioeconomic arena.

Chaw (2003) argues that the entry of rural workers into the urban labor market is strongly influenced by the declining village economy. In Myanmar, the

majority of people lives in rural areas and earns living by cultivating rice and crops. Although rice was a major crop, the government did not subsidize farmers and it was a must that certain amount of rice had to be sold to government with set price. Consequently, to fulfill government's quota, for those who produce below the required quota had to sell some rice which is kept for home consumption. It was really a burden for farmers. So, in order to solve family's difficulty in terms of income, some members in such families had to contribute to the household economy by working on other people's farms, by providing domestic service to rich households and by selling seasonal food and vegetables in the village. In this regard, working in urban areas becomes the best solution because it has more employment opportunities and higher wages. On the other hand, economic opportunities in rural areas are limited. However, when compared to men, village women are more mobile outside villages because they have less access to land because of gender ideologies and their domestic responsibilities whereas men are primarily responsible for farm works. Although, most of females from poor families were sent to serve as domestic helpers in the past, they have more options to work in industrial labor market after the establishment of factories in the industrial zones in the city.

The establishment of factories zone in urban areas created strong linkages between rural and urban. On the other hand, since the government emphasizes on improving infrastructures, such as roads, bridges and rail systems, it became easier for rural people to travel towards urban areas and create migration opportunities to nearby cities. Those who settle in cities form networks which can eventually accommodate friends or relatives newly arriving from surrounding villages. The boundaries between rural and urban are becoming more fluid because of the continuous movement of people between the village and the city. News and information about life and opportunities in the Yangon industrial zones flow back to villages almost every day via the many people moving between city and village. These rural-urban linkages give opportunities for young women to look for jobs in urban areas since parents are not as sensitive and wary of urban life as before.



### 2.2.2 Level, Trends and Patterns of Internal Migration in Myanmar

Data on migration are very limited in Myanmar. The 1973 and 1983 censuses did not include questions on migration. A considerable variation in population growth rates of states and regions suggest the existence of internal migration. The higher population growth in urban areas with a lower level of fertility may be taken as an indication reflecting the movements of people from rural to urban areas (National Population Committee 1994 ).

The first comprehensive data on migration in Myanmar was provided by the 1991 Population Changes and Fertility Survey (PCFS) conducted by the Department of Population in collaboration with United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). The PCFS showed that between birth and the time of the survey, one out of ten persons usually changed their place of origins at least once. According to their study, it was found that one fifth of fifty-year-old people and above had moved the state or region of their residence at least once. Nearly half of the former groups were return migrants which means that although they had moved at least twice, they were living in the same state or region of their birth place at the time of PCFS (Nyi 2013).

Until the 2001 Fertility and Reproductive Health Survey (FRHS) was published, there were no information as regards Myanmar migration at nationwide level after 1991 PCFS. According to the 2001 FRHS, huge amount of migrants moved from small towns/cities to bigger towns/cities where employment opportunities, particularly in the manufacturing sector, are rapidly available. Besides, the movement within the rural areas is another type of migration stream which is relatively large and consisted 32% of total migrants (Nyi 2013).

Yangon has consistently been a destination of life time migrants through the period 1991 and 2007. Unsurprisingly, it is because Yangon was the capital in the past and is a commercial hub of Myanmar until the present. Almost all consumer commodities are flown to Yangon from all regions around Myanmar. In addition, since Yangon ranks at top of economic hub of the country, it creates a lot of employment opportunities than any other cities. Industrial zones around the Yangon

metropolitan areas also spawn jobs for low educated people throughout the country (Nyi 2013).

In Myanmar, urban to urban migration is found as the predominant form of spatial movement which has oscillated between 1991 and 2007 followed by rural to urban migration. Although migration from rural to urban was second highest in 1991, rural to rural migration has overtaken it over the period of ten years. However, it is considered that this movement must have increased in terms of volume at present. With Regard to rural to rural migration, it accounted for roughly 18% of all movements in 1991, but it has almost doubled and was ranked as second biggest movement by overtaking the rural to urban movement in 2001. Nevertheless, according to 2007 FRHS, it was ranked as the second biggest movement in Myanmar although the proportion has dropped to about 26% in 2007. One possible reason may be assumed that workforces from poorer regions travel to the agriculturally prosperous areas where there are more employment opportunities. The least significant movement among all movements in Myanmar is urban to rural migration which dropped from about 13% in 1991 to about 9% both in 2001 and 2007 (Nyi 2013).

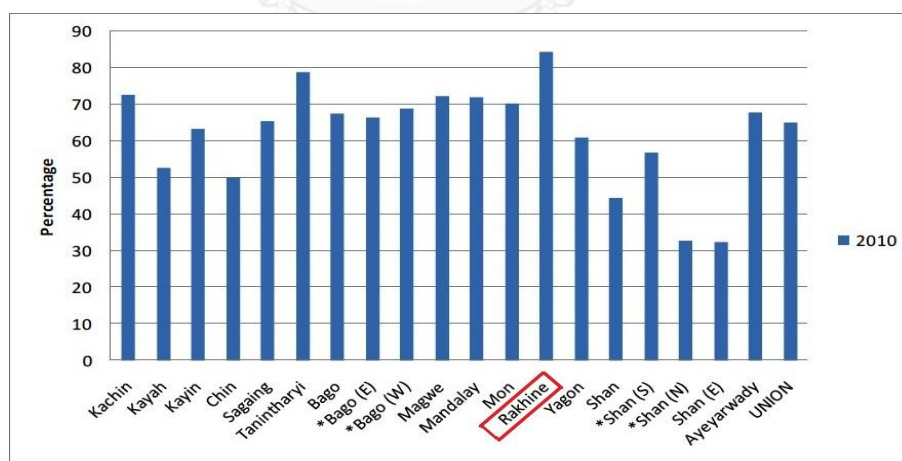
### **2.2.3 Background of Rakhine State**

Rakhine State, known as Arakan to the outside world for centuries, is located in the western part of Myanmar. According to the 2014 Population and Housing Census taken by Ministry of Immigration and Population, the population of Rakhine today is estimated to be 3.2 million, majority of Rakhine ethnicity (UNDP 2015). Although Rakhine is one of the most natural resource-abundance-states – for example natural gas, vis-à-vis that of other states and regions – it is one of the poorest states in Myanmar. According to the 2010 Integrated Household Living Conditions Assessment (IHLCA), Rakhine State records the second-highest poverty incidence in Myanmar after Chin State. However, the 2014 poverty data and a recent World Bank reinterpretation of this data show that Rakhine State's poverty rate is

78% (against a national rate of 38%) suggesting that Rakhine may be the poorest of all States and Regions in the country (UNDP 2015).

It is said that about 70% of Myanmar population lives in rural areas. In the case of Rakhine State, however, apart from capital city and some urban areas, the rest of population lives in rural areas with the livelihood of farming and fishing. So, perhaps one third out of 70% living in rural areas is in Rakhine State. Millennium Development Goals Report shows that the highest proportion of the population living in slums among the states and regions was 84 per cent in Rakhine State (Figure – 3). Besides, the report also underlined the lowest labor force participation rates in Rakhine (58%), where economic dependency ratios are found to be very high (MDGs 2013). Rakhine populace, particularly from rural areas, has been struggling for daily survival whereas the other people from respective states and regions have regular income. The Inquiry Commission Report (2013) reveals that, overall, the average monthly income of a family is 42,000 Kyats in Rakhine State, which is approximately equivalent to 42 US\$ or 1400 Thai Baht (Inquiry Commission 2013).

Figure (3) Proportion of urban population living in slums by State/Region, 2010



Source: Millennium Development Goals Report Myanmar, 2013

One of the key factors hindering Rakhine State's development is allegedly said to be the military presence at the state. The arrival of more troops or battalions

in Rakhine State has also brought increased forced labor and land confiscations to make way for barracks, outposts, and other military infrastructures. Forced land confiscation without any compensation is commonplace in Rakhine State, especially where development projects are being implemented by the government and foreign corporations. In addition, the Western Commander controls many of the lucrative businesses in the state by selling permits and issuing licenses (AHRDO 2012). It afflicts local people's life as well as economic development of Rakhine State. As a result, farmers lost their farmlands and fisheries are also monopolized and sold auction by military. U Hla Saw, Rakhine political leader, comments that lack of resources sharing and ruling by Rakhine people hinder Rakhine State from development although it possesses natural resources such as fertile and productive paddy fields, forests, and seas – corridor to Bay of Bengal (BBC Burmese 2014).

On the other hand, the soldiers from the army extort money from the local people by preventing them from passing along transportation routes. People were coerced into paying illegal tax to continue their destinations. If they cannot afford to pay in cash, goods carrying along with them, mostly rice, crops, oil and so forth, have to be given otherwise they will be beaten for not following the rules of military. Likewise, navy also compel local people to pay tax by stopping boats and motorboats along inland water ways. Such kinds of cases can be seen almost in everywhere in the state. Accordingly, the traditional livelihoods have been damaged and it is getting harder for local people to make ends meet. However, the majority of profit made from farming and fishing go straight into the hands of the government – funding further military expansion and fuelling more human rights abuses – while millions of workers and people live in extreme poverty (AHRDO 2012).

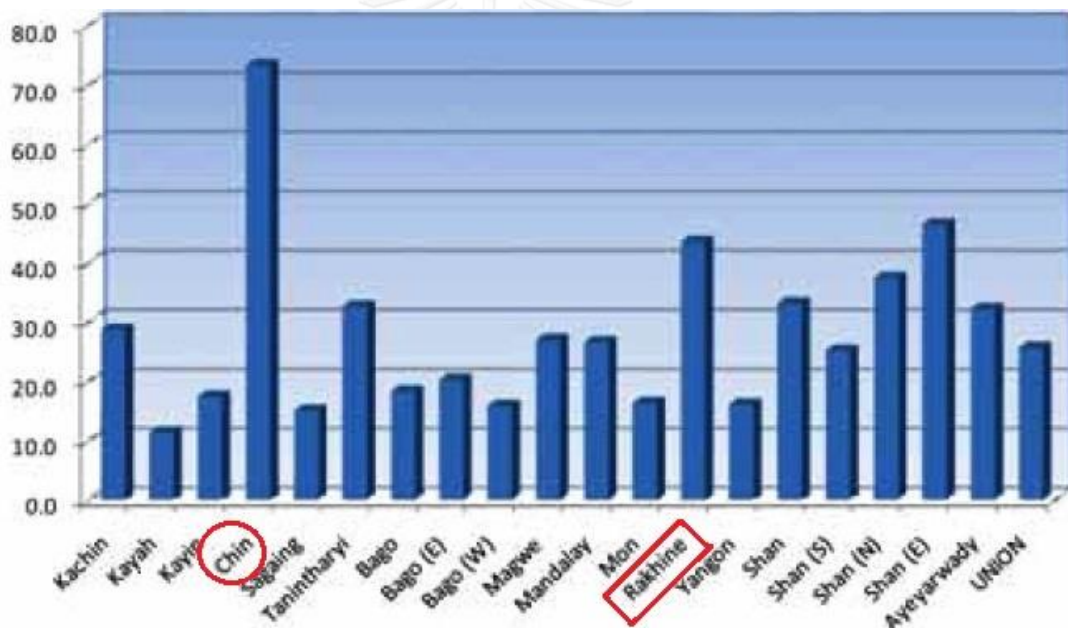
#### **2.2.4 Economic Status of Rakhine State**

As aforementioned, although Rakhine is one of the richest in natural resources states in Myanmar, remarkably it stands as one of the poorest states in Myanmar until present. According to the United Nations Development Program report (2011), the highest levels of poverty incidence are in Chin State (73%)

followed by Rakhine State (44%) (Figure-4). All in all, the four major contributing states and regions to national poverty are Irrawaddy (19%), Mandalay (15%), Rakhine (12%) and Shan State (11%) (Figure-5) (UNDP 2011). Together, these four states account for over half of total poverty in Myanmar.

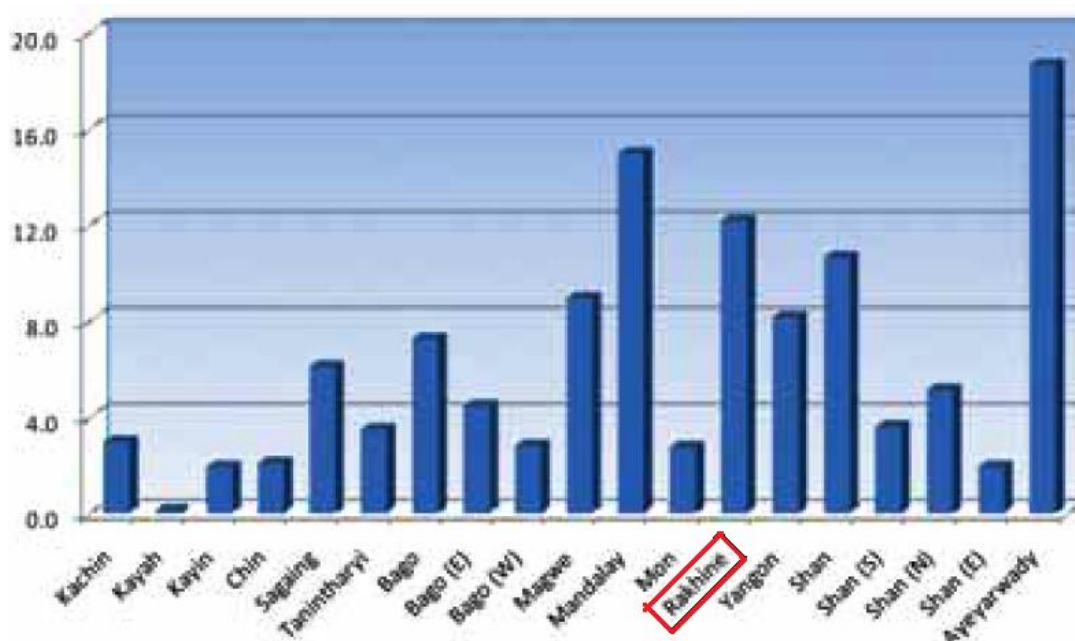
Regarding the rural migration in Rakhine State, two types of purposes for migration can be found out. While the first type of migrating labors intend to earn a much higher income than they could have earned at home in order to improve their income, the second type of migrants plan to minimize the income fluctuation throughout the year (Okamoto 2009).

Figure (4) poverty Incidence by State/Region, 2010



Source: UNDP Report 2011

Figure (5) National Poverty Shares by State/ Region, 2010



Source: UNDP Report 2011

The livelihoods of people living in Rakhine State are mainly from subsistence fishery and agriculture because of its proximity to the Bay of Bengal and its fertile lands. However, there are lots of limitations for local residents especially people working in the fishery sector. For instance, there is no international market where fishery products are to be sold. Although the prawn industry in Rakhine State developed in the past, it has deteriorated due to western sanction (Burma News International 2013). As a consequence of the sanction, international markets for Rakhine's prawn were lost, lack of capital for investment as foreign income had halted, lack of maintenances and unmodernized techniques failed to strengthen prawn industry and was ruined (Burma News International 2013). On the other hand, the government sells all of fishing sites by auction or long concession and all of lucrative businesses, thereby, fall into the hand of business cronies. As a result, many fishermen with low income cannot afford to buy fishing permit in respective areas.

Salt farming is a kind of traditional livelihood in Rakhine State. According to the local Media, Narinjara (2012), there are approximately 30,000 people living off

salt farming in Rakhine State. However, although the season has already come, the salt-farmers are afraid of stating their business because they had suffered severely from losses for three year consecutively. The key issue is that salt-farmers do not have adequate capital for investment in salt farming which causes major difficulty to adopt up-to-date techniques. Accordingly, many of them will not be able to resume their business during the year. It is important to note that although Rakhine State includes one of the major regions that produce salt in Myanmar, not even a single factory which can refine the raw salt can be found in the region. The local salt-farmers, therefore, have been longing to prop up their salt industry – which is currently facing collapse with great losses – not only by providing subsidies but establishing salt refineries in their region by the government (Narinjara 2012).

With Regard to agriculture sector, Rakhine State has been reliant on agriculture, predominantly the production of rice throughout its history. In fact, along with the Irrawaddy Delta, Rakhine State was one of the Myanmar's two main rice producing region. The rice production industry, however, had declined since 1962 onwards. Moreover, the presence of military has seriously damaged the lives of farmers in Rakhine State. Since then land grabbing has increased in Rakhine State and tens of thousands acres of farm lands were confiscated by the army (McCartan 2013). These human rights violation had caused livelihood insecurity for farmers in Rakhine State. Besides, they also have experienced low price of agricultural products. Government do not provide subsidy. These are major causes leading to poverty for Rakhine people and impoverished the state.

#### **2.2.5 Natural Disaster and Sectarian Violence**

According to the UN Risk Model, Myanmar ranks first as the 'most at risk' country in Asia-pacific region (OCHA 2012). The country is vulnerable to a wide range of hazards, including floods, cyclones, earthquakes, landslides and tsunamis. In addition to that, the historical data also shows high possibility for medium to large-scale natural disasters to happen every couple of years. The internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) report reveals that, approximately 1.9 million people from

2008 to 2012 have been displaced by disasters in the country over the last five years (IDMC 2013). Cyclone Nargis – the worst natural disaster in Myanmar as well as the 8th deadliest in the world – struck in May 2008 remained some 140,000 people dead and several missing in the Irrawaddy Delta region. It is estimated that 2.4 million people lost their homes and livelihoods due to the Cyclone Nargis (Oxfam). It was reportedly said that massive migration occurred as the consequences of the Cyclone Nargis.

As Rakhine State is close to the Bay of Bengal, it suffers from natural disaster almost every year. The Cyclone Giri struck in October 2010 was one of the strongest cyclones in Rakhine State which ruined at least 20,300 houses, 17,500 acres of agricultural land and nearly 50,000 acres of aquaculture ponds. According to Government estimates, at least 71,000 people remain homeless and at least 15,000 houses are completely destroyed, with a total of approximately 200,000 people affected in four townships alone – Minbya, Pauktaw, Myebon, and Kyauk Phyu (Myanmar 2010).

One of the height factors which caused people mobility within Rakhine State internally and externally is assumed to be life insecurity. Rakhine State was affected by inter-communal violence in 2012, resulting in significant population displacement and loss of livelihoods which caused massive regional population mobility (UNDP 2015). According to the Inquiry commission's report, the sectarian conflicts left 192 people dead, 265 injured, 8,614 houses destroyed, and more than 100,000 people internally displaced (Asia News Network 2013). Amongst them, it is assumed that many people also move to Yangon where they anticipate living safely, higher living standard as well as more opportunities for employment. The violence lasted more than a year and severely damaged Rakhine economy.



### 2.2.6 Yangon and Opportunity Booms

Pull factors are often forces encouraging people to move from one place to another. Different people have different reasons for moving but the common goal tends to be for livelihood security, higher income and better life. In order to meet their dreams, many people in Rakhine State choose to stay at Yangon. The population of Rakhine people in Yangon has increased since 2010 (UNFPA 2010).

The geographical position of Yangon City as a gateway linking Myanmar to the outside world is one of the significant pull factors. Until a new capital was moved to Naypyitaw in 2005, Yangon was the former capital city of Myanmar and hitherto stands as the country's commercial capital where there are more opportunities not only for investors to run businesses but also for employees to work. When looking at the internal migration trend within Myanmar, people from all over the country are heading to Yangon city for various reasons. The dry zone migration survey shows that more than half of potential migrant people's final destination are Yangon city (MSR 2003).

According to the report by Ibrahim Ngah (2005), the Yangon Region since 2005 has become the third largest number of population in Myanmar after the Mandalay and Irrawaddy Region with a total share of 6.4 million people or 11.7% of the whole Myanmar's population (Ngah 2005). Yangon region's population growth rate was 2.2% per annum, higher than the national growth rate of 2.0% per annum for the 2000-2005 periods. The higher growth of Yangon City population was attributed to migration from rural areas of Yangon Division (Outside City) and from other states. The domination of Yangon City in the hierarchy of urban settlement and disparity of living condition between Yangon City and the rest of the country may encourage people to move to Yangon City in the hope of earning better future (Ngah 2005).

Table (4) Population of Yangon City and Yangon Division, 1983-2005

Area	Population			AAGR (%)	
	1983	1993	2005	1983-1993	1993-2005
Yangon City	2,513,023	3,097,765	4,350,913	2.11	2.87
Outside City	1,452,977	1,870,168	2,111,066	2.56	1.00
Yangon Division	3,966,000	4,967,933	6,461,979	2.28	2.21
Myanmar	35,308,000	43,116,000	55,399,000	2.02	2.00

Source: Yangon Strategic Plan Population and Human, Interim Report, (2005)

On the other hand, the townships located at the fringes towards north-west and eastern part of Yangon City, such as Hlaingthaya, Shwe Pyi Thar, Dagon (South), Dagon (North), Dagon (East), Dagon (Seikkan) and North Okklapa has experienced rapid increase in population of more than 4%. These are the areas where future direction of growth shall be expected. One of the most important reasons for increasing population in these areas is due to the presence of industrial zones. As the Yangon becomes a mega city, the government moved out most of the industrial zone to the outskirts of the city.

Subsequently, because of the labor requirement of industries as well as their permanent settlement in the vicinities of industrial zones, these areas become a new residence for the newly arriving workers. However, some of these residences are forcibly evicted by the authorities. Over the last two years – after civilian government came to power – street protests and strikes happened rapidly by the factory workers in Hlaingthaya Township where many migrant workers are employed. Once more than 12,000 striking workers from 30 factories gathered to demand better pay and working conditions (Myanmar Times 2013). In Myanmar, there have been many abuses of worker rights and being oppressed by employers (YCOWA 2012). So,

despite rapid protests, why many people are interested in moving to Yangon is considered to be the abundance of job opportunities due to industrial zones, relatively higher living standard in comparison with other states and regions, and access to advance education as well as gateway to go abroad can be considered as pull factors encouraging people around the country.



## Chapter III Causes of Migration and Role of Social Networks

In this chapter, two main research questions are answered, which are: (1) What are the factors underpinning migrants' decision-making to leave Rakhine State? and (2) To what extent are decisions to migrate driven by perceived opportunities in the destination, notably in Yangon?

### 3.1 Profile of Sampling

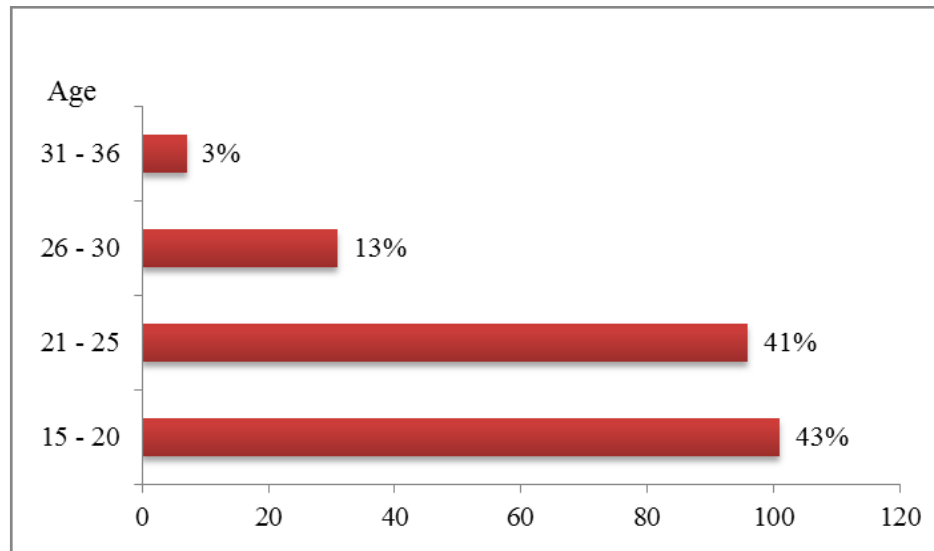
This study was conducted in Yangon's Hlaingthaya Industrial City where 235 manual factory workers were surveyed. Other stakeholders such as senior officers from factories, community leaders as well as government staff were interviewed to gather information not covered in the survey.

#### 3.1.1 Social Background

All respondents in this study are from various parts of Rakhine State, particularly from that of rural areas. The majority of participants are female (79%); only 21% are male. This study covers workers from 25 diverse factories. Among them, many are working at garment factories, sequin factories, and shoe factories. However, small numbers of respondents are working other factories such as bag factories, wig factory, and coffee factory. Besides, informal workers such people working at crab trading center, dry fish business, and fish and prawn production were also included in this study.

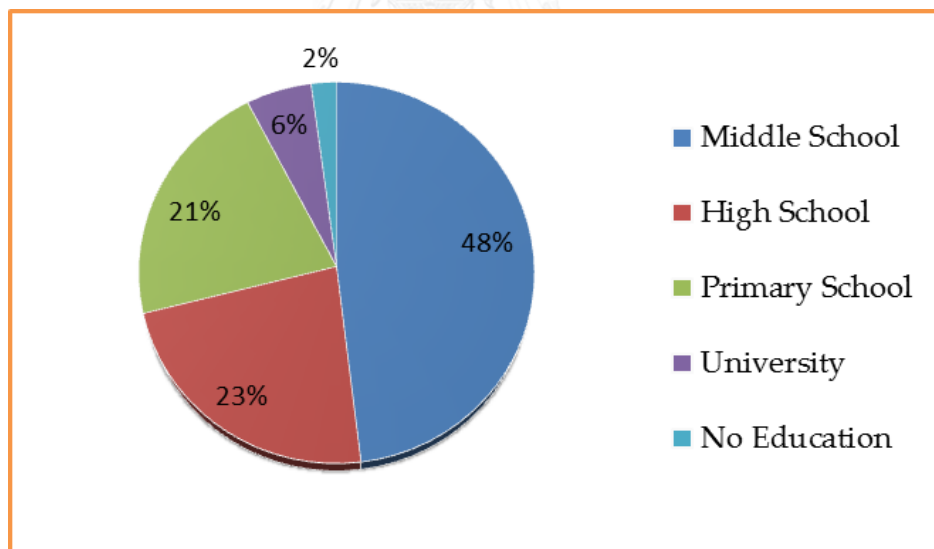
Although ages differ considerably between the factory workers, 43% of workers are in the age of 15 to 20 whereas 41% are from 21-25 years of age, 13% are from 26-30 years of age, and only 3% are from 31-36 years of age (See Figure - 6). According to this study, it is found out that they left their place of origins at the average age of 18-19. Therefore, most of them are single while only 4% are married.

Figure (6) Age of Workers



Source: Processing result from 235 questionnaires

Figure (7) Education Status of Workers

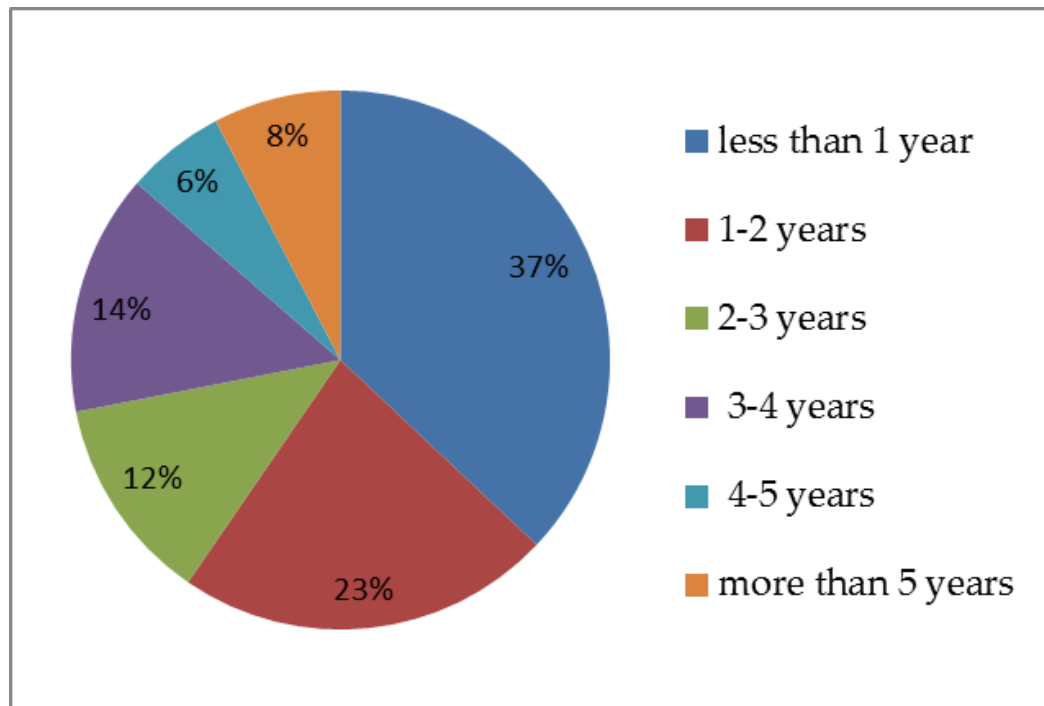


Source: processing result from 235 questionnaires

In terms of educational level, nearly half of workers went to middle schools whereas 21% attended primary school, and 23% went to high school. Besides, the survey shows that 2% of worker had never been to formal school and only 6% of them went to University (See Figure - 7). In fact, regardless of their educational level,

wage and salary simply depend on professional skills – for instance, accountant, ability to work relevant jobs – such as sewing and cutting clothes in garment factory, and seniority.

Figure (8) Length of Stay of Workers in Yangon



Source: Processing result from 235 questionnaires

It is interesting that although the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) report of 2010 revealed that total population of Rakhine in Yangon is 138,000 in 2001 by comparison with 7,100 in 1991, this study shows that those who came to Yangon over the last few years are vast majority, which of 37% of people arrived to Yangon less than 1 year ago while 23% arrived within 1-2 years, 12% arrived within 2-3 years, 14% arrived within 3-4 years, 6% arrived within 4-5 years, and 8% of people have been in Yangon for more than 5 years (See Figure - 8). Therefore, it can be deduced from given figure that the volume of Rakhine people who came to work in Yangon particularly in industrial sector have been increasing yearly since over the past few years. So, although it is reportedly said that massive migration have been happening

throughout the decade in Rakhine State, it is a new phenomenon that rural people from Rakhine State flock to urban industrial zones of Yangon.

### 3.2 Factors Causing Migration to Yangon

This study found out that the reasons for departing from their birthplace are not too different between the Rakhine migrant workers. Among the given answers by the workers, however, the two major factors which have triggered Rakhine people to emigrate from their homeland are employment opportunity scarcity and locals' willingness to work in Yangon. Of course, there are some other factors causing migration from Rakhine State to Yangon. For instance, some 5% of Rakhine workers said that they immigrate to Yangon in search of work due to sectarian violence, natural disaster, and livelihood insecurity. Nonetheless, this kind of movement is highly narrow in terms of number and percentage when compared to major causes of migration (See Table - 5).

Table (5) Reason of migration of workers to Yangon

Reason for migration	Number of Respondents	Percent (%)
Job opportunity scarcity	186	79
Willingness to work in Yangon	22	9
Follow family's member and relative	12	5
Life Improvement	9	4
Sectarian Violence	4	2
Natural Disaster	2	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: survey

In this regard, it is clear that most of the Rakhine migrant workers in Yangon's Hlaingthaya Industrial City emigrated from their homeland by themselves for better employment opportunities as well as to live together with family rather than forced eviction. Therefore, they are economic migrants and not forced migrants.

### 3.1.2 Scarcity of Employment Opportunities

A factory worker said that,

*“I had not regular work in my village. I was just a manual worker. In raining season, I worked as a paddy plantation worker in rice farming. Occasionally, I also worked as a casual worker to build embankments. The rest time, I was unemployed. The job opportunity in my village was wholly dependent on seasonal crop husbandry and a handful of people who run small business such as crab trade and prawn husbandry. So, obviously employment opportunities are flourished only either when it comes to rice growing and harvesting seasons or when people extended their businesses. Therefore, I came to Yangon to have a permanent job and earn regular income”.*

Yet scarcity of job opportunities and lack of regular income remain a major challenge for Rakhine youth to settle in their homeland. This study proves that 32% of respondent did not have regular job or was nearly unemployed when they were in their place of origins. Apart from some urban areas where most people earn their living as civil servants, company staff, and individual business, people around the region primarily depend on agriculture and fisheries. Unfortunately, farmers in Rakhine State had undergone land grabbing by military for the purpose of building barracks, outposts, and other military infrastructures. And many still remain in the hand of military although a few farmlands were returned to its original peasants in the new government's period. In addition, the absence of governmental assistance towards farmers impoverished them as well. On the other hand, the fishery sector is getting deteriorated since the imposition of western sanction, so that it would take



many years to recover because the government neither create proper market where fishery products can be traded nor build factories to process fisheries products to ready-made foods. So, it is no wonder that most of Rakhine migrants working in the Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone are from rural areas of Rakhine State.

According to this study finding, 30% of total participants come from agriculture background and 8% worked in fishery sector of their home village. There are 22%, who worked in the small business such as home-shop selling and crab trading. Only a few people are found as skilled labors such as teacher, loom weaver, and sewing worker while 6% earned as casual worker.

### 3.1.3 Social Network and Proximity to Yangon

Despite poor infrastructure in terms of road connectivity between two regions, Rakhine State's proximity to Yangon and the existence of strong social networks are not only encouraging factor for Rakhine people to work in Yangon but also becoming neighborhoods for some to visit back and forth. Consequently, the idea of departing home and working in Yangon particularly in factories are becoming the mainstream amongst the Rakhine youth, especially female in rural areas today.

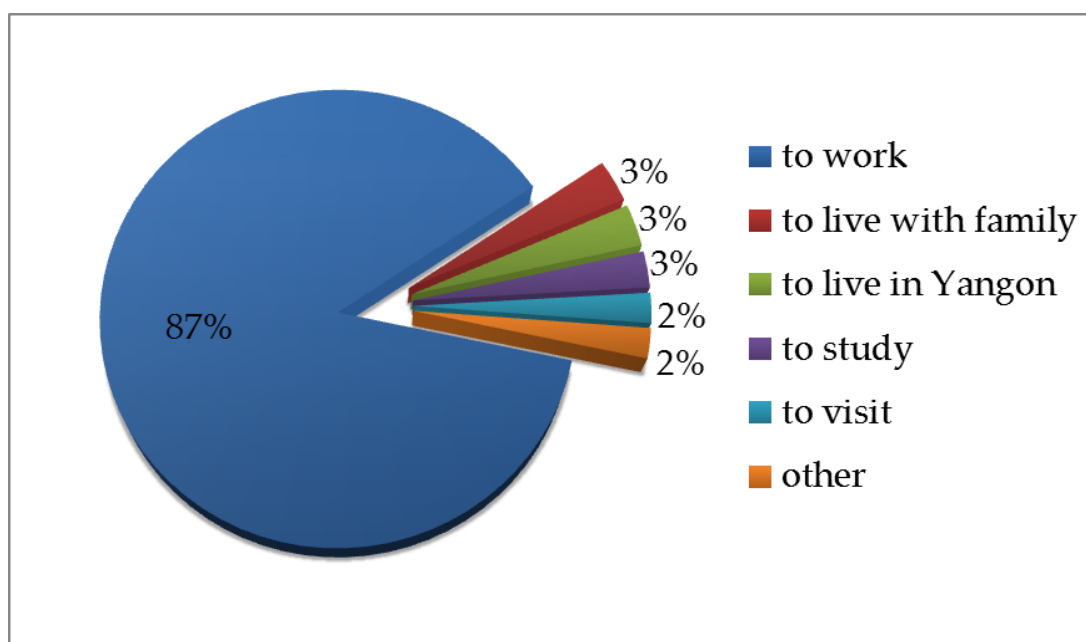
A factory worker comments that,

*“Young people in Rakhine State these days no longer want to work in agriculture. They are flocking to Yangon for work. They want to come to the city and find better paid work. Women come to find employment opportunities in Hlaingthaya's or Shwe Pyi Thar's garment factories whereas men are coming to fulfill the demand for labor in construction and other labor-intensive factories in Yangon”.*

The main purpose of coming to Yangon for most Rakhine people is to work. However, there are some who become factory workers although their initial purposes of coming to Yangon were for visit, study, as well as for living with family and relative. Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that access to accommodations and

employment opportunities easily convinced some people to settle in Yangon's Hlaingthaya Industrial City although whose initial plan was not intend to do so. This study finds that some 4% become factory workers after coming to Yangon for visit and study. Besides, some 6% turn out to be factory workers after certain period of living with their family and relative, and the rest of 87% are coming to Yangon only for the purpose of working (See Figure - 9).

Figure (9) Reason for Coming to Yangon



Source: Processing result from 235 questionnaires

### 3.3 People's Mobility from Rakhine State to Yangon

Yangon is located approximately 889 km away from central Rakhine State. It can be reached by all type of transportation, by land, by sea, and by air. However, apart from carrying heavy goods – which is mainly used by sea route – most Rakhine people travel to Yangon by car while some number of people use air-way. This land route is used by those who want to work not only in Yangon and its surrounding vicinities but also those who want to go Myanmar's neighboring countries via legal or illegal channel. However, those who go to Kachin state use different route which

goes firstly to Mandalay and catch to another bus to Kachin state. Rakhine migrants sometimes use chartered bus which directly goes to Kachin state.

All people who travel to Yangon cannot afford to pay air ticket price because it is three to five times higher than bus ticket. On the other hands, most of them on the move to Yangon are generally going in search of employment opportunities. Hence, they do not want to spend much on travelling expenses. Most people, if not all, working in Hlaingthaya factories came to Yangon by this way.

Apparently, as the tickets prices go different, the commuting time is also different. While it takes only about an hour from Sittwe to Yangon by fly, it takes at least one and half day (30 hours) to arrive by land. It is primarily because of extremely poor road condition plus out-dated cars. Moreover, passing immigration gates also additionally delay itineraries. On the way to Yangon, it is required to be checked at least two immigration gate and three gates have to be passed while coming back to Rakhine State which are U Chit Pin immigration gate, Kyat Yee Chan immigration gate, and Ann immigration gate. Therefore, it is like border crossing. At each gate, everyone needs to show citizenship card or National Registration Certificates (NRCs), anybody who fails to do so must be fined in every gate depending on negotiation price to immigration officer despite the fact that they certainly have residency certificate issued by respective village, ward or township administrator. Thus, it is like promoting corruptions and creating opportunity to extort money from poor Rakhine people.

Maung Phryu Chay, 26-year-old general worker from coffee factory, shares his experience as follow;

*“When I came to Yangon for working, I borrowed my friend’s NRC. I doing so, I could easily pass the immigration gates. After I have got a job in coffee factory, I sent it back to my friend. During the water festival in this year [April, 2014] I went back to my home in Rakhine State. When I passed the immigration gate, the officer extorts money as I failed to*

*identify myself as a Myanmar citizen. There were two more people like me and we were asked to pay 2000 kyats each as fine. However, since we all have understood the nature, we could successfully convince him to pay half of his demand by giving reason that we need to pass two more gates. While my stay in home town, I wanted to make citizenship card but government offices are closed during the water festival and I also had no sufficient time. Nevertheless, I certainly will do it during next time visit because I understand that will have trouble as long as I cannot show the citizenship card while passing the immigration gates”.*

Accordingly, if not many, at least one or more people have been fined in many routes. As aforementioned, many of them going for working to Yangon are usually manual workers as well as from rural areas. As a result, they normally do not have citizenship card unless the government itself went to rural to issue citizenship card although they are undoubtedly Myanmar citizen. Therefore, it would be found out in many cases that people usually borrow citizenship card from their family members, friends, and other sources when they need to travel various places around Myanmar.

Flying by air can overcome these kinds of discontentment but needless to say citizenship card is indispensable for boarding pass. However, it is important to note here that the number of people who fly by plane is relatively lower than that of express bus route does not mean that many people on the move to Yangon do not have citizenship card.

Two major forms of mass migration usually can be seen in the process of people mobility from Rakhine State to Yangon, which are household migration and group migration. Nevertheless, individual migrants are also seldom found. Why people migrate especially to Yangon than other can be conceptualized by two facts. As aforementioned, despite poor road condition, Yangon is over 600 miles away from Rakhine State, thus transportation is far more convenient than other states and regions. Secondly, due to industrial zones where labor forces are always in demand,

employment opportunities are considered to be highly abundant in Yangon by comparison to any other places. More importantly, migration networks and Rakhine community in Yangon are strong enough to accommodate people mobility to Yangon.

### **3.4 Role of Social Network on Migration Process**

In the context of Myanmar – where the gap between rural and urban is extremely huge, telecommunication is unfavorable until late 2013, and language and culture are ethnically diverse – it is simply not too easy for people living in remote areas of Rakhine State want to work in Yangon where they have never been. However, social networks help them fulfill their dreams and bridge as if Yangon is in their backyard. Nowadays, there are approximately 500,000 people in Yangon from different part of Rakhine State and at least more than one third of total population is believed to be working as manual worker.

With Regard to people mobility process in Rakhine State, the roles of brokers or recruiters still are significant, especially migration to place like jade mines of Kachin State and to overseas where labor demands are always high and which also gives a lot of incentives to people in terms of wages. In many cases, the brokers themselves, known as recruiters, are mostly member of particular villages and former workers who have long working experience in destination places. Upon on the required workforce, they sometimes wait until the expected number of people in villages. The recruiters always say to the villagers the possibility to find jobs, higher wages, and the ease in passing the border to work where he currently working. If someone from the village wants to work in the place of destinations, he or she has to contact to those recruiters and the participant may need to pay certain amount in advance in some cases.

In the case of people mobility from Rakhine State to Yangon, however, not even a single case was found who came to Yangon by the help of brokers during the time of research. Hence, it is assumed that migration networks are strong enough to facilitate people mobility to Yangon without any brokers' help. According to the

research finding, almost all people came to Yangon area via social networks such as relative, friend, and family member while only a few people came by self-plan (See Table - 6). It is unsurprising that there is no single case of unmarried woman who came to Yangon alone without her custodian because parents in Myanmar never let their young daughters travel alone away from home. Therefore, all the people who came to Yangon by their own are young men and their family members.

Table (6) Social Network used by Workers

Agency	Number of Respondent	Percentage ( % )
Family	67	28.5
Relative	96	40.9
Friend	68	28.9
Teacher	3	1.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Survey

The easiest and safest way to immigrate to Yangon is through family and relative networks and this type of migration process can be seen widely in many cases of rural to urban migration between Rakhine and Yangon. It is because, on the one hand, networks are reliable enough and , on the other hand, migrants do not need to worry about accommodations and employments which means at least one of their family members, relatives, or friends has already been working at somewhere in a factory or at a construction site in Yangon. So, they can easily find a place to stay and potentially obtain a job offer within a short period of time. Accordingly, they may call to their family members, relatives, or friends after they had acclimatized to new environment. Therefore, the migration networks play pivotal role for people mobility from Rakhine State to Yangon.

Hla Hla Htay, a garment factory worker, living at a hostel said that,

*“This hostel belongs to a Rakhine owner. Besides, many Rakhine people including factory workers are also living in this hostel. Among them, there is a household from my village. By the help of them many people have now arrived to Yangon and are working in factories. They not only gave us required information but helped us find job at factories in Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone through their networks. Later on, the new arrival people call their family members, relatives and friends. There is nearly no youth in my village because many of them are now working in Yangon. Similar to that, there are also many people who came to Yangon by their contacts. There are more than 300 Rakhine workers in my factory alone. Likewise, there would be many factories where Rakhine people are working. So, I doubt that there would be a single factory in which Rakhine labors are not working in Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone”.*

Another Rakhine migrant, Ma Tin Shwe, 35-year-old two sons’ mother, whose household moved to Yangon in the late 2010, said that,

*“When we moved to Yangon, we did not make proper contact with relatives who had been long settled here in Hlaingthaya. So, we had nowhere to go when we arrived to Yangon. Consequently, we went to a monastery nearby the bus terminal and requested the head of monk to stay for a few days. During our stay, my husband went to Hlaingthaya and looked for my relatives. After staying a couple of days, we gained connection and moved to Hlaingthaya where we are living until now. Therefore, we thank to the monastery which helped us give accommodation while we were trying to have contact with my relatives, otherwise, we would have been in trouble”.*

Moreover, Phru Phru Aung whose current position is an accountant and admin at Lat War garment factory also explain similar experience with Ma Tin Shwe. Phru Phyu Aung said that,

*“In 2012, my mother and I came to Yangon where my brother is working. However, since my brother was busy with his work, he could not come and take us to his place. Thus, we went to the monastery where my mother’s nephew is a monk. The next day, my brother came to the monastery and took us to his whereabouts in Hlaingthaya”.*

According to the experience of Ma Tin Shwe and Phru Phru Aung, it is important to note that the role of monks and monasteries are one of momentous factors which help achieve migration process smoothly from Rakhine State to Yangon.

### **3.5 Summary**

The result of scarcity of job opportunity in the state impels Rakhine people to migrate to various places. Thereby, many choose to go to Yangon’s industrial zones where they consider job opportunities are easily available. More importantly, some of their family members, relatives, or friends have already been in Yangon. They left their place of origins at the average age of 18-19 and most of them are thus single. They are averagely secondary school level in terms of education.

Despite recent sectarian violence and natural disaster in Rakhine State, the migration for Rakhine migrant workers are primarily caused by two major influencing factors which are employment opportunity scarcity and locals’ willingness to work in Yangon because of state’s proximity. In this regard, it is clear that most of the Rakhine migrant workers in Yangon’s Hlaingthaya Industrial City emigrated from their homeland by themselves for better employment opportunities and to live together with family rather than forced eviction. Therefore, they are not forced migrants but economic migrants.

The social networks play significant role for people mobility to Yangon. Interestingly, religious associations such as monks and monasteries include one of



contributing factors to achieve migration process smoothly from Rakhine State to Yangon. These networks are so strong and reliable that migrants do not need to worry about accommodations and employments because at least one of their family members, relatives, or friends has already been working in a factory of Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone. So, they can easily find a job in one of factories in the zone.

One of significant findings is that those who came directly from Rakhine State to Yangon over the last few years are vast majority whereas some migrant workers had been there for not more than 6 years. Therefore, in the light of this, it is clear that although it is reportedly said that Rakhine State have been facing massive migration, people mobility from rural of Rakhine State to Yangon's industrial zones is not more than 6 years. Thus, it is a new phenomenon of migration pattern for Rakhine State.

So, in the next chapter, working condition of Rakhine migrant workers in factories of Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone will be discussed. In this part, working hours, wage and salary, wage dispute between employees and proprietors, social security, process to gain medical treatment and compensation, labor law and dispute settlement mechanism are key discussions.

## Chapter IV Working Condition of Rakhine Migrants in Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone

This chapter will describe the working condition of migrants in Hlaingthaya Industrious Zone.

### 4.1 An Overview of Hlaingthaya Industrial City

Hlaingthaya is located about 15 miles away from downtown of Yangon and is comprised of 20 wards, 9 village tracts, and 18 villages. There are over 148,695 households in this township and total population is 686,827 which of 322,877 are male and 363,950 are female. Hlaingthaya was established during military government ruling days by relocating fire victims from Mayangone Township in 1985 (Kraas 2006). Now, it has becomes the most developed town amongst the newly settled towns in Yangon city area. As a result, Hlaingthaya has been profiled to industrial city since July 1996.

Since Hlaingthaya becomes one of the largest industrial cities in the Yangon region, people living in Hlaingthaya Township and its surrounding vicinity have also massively increased. The majority of them are factory workers who migrated from various parts of Myanmar and it might account for more than one third of total population in Hlaingthaya. Moreover, the township experienced a jump in population aftermath of cyclone Nargis in 2008.

The establishment of Hlaingthaya Industrial City was started by the Department of Human Settlement and Housing Development (DHSHD) under the Ministry of Construction in February 15, 1995 in accordance with the government policy and implementation. It is the third formation of large-scale industrial zone around Yangon city that the government has been starting since February 1992 (Kraas 2006). It is located near Bayinnaung Bridge and is bounded by Hlaing River in the east, Shwe Than Lwin Industrial Zone in the west, Panhlaing River in the south, and Yangon-Pathin Road in the north. The total area planned to build for the whole

industrial city was about 1,401.98 acres (567 hectares) and out of which 1,087.98 acres (440 hectares) was utilized for the industrial use.

The objectives of this industrial zone are (1) to create job opportunities and increase income for people in the region, (2) to further enhance the social and economic development for local populace, and; (3) to accelerate the development of national economy, promote local and foreign investment, and technology through industrial sector.

The Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone was opened in August 18, 1996. However, for the management works, the Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone Management Committee comprising the proprietors of the factories was formed since July 24, 1996 (Kraas 2006). The main functions of the management committee are to carry out maintenance works such as repairing roads and power lines, digging drains and taking measures against the disposal of industrial waste. To raise maintenance costs, the committee then collects money from the factory proprietors. Although the committee initially collected 3000 kyats per acre per month for local investors and 20 US\$ for foreign investors, they raised the maintenance fee to 100,000 kyats per acre for local investors and 50 US\$ per acre for foreign investors since January 2011 (Kraas 2006).

Today, the number of factories in Hlaingthaya industries Zone had increased up to 862 although there were only 500 factories before the military rule period ended in 2011. According to the labor registration office in Hlaingthaya Township, before the census was taken in April 2014, altogether 58,838 (male 16,231/female 42,607) employees are working in Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone. Nevertheless, the number of labor increased to 97,480 after the census had taken and nearly 10% of total work forces are Rakhine migrant labor which is 9,933. Besides, in his interview with The Irrawaddy, a regional news publication, Myat Thin Aung, chairman of Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone, told that many foreign investors are interested to invest in heavy industry but they may probably wait until post-election of 2015, when political stability is better off. The official figure released by the government on 12

December, 2001 shows that total investment of the industrial zone had reached Kyats 15,814.33 million and US\$ 105.55 million (The New Light of Myanmar, Wednesday, 12 December, 2001).

According to the Industrial Zone Committee office report, 588 factories are completed and are in production whereas 26 factories are yet to fully operate and 6 factories are under construction. Among the operating factories, the grain factory is standing at top in terms of number with 32.6% follow by toiletry factory (20%), food stuff factory (13%), garment factory (9.8%), construction factory (4.2%), chemical product factory (4%), cold storage factory (2.8%), press-related factory (2.2%), forest production factory (2.2%), machinery parts factory (2%), electrical goods factory (1.7%), and the rest of all factories in general are totally 4%. It is important to note that in Hlaingthaya, although the number of garment factories is relatively fewer in comparison with other factories, it is the most labor intensive sector which can employ many of newly arriving unskilled workers who came to work in Yangon.

Total number and types of factory currently in operation are as follow;

1. Garment	58
2. Food-Stuff	82
3. Toiletry	118
4. Construction Materials	25
5. Electrical Goods	10
6. Forest Productions	13
7. Chemical Products	24
8. Press-related	13
9. Machinery Parts	12
10. Cold Storage	17
11. Grain	192
12. General	24

## 4.2 Working Hours

According to the Factories Act 1951, standard working hours in Myanmar are 8 hours per day and 44 hours per week (Park 2014). However, there are some other laws which define specifically as well as differently from regulation of Factories Act 1951 such as 35 hours for government employees, 40 hours for underground mining workers and 48 hours for shops and service workers. After 5 consecutive hours of working, 30-minute break should be given, which is counted as the part of working hours. Overtime payment is at the rate double of the normal wage for blue collar workers such as factory workers, miners, and oil and gas workers.

Unfortunately, most of the workers do not know that how many working hours are set to work per day or per week for blue collar workers by the government. All they understand what the working hour means to them is the working hours set by respective factory. Therefore, this study finds out that 49% of total factory workers are working more than 64 hours per week whereas 27% are working 57-64 hours, 16% are working 49-56 hours, 7% are working 40- 48 hours per week, and only 1 person out of 235 workers who is an office administration and project leader of a garment factory said that she works less than 40 hours per week (See Table - 7).

Table (7) Working Hours of Factory Workers

Working Hours per Week	Number of Respondents	Percent (%)
< 40 hours	1	0
40 – 48 hours	17	7
49 – 56 hours	38	16
57 – 64 hours	64	27
> 64 hours	115	49
<b>Total</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Survey

Many who work more than 64 hours per week said that they work 10-11 hours from Monday to Friday. They do not have weekend holiday. On Saturday, in some factories, workers need to work for a half day whereas some factories close a few hours earlier than normal working time. Sunday is officially day off but some factories require working. For this, it was found that while only a few factories pay overtime charges plus lunch catering, some provide travelling expenses, and most do not pay at all. However, this overtime work is not necessarily to be worked weekly – perhaps twice in a month. Nevertheless, the workers have been losing their daily life because of heavy workload and sporadic overtimes.

Regarding the overtime payment, it varies from factory to factory. While a few factories pay from 3,000-5,000 kyats in cash immediately after overtime, most add the amount of money in salary payment. However, it is important to note that overtime in most factories, if not all, mean extra working hours which is beyond normal working hour prescribed by particular factory, which is definitely not normal working hours prescribed by the government in accordance labor law. Besides, despite overtime work, pay rate or amount of payment merely depends on respective factory; in fact, it should be double rate of normal wage. This is because either the workers do not understand their rights or perhaps, there is no alternative job unless they work in factories.

Khin Than Htay from a garment factory said that,

*“I am not satisfied with my current job because although I work more than 8 hours per day by 6 days consecutively plus some overtimes on Sundays without pay, I gain low paid. I have been working for this factory for years but pay rate remains the same. Worst of all, no absent bonus or attendance bonus will wholly be cut down if I fail to come to work even a day. It is what I am afraid most because it is about one third of my basic salary. Therefore, as I do not want to be lost my bonus, I try utmost to be presence at work although I feel sometimes sick”.*

Moreover, she added that,

*“since my income is low, I cannot save much. Even though I do not want to work in this factory, it has been a challenge if I can easily get another job in new factory within a short period. If I cannot receive job offer soon after resign from this factory, I will need to ask money from my family. In fact, they are depending on my remittance. Thus, I don’t want to burden them for what I dislike my job”.*

In the light of aforementioned, therefore, it can be concluded that they are not only being exploited in terms of working hours but also losing extra income or wage and salary which they are entitled to. Although they are not satisfied with their job, getting a new job within a short time remains a challenging. During the interview time, more than 60% of workers said that they are not satisfied with their current job as they are working with low pay by losing daily life. Additionally, it also shows that the government’s supervision on the manufacturing sector is relatively lower than that of other sectors. Therefore, it is in need to be fully supervised by the government.

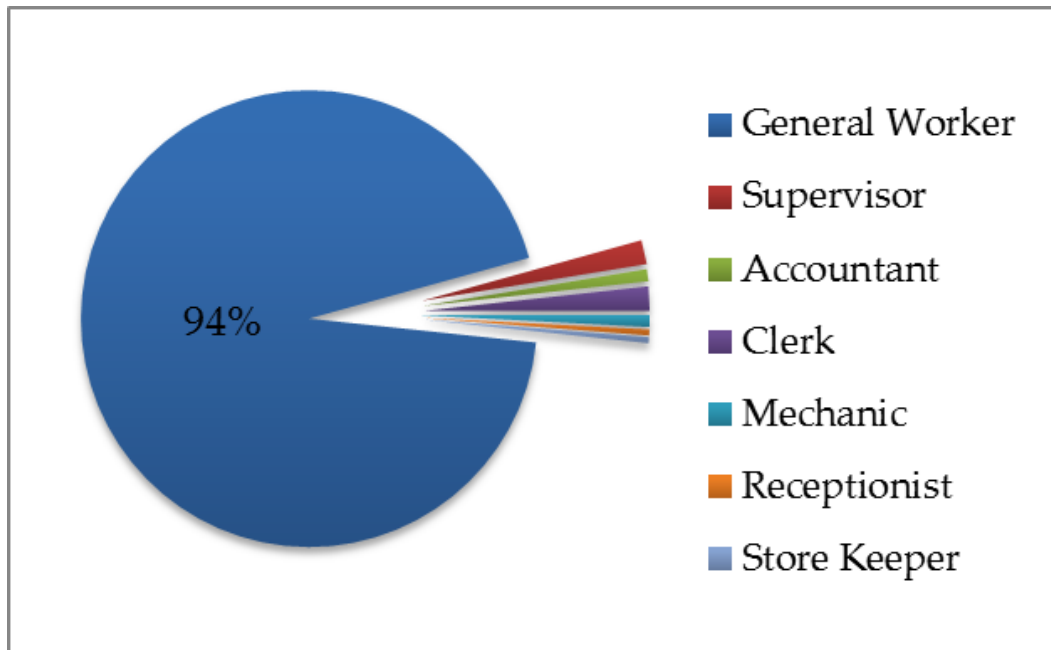
#### **4.3 Wage and Salary**

If not all, in most factories, salary includes basic pay plus overtime, attendance bonuses and an annual bonus. Furthermore, the salary can be different from one factory to another because there is neither minimum wages nor basic salary for workers set up by the government. Although the minimum wage law was passed in the parliament since 2013, specific amount of minimum wage is yet to be enacted. The new minimum wage is not announced yet by May 2015, though the Ministry of Labor in 2012 set up as temporal minimum wage 56,000 kyats (65 US\$) per month after serious disputes in garment factories (Park 2014).

Accordingly, the pay rates are only decided by particular factories. Most of the workers do not earn much while a handful of people receive certain amount of

money because they are manual workers rather than skilled labors such as supervisor, accountant, and clerk (See Figure - 10).

Figure (10) Position of Workers

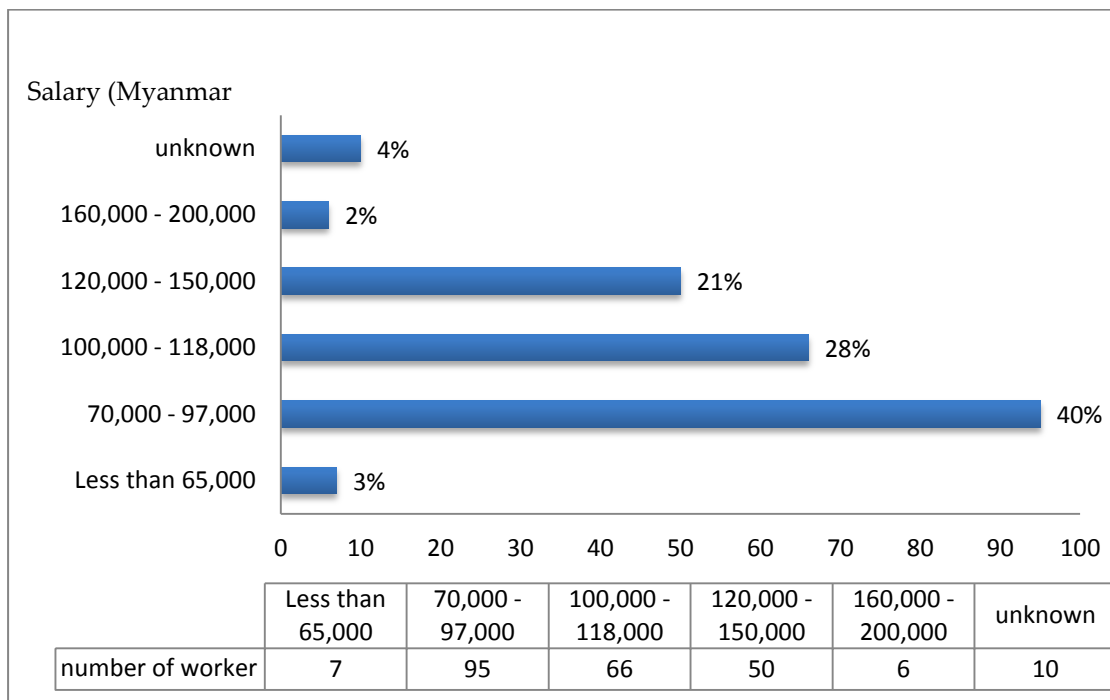


Source: Processing result from 235 questionnaires

The majority of workers with 40% of total workforce earn 70,000 to less than 100,000 kyats (70 to < 100 US\$) whereas 28% gain between 100,000-120,000 kyats (100 - 120 US\$), and 21% earn 120,000-150,000 kyat (120-150 US\$) per month. Only 2% receive between 160,000-200,000 kyats (160- 200 US\$) while 3% are paid less than 65,000 kyats (65 US\$) and 4% are working with unknown payment (See Figure - 11). With the exception of above workers, however, this study found out a worker who earns 450,000 kyats (450 US\$) per month working as an accountant and project leader in a garment factory.



Figure (11) Wage and Salary of Workers



Source: Processing result from 235 questionnaires

According to the nature of factory work, it is remarkable that those who start working at a factory usually do not know how much salary they will gain as long as they are paid on particular payday. They have to work by unknown pay rate for at least a couple of months.

Khin Than Nwe, a helper whose job is collecting clothes at a garment factory said that,

*“I have not yet received a regular salary. I started working in this factory a few months ago and have earned 70,000 (70 US\$) and 75,000 kyat (75 US\$) including bonus for the first two month. I have no idea how much I will received for this month as well but I am still hoping to have salary increase and simultaneously expecting to receive a regular salary in this month”.*

#### 4.4 Minimum Wage Law and Wage Dispute between Employees and Employers

Aftermath of quasi-civilian government taking power in 2011, 49 years of military rule was ended and Myanmar's political aspect changed significantly. The immediate outcomes of new government were to amend, draft, and enact respective laws by the Union Parliament (Pyidaungsu Hluttaw).

The Right to Peaceful Assembly and Peaceful Procession Act was also included one of the earliest laws promulgated in the new government period. According to this act, every citizen has right to assemble and hold a procession peacefully without arms unless it is contrary to the laws enacted for Union security, rule of law, community peace and tranquility, or public morality. Section 4 of this law prescribes that the citizens or organizations that want to exercise the right to peaceful assembly and peaceful procession and express themselves must apply for the permission at least five days in advance. Consequently, shortly after the Peaceful Assembly and Peaceful Procession Act was promulgated, street protests by labors, farmers, and other respective stakeholders tremendously appeared around the country. Prior to the new government period, it is considered to violate the law and any protestor can be sent to prison.

With Regard to minimum wage, the Union Parliament had enacted Minimum Wage Law since March, 2013. However, the law does not set up the specific amount of minimum wage. According to section 7 in chapter 5 of Minimum Wage Law (2013), it is described that minimum wage shall be set up depending on the following facts:

- a. needs of employees and their families,
- b. existing salaries,
- c. social security benefits,
- d. living cost and changes of its living costs,
- e. compatible living standards,
- f. employment opportunities in conformity with the needs for state's economy and development of production
- g. gross domestic production value of the state and per capita income

- h. hazardous to the health and harmful to work, nature of work
- i. other facts stipulated by the ministry with the approval of the union government

However, when she met the media in the mid-2014, Daw Win Maw Tun, vice-minister of ministry of social welfare, commented that the minimum wage could be set up in 2016. Thura Shwe Mann, speaker of House of Representatives, also pointed out when he met with factory workers and in December 13, 2014 that the result of being unable to set up the minimum wage causes the problem between employees and employers.

In the middle of December 2014, Thura Shwe Mann urged the government ministries that the basic salary of government servant should be between 120,000 to 200,000 kyats (approximately 120 to 200 US\$). If it is the case, it will be 14% to 90% of current basic salary increase which is 105,000 kkyat for lowest position of government staff.

If Thura Shwe Mann's proposal comes true, there are many people who will welcome his suggestion. On the other hand, however, there are also a group of people who will concern the consequences of salary increment. Factory and workshop proprietors include one of groups who worry over the salary increment. Since they are struggling to continue their businesses among the difficulties of exorbitant cost of land price for factory premises and electricity insufficiency, they concern if their employees demand for salary increments when the government staff's salaries are increased. Meanwhile, they are also worrying worker's protests to arise again when they cannot deal with workers demand of salary boost in the aftermath of the government increment to its staff. With respect to Thura Shwe Man's remark, a factory proprietor who decline to identify himself from Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone told that,

*“How can I continue my business if I have to pay 200,000 kyats as a basic salary to those who do not have relevant skills nor know the nature of work. If those people are paid that amount of salary, many private factories could shut down. At present, the salary of a skilled labor in garment factories is just around 180,000 kyats” he added.*

Nevertheless, they assume to undergo the effects of the government incremental scheme between last week of April and first week of May 2015. The reason is Myanmar's financial year starts from April 1 and end in March 31. So, the government usually commence pay rise in the first month of new financial year. Eight times out of thirteen of the government staff's pay rise from 1948 to 2014 was added in the end of April. Besides, the day after the government's pay rise is May Day, International Workers' Day. Therefore, the government can reduce possible worker's demonstrations by salary increment ahead of May Day. On the other hand, the government does not want foreign investment flow into Myanmar is hindered due to worker protests.

The negotiation for setting up minimum wage between employees and employers is yet to reach agreement. The representatives of workers demand to pay 3,000 to 7,000 kkyat as minimum wage upon on areas and job types for 8 hours in a day. The factory owners, however, response that it will be difficult to pay according to their demand due to weakness in level of skill, productivity, requisition orders instability, and increase of materials and imported goods.

On the other hand, according to the nature of Myanmar's market economy, commodity price usually rises soon after rumour of the government's incremental scheme has spread out. As a result, although for those who actually gain pay rise can endure the rise of commodity price, people from grass-root level are mostly victims of its effect. Factory workers are one of those and the primary reason of worker protests today is the concomitant effect of commodity price rise. Therefore, although it is uncertain that the government is to boost the staff's salary, the factory

proprietors and their employees have been highly concerned with the consequences.

More importantly, in many cases, the disputes between employees and their factory owners occur mainly because of being unable to negotiate minimum wage that finally leads to labor protests. Therefore, it would be a huge challenge for development of heavy industry in the long run if these kinds of wage disputes and labor protests frequently happen, or unless the government can set up the minimum wage soon.

#### **4.5 Labor Law and Labor Dispute Settlement**

Like many other laws in Myanmar, labor laws are also yet to be updated. There was no single employment law in Myanmar until the new quasi-civilian government came to power in 2011. Instead, the government practiced a hodge-podge of laws such as Workman's Compensation Act (1923), Employment and Training Act (1950), and Factory Act (1951). Shortly after the new government's reign, the Union Parliament drafted and enacted many laws including The Labor Organization Law (2011) and The Minimum Wage Law (2013).

The new Labor Organization Law (2011), written with the assistance of International Labor Organization (ILO), gives a legal framework for Labor Unions in Myanmar. So, like many labor laws in other countries, this law basically provides the right to organize for labors. However, although the law is come into existence, most labor unions do not have collective bargaining power. For example, when a labor dispute happens between employee and employer of a particular factory, as a first step, labors protest against the factory's proprietor. Secondly, instead of going to labor union, these workers usually choose a leader amongst them and negotiate with factory's owner when workers are in dispute with factory managements over working hours and wages. As final step, the dispute is brought to the Labor Law Administrative office to be decided by the Dispute Settlement Arbitration Council. Nevertheless, in many cases, the dispute was reached a compromising stage after

negotiation within a few days because the dispute is mostly about salary increase and most of factory's owners agree to raise wages (Investment Myanmar 2015).

Table (8) Industrial Dispute Settlement Mechanism

	Composition	Issues	Roles	Working duration
workplace coordinating committee	4 members - 2 from employer - 2 from union or elected by workers	individual / collective dispute	- settling grievances - negotiating/concluding collective agreement	5 days for grievance
Township Conciliation Body	11 members - 3 from government - 3 from employers - 3 from unions - 2 from public interests	individual / collective dispute	- determining the types of disputes (individual/collective) - conciliating the issues - concluding agreement if the case settled	3 days
Regional/State Arbitration Body	11 members - 3 from government - 3 from employers - 3 from unions - 2 from public interests	collective dispute	- making a decision on the case	7 days
Arbitration Council	15 members (experts) - 5 from government - 5 from employers - 5 from unions		- hearing by 3 members on the issues - forming a tribunal	
Tribunal			- having a trial - making a decision	- 7 days (essential service sectors) - 14 days for non-essential service sector

Source: labour Law in Myanmar by Jinyoung Park (2014)

However, there was a special case in which the government managed to solve the problem of workers happened in Master Sports Shoes Factory. Regarding the problem causing and factory closure,

Phru Phru Wong, a manual worker from Master Sports shoe factory said that,

*“I have been working for Master Sports Shoes Factory for over a year. In this factory, more than 800 workers are employed and 100 workers out of them are Rakhine people. My basic salary is 80,000 kyat which was increased from 60,000 after protest in February 2014. Unfortunately, a few months later, the factory faced a serious problem of preserving shoe quality due to the use of new glue instead of using usual one. It was ordered to use by the factory management. Consequently, the factory lost profit and cannot afford to pay salary to workers. Although the factory announced to close factory for a few days from June 20 to 25 due to a lack of raw materials, the factory shut permanently causing the workers to give no more works nor gain payment. The closure of the factory consequently effect about 755 workers. It is allegedly said that the proprietor had fled from Myanmar. With his return back to his country, Korea, the factory was locked and no one is allowed to enter the factory’s premises. Regarding the last month salary [June Salary] which the workers are entitled to obtain, the factory management earlier said to pay on June 5, 2014 but they failed to do so. On July 17, 2014, the workers protested outside the South Korean Embassy in Yangon because the announcement on the newspaper said that the last month salary was to pay on June 16, 2014. ”*

Furthermore, she added that,

*“As a result, my regular source of income was halted. In fact, I initially struggled to survive for a few months by selling my necklace but at the*

*end of the day I had to ask support from my family to survive. Nevertheless, I am still in hope of receiving salary.”*

With respect to severance pay, although there is no legal termination and severance payment on worker’s dismissal, the custom recommended and practiced by the labor authority is a package of one month notice and severance payment depending on the length of their services unless the employee resign or misconduct voluntarily. The severance payment are practiced that if an employee has worked at a particular factory for more than three months and less than one year, he or she is entitled to one month wage. Similarly, two-month salary for 1-3 years of service and four-month salary for more than 3 years of service.

However, in the case of the Master Sports Shoes Factory, beside the severance pay which the workers are entitled to, workers had not obtained even for the last-month or June salary by October 2014. They complaint that U Win Shein, Director-General of the Factory and General Labor Law Inspection Department under the Ministry of Labor, Employment and Social Security is fully responsible for their grievances.

#### **4.6 Social Security and Process to Gain Medical Treatment and Compensation**

The social security law was enacted in August 31, 2012 with the following objectives;

- a. to support state’s economy development through the increase of production to enjoy more security in social life and health care of workers who are major productive force of the Union by the collective guaranty of the employer, worker and the Union for enabling to fulfill health and social needs of the workers
- b. to enjoy more security in social life and health care by the public by their voluntary insurance
- c. to raise public reliance upon the social security system by providing benefits which are commensurate with realities



- d. to have the right to draw back some of the contributions paid by the employer and the employees as saving according to the stipulations
- e. to gain the right to continued medical treatment, family assistance benefit, invalidity benefit, superannuation benefit, survivors' benefit, unemployment benefit, the right to residency and ownership of housing after retirements in addition to health care and pecuniary benefit for sickness, maternity, decease and employment injury of the workers

Therefore, the social security law guaranties free medical treatment for the factory workers. Moreover, the social warfare clinic refunds exact charges if workers had to buy medicine by themselves.

Regarding the social security card registration process, an officer from Hlaingthaya Township Social Security Office explains that,

*“Any worker of registered company/factories/organization can apply for the social security card from the social security office. After filling form number (2) with the signatures respective authorized people from factories, the office will issue the social security card for the worker”*

The doctors serving at the social security clinic are government staff. With Regard to the support from the social security clinic, a doctor from the clinic explains that,

*“the department of social security pays charges for any kind of diseases apart from medicating Hepatitis B and C. The social security board does not limit how much the maximum amount of medical treatment for workers”.*

Moreover, he added that,

*“any worker who has social security card can access medical treatment from this clinic with completely free of charge plus medicine. The clinic will pay money for buying medicine if patients want to buy medicine themselves”.*

Concerning the medical treatment, 23-year-old factory worker, Nhin Nu Khaing, explains that,

*“I was suffering from tooth abscess a couple months ago. It was so painful that I could not go to work. Therefore, I went to see doctor at social security clinic in Hlaingthaya Township. The doctor suggested taking minor operation for that. However, it cannot be done at the clinic. Thus, they transferred me to the worker’s hospital which is located in Tarmwe Township of Yangon. Consequently, for a week I had to hospitalize for operation but the cost were reimbursed by the social security clinic”.*

#### **4.7 Summary**

Standard working hours in Myanmar are 8 hours per day and 44 hours per week. But, most of the workers do not know it. So, the majority of workers are working more than 64 hour in a week. Moreover, although overtime payment should be double of normal wage in accordance with the law, it solely depends on respective factories in reality. This is primarily because either the workers have no awareness of the law or there is no other alternative job unless they work in factories. Therefore, they are being exploited in terms of wages and working hours.

Salary includes basic pay plus overtime, attendance bonuses and an annual bonus. It can be differed from one factory to another due to lack of minimum wage. Hence, a handful of people receive certain amount of money whereas the vast of majority workers earn 70-150 US\$ per month and some are even working for unknown payment. Regardless of their education level, wage and salary simply depend on professional skills, ability to work relevant jobs and seniority.

Yet, protesting remains a major tool for workers when demanding pay rise. So, as long as the government cannot set up minimum wage soon, it would be recurred. In doing so, it would be a huge challenge for development of heavy industry in the

long run if these kinds of wage disputes and labor protests frequently happen or if the government cannot solve the issue of minimum wage soon.

In the next chapter, life of Rakhine people in Hlaingthaya; living condition, remittance, and formation of social infrastructure and social activity will be discussed.



## **Chapter V Living Condition of Rakhine Migrants in Hlaingthaya Industrial City**

In this chapter, one of the main research questions is answered, which is (1) How are migrant workers' lives in terms of living conditions in Hlaingthaya? The following sections show the answers for this in detail and help us give deeper understanding of life of Rakhine migrants in Hlaingthaya Township in Yangon.

### **5.1 Rakhine Communities in Yangon**

The emergence of Rakhine community based youth organizations as well as Rakhine civil society, such as Rakhine Youth Sweeping Association and Rakhine Thahaya social organization, around the first decade of 21<sup>st</sup> century in Yangon can be assumed that Rakhine population in Yangon significantly increased since 2000s onwards. According to the 2010 report of United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the rate of migration from Rakhine State to Yangon enormously increased within a decade. The report shows that the total population of Rakhine in 2001 becomes 138,000 by comparison with 7,100 in 1991. Zaw Aye Maung, a minister for Rakhine affairs in Yangon, estimates that more than 150,000 Rakhine people are moving back and forth between Yangon and Rakhine State every year. Nevertheless the total population of Rakhine people in Yangon is likely to come out soon because the government conducted a census in April, 2014.

In Yangon, many of Rakhine communities are found as youth based organization upon their interests. Although there are various kinds of Rakhine communities in Yangon, it may be generally categorized as three types – religious based community, education based community, and social or humanitarian based community. The religious community is normally formed for the purpose of religious matters, for instance, Rakhine Youth Sweeping Association. In every Sunday, they meet at Pagoda, clean the ground of the Pagoda by sweeping, and finally pay homage. It is a gathering point as well as reunion for Rakhine people in the new environment. However, they also take part in some traditional and cultural activities, such as water festival (Thingyin), and lead some occasional events.

Figure (12) Rakhine Volunteer Sweeping group at Shwedagon Pagoda



Source: [https://jrharries.files.wordpress.com/2014/01/schwe-dagon\\_6.jpg](https://jrharries.files.wordpress.com/2014/01/schwe-dagon_6.jpg)

(Accessed date - May 19, 2015)

Figure (13) Group of Rakhine girl are grinding of the bark of the fragrant sandalwood tree for water festival (Thingyin) in Yangon



Source: <http://www.nationmultimedia.com/new/2013/04/09/travel/images/30203711->

[01\\_big.jpg](#) (Accessed date - May 19, 2015)

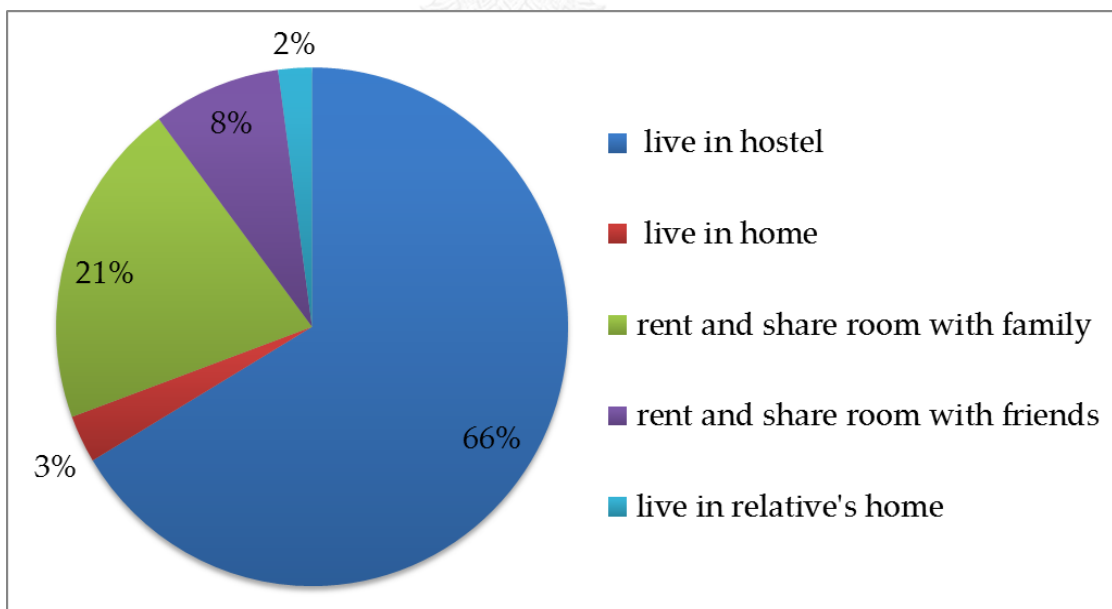
Another form of Rakhine community can be seen in the field of education. Unlike the other type of communities, youth dominance will be seen in this group in particular who are trying to improve themselves in terms of capacity and for their further studies. They may be called as intellectual group of Rakhine people in Yangon. They have school where English and other capacity building trainings are given to Rakhine and some other ethnicities, for instance, Scholar Institute. As this is based on Rakhine community, many of the teachers and students are usually Rakhine. In summer, this community sends voluntary teachers to rural areas of Rakhine State and Irrawaddy Region not only to contribute their knowledge but to upgrade capacity of local youths. In addition to that, some outstanding students from rural areas are taken to Yangon for their further studies. Some of Rakhine educated people today who had earned bachelor and master degrees from foreign universities are deemed to be the fruits of this community. Moreover, they also have other networks with small groupings that have the same objectives or interest in the field of education and community development.

The last type of Rakhine community as well as the most abundantly formed group in Yangon can be regarded as social or humanitarian grouping based on respective townships in Rakhine State. Rakhine State is formed by four districts which include 20 townships (3 townships were recently added). Therefore, people from the same region or township gather and form a community. Their main objectives aim to gather people from the same area and support each other when they are in need so as they are not isolated in new environment where is culturally diverse and linguistically different. Normally they take care of elderly people by donating cash and some medicines. In order to maintain sustainable fund to help people in need of money, each household in the community has to pay monthly membership fee depend on their consensus. Moreover, in some emergency case, for example Cyclone Giri, these kind of social and humanitarian organizations were temporarily formed to ask donation for victims affected by manmade and natural disasters. They also sometimes create fund raising activities for victims.

## 5.2 Living Condition of Rakhine Workers in Hlaingthaya

As Hlaingthaya is an industrial city, many people living in that area and its surrounding vicinities are usually workers who are not only local dwellers but also internal migrants immigrated to this locality in search of employment opportunities from various region of Myanmar. They are driving forces to fully operate respective factories in Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone. With Regard to accommodation, although it is not a problem for the locals, it remains a challenge for newly arriving people and many of them are living in crowded and shabby hostels and illegal shanties. Nevertheless, living condition of Rakhine migrant workers can be generalized as three types, which are hostel resident, illegal resident, and room sharing resident. According to this study, more than half (66%) of total interviewed Rakhine migrant workers live in hostel whereas nearly one third (29%) of workers live by renting room with their families and relatives. Besides, there are a few people who live in their relative houses by pay.

Figure (14) Living Arrangements of Workers



Source: Processing result from 235 questionnaires

### 5.2.1 Hostel Residents

In Hlaingthaya, opening hostel is a kind of running business that can make a lot of profit because there is a constant demand for hostel proprietors, either from internal migrant workers or local dwellers. So, to be stronger and long-lasting, it is noticeably seen that cement and brick are used for building hostels in Hlaingthaya today when compare to current hostels which are old buildings, seem to be transformed from ordinary houses, and are usually made of wood and bamboo. This study shows that the majority of workers are living in hostels. Today, the various styles of hostels are serving to fulfill demand for accommodation requirement that mainly come from new comers. Therefore, hostels are mushrooming and can be seen ubiquitously in Hlaingthaya Industrial City. However, all owners do not stay in their hostels, they normally let somebody stay and supervise the hostel on behalf of them.

A hostel supervisor said that,

*“My boss who is now living in Kachin State asked me to oversee this hostel while he is making his own business. In response, my family can live here with free of charges. You know, having a place to live in this dense area is not easy today. Moreover, I can earn extra income by providing meals to people living in this hostel, particularly those who do not have sufficient time to cook nor afford to buy outside every day.”*

Depending on the availability of space, 3 to 5 people live in a hostel’s room.

Nyo Nyo from three-building-hostel said that,

*“There are four people living in our room. All are from the same village of Rakhine State. Amongst them two of them are sibling and the rest are relatives. We all work at garment and sequin factory in Hlaingthaya. There are other Rakhine people in this hostel, so that it is easy to communicate and request for help in case we need. Regarding the*



*meals, it is irregular; although normally we cook, sometimes we eat outside especially downstairs shop sold by the owner of this hostel.”*

Another hostel resident from the same hostel who earns her living as street vendor in front of her resided hostel said that,

*“We [my family] have been living in this hostel for more than three years. Although we want to live with owned home, we cannot effort as Hlaingthaya’s land price has increased exorbitantly. To make ends meet, while I sell some salad and foods including Rakhine traditional food called Mont-Te (မုန့်တီ) in front of the hostel, my husband work in a fishing ship. I have two sons. They are now high school students. So, even if we earn some amount of money yearly, we cannot save as much as we should. On the other hand, room charges are getting increased; it becomes 45,000 kyats (45 US\$) although it was 25,000 kyats (25 US\$) when we first arrived”.*

Additionally, she added that

*“Therefore, some people suggest us to buy an illegal shanty, so that we would be able to save more money. However, both my husband and I do not want to settle in those illegal lands. The reason is that we dare not taking risk of losing our money because it is illegal and it can be revoked by the government any time. Besides, this hostel is in the proximity of my sons’ school and more importantly my business is here. So, at the end of the day, we chose to stay here although we understand the room rent fee is getting increased and it will be. This place becomes our home now”.*

### 5.2.2 Room sharing residents or Rent-home dwellers

Another type of living style of Rakhine workers in Hlaingthaya is found living by renting houses or sharing rooms. However, unlike hostel residents, room-sharing-people are actually not living in a room but in a small house and sometimes live in separate houses in a compound. It is obviously found out that people living in rent-house are mostly family and groups of close friends.

Khine Khine Wong who lives by sharing room with her friends said that,

*“We have been living in this house for two years. Altogether five females are living in this house. We all are factory workers as well as from the same village of Rakhine State. We do not want to live together with other people in a hostel because staff losses are usual in many hostels. So, living with close friends by renting a house can reduce risk of losing valuable staffs. More importantly, we can provide a temporary place to stay either for relatives who visit Yangon to make a pilgrimage or friends who come to Yangon for purpose of working”.*

Furthermore, a mother of factory worker also said that,

*“I have been here in Hlaingthaya for more than three months. I came here to help my daughter who has been working in a factory of Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone. In fact, I had been here once when my daughter gave birth to baby boy a couple of years ago. After staying for a few months by helping and taking care of my daughter and grandson, I went back to Rakhine State. Her husband earns a living as a manual worker in a fish market while she temporarily gave up her job for taking caring of her son. Now, the son has grown up and my daughter wants to go back to her working environment again. Hence, she called me take care of her son while they are working away from home. However, I do not intend to live here much longer”.*

### 5.2.3 Illegal Residents

In Hlaingthaya Industrial City, the illegal shanties can be ubiquitously seen along the roads, beside the canals, and near factories. Overall, it is estimated that 10% of Yangon population, which is about 600,000 people out of 6 million city population, are illegal residents said divisional government (Irrawaddy 2014). Besides, according to Yangon divisional legislature, about one-fifth of all homes in 44 out of 45 townships were settled by illegal residents in 2013. One of the reasons is that people from Delta have been entering this area in larger number since Cyclone Nargis hit in 2008. Most illegal tenants are living in rickety bamboo huts. Most squatters in Hlaingthaya are labors who survive on daily wages less than 3,000 kyats (3 US\$) while some have no regular income. As a result, they become illegal inhabitants since they can neither buy nor rent a residence. Therefore, they came to settle in any vacant space where they can live in.

Rakhine migrant worker as well as a squatter, Kyaw Thein Chay who lives beside the road near a spice factory, said that,

*“My family moved to this place last year. When I bought this plot with 300,000 kyats (300 US\$) the hut included in this place but it was tumbledown and I had to refurbish it by myself. We used to live in hostel but it was costly because we needed to pay monthly room payment plus extra charges, for instance, electricity usage fee. On the other hand, room rent charges are getting increase. So, we finally decided to buy an illegal residence. We understand that this land can be revoked by the government any time. However, as many other people have been living this area, we took risk to live here too. Now, we do not need to pay monthly room charge, so that we can save some extra money. So, I hope the longer we have chance to live here, the more money we would save”.*

Unfortunately, in the new government period from 2012 onwards, the illegal inhabitants have been forcibly evicted from their residences despite that fact that the government has no plan to provide alternative residence. According to the Irrawaddy media, more than 4,000 shacks built by squatters on the outskirts of Yangon were demolished within a day in the mid of January 2014 without explanation by the divisional government. Furthermore, in many cases, the dwellers received little warning to move from their residences by the local authorities such as police or municipal and township administrators. Mass eviction in Hlaingthaya mainly targeted people living under Bridge and those temporarily living along the highway (Irrawaddy 2014). Accordingly, confrontations between illegal tenants and local authorities have happened countless times over the past couple of years.

Nevertheless, illegal residents still attract homeless people in spite of the fact that sporadic clashes remain between squatters and authority. In doing so, there are many people who work in illegal real estate Hlaingthaya.

Maung Zan who is working real estate in illegal ward said that,

*“Not only I make a business by buying and selling illegal residences but I also rent rooms in this area. There are nearly a thousand households in this land. In fact, this huge compound belonged to a businessman and was planned to build housing like many buildings around here. However, he was unable to implement and this land remained vacant when other buildings and housing projects were completed. Consequently, this land was occupied by many homeless people who are living along the roadside of its surrounding vicinities. Although there were many clashes between landowner and new settlers in the early days of illegal settlement, the landowner could not banish illegal tenants from the compound. The reason is that although the initial shacks were demolished by the landowner, the number of illegal huts tremendously increased overnight in the compound. In addition, it is reportedly said that the so-called land proprietor failed to identify himself that he*

*belongs to this land because he lost land ownership document. Therefore, more and more people have been coming to this area and it becomes like a ward today”.*

Moreover, he also added that,

*“We, all of people living in this area, understand that since all shanties built in this land are illegal, we can be evicted by the government any time. However, many people think that the government does not want to touch this issue because they would be responsible to provide places for resettlement of these thousands of households. That is why many people desire to live in this area than any other places in Hlaingthaya. As a result, real estate business is still working here.”*

So, although the government has been demolishing hundreds of shacks in illegal residences at outskirts around Yangon, the squatters are yet to be disappeared. Therefore, it appears that demolishing illegal shanties is not a right way to combat trespassers. Furthermore, the issue of illegal tenant would never be solved and cannot be out of vicious cycle as long as the government does not come up with proper plan.

### **5.3 Remittance**

Regardless of migration pattern such as migration by group, household, or individual, the primary aim for workers of departure from their homeland and migration to new region for working is to earn money. However, as they are poor in education, job relevant skills, and professional expertise, many of them are blue-collar workers and do not earn much salary.

Nevertheless, the workers manage to transfer their saving to respective households and families in Rakhine State. With Regard to the remittance time, this study finds that only 3% or 7 workers out of 235 said that they transfer monthly whereas some 37% said that they had never sent back money to their families. Furthermore, it also finds out that those who transfer money every 3 month per time

has 40% with majority follow by some 16% of those who remit every 6 month per time while a number of workers forward their saving once in 9 month and annually (See Table - 9).

Table (9) Period of Remittance made by Workers

Remittance Time	Number of Respondent	Percentage (%)
Monthly	7	3
Every 3 month	94	40
Every 6 month	37	16
Every 9 month	3	1
Every 1 year	6	3
Never send back money	88	37
<b>Total</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Survey

In spite of remittance schedules, however, many who often forward money to family and household said that they actually do not have regular time for transferring money. It is solely dependent on their savings because most of workers use bank's services to transfer money. So, they do not want to remit less than 100,000 kyat (100 US\$) unless an urgent request from family. On the other hand, unstable salaries and some months that coincided with festival, for instance, water festival, in which they spend more money, make them difficult to save within anticipated time. For these reasons, many workers cannot remit regularly.

A factory worker said that,

*"I do not have fix time for transferring money to my family in Rakhine State. It depends on my saving. Normally, I remit money when my saving*

*becomes 100,000 or 150,000 kyats. It takes sometimes three to five month to require this amount of saving.”*

Table (10) Amount of Remittance per Time

Amount of Remittance per Time	Number of Respondents	Percent (%)
Less than 30,000 (30 US\$)	8	5
30,001 – 50,000 (31-50 US\$)	19	13
50,001 – 90,000 (51-90 US\$)	30	21
90,001 – 150,000 (91-150 US\$)	90	61
<b>Total</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Survey

Nevertheless, the above table shows that 63% (147 workers out of 235) had remitted back to their families and households in Rakhine State at least once. Calculating on the number workers who have transferred at least one, this study shows that workers who transfer 90,001-150,000 kyats per time are vast majority with 61%, and 21% of workers are sending 50,001-90,000 kyat at each time. However, some 13% of workers send 30,001-50,000 kyats and only 5% of workers send less than 30,000 kyat per time.

#### 5.4 Formation of Social Infrastructure and Social Activity

The advent of Arakan Sweeping Youth Organization in early 2006 attracted home-away Rakhine migrants to reunite as well as to create a Rakhine community in Hlaingthaya Township. In the early 2000s, Rakhine people received a plot from the trustee of pagoda in the compound of Aungmye Tharyar Pagoda which has the largest compound and is located along the Kyansittha Street in Hlaingthaya Township. In that plot, the Rakhine people built a community hall for religious purposes; the hall is later named Rakkhita Laywaddy Dhammayone. Henceforward,

Rakhine people gathered at the Dhammayone for offering meals to monks in every auspicious religious day and celebrate their traditional festivals there. Shortly after that they established an Arakan Sweeping Association in this place for the purpose of regular gathering for Rakhine people living in Hlaingthaya in every Sunday which is exactly the way that Rakhine sweeping youth does for regular gathering at Shwedagon pagoda. Their activities is usually cleaning compound of Aungmye Tharyar pagoda by sweeping. Later, the Dhammayone becomes an important complex for the organization not only for urgent meetings related to Rakhine affairs but also for practicing traditional dances for cultural festivals when they are invited to take part in cultural events by any organization in Yangon.

In 2006, the name of Arakan Sweeping Association was changed to Arakan National Social Organization (ANSO) for the purpose of helping more to Rakhine people's difficulties widely in Hlaingthaya Township. The basic concept or objectives of the Arakan National Social Organization are to enhance unity among Rakhine migrants, to promote Rakhine literature and cultural preservation, and to help solve members' difficulties.

For the time being, the organization has reached to 200 permanent members whereas more than 400 regular members are coming back and forth to the organization. According to rules and regulations of the organization, anybody who wants to be a member of the organization has to pay monthly member fee as 500 kyats (0.5 US\$) two years consecutively in order to be a permanent member. For this, in return as benefit, the organization provides certain amount of money to permanent members when either their family members or themselves got trouble. For example, when they are admitted to a hospital for treatment or when they pass away, the organization provides 50,000 kyats (50 US\$) for each. Besides, for the case of dying, the organization also helps three cars for funeral attendances additionally. Furthermore, in the case of wedding, the organization also contributes about 30,000 kyats (30 US\$) if couple is from the organization, if one of them is not from the



organization, 20,000 kyats is provided. Moreover, the organization also engages problems between Rakhine factory workers and respective employers.

Regarding the cultural and social activities, Rakhine traditional water festival called Thingyin was held under the aegis of Arakan National Social Organization in Hlaingthaya yearly where most of factory workers and other Rakhine people took part as participants. Since Rakhine is ethnically different from other ethnicities in Myanmar, the way of celebrating water festival is also different from Burmese in particular. So, it is unique in mainland Myanmar. Therefore, the organization considers celebrating Thingyin as Rakhine traditional way in new environment is a kind of preserving tradition.

According to the chairperson of Arakan National Social Organization, the main source of fund comes from member fees and saving box. The organization distributes saving boxes among members and collects it back after a year. Furthermore, the organization sometimes uses singing show by hiring famous singers for fund raising. Furthermore, the chairperson added that they are trying to establish a library for Rakhine migrants and factory workers to give capacity building trainings and some other job relevant skills. So, if their dream come true, it is more likely that Rakhine migrant workers in Hlaingthaya will improve their life in terms of knowledge and education to some extent.

## 5.5 Summary

The living condition of Rakhine migrant workers can be generalized as three types – hostel resident, room sharing resident, and illegal resident. Some vast majority of Rakhine migrant workers live in hostel and many of workers live with their families and relatives by renting a room or a house. However, there are some people who live in their relative houses by pay and some live in illegal resident.

The primary aims of workers for departure from their homeland to new region is to earn a fortune but they could not fulfill their expectation due to low skilled. Nevertheless, despite less income, they manage to transfer their saving to families in

Rakhine State. Regarding the remittance amount and period, they normally transfer 100-150 US\$ within every 3-6 months. But some significant numbers of people has said that they have not transferred money yet.

Rakhine people form a community after they have arrived to Yangon when they are away from their homeland. Arakan National Social Organization (ANSO) is a well-known organization among the Rakhine migrants in Hlaingthaya. The organization is helping Rakhine people in terms of money, manpower, and engaging problems between Rakhine factory workers and their owners. Moreover, the organization also occasionally promotes Rakhine's cultural and traditional activities.

All components related to working and living conditions of Rakhine migrant workers in Hlaingthaya Industrial City have been discussed. So, next chapter is the last one, conclusion, discussion, and recommendations.



## Chapter VI Conclusion, Discussion, and Recommendations

### 6.1 Conclusion

Rakhine State has been deliberately marginalized by the Burmese government for decades. The subsequent effect of scarce employment opportunities have been the major player which had driven out Rakhine people from their fatherland in search of employment opportunity and better life in new environments. The state is then facing massive out migration. Although migrants also go to Kachin state, Thailand, and Malaysia, the number of people flocking to Yangon outnumbered other places. Yangon is approximately 889 km far away from Rakhine State. It can be reached by land, by sea, and by air. However, most of Rakhine migrants use the land route when they are on the move to Yangon.

Regarding the factors causing migration in Rakhine State, this study found out that the primary causes for migration are mainly because of limited employment opportunities, lack of employment options, and the locals' willingness to work in Yangon. However, there were some who immigrated to Yangon due to livelihood insecurity, sectarian violence, and natural disasters. Therefore, it is assumed that most of Rakhine people working in Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone are economic migrants rather than forced migrants.

Strong migration networks play pivotal role for people mobility from Rakhine State to Yangon. Most of workers immigrated to Yangon through families, relatives, or friends networks as well as social connection with other migrants whereas a few people came to Yangon by the help of monks. So, religious associations are also one of contributing factors to run migration process smoothly. Interestingly, the vast majority of Rakhine people working in factories of Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone arrived to Yangon less than a year ago whereas the second largest group came to settle in Yangon during the past 1-2 years. Therefore, it is reasonable to deduce from this point that although it is reportedly said that Rakhine state has been facing massive migration, migration towards Hlaingthaya Industrial Zone or perhaps migration to Yangon's industrial zones started not more than six years ago. Thus, it is considered

to be a new phenomenon of mass migration wave from Rakhine state towards Yangon industrial zones.

Although Rakhine migrant workers immigrated to work in Yangon with the expectations of earning and lives improvement, their arrivals to Yangon neither fulfill their wishes nor change their lives significantly as much as they expected. One reason is that since the government has not yet set up minimum wage, the pay rate and working hours for workers solely depend on respective factory owners. In doing so, they are being exploited in terms of working hours and wages. Therefore, although they more than 60 hours per week in average, their salaries are generally between 70,000-150,000 kyats (70-150 US\$), in which basic pay, overtime, attendance bonus, and annual bonus are included. As they do not earn much, they cannot send money regularly to their families in Rakhine State. According to this study, some 37% of workers said that they have not yet remitted whereas 63% are regularly sending between 50,000-150,000 kyats (50-150 US\$) per time in every 3-6 months.

Regarding the living condition of Rakhine migrant workers, many live in hostels by paying themselves whereas other live by renting a house or a room with their families and relatives. However, there are some who live in relatives' house by pay as well as in illegal shanties.

After Rakhine people have arrived to Yangon, they formed groups and social organizations based on their interests and needs. Among them, Arakan National Social Organization is well known for Rakhine people living in Hlaingthaya as the organization creates space for regular gathering for Rakhine people, helps solve social problems, and engages labor disputes between Rakhine factory workers and factory owners. Moreover, the organization occasionally organizes to hold Rakhine traditional and cultural activities in Hlaingthaya. Therefore, the organization play important role for Rakhine community in Hlaingthaya Industrial City.

In conclusion, although lives of Rakhine migrant workers have not changed significantly in Yangon, they do not wish to go back to Rakhine State as there are no

opportunities for employment availability and the peace and order situation has not improved. Thus, so long as employment opportunities are not created in Rakhine State, the migrants' desire to return home is unlikely to materialize and in fact more migration will happen instead.

## 6.2 Discussion

There are three points I would like to discuss regarding the findings of this study, which are causes of migration, social networks and people's mobility, and immigrant community formation.

Regarding the cause of migration, according to Lewis (1954), rural-urban migration cause when labor intensive work, such as industrial sector, where many employment opportunities are available and are also suffering from labor shortage demand workforce from rural areas where is suffering from unemployed and underemployed. Under this circumstance, the surplus of labor force from rural areas will fulfill the workforce requirement in urban areas and, rural-urban starts by this way. Similar to this phenomenon, the primary reason of causing migration from Rakhine State toward Yangon was found out to be employment opportunity scarcity and resultant drought for lack of employment option which accelerate locals' willingness to work in Yangon. In the light of this situation, migration in Rakhine State is predominantly caused by devoid of economic development rather than political fallout of Rakhine State, sectarian violence that occurred in 2012, and natural disasters. Therefore, Rakhine migrants in Yangon are economic migrants rather than forced migrants.

However, like De Haas (2010) has argued, the capacity of earning much money is wholly depends on the specific skill a person has. In this regard, since most of Rakhine migrant workers are general workers, they do not earn as much as they should because they are not only low skilled labors but also being exploited in terms of working hour and wage by factory's proprietors. In doing so, though they have regular income, their salaries are sufficient only for their individual use. As a result, they could not remit regularly to their families in Rakhine State. Therefore,

their arrivals to Yangon unfortunately neither fulfill their wishes nor change their lives significantly.

Regarding social networks and mobility of people, Massey (1993) and Steven Castles (2009) say that family and community play crucial role in migration networks. They link migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas. Thereby, they can reduce costs and risks of movement. Hence, whether people will migrate or not depend on their migration experience as well as experience of their relatives and friends or social connection of other migrants. This theory can apply in the case of Rakhine migration. Most of Rakhine migrants came to Yangon by the help of families, relatives, and friendship networks. Furthermore, the Rakhine State's proximity to Yangon and strong migration networks, which include the presence of monasteries within the vicinity of Yangon, are tremendously facilitating migration process to achieve smoothly from Rakhine State to Yangon. Therefore, social networks play pivotal role for migration movements or people mobility from Rakhine State towards Yangon.

Regarding community formation of immigrants, Castles (2009) says that social migration networks facilitate not only migratory process safe and more convenient for the migrants and their families but also to construct community formation and settlement process in the area of migration. The immigrant groups then develop their own social and economic infrastructure which includes place of worship, associations, shops, and other services. Similarly, after Rakhine people have arrived to Yangon, they formed groups and established place to worship as well as for gathering upon on their interests and needs, such as youth sweeping group and community hall. Arakan National Social Organization is one of its fruitful groups and is well known for Rakhine people living in Hlaingthaya Industrial City because the organization helps create a space for regular gathering and solve social problems for Rakhine people. Therefore, formation of social infrastructure by Rakhine migrants in Hlaingthaya is as the same as what other migrants had practiced in new environments or place of destinations.

### 6.3 Recommendations

The current trend of people mobility from Rakhine State to Yangon and other places cannot be controlled so long as the economic development does not flourish in Rakhine State. Similarly, internal migration in Myanmar cannot be solved as long as either if Yangon remains only center where many of opportunities, in terms of business, employment, and education, are accumulated or unless the government brings development projects to other states and regions in the country. As a result of internal migration, Yangon becomes a populated city resulting in exorbitant land price and living cost increase. This is one of important issues that government needs to address soon.

To overcome the problem of massive migration towards Yangon, the government should create employment opportunities by promoting development projects, for instance, infrastructure development in poor states and regions in the country. On the other hand, politic in Myanmar plays important role for development of particular regions. The negligence of Burmese government on state – where the vast majority of ethnic people live in – and monopolization on its resources have impoverished the states. If the ethnic people could rule their respective states, it is believed that it would have developed much more than current situation, for example Wa Region. And this is main reason of why ethnic people are calling for federalism and why some ethnic armed groups are fighting against the Burmese government to date. Therefore, for the sake of country development, the Burmese government should consider to build a genuine federal republic.

Regarding Rakhine State's development, the government can escalate the state's economic development by building factories for the reason that fishery is one of primary sectors for livelihood of Rakhine people. So, building factories for sea food production would be one of proper answers to accelerate economic development in Rakhine State. Moreover, Rakhine State used to be one of Myanmar's two main breadbasket regions along with Irrawaddy delta. A lot of fertile lands remain in good

condition although many of them were seized for the use of military infrastructure by the military. So, the government can promote agriculture sector by providing farm subsidies. However, despite these favorable conditions, the development of Rakhine State and its socio-economic development are so far merely depending on the will of Burmese government.





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## APPENDIX I

### Assessment survey questionnaire for Rakhine migrant workers (factory worker) in Hlaingthaya

#### Clarification

Please choose and tick (✓) the right answers given in the following questionnaires. If the answers in questionnaire do not represent your case correctly, please write down your answers at the place of “other”.

#### Remark

The questionnaires in this survey aim to make assessment of the social life of Rakhine factory workers in Hlaing Thar Yar Township. The questions are designed not to ask personally. Moreover, all your answers and outcome will surely be kept confidentially. Hence, participants are requested to tick answers which you think is right in given bracket (\*\*). If the given questionnaire does not provide the right answer for you, please write down the most suitable answers in the place of "other".

1. **Gender**       Male       Female
2. **Age**      .....
3. **Marital status**       single       married
4. **Education status**       no education       primary education  
 secondary education       high school education       university
5. **Why did you leave your place of origin?**  
 scarce job opportunity       disaster stagnation       ethnic conflict  
 livelihood insecurity       other .....
6. **How long have you been in Yangon?**  
 Less than 1 year       1-2       2-3       3-4       4-5 years  
 longer than 5 years

7. **What kinds of jobs did you do for a living before coming to Yangon?**
- owned business  agriculture sector  fishery sector
- company staff  no job  other
8. **Reasons for settling in Yangon?**
- education opportunities  job opportunities  to live with family
- to have a better living standard  other.....
9. **Where do you stay currently in Yangon?**
- own house  hostel  live with relatives  live with friends
- others.....
10. **Which factory do you work currently? .....**
11. **Current position at work**
- general worker  supervisor  executive officer  manager  other
12. **How much is your salary per month? ..... kyat**
13. **Who helped you come to Yangon?**
- broker  family  relative  friend  other.....
14. **Did you directly come to Yangon from Rakhine State or from other part of Myanmar?**
- directly come to Yangon from Rakhine State
- not directly come to Yangon from Rakhine State
15. **How many hours do you work in your factory per week?**
- Less than 40 hour  40 – 48  49 – 56  57 – 64  over 64 hours
16. **Do you send your monthly earning back home?**
- (If not, move to the question no.19)
- Yes  No



17. If “YES” How often do you send your salary to your family in Rakhine State?
- monthly  quarterly  6 months per time  yearly  never
18. How much money do you transfer per time?
- less than 30000  30001 – 50000  50001 –70000
- 70001 – 90000  90001 – 110000
19. Are you satisfied with your current work?
- Yes  No
20. Do you think you are fairly treated by your employer or by other local workers in your working environment?
- Yes  No
21. Have you ever experienced in discrimination in your working environment by worker, supervisor, and employer?
- Yes  No (being discriminated)
22. Do you think living and working in Yangon is better than that of Rakhine State?
- Yes  No
23. Do you want to go back to Rakhine State if you have the same working environment there?
- Yes  No
24. Are you a member of any Rakhine Social organization or association in Yangon?
- Yes  No

Thank You Very Much for Your Cooperation

APPENDIX II

ရွှေ့ပြောင်းလုပ်သား (စက်ရုံလုပ်သား) များ၏အခြေခံလူနေမှုဘဝအား  
လေ့လာဆန်းစစ်မှုမှတ်တမ်း

ရှင်းလင်းချက် - မေးခွန်းများကိုဖြေဆိုရာတွင် သင်နှင့်ကိုက်ညီမှုရှိသော အချက်အလက်ရှိ သတ်မှတ်ထားသော ( ) နေရာတွင် အမှန်ခြစ် ✓ ပေးပါ။ ပေးထားသော အကြောင်းအရာများသည် သင်နှင့်ကိုက်ညီမှုမရှိပါက အခြား..... ဆိုသောနေရာတွင် မှန်ကန်သောအဖြေများကို ဖြည့်စွက်ရေးသားပေးပါ။

မှတ်ချက် ။ ။ ယခုမေးခွန်းများမှာ လှိုင်သာယာမြို့နယ်ရှိ ရခိုင်စက်ရုံလုပ်သားများ၏ လူနေမှုဘဝများကို လေ့လာဆန်းစစ်လိုသော ရည်ရွယ်ချက်ဖြင့် ကောက်ယူခြင်းဖြစ်ပါသည်။ လူပုဂ္ဂိုလ်တစ်စုံတစ်ယောက်အား ရည်ညွှန်းဖော်ပြနိုင်မည့် မေးခွန်းများကို မေးမြန်းခြင်းမဟုတ်ပါ။ ထို့အပြင်မေးခွန်းလွှာ၏ အဖြေရလဒ်များကိုလည်း လျှို့ဝှက်စွာသိမ်းဆည်းထားပါမည်။ ထို့ကြောင့် သင်နှင့် ကိုက်ညီမှုအရှိဆုံးဖြစ်သော အဖြေများကို သတ်မှတ်ထားသော နေရာတွင် အမှန်ခြစ် ✓ ပေးပါ။ ပေးထားသော အကြောင်းအရာများသည် သင်နှင့်ကိုက်ညီမှုမရှိပါက အခြား..... ဆိုသောနေရာတွင် မှန်ကန်သောအဖြေများကို ဖြည့်စွက်ရေးသားပေးပါ။

1. ကျား/မ  ကျား  မ
2. အသက် ..... နှစ်
3. အိမ်ထောင်ရှိ/မရှိ  ရှိ  မရှိ
4. ပညာအရည်အချင်း  ကျောင်းမတက်ခဲ့ဘူးပါ  မူလတန်း  အလယ်တန်း  အထက်တန်း  တက္ကသိုလ်
5. အဘယ်ကြောင့် မိမိနေရပ်ဒေသအား စွန့်ခွာခဲ့ပါသနည်း။
  - အလုပ်အကိုင်ရှားပါမှုကြောင့်  သဘာဝဘေးအန္တရာယ်ကြောင့်
  - လူမျိုးရေးပဋိပက္ခကြောင့်  လုပ်နေကျ အလုပ်များ ပျောက်ဆုံးသွားခြင်းကြောင့်  အခြား .....

6. သင် ရန်ကုန်မှာနေတာ ဘယ်နှစ်နှစ်လောက်ကြာပြီလဲ။

- ၁ နှစ်မပြည့်သေးပါ  ၁ နှစ်မှ ၂ နှစ်  ၂ နှစ်မှ ၃ နှစ်  ၃ နှစ်မှ ၄ နှစ်
- ၄ နှစ်မှ ၅ နှစ်  ၅ နှစ်နှင့်အထက်

7. သင် ရန်ကုန်မြို့သို့မရောက်ရှိမှီ မိမိမွေးရပ်တွင် မည်သည့် အသက်မွေးဝမ်းကျောင်းလုပ်ငန်းကို လုပ်ကိုင်ခဲ့ပါသနည်း။

- ကိုယ်ပိုင်အလုပ်  လယ်ယာလုပ်ငန်း  ရေလုပ်ငန်း  ကုမ္ပဏီဝန်ထမ်း
- အလုပ်မရှိပါ  အခြား.....

8. သင် အဘယ်ကြောင့် ရန်ကုန်သို့ ပြောင်းရွှေ့လာရသနည်း။

- ပညာရေးနှင့်သင်တန်းတက်ရန်  အလုပ်အကိုင် အခွင့်အလမ်းနှင့် ဝင်ငွေတိုးရန်  မိသားစုနှင့်အတူနေရန်
- မြို့ပြနှင့်လူနေမှု အဆင့်တန်းမြင့်မားရန်  အခြား.....

9. သင် အခု မည်ကဲ့သို့ နေထိုင်ပါသနည်း။

- ကိုယ်ပိုင်အိမ်ဖြင့်နေပါသည်  အဆောင်မှာနေပါသည်
- မိသားစုဆွေမျိုးများဖြင့်အိမ်ငှားနေ
- သူငယ်ချင်းများဖြင့်စု၍အိမ်ငှားနေပါသည်  အခြား.....

10. သင် ယခု မည်သည့်စက်ရုံတွင် အလုပ်လုပ်ကိုင်နေပါသနည်း။

.....

11. လက်ရှိအလုပ်လုပ်ကိုင်နေသောအလုပ်တွင် ဘာရာထူးလဲ။

- သာမန်အလုပ်သမား  ကြီးကြပ်လုပ်သား  အမှုဆောင်အရာရှိ
- မန်နေဂျာ  အခြား.....

12. သင်၏လစဉ်ဝင်ငွေဘယ်လောက်ရသလဲ။

..... ကျပ်

13. သင် မည်သူ၏ ကူညီပေးမှုဖြင့် ရန်ကုန်မြို့သို့ ရောက်ရှိလာခဲ့ပါသနည်း။

ပွဲစား  မိသားစု  ဆွေမျိုးသားချင်း  သူငယ်ချင်း/ မိတ်ဆွေ

အခြား.....

14. သင် ယခုလက်ရှိအလုပ်ကိုလုပ်ကိုင်ရန် ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်မှရန်ကုန်သို့ တိုက်ရိုက်လာခဲ့ပါသလား သို့မဟုတ် အခြားတစ်နေရာရာမှာအလုပ်လုပ်ပြီးမှ ယခုလက်ရှိအလုပ်အား လုပ်ကိုင်နေခြင်းလား။

ရခိုင်မှရန်ကုန်သို့ အလုပ်လုပ်ရန်တိုက်ရိုက်ရောက်ရှိလာခြင်း

ရခိုင်မှရန်ကုန်သို့ အလုပ်လုပ်ရန် တိုက်ရိုက်လာခြင်းမဟုတ်၊

အခြားတစ်နေရာတစ်ခုမှာ အလုပ်လုပ်ပြီးမှ ရန်ကုန်သို့ ရောက်လာခြင်းဖြစ်သည်

15. သင်၏အလုပ်တွင်တစ်ပတ်လျှင်အလုပ်ချိန်မည်မျှလုပ်ရသနည်း။

နာရီ ၄၀ အောက်  နာရီ ၄၀ မှ ၄၈ နာရီထိ  ၄၉ နာရီမှ ၅၆ နာရီထိ

၅၇ နာရီမှ ၆၄ နာရီထိ  ၆၄ နာရီနှင့်အထက်

16. သင် ရခိုင်ပြည်ရှိမိသားစု၊ ဆွေမျိုးများဆီသို့ ငွေလွှဲပို့ ပေးလေ့ ရှိပါသလား။

(ငွေလွှဲပို့ လေ့မရှိပါက မေးခွန်း နံပါတ် ၁၉ သို့ ဆက်သွားပါ)

ငွေလွှဲပို့ပေးလေ့ရှိပါသည်  ငွေလွှဲပို့ပေးလေ့မရှိပါ

17. အချိန်မည်မျှကြာလျှင် တစ်ကြိမ်စီ ငွေလွှဲပို့ ပေးပါသနည်း။

လစဉ်  ၃ လတစ်ကြိမ်  ၆ လတစ်ကြိမ်  ၉ လတစ်ကြိမ်

တစ်နှစ်တစ်ကြိမ်  ဘယ်တုန်းကမှ ငွေမလွှဲရသေးပါ

18. သင် ငွေတစ်ကြိမ်လွှဲလျှင်မည်မျှလွှဲပါသနည်း။

- ၃၀,၀၀၀ ကျပ်အောက်  ၃၀၀၀၀ ကျပ်မှ ၅၀,၀၀၀ ကျပ်
- ၅၀,၀၀၀ ကျပ်မှ ၇၀,၀၀၀ ကျပ်  ၇၀,၀၀၀ ကျပ်မှ ၉၀,၀၀၀ ကျပ်
- ၉၀,၀၀၀ ကျပ်မှ ၁၅၀,၀၀၀ ကျပ်

19. သင်၏အလုပ်တွင် သင့်အား အလုပ်ရှင်မှသော်လည်းကောင်း

အလုပ်သမားများမှသော်လည်းကောင်း အခြား အလုပ်သမားများနည်းတူ ဆက်ဆံပါသလား။

- တန်းတူ ဆက်ဆံပါသည်  တန်းတူ မဆက်ဆံပါ (ခွဲခြားဆက်ဆံပါသည်)

20. ယခုအလုပ်အား လုပ်ကိုင်ရသည်မှာ စိတ်ကျေနပ်မှုရှိပါသလား?

- ရှိ  မရှိ

21. ရန်ကုန်တွင်နေထိုင်၍ အလုပ်လုပ်ခြင်းသည် နေရပ်တွင်နေထိုင်လုပ်ကိုင်ခြင်းထက် သာ၍ကောင်းမွန်သော လူနေမှုဘဝကို ပိုင်ဆိုင်သည်ဟု သင်ထင်ပါသလား။

- ထင်ပါသည်  မထင်ပါ

22. အကယ်၍မိမိနေရပ်တွင် ယခုကဲ့သို့ အလုပ်အကိုင်၊ အခွင့်အလမ်းများ ပေါ်ပေါက်လာပါက နေရပ်သို့ ပြန်မည်လား။

- ပြန်ပါမည်  မပြန်ပါ

23. ယခုရန်ကုန်တွင်ရှိနေသော ဘဝအခြေအနေသည် သင်မျှော်လင့်ထားခဲ့သည်နှင့် ထပ်တူကျပါသလား။

- ထပ်တူကျပါသည်  ထပ်တူမကျပါ

24. ရန်ကုန်သို့ရောက်လာခြင်းကြောင့် သင့်ဘဝတိုးတက်ပြောင်းလဲလာသည်ဟု ထင်ပါသလား။

- တိုးတက်ပြောင်းလဲလာသည်
- တိုးတက်ပြောင်းလဲမလာပါ

25. သင်သည် လှိုင်သာယာမြို့နယ်ရှိ ရခိုင်အသင်းအဖွဲ့အစည်း တစ်ခုခုသို့ ပုံမှန်သွားရောက်ပါသလား။

- ပုံမှန်သွားရောက်ပါသည်
- ပုံမှန်မသွားရောက်ပါ

**မေးခွန်းအားလုံးကူညီဖြေဆိုပေးခြင်းအတွက်ကျေးဇူးတင်ပါသည်**



## VITA

Mr. Myint Maung Tun was born in Rakhine State, known as Arakan to the outside world for centuries. He earned his Bachelor Degree majoring in Geology from Sittwe University in 2007. In 2008, he moved to Yangon for the quest to improve his life. He worked with social and international organizations and actively involved in social activities of Arakan youth groups. He volunteered as a President for Arakan Club in American Center from 2012 to until the year of 2013. In 2013, he won a scholarship from CU-ASEAN to study in the Master Degree program of Southeast Asian Studies at Chulalongkorn University in Thailand.

