

Life in the Machine House of Rural Migrants: Case Study of the Lives Of Rural Migrant Industrial Workers and their Families in Haling Thayar Industrial Zones

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Abstract

In the past four years, Myanmar's economy and industrial sector have experienced significant development which has pushed rural workforces into urban industries. Livelihoods of rural migrant industrial workers in Myanmar, along with urbanization and industrial development, need to be researched if economic quality of life is to be improved and social needs to be addressed for migrant industrial workers. This research will test the hypothesis: "Rural migrants experience improved life after moving to work in factories in Hlaingtharyar Industrial Zone". This research examined by answering three research questions Do migrants experience social rights to development, social standards and quality of life after moving to Yangon Industrial Zones, What relationship do rural migrants have with local industrial workers, authorities and labor unions, What are the needs of rural migrants to improve social standards and quality of life?. The purpose of this research proposal is to better understand the lives of rural to urban migrant workers in industrial zones, to assess how they adapt and survive in their new environment as well as their social relationship with local habitants, work, unions, and their families. This issue makes a direct impact on productivity of industries and human rights issues of labors. This research mainly applied ethnography approaches to rural migrant workers as a human agency.

Key Words: labor rights, rural migrant workers, labor unions, industrial workers.

Introduction

Myanmar has been experiencing economic and industrial development which leads to the rural workforces to migrate into urban areas. Among the industrial workers, the rural migrant workers may bear double burden in lives. Their social relationship, living standard, challenges and social satisfaction will require be researched and understood to inform the approaches of human development and social capability.

Since 1995, government has initiated industrial zones and in 2012 there are over 20 industrial zones around Myanmar. In particular, in Yangon region, four sectors of industrial zones, East Yangon industrial zone (South Dagon Industrial zone 1, 2 and 3, Shwepoukan Industrial Zone, North Okkalapa Industrial

Zone, South Okkalapa Industrial zone, Dagon Seikka Industrial Zone, Tharkayta Industrial Zone and East Dagon Industrial Zone), West Yangon Industrial Zone, South Yangon Industrial Zone, and North Yangon Industrial zone (Hlaing Thayar Industrial Zone, Shwe Pyi Thar Industrial Zone and Migalardone Industrial Zone. Most of the Industrial zones are based on agro-based industry, Wood-based Industry, Textiles and garment industry, food production, Machine tools and spare parts industry and porcelain and Chemical industry (DICA 2014). Foreign investors invest in 11 garment factories in Hlaing Thayar industrial zones and several factories in rest of industrial zone around Myanmar. Even some factories are principally named to Myanmar but ownership by foreigners especially from China. Only Minigaladon Industrial park and Thilawa Industrial zone are fulfilled the FDI standards and rests are in under international standard to meet human right based and safety requirements. (Min &Kudo 2012).

Under British colonial period, most of the Myanmar workers were in the oilfield so that the labor rights and working conditions could be realized by observing the life of workers in the oilfield. According to the oilfield labors boycott, the workers urged for enough remuneration to meet the expensive commodity price. As most workers are lack of knowledge, Indian workers and cully workers from Yangon took the lead in the demonstration. It was transmitted from the boycott of American oilfield workers in (1916-17) and showed a way for the Myanmar oilfield workers (Thein 2014).

Under the lead of the General Council of *Burmese* Associations (GCBA), the oilfield boycott leaded to national movement and labors, peasants and students involved and made British colonial difficult in governance. By Dot Burma (We The Burma) association, labors could organize All Burma Labor Unions in 1939 and asked for labor rights and political movement. Under socialist government, the labor issues just occurred in the garment factories and other industrial and construction sites and the government did not take manage effectively concerned with the labors that work overseas moreover, did not formulate rules to handle labor right issues (Win 2014).

In Parliament era, according to 1947 constitution Basic Act 31, the state law shall allow the labors association and protect to get decent work for the labors, moreover, in Act 33, it is stated that all the citizens shall have rights to work, to be granted cash and benefits support when the workers become sick and old, to get paid leave and study leave and to have freedom of expression. As the constitution allows the labors to associate, there are many labor associations which perform labors movement. Likewise in Act 37, the state shall arrange the social welfare of the labors. Myanmar joined the ILO in 1948 and signed in 1955 two fundamental ILO Conventions: the Forced Labor Convention, 1930 (No. 29) and the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize Convention, 1948 (No. 87). Based on 2008 constitution, Basic policy 24, what constraints and distinctiveness could be encountered while applying Pyidaungsu Luttaw Law No (5): the brief of main purposes of that law is to protect labor rights, to smooth the relationship between employers and employees and work peacefully in the workplace and to handle fairly the conflict between employers and workers and to receive the labor rights fully. Average basic monthly wage for industrial workers is around 25-37 USD (Burma Partnership 2013) while the recent market wage is around 51-61 USD. In comparison, concerned with the wages in regional labor forces, Myanmar industrial workers get low salary under Cambodia, 80\$, Indonesia, 105-

215\$, Vietnam, 88-126, Philippines, 190-224 and China 134-293\$ (Department of Labor and Employment 2014). Moreover, labor cost in Myanmar agricultural sector is about \$ 1,300 per year and become low level of productivity. In the past, there were over 70 percent of workforce in agriculture are declined to 52 percent and still decrease in workforce for agriculture production sector. Consequently, many workforces from the rural areas move to urban for better lives in industries. Even, labor cost of manufacture sector is still fairly low in the regional wages. In the labor-intensive industries, many owners hire the rural migrant workers for comparative labor cost with habitant and manipulating working conditions (Chhor& etc. 2013). Generally, many migrant workers encounter housing problem because employers do not want to provide for migrant families and renting housing price in cities cost most of their income. This would lead to the limited ability to send children to schools and unclear policy implementation do marginalize the livings of rural migrant workers (Sjaastad 2012). Therefore, the research focused on the lives, challenges and capability of the rural migrant workers in Yangon industrial zones to examine how they pursue the quality of lives and social satisfaction and reflection among income, living standard and social relationship with stakeholders.

Literature Review

Rural to urban migration shows the development of spatial affiliation of economy development and change of the strategy of economic policy. There are many models and theories which observed the migration with different approaches.

Ravenstein's laws of migration says that migration occurs the series of development waves within region and rural people are obviously move to urban than urban dwellers. The major case of migration is the reason of finding economic opportunities (Ravenstein1885). Stouffers said that the distance of migration and population size does not directly link with the vast migration but different opportunity between rural and urban make people move to urban. Therefore, the opportunity intervene the movement of rural to urban (Denslow& Eaton 1984). Dorigo and Tobler stated that migration with push and pull factors that determined the source and destination of migration (Dorigo&Tobler1983).

Todaro stated that the costs and benefits of new urban life determined the movement before migration. As a neo classical economic theorist, he argued that migration to rural to urban sectors is a form of productive labors and people can change to pursue better life (Todaro1969). Marxists argue that migration is an inevitable outcome of the extension of capitalism. People migrant when farm land seems as alienate for their livelihood (Heisler1992). Gender specialists observe that different from man and women respond different migration factors and sex discrimination and culture norms decide the migration and their adoption in new environment (eds. Boyle&Halfacree 2002).

Furthermore, new approach of migration as a household strategy develops the idea of conceptual parallels between migration and lifestyles of benefactors. Lieten and Nieuwenhuys argued that the fundamental role of human agency respond the force of global capitalism and economy change to

develop their livelihoods within their limited condition and capability (Lieten& Nieuwenhuys 1989). Hence, lives of migrant workers make an attempt to find the middle ground of their competency, social rank, and material and social capitals to develop the quality of life. Those performances decide not only the income distribution on survivals but also social participation in new environment and relationship with origin and extensive family. The migration of rural to urban industrial sector seems as risk sharing among family members and for labor look likes as income risk and working cultural shock (Taylor 1996). Sen mentioned that development must be the process of expanding the substantive freedoms that people enjoy in their choices. Investment in health, education, food, recreational life and social capability will enhance the human development to pursue the well-being of individuals (Sen 1999). Wages and livelihood will diverse among individuals and country contexts.

Among the migrant history, the vast movement of rural to Urban in China is a good case study. When migrant workers starts move to urban, the conflicts among migrant workers, government officials, employers and local residents become increased. Migrant workers in China live in marginalized living conditions and then social service and policy to protect migrant workers are still in process. Therefore, the migrant workers themselves organize the supportive network and solve the general problem (Daniel Fu Keung, Chang Ying & He Xue2007)). The numbers of women migrant workers from rural areas are increasing. Women are no longer depending on their husbands and fathers. Most of the industries hire women because of low wages and low compliance (Kofman2004). Therefore, when labours try to get for collective bargaining, Dorigo and Tobler pointed out that women suffered from structuralized disadvantage of sex and gender and some disadvantaged minority become out of workforce and loss their rights to participation in decision making (Dorigo & Tobler 1983).

Along with the emerging economy, the new industries and industrial zones are established around Myanmar to manufacture the industrial products. Many local and international investors build and run industries to face young prospects. In addition, many unskilled workers and semiskilled workers from rural people move to enter newly opened industries to survive their livelihoods in urban places. As a result, many workers from rural areas and suburban places try to live in dormitory or near industries. According to ILO, labor market in Myanmar need to develop employment opportunity especially for youths and women, labor registration and labor market governance, labor migration and labor issues in specific sectors. Among them, labor migration and labor issues in specific sectors are directly related with this research. ILO in Myanmar largely conduct improvement of labor recruitments, labor registration, social protection during employment, safe migration from rural to urban, employability and skills of labors and enhancing special care in industrial workers in productivity in Myanmar. ILO monitored implementation of labor standard and encouraged the development of social dialogues in industrial relation (ILO 2012).

Research Field Sites

Research field sites are industries from each HlaingThaYar industry zone. Based on labor unions, the research gathers informants and research field sites. HlaingThaYar industrial zone is the biggest industrial zone among Myanmar industrial zones. It takes around one and half hour from downtown to HlaingThaYar. It is bounded by Hlaingriver in the east, Shwe Than Lwin industrial zone in the west, Yangon-Pathein road in the north and Panhlaing river in the south. It has many industrial zones particularly zones 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. Total area of Hlaingthayar is 1401,44 acres and industrial area is 1087.98 acres. in Hlaing Thayar Industrial zones have mainly total 13 zones with over 1000 industries and predictably over 150,000 workers. HlaingTharyar industrial zone management committee administrates the industrial zones (Myanmar Industrial Association 2014).

Research approached two industrial zones from HlaingThaYar, New Way shoe industry zone produce the exported quality products and is situated at No 188, Kyan Sit ThaStreet, and industrial zone 4. It has over 1300 industrial workers. Popular garment factory has over 1500 workers and been located on No(3)-Kannar Street -Zone 2. Indigo garment factory located at No.137.minkyimahar street, minkhaung.zone.4 and run with over 1000 workers. finally Tai Yee shoe factory is placed in Zone 3. Generally, it has labor unions and one third of labors are rural migrant workers. Recently, second industry is Popular garment factory. Popular garment factory exists on No, 10, BanmawAtawwan Street, zone 3. In this factory, over 1000 industrial workers are employed in various steps of production. In the HlaingThayar field sites, two labor unions from research sites and also a labor based consortium unions of labors named Action Labor Rights and international labor based INGO named Myanmar Center for Responsible Business.

General Lifestyle

Commonly, factories do not provide dormitories for all industrial workers with families but assist ferry cars for workers according to work time. However, some factory such as Tai Yee shoe factory and new way garment factory provide dormitories but limited to only 200 workers who are single to access dormitory (A Saung= shared room) and factory cut small amount of salary for this dormitory charge, water and electronic use. Ma Moe Wai, 31, the labor leader of Tai Yee factory said "I have lived in the dormitory because comparing with other private dormitories, fees is half and safe for me". She have lived hall type rooms with private bed. Many workers in HlaingThayar industrial zones live near their factories. Some landlords rent the workers the small dormitories or some stay together in small houses. Mr. Thein Kyaw Oo, 23, worker form New Way factory mentioned " I live with my sister and other relatives in this small house by paying 75000 per month". His small house has 10' x 30' wide . He added "some couple lived in 10' x 10' and sometime three people live those small dormitories". Many dormitories are built two stories with 10' x 10' small 20 rooms with shared toilets and bath places for over 60 industrial workers in one dormitory. therefore, every morning, they need to queue for long to take bath rooms. "Men and Women need to shared same bath places and toilets, we could not care so much for gender different that time" Ms Khin Khin Thit, 26, who lives in small dormitory with her two sisters from Irrawaddy region. (Mee Kwat Say= Fire light bazaar) is a small market for majority workers

to buy curry and grocery till mid nights with little candle and LED lights. Many small shops near dormitories mostly open till 11 pm at night. Ms Khin Khin Thit said "When I come back from work, too late to cook so I need buy readymade curry and rice to eat".

Most of Rural migrant workers have similar patterns that are they come to industrial cities for better lives, most of them come from Irrawaddy region and upper Myanmar after Nargic cyclone and many Rakhine people migrant to work in industrial zones. Before they come to industrial zones, they generally contact to their relatives or friends who are from their villages and work in industries. Thein Kyaw Oo mentioned "I am from Rakhin and my uncle works in factory and he brought me here and after two years, I called my sister to work too". Ms Khin Khin Thit said " After school dropout, my auntie asked to come to Yangon and I lived with them first. After my sisters followed my way, we moved to dormitory and live together and work in same factory". Therefore, some industries, the research finds out many migrant workers come from same or near villages to work in same factory.

Most labours have to get up early to prepare for food carrier and run to the factory and get back home at around 8:30 pm. Sometimes the labours have to fast for dinner when they have to take over time until 10:30 pm. The work is done by the basic labours however; the bonus is received by the Super or All Super. When it came to promoting the salary of the government staffs in 2013 and 2014, it made a direct impact on the high commodity price so that the burden of the labours became double. It leads to the frequent demonstrations of labours in Hlaing Thayar industrial zones. Therefore, employees asked for comparative wages of industrial labours as civil servants who basically get over 100000 Kyat (980 USD) per month. instant of doing strike, industrial labours do not so much aware of legal obligation to raise salary and annual calling for income safety.

According to one of the female labours, Ms Myat Mon, 21, in her factory where she is working, the labours held demonstration in May, 2012 to ask for to increase salary. However, they did not know how to ask and whom to negotiate; moreover, they did not really know that there is a Labor Law which was issued in October 11, 2011. During the demonstration, the workers suffered a lot too however their commitment was strong to stand and raise their voice. The demonstration took 11 days and the labor leaders negotiated with the employer. It was rare that the managing director from the factory directly meets with the workers and to listen to the feelings and difficulties of the workers. After the demonstration, the workers had chance to negotiate with the employer and the employer agreed on some facts what the workers asked for. Moreover, it was decided to hold monthly meeting together with the representative workers, the manager and the all super. She said "I am excited when we have the chance to discuss with (Tha Htey= boss) face to face in the first time".

However, compared with past, It was a great improvement for the relationship between the workers and the employer. Research suggested that the workers and the employer should be interdependent each other. Later on, she told that the workers got the labor rights and holidays and allowed the service leave. "After strikes, manager takes care more about labor needs, we can negotiated for urgent leaves and medical leaves, even I get labor union work leaves" Ms Moe Wai, labor leader of Tai Yee factor

mentioned, "Moreover, the employer limited the over time until 7 pm and for those workers who did not take 10 days for service leave". They received the money for those working days. Furthermore, there were variety of medicines supplied to the factory clinic and the working environment became more hygiene and the purified drinking water was supplied with the water cooler in the working place.

According to research, the market of leads to choose of themselves because of extensive foreign investment in industries after partly sanction left for Myanmar products after 2012. The new factories posted job offer near strikes and on ferry cars. Sometime, some workers handed out the job offer advertisements of newly opened factories with potential payment. sometime, send some workers to recruit s, especially to Irrawaddy region. the newly established industrial zones in Bago, Irrawaddy and other regions, the shortage of s become the negotiated power to ask for rights and decent payment. However, the role of government in providing infrastructural and social service for s is still important for both s and employers to reach decent minimum wages.

In Tai Yee factory, the labors demonstrations happened three year continuously and the main cause was low salary. Moreover, the employer docked for not working in holidays as absence. As many orders in winter, the workers have to take over time (OT) everyday so that they get payment to some extent. However, in summer, they do not earn much because the factory does not get many international orders especially in February; the amount of payment is really small because it has only 28/29 days. Those workers have to rely on the over time because they do not have regular monthly salary and their daily payment is paid at the end of the month. Therefore, they have to survive with the over time payment for those season with not much work, the labors demonstrations broke out. The basic salary and over time payment become huge issues in worker to keep survival. basic salary under 40,000 Kyat (350 USD) cannot grantee for living cost for worker families. When overtime works are dried out, workers face difficulties in living. Therefore, mostly, strikes occurs among march and April. In the April, in long holidays of water festival time, if factory does not provide any bonus or additional support, workers face a lot of hardship with no income. "I cannot go back to my village this time because my bonus are not enough for transportation so I am thinking to sell some toy in downtown during festival", Yee Mon said.

In the case of Tai Yee factory, although the demonstrations had happened three years, there are no people who take responsibility to solve except the factories' labors. It did not take many days for demonstration in 2010 and 2011, however, it took over months in 2012 so that all the workers encountered financial problems, especially the workers who live in hostels. Although the workers had demonstrated over months, the employers did not compromise easily so that the situation got worst. Some workers did not even have money to buy meals finally they have to work again. New labor dispute law mentioned that labors will not get any compensation for days that they do the strike. Therefore, labors cannot resist for more than one month without income. This led to the problems of breaking unity within workers. Although, union leader want to move forward to get full labor rights but many labors want to agree on less payment and strike again after six or seven again. Therefore, completed negotiation are not arrived and strike become regular and make divided between labors and employers

and make production weak. Sometimes the workers from the factories and the workers who were demonstrating confronted and finally to maintain the situation the employers agreed on some facts what the workers asked for their needs.

However, some of employers used some methods to control labors such as fire labor leaders and make a list or promote them. Thein Kyaw Oo mentioned Many employers organize lists labor leaders and share this list not to hire them. "I am not hired for over three months now, I was fired with three months compensation, I cannot find job back again in this Industrial zones after I lose job, some friends say I am in the black list of leaders". Research assumed that employers rely on each other or network to avoid the active leaders in factories. Thein Kyaw Oo said "Recently, I get job for seven days and fired me after that because my past employers phone to new boss about me".

Employers also use some counter strategies to control s. After the demonstration, the workers managed to organize another labor unions or employers organized another labor unions with support to reduce the negotiated power of labors. Sometime, Employers rise salary or position of leaders of labors, "after strike they become in charge and get salary" Myat Mon said " they are not active at all for rights". However, practically, after strike, more or less, Later on the employer reduced the working hours slightly and allowed leave according to the law and provided the basic salary. It showed that the success of the unity of labors, on the other hand, the factory docked some promotion and annual bonus. In current situation, the employers agreed on the other demands except the salary. Therefore, the labors' association mediated to negotiate in order to reach an agreement between employers and employees. Particularly, employers should consider about the salary to increase to some extent and at the same time, the employers should compromise the situation. Therefore, the triangle meeting with Labors Union leaders, Ministry of Labor welfare and authorities need to be conducted so as to solve recent labor issues.

The perspectives of individual participation in labor union expressed the limitation of Ms Ei Myat Phuy, 17, said that there was a demonstration in the factory where she was working. It was her first time experiencing the demonstration. She involved in the demonstration without knowing anything, later on, she knew that the workers held demonstration as their salary was cut. Her salary was cut around 6000 kyat; on the other hand, other workers' salary was cut around 9000 kyat. The employer did not agree for that and the employees continued their demonstration. After 10 days, the employer increased 1000 kyat and when it took over 20 days, her family situation was in difficulty so that she had to work back again with that amount. She wept "I wanted to stay with my friends who demonstrate but I need to look after my family". The demonstration took over 2 months and she supported the workers who involved in the demonstration and she was criticized by those workers as she could not stand with them together. She had to accept all the criticism as she had not much money to stand that long.

In the past, if they strike, they get pay but in new law say they do not get pay. Therefore, many strike become short and compromise so fast. , The Settlement of Labor Disputes Law 2012 article 41 say "No person shall carry out lock-out or strike to amend such decision or agreement within the effective period of the decision of the Arbitration Body or the Arbitration Council or any collective agreement", 54 says

"As a strike suspends the employment agreement temporarily, the employer shall not be liable to pay salary or allowance during such period to the worker who go on strike". If negotiation is not ends in labor dispute committee, they send to high court and those process take almost 2 years to reach. Therefore, without supports, strike and legal process for disputes become disadvantages for labours in long term.

Political Development

Labor unions: Labour unions are designed to develop the welfare of members, working condition, collective goods and to solve the disputes within industrial relationship, laws and rights. If a small group of s complain to employer to change working condition first time that means a union is born (Blair & Crawford 1984). In every working places, whenever the s face the ground difficulty or challenges upon welfare, a union is established. unions have been organized since late 19 century through industrial revolution and reach to International Corporation. The change of laws mainly base on the influence of unions (Wellington 1961).

In Myanmar, unions were illegal untill 2011. Due to western sanctions, Myanmar industrial products were denied in the western markets for decades and recently, the change of political reform opens up new opportunity for Myanmar industrial goods to deliver to the international marketplaces. The prospects for industrial development seem better for Myanmar because of the access to pool and new openness of international market share (Kudo 2013). By encouragement of ILO, the industrial workers federation of Myanmar mobilized the congress to have the rights to associate unions. This mobilization enforces the government to allow unions to be founded in work places and can organize from sector to national level association. The exile leaders are also allowed to return into Myanmar and encouraged to form unions in industries. In 2013, total 1225 unions are registered in the Ministry of labor (FTUM website no date).

In current situation, the employers agreed on the other demands except the salary. Therefore, the labors' association mediated to negotiate in order to reach an agreement between employers and employees. Particularly, employers should consider about the salary to increase to some extent and at the same time, the employers should compromise the situation. Therefore, the triangle meeting with Labors Union leaders, Ministry of Labor welfare and authorities need to be conducted so as to solve recent labor issues. Believing all the workers are supposed to aware of their rights and responsibilities, the role of labor unions still become important for development. On the other way, the government has to make sure that all the s get the job security according to the rules of law and then all the s get the amount of salary which they deserve. The labor union was organized and some of the labor issues in the factory were compromised. Still, the role of unions and its activities in ground action plan are vastly and directly benefits to s by organizing strikes, negotiation, training and sharing information.

The labors have been trying to tacking all the demanding situations such as rent pavement for hostel or house, extra charges for electricity and water, social affairs, health issues, work stress, environmental pollution and unbalance between low income and high expenditure. To get those expense of living cost, they asked for raising payment for 4000 Kyat (USD 3.6) but labor minister negotiated for 3600 (3.2 USD) per day and employer associations denied both requests and declared to shut down over 100 factories in September if government legalize it (BBC 2015). Consequently, among employers and employees, government and labor unions become unreachable agreement.

In the political rights, daftly, get more negotiated power than past however, new law does not favor for economically. Unions become a powerful force to united the in collective demand. The role of labor in meeting become developed and labors aware of the using united force to reach their goals of affordable living standard, however, education in rights and decent strategies need to move further when employers encounter with promotion to leaders, firing with compensation or pressuring networking, divide and rule strategies. It was a great improvement for the relationship between the workers and the employer as the workers and the employer should be interdependent each other.

Economic Development

In order to accelerate the development process of Myanmar, nowadays foreign investment plays a crucial role and the labor issues of Myanmar is a barrier and a challenge to attract foreign investment. The government of Myanmar, the ministry of Labor should examine the grounded problems and formulate effective and realistic plans and encourage to practice. In 2012, the most common labor problems were happened in industrial zones and the major causes were to raise salary, to reduce working hours, to have leave entitlement, to work in better working condition, to set ground rules in the workplace and to take actions for expelling workers intentionally.

It is mostly happened that the higher the positions, the greater benefits they receive. That means when they works in industrial longer, they get the better position, salary and opportunity. Ma Khin Yu Swe said "I have worked in this industry for four years and become line in charge and get salary more than twice". Her gold necklace proved her saving. One of the interesting factor is that they do not save money in bank otherwise they send money to their families. Mostly they buy gold to save money. The majority of s in factories are female especially in garment factories come from Yangon, Irrawaddy, Saging, Magwe, Mandalay districts and Rakhine state. Those workers have to work 10 hours to 11 hours a day and over half percentage (65%) of salary accounts for meals and accommodation.

Concerned with the statues of labors in workplaces. The government of Myanmar mostly ignores the current issues of Labors, moreover, the President, the ministry of Labor and the ministry of social welfare publicly announce on newspaper and TV grant to promote basic salary and to improve social welfare services. However, in reality, there is no such actions are taken. It has been around two years

that the President granted to raise basic salary. In comparison, the base salary of Myanmar's labors is the least amount among other countries.

Particularly, in garment factories, the paid amount of a basic for one day (from 7:15 pm to 4:30 pm), 8 hours excluding lunch time working, is around 1000 Kyat (USD 0.9), likewise, the paid amount of a leader called skilled worker for 8 hours working is within (1500/ 2000) kyat. The workers work for daily based salary and they receive their salary at the end of the month. The employers calculate the days the workers work for and they pay for those days only at the end of the month. Therefore, the employers do not account for holidays and leave days as well. Moreover, the calculation of Overtime fee, fine and bonus is complicated. "If I absent one day, my payment was cut almost 20 percent of total", Yee Mon said, "No one explained about how much we get for overtimes, fine and salary detail". Research found out that most of payment bill wrote in English.

There is no clear regulation for the salary so that depending on the increasing commodity price, the workers demands to raise salary. The solution would be discussion and compromising between the employers and the workers because there are no prescribed rules for the salary in private factories and industries so that the ministry of Labor and other Labor organizations could not interfere in that case. Although government decided to raise to 3600 Kyat (3.4 USD) per day, employer association denied the amount and refused to pay for Sunday and public holidays. In that case, when some factories coincide with the labors strike and the important order to export, the employers agree on to a large extent what the needs. However, it is often happened that the employers expel the leaders of the labor strike with severance pay after they had finished negotiation or pressure on leaders in working places. Therefore, the tension between the employers and the workers mount and the labor demonstration happens again.

For severance pay, Law fixed that the severance must be paid to all terminated employees. according to length of employee service to work, the amount of severance pay is vary. if labor worked for less than three months, will get 1 month pay, if he worked for under 1 years, entitled to 2 months' salary, for during 1 year to 3 years, severance pay raise to 3 months' payment and finally the employee over 3 years entitled to 5 months' salary pay. However, law says that if employer could prove that employees tented to damage the reputation of company or factory, employers are leased to pay for severance. Actually, in reality, most of employees are pressured to resign than fired to avoid severance pay requirements. even they give severance pay, not based on total payment but on few basic payment that under 50000 Kyat (48 USD) that does not meet the requirement of finding jobs in three months. The main cause of serious issue is recent conflict between the employers and the workers is giving inadequate basic salary and exploiting the work effort from the workers by working overtime by paying double fee. If those grounded problems are not solved, the conflict between employers and workers and the labor demonstration are expected to continue.

In order to avoid those issues, the working hours should be 8 hours and basic salary should be enough to make ends meet for the workers. It might be difficult to regard particular minimum salary in Myanmar development context. However, it should not be lesser than the amount (4000 kyat) per day that the

government give daily workers and moreover, it should be at least 120,000 kyat (USD 1150) . In addition, there should have bonus and service money for the workers. As a result, it could reduce the extra working time and the workers would get their leisure time. This would lead to the great benefit to the youth workers to study and explore the opportunities. Moreover, it increases the individual income and directly affects their social welfare.

The salary is usually paid in 1st day of every month; however, there is not much money to spend in the third week of the month and the workers have to survive with the money (7000 kyat) that is received for meals in 21st of the month. At the end of the month, the workers have to borrow from others with interests as the salary for the workers is low and not enough for the whole month. The workers could not change to other factories as they hope for the bonus for festivals in April and October. Therefore, some workers contact with the job agency and move to work in Malaysia and Singapore with debt of service fees. This ways also lead to on potential danger of human trafficking.

Social Development

Most of the workers move from rural areas because there are not many opportunities for job and development for them in origins. Therefore, most of the youths and the middle-aged left from rural areas and move to work in factories. As a result, the number of workers in factories is getting increased each year. Estimated 13 to 35 year old , average 23 work in HlaingThayar Industries. The main reasons for rural migration are Job opportunity, Land grapping, Middle or High School dropout, Relative calls, the persuading of pioneers labors from same villages and Educational purpose. Most of the workers move from rural areas because there are not many opportunities for job and development for them. Therefore, most of the youths and the middle-aged left from rural areas and move to work in factories. As a result, the number of workers in factories is getting increased each year. Yee Mon "after grad 8, my auntie bring me to work". Thein Kyaw Oo, "I was came with Uncle and later called my sister, in my village, after paddy work, nothing to do". Ms Sein, 23, said "After matriculation exam 2011, I moved to Yangon and I am attending Distance University with liberal art degree, so I do not take any leaves but in the time of 10 school days and exams I take leave from works without payment". The employers do not grant those workers leave for tuition days and they are just allowed for exam days. Therefore, those workers have to change their specialization from Science such as Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry to Myanmar, History and Geography as the Arts subjects do not mostly have to attend classes. Ms Moe Way explained "By combined of medical leaves, urgent leaves and other leaves, we, labor union, propose employers to allow those students in 10 days tuitions and exam days".

Most of the rural migrant labors live in the hostels so that it is not really comfortable for the large family. However, most family members stay together with the hope that they can improve their life in the city in terms of education and social opportunity. The general problem of the migrant workers in research field sites are that most of the rural migrant workers live in the hostels and support their families from origins. The family members of migrant workers is usually high and average 5 people per families and

survive from the support of their young generation who works in industries. However, the income of migrant workers are not really comfortable for the large family members. One of rural migrant worker said, "I want to go back home every month but the travel cost makes me stay in city, even I cannot visit regularly every year".

Mrs. Yee, 24, "Here, I can send my daughter to school easily because school is just three lane of my house". Living in urban is more opportunity and getting future. Research find out majority of migrant workers do not want to go back their origins and try to bring their family to urban when they rooted well. Factory make labor united and friendship than rural origin.

Most of the rural migrant workers live in the hostels so that it is not really comfortable for the large family. The families have been trying to tacking all the demanding situations beyond hostel and meal cost such as rent pavement for hostel or house, extra charges for electricity and water, social affairs, health issues, environmental pollution and unbalance between low income and high expenditure. However, most family members stay together with the hope that they could improve their life in the city in terms of education and social lives. Moreover, the rural migrant workers have another burden to supply for their family members in origin. It is mostly happened that the higher the positions, the greater benefits they receive. To get high salary and high bonus gradually, they need to stick with a factory with less absents.

It is said that factories reduce 5000 kyat from workers if they are absent without taking leave for one day. However, workers do not normally get 5000 kyat per day. There are varieties of leave types such as casual leave, medical leave so that workers are supposed to take a leave under specific title. "If I absent one day, Myat Mon said "it might cut to three days of payment I get". If the workers are absent with one particular leave entitlement, around 5000 kyat is reduced from their monthly salary for one day. In some factories, over 10,000 kyat is cut.

In one factory, there could be more than 2000 workers and among them, the majority generally belongs to the young girls which are 16 to 30 years old. One of the female workers from the Shoes Factory complained that she has to work under dangerous working conditions. As her duty, she has to shape shoes by using machines and wheels and particularly both axis of the wheels have iron or stone blade. She has to stick glue on the wheels firmly and shape shoes with working machines and wheels. There are no protective things to cover and she has only mask and helmet. Moreover, the surrounding is also lack of hygiene and messed with dust and it makes a negative effect on the health of workers. She said that she has to drink milk in the milk to alleviate the dust in the throat and the workers have to share 1 litter into four or five quotas. There is a clinic mostly in big factories and the clinic just provides only painkiller and digestive medicine. "When I feel unwell, I go to vender which sell small medicine", Mrs. Yee said. If the workers feel unwell, they could take leave with the recommendation from the social welfare clinic. However, as the social welfare clinic is run under the government, even though it is supposed to open at 9 am, the door just opens at 9:30 am and the responsible comes just around 10 am so that it is really convenient for the emergency patients.

In terms of medical leave, the social welfare department issues the social welfare cards for workers. In some factories, the workers have those cards, but, in other factories, the factories or the manager keep those cards. "Factory did welfare card for me last month but they keep it", Zin Zin, 19, said "when I need to go clinic, I need to wait and ask manger". Nevertheless, the factories take money for social welfare budget from the salary of the workers every month. It is compulsory for the workers, however, the workers are denied the rights of social welfare including medical care, medical leave. Hence, instead of granting the paid leave for hospitalization of the workers, their salary is cut for the days they do not work. It becomes the serious issue for the workers to take a medical leave. The employers permit the medical leave with the confirmation by a doctor. On the other hand, the employers regard the medical leave as absence so that the workers do not get the salary, ferry fees, bonus and meals. Most of the workers find it difficult to make ends meet so that they could not see the doctors even when they are ill. Myat Mon said "I assorted medicines from the shops and it costs mostly 100 to 150 kyat". Sometimes the workers get better with those medicines and if not, they have to see the doctor eventually.

Moreover, if the workers are absent more than three days whether they take leave or not, the workers are expelled. In such condition, they are allowed to work again; they have to work like they used to work, however, they do not the amount of salary they used to get. They get the same amount of salary as the new workers. Generally, it is not authorized to expel the workers who work back after the leave; it is violating the rights of labors. Therefore, the ministry of Labors should take actions legally. It is reasonable that the workers should be taken action according to laws if they are absent without taking leave, however, it is unreasonable to expel because it takes years to be a skilled labors.

Most of the workers from the villages have to send money back to their family when they get salary through the highway express bus. Myat Mon shared her feeling that she would like to go back home when she met her friends from the villages talking about their relatives and festivals. She pointed out "I admit I want to go back my village but here, I have job". She got a job in the garment factory with the help of her cousin sister. She had to work normally 12 hours a day. Firstly, she had to stay in a room of 7 feet perimeter, nevertheless, she could not recognize that room was whether big or small because she had to go to work early in the morning and come back late at night. Sometimes, she had to take All Night three days a week and she got only one holiday. The docked amount from the salary for absence was also too much so that she could not be absent from the work and she could not quit from that job in order to send money back to her family.

One of the young workers who is living in the hostel told her experience that the supplied water was just suitable to bath and she had to buy water to drink, wash clothes and shampoo hair as well. Sometimes she would like to eat snacks as the lunch break is in noon. She mostly spent around 300 kyat for lunch. She could get back home at 7 pm and the ferry was provided however, she did not take the ferry as most of the drivers were drunk at that time and it was too crowded in the ferry. Therefore, she went home together with friends. She used her free time effectively particularly she attended the computer and English Language class which are important to get a better job. There is free of charge class called

Knowledge Zone which is taught by Teacher Mr Maung Maung and there are two teachers for computer class. On Saturday, the class starts at 6 pm to 8 pm and on Sunday; there is a class from 10 am to 3 pm.

In some factories, the workers have to work from 7:20 am to 7 pm in the weekdays and until 4 pm in Saturday. Sunday is holiday for them. Sometimes, in terms of important order, the workers have to work on Sunday as well. In that case, the workers are urged to sign one day in advance that they are agreed satisfactorily to work on Sunday. The employer told the workers that Sunday is flexible according to the willingness of the workers. On the other hand, when the employer provides bonus for the satisfied quantity each month, they left the ones who do not work on Sunday. Furthermore, in-charge and supervisor usually oppress the ones who do not work on Sunday as well.

Social development of labor in industries become main issue for industrial relationship. Rule and regulation of industries and social capital between employers and labors become weaker and weaker along with social tension and labor strike. Labor education and labor laws awareness for both investors and labors are essential issues.

Conclusion

The employers emphasize on their own profit in doing business and the workers work for their basic needs. Most of the investment from both national and international need the workers force to do business. As the employers could not take advantage from the low quality products, they just exploit the effort of the workers for their benefit. The workers are not able to influence payment market because the unemployment rate is high nowadays so that they have to accept the inadequate amount that the employers limit for them. Moreover, the employers always set plan to reduce the production costs. Therefore, it can be seen that the employers has just focused on the benefit since industrial revolution. The conflict between employers and workers are frequently happened in the least developed countries. The more the employers exploit the workers in the workplace, the more difficult the life of the workers and it would lead to provoke the degree of conflict between employers and workers.

The major causes of the conflict are the employers take advantage the workload of labors and manage labors inadequately, the employers set the unfair rules in the workplace, the employers discriminate workers and the employers ignore the Labor laws. As a result, those serious conflicts make a direct impact on the good governance of the country.

Based on the analysis on the driving force for the workers to move from their villages to the industrial zones or abroad, all the migrant workers hope for the decent life with better living standard. In particular, most of the migrant workers are youths and they become migrant workers. There are many factors which influence the workers to move to other countries for the work especially owing to unemployment, low salary and family financial crises. To solve those problem, research suggest that government need to provide decent infrastructure for both investors and labors and negotiate the

minimum wages and set up secure labor welfare schemes and rights. combination and participation of labor unions, private sectors and civil society, state need to encourage the reform of labor laws. among the employers and labors need to reach effective industrial relationship and transparency, fairness of work process.

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