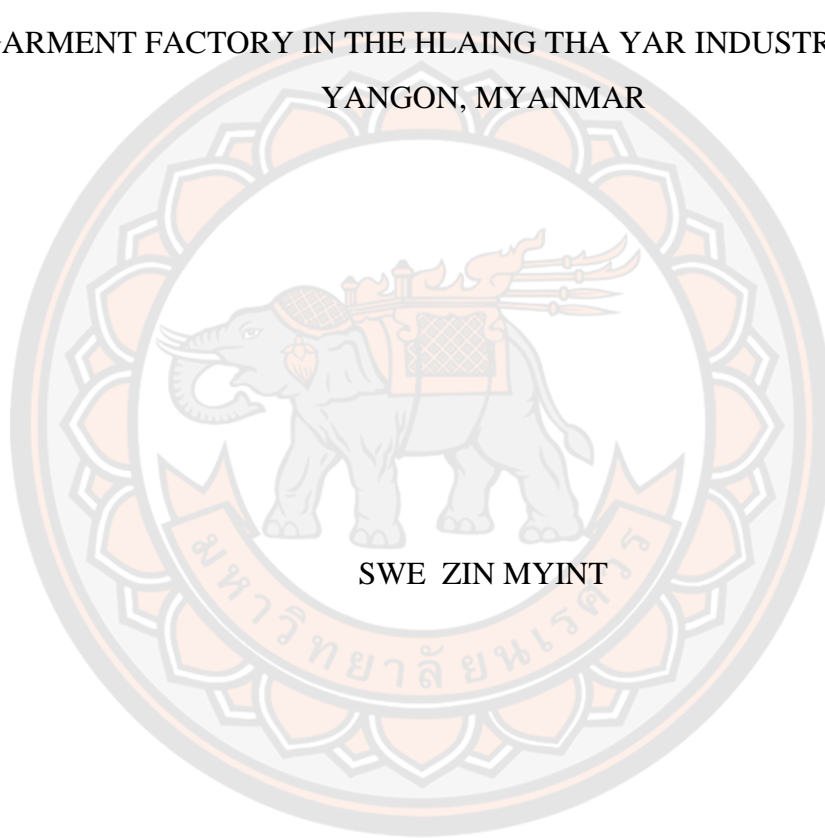




GENDER AND REMITTANCES OF FEMALE MIGRANT WORKERS IN A
GARMENT FACTORY IN THE HLAING THA YAR INDUSTRIAL ZONE,
YANGON, MYANMAR



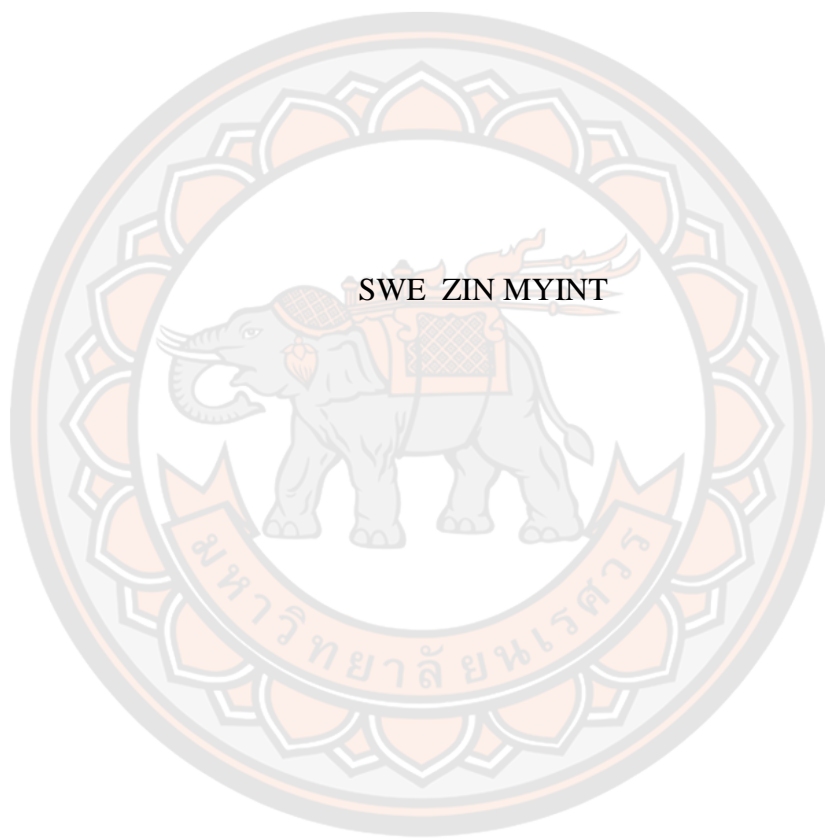
SWE ZIN MYINT

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School of Naresuan University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Master of Arts in (Social Development)

2021

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By SWE ZIN MYINT

has been approved by the Graduate School as partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Master of Arts in Social Development of Naresuan University

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MIGRANT WORKERS IN A GARMENT FACTORY IN
THE HLAING THA YAR INDUSTRIAL ZONE,
YANGON, MYANMAR

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2021

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ABSTRACT

In a developing country like Myanmar and its booming industrialization, women independently migrate to the city with fewer restrictions on social concerns and cultural norms. One particular aspect of this research looks at how these female migrants manage to send their remittances amidst varied family norms in diverse socio-cultural contexts and hierarchical structures. This study utilized a qualitative research approach to examine the twenty-seven migrant women subjects working in a garment factory. All participants joined in a series of focus-group discussions and further selected seven individuals from this group for an in-depth semi-structured interview in their residences in the greater Yangon area. The findings illustrated in this article are descriptions of how female migrants practice gender remittances and their behavior under Myanmar's transformative patriarchal society. The results unveiled that female migrants' conception of sending remittances were interrelated with cultural practices and filial responsibilities in a gender-stratified society. Despite the lingering influences of the patriarchal structure, the economic significance of these women migrants back home empowers them considerably. Apart from their remittances, this article also investigates the factors motivating migrant women to find job opportunities in industrialized urban areas.

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Last but not least, I wish to express my deepest love and gratitude to my family for their indefinite support and motivation throughout my life and my studies.

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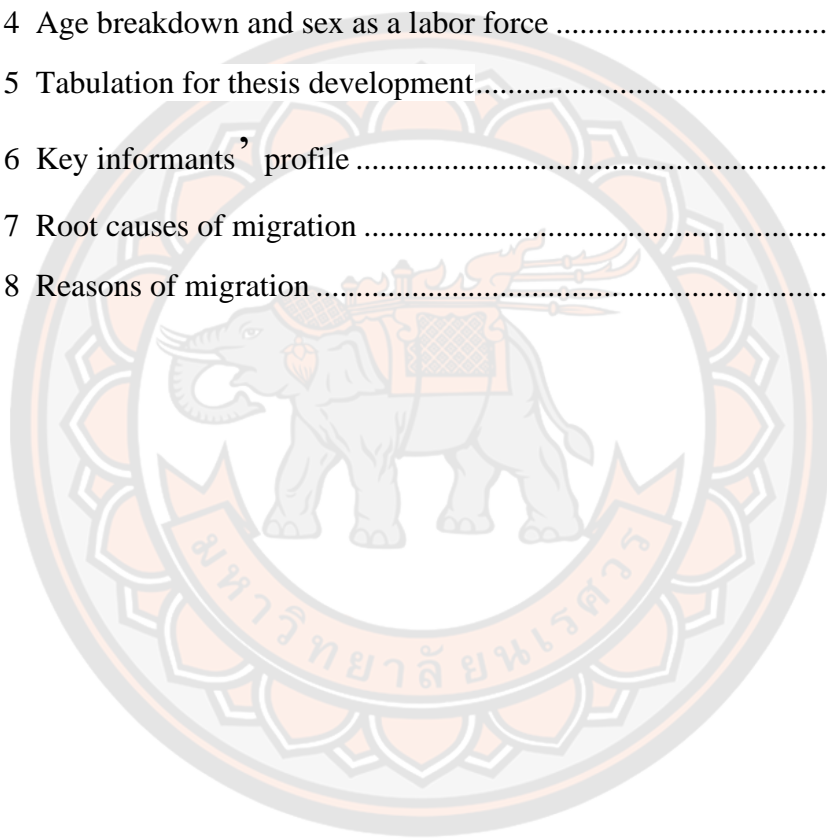
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the problem: Trend of female migration studies

Migration is these days happening around the world as people have different purposes to seek better living conditions and job opportunities. More move to the other places due to the political unrest, while several face insufficient income and then are looking for more prospects outsources. Meanwhile, there are a number of people who migrate because they want to liberate from social norms as the reasons. The developing countries, especially in the Asia-Pacific region, have become a common issue internationally and internally. To have access for better economic opportunities, both men and women migrate with increasing flows for improving their livelihood. Normally, women migrants followed their husbands as the dependent family members due to the barriers of social norms, cultural and customs of their communities. However, nowadays, women's independent migration becomes a trend and has been increasing with the nearly equal number of men (Choudhury, 2017).

According to the UN (2009), legal migrant women from Indonesia, Philippines and Sri Lanka increased from 62 to 75% in globally for expecting the better income. Likewise, Acharya (2003) stated that the rural women in Cambodia migrated to urban Phnom Penh, rose up 56% per cent which they had been motivated by better opportunities for employment and free from income constraints in rural areas. However, the young men and women were migrated in similar numbers in China, decision of migration was different each other. The young men explored that to start the business or personal development in urban while the young women were moved to support the family's expenditure. According to the China societies, women's education is limited depending on the family resources compared to men. Women have more chances to become the worker and urban-rural income gap was pull factor for migration. In addition, migrant women wanted to provide their children's and sibling's educational expenses on the hand? and they want to explore

the outside world, expose new experiences, pursue freedom in the city on the other hand (Chiang et al., 2015).

Developing of market liberalization, export oriented manufacturing, good road networks and communication technologies in China were persuaded the rural people to the urban cities (Ping, & Shaohua, 2005). Tam (2000) studied that a factory in Shenzhen, 99% of workers were women migrant and they were bounded to strict disciplines that social control still remained. Chinese migration have stated that male migrants are more likely to find jobs in construction sites and heavy industries, while female migrants are more often hired in light manufacturing industries such as textiles, garments and electric sectors (He, & Gober, 2003).

Female migrants normally hoped their income increased and more amount to spend for household expenditure on such as education and health care for their family members in rurality. In addition, sending remittances can shift hierarchical power for women within the family by being able to contribute income for the households (Duflo, & Udry, 2004). Due to the developing of industrial zones and urban setting, young women increasingly migrated to the cities.

In Asia, Myanmar has grown to be the largest migration source country in the Greater Mekong Sub- Region (International Organization of Migration, 2009). Over two million people were living in abroad due to the cause of political and economic unrest factors (Department of Population, 2014). At the same time, internal migration has apparently with increased urbanization, resulting in better living standards on the other hand and improving unemployment on the other.

In Myanmar, young rural women have been mobilized into the urban labor market in industrial zones around Yangon, the previous capital city. The cheap labors were demanded for booming industrial zone and young women were persuaded to move in city. Migrated rural women aimed to look for work and income and overcome the economy shocks due to failure of agriculture product. However, the women's participation in the labor force varies depending on the situations, such as their education levels, marital status, a hierarchy system and the role of gender which explains why they have limited access to jobs across the country (Verick, 2018).

Although, there are studies investigating a macro view of this economic structure change, there is still a scarce number of looking at the relationship between migration and remittances from a gender aspect. Therefore, this research is aimed to explore the phenomena of the female migrants in the garment factory, industrial zone, on how they spend their money and send it back home. Through the gender conceptual lens, it mainly looks at how diverse gender statuses and positions affected them to send remittances, alongside with the high expenses and living conditions in the city.

Background of the study: Tracing Myanmar migration

Myanmar is located between the dynamic economies of Thailand, the People's Republic of China, and India who help to enhance Myanmar's economic potential, country development, and the chance to integrate into the rapidly growing global economy. Due to the demographic factor, migration in Myanmar has become a consideration factors because internal and international migration have rapidly increased in all the states and regions of the country (Griffiths, & Ito, 2016).

Returning back to the history, Myanmar was one of the colonized countries with rare population data within the country. After independent, in 1953, the country's population was around 19 million, 13.5 per cent or 2.5 million people lived in areas classified as urban. Although mining and extractive industries were interested by British government, most of the people were living in rural agricultural sector. The internal migration data was not recorded that due to the lack of trained demographers and social scientists, the government's policy of self-imposed isolation and limited access to published data (Oo, 1989).

During the period from 1962- 1988, the country was faced with many changes in political and economic sectors that made the international migration rather than internal pattern. The military-ruled government regime started in 1962, which was populated by 28.92 million, with a quarter of them living in an urban environment (Maung, 1986). There was no internal migration data from rural to urban areas, due to the main labor force being in the agriculture sector. However,

international migration started that people had been leaving the country in order to flee civil war, hunger, poverty, unemployment, and political repression (Oo, 1989).

From 1964 to 1988, the Constitution was suspended, all political parties, associations and unions were declared illegal, prohibited the organized of political party, protests were brutally beat down. Not only being with these changes, related to foreign policy, the military closed down the linked with external affairs and isolate the country from the foreign as well as regional affairs. In addition, ethnic and communist insurgency called for autonomy and separate state from the Union (Devi, 2014). It also expected that internal migration would emerge in areas affected by armed conflict, and when insurgency comes to an end along the border areas (South, 2007). The bloody repressions revolt in 1988 and the non-violent mass street protests in 2007 prompted many thousands of people to leave the country (Skidmore & Wilson, 2008). Political and economy changes made the people to migrate to the border areas especially Shan and Kayin ethnicity group. According to the South (2007), in 2006, 175,600 internally displaced persons were from Shan State and 79,300 from Kayin State.

In 1988, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) took over the breaking down the socialist regime that marked the end of the Burmese Way to Socialism and the initiated the market- oriented economy. The Foreign Investment Law (FIL) and the State-owned Economic Enterprises Law (SEEs Law) were enacted in 1989. However, the country's economy was not fully developed not only the inflation, severe shortage of foreign currency, growing deficit within the country also the impact of Asian Financial Crisis in 1997. The State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) took over again and committed to promoting the market- oriented economy system (Kudo, & Mieno, 2007).

The Trade Policy Council (TPC) that was organized by State Peace and Development Council's regime to protect the domestic industries and seized the foreign investment in 1997. This new policy supported the export and import sectors, allowing industries to be established, mostly in the garment and natural gas sectors. Due to the promotion of Cottage Industries Law in 2001, the industrial zones were formed in Yangon (Kudo, 2010). Then emerged the settlement in industrial zones, the rural- urban linkages had become stronger. Transportation such as bridges and roads

had led to the integration of rural people to urban areas to seek the job opportunities in nearby cities. These linkages were persuaded by young women to look for jobs since they were not realized that wary of urban life. However, there were different between men and women when they were mobilized into the labor market. Village women who were defined by gender ideologies and their domestic responsibilities were more mobile outside the village rather than men who were just only responsible for farm work (Chaw, 2003).

The democratically elected government came to power in 2011, focusing on a set of political and economic reforms. Although Myanmar's economy still relies on agricultural exports, the booming industrialization is dependent on a wide range of foreign investments. The strong industrial development has pushed the economic growth, in particular garment manufacturing and other service sectors. Besides, the booming industrial zones and development of new economic policy, there is an increased factor for internal migration and attracting young people. This is contrast to traditional migration pattern, which migrants, especially women usually moved out from their home, being accompanied by their relatives. While labor migration can be beneficial, there are several risks and constraints, in particular to female migrants, restrictive social norms and policies can irritate gender-specific vulnerabilities.

In the current situation, young women from rural areas tend to migrate internally to industrial zones because their aim to supplement the family's income and improve their livelihood. However, there is no denying that higher living standards in a city cost more than rural areas. Modern things such as latest technologies encourage the migrant people to spend their money; on the other hand, financial support to their families is more important to everyone. Most migrants send money home, but some do not, due to their income and expenses conditions. Description of female migrant workers in this research will be elaborated in order to strengthen this claim which will be presented in the discussion chapters.

Table 1 Female migrants by geographical area

Geographical Areas (Regions/States)	Percentage (%) Households with Female Migrant	Percentage (%) Households with Any Migrant
Dry Zone (Sagaing, Mandalay, Magway, Bago, Nay Pyi Taw Regions)	12.0%	23.0%
Eastern Uplands (Kachin, Kayah, Shan States)	10.0%	27.0%
Southeast (Kayin, Mon States, Tanintharyi Region)	9.0%	18.0%
Western Uplands (Chin, Rakhine States)	16.0%	28.0%
Coastal/Delta (Yangon, Ayeyarwaddy Regions)	8.0%	16.0%

Source: Griffith, & Ito, 2016

According to the Table 1, the percentage of female migrated by demographic area, the majority were 16% from western uplands (Chin and Rakhine State) , being second and third were 12% from Dry Zone (Sagaing, Mandalay, Magway, Bago and Nay Pyi Taw Regions) and 10% from eastern uplands (Kachin, Kayah and Shan States) with different destinations. Women migrated from Western Uplands (Chin and Rakhine States) had mostly gone overseas to countries such as Thailand, Malaysia and China.

These days, the recent Myanmar government (2015- present) has been trying to push the social and economic reforms by imposing new policies and regulations related to the economy pillar based on the agricultural products. However, there remained some challenges, such as agricultural policies, inputs and extension services, methods of administration and management of organizations. Moreover, the

crops failure, the water shortage and often hit by natural disaster made the rural people migration to urban (Griffiths, & Ito, 2016).

Livelihood and work opportunities for women and men are strongly linked to gender perceptiveness. Regarding access to education, males get more opportunities than females to graduate, due to the fact that a lot of girls drop out of school at secondary level. Social norms define that men have to be a bread winner, leader of the house and control the money while the women just focus on having children, and taking care of the family, do the household chores, its culture and social structure is based on gender (Thein, 2015). Therefore, women want to escape this situation, by earning their own money, improve their standard of living and live independently, which is one of the push factors for internal migration (ILO, 2015). In addition, among the households in rural areas, the remittance plays an important role, positive impact on poverty reduction and expense of daily consuming. These circumstances may have influenced a decision to female migration (Griffiths, & Ito, 2016).

This research explores the driving force of Myanmar women's internal migration, especially those who are factory workers, by finding what factors underlying their decision to send remittances to their families from performing different gender statuses and familial positions. All of research participants were working at the MST underwear company, Hlaing Thar Yar Industrial Zone 2, Yangon. This factory employs a majority of female workers from the Yangon, Ayeyarwaddy, Bago and Magway regions, and the Rakhine state (informal interview with MST's general manager, 2018). By forces of social norms and beliefs, this thesis investigated how female workers have different reasons for migrating, such as why they choose to do so, and how they use their income and remit to their families. According to my documentary research, migrant families benefited from the remittances from internal migration. Hence, I particularly look at female migrant workers at young to middle age, with varied features of educational background, marital status, and filial position in the family from a gender perspective, on how different gender statuses influenced them to remit to their families. Another aspect is their justification on the methods to send money back home.

Rational of Study: Myanmar's industrial development

Myanmar is a lower-middle income economy with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita at US\$ 1,299 in 2017, which is significantly lower than the East Asia and the Pacific (Labor Market Profile Myanmar, 2019). The economy grew at 5.9% in 2016/17 and was estimated to have grown at 6.4% in 2017/18, driven by strong industrial performance, in particular garment manufacturing (World Bank, 2018). The government of Myanmar has been retrieving to develop the economic growth rapidly, based on the development of industrialization and urbanization.

The economy development is mainly based on the agricultural with the majority of its population living in rural areas. There are many obstacles to live in those areas such as difficult to make a living, drought, water shortage, failure of crops. The most commonly cited reason for migration to urban is income generation, mostly through employment; year-round employment opportunity, better paying employment opportunity, and employment with possibility of gaining additional skills (Maharja, 2009).

Myanmar was one of the colonized countries and the industrial development on any sort of nationwide has disrupted as a series of domestic political unrest that gained independence in 1948 (Oo, 1989). Alongside with the long-term negative effects, the long process of economic isolation, nationalization of the economy and introduction of an import substitution regime were interrupted under the government in socialist regime that came to power in 1962. The economic isolation situation still remained and after 1988, the government set up the market-oriented economy system to become a modern development nation (Skidmore, & Wilson, 2008).

In 1990s, the military government at the helm began to examine for improving economy by opening up the slightly foreign involvement policy. However, short sighted and irresponsible policies of government have been despoiled economic development. Direct foreign investment seemed to be increasingly but disenchanted with the real perspectives in the country and just only arbitrage and short-term considerations (Lowell, & Findlay, 2001). In 2011, the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) won the election and the USDP led government endorsed a new policy for economic development by opening the nation to international

community through the pillar of industrial development particularly in garment production.

The government developed the industrial zones that created job, attract foreign investment and improve local business which has been called for the important part of the economy development. In the early 1990s, eighteen industrial zones that were four zones and fourteen industrial parks (office and light factory) have been started established in Yangon division (Figure 2) (Zaw, & Kudo, 2011). Yangon plays a vital role in national economy due to its domain of trading, industry and largest manufacturing. It also stands for the center of country's garment industry with fourteen industrial zones, which employ 150,000 workers in 4,300 factories in early 2010 (Industrial Zone Supervision Committee, 2010).

Myanmar has been recently undergoing a series of political and economic reforms from 2011 onwards. Among the recent democratic transition in Myanmar, the first free general elections held in 2016 resulted in a landslide victory for the National League for Democracy (NLD). The NLD led government introduced new economic reforms, establishing industrial zones around Yangon which enticed many young rural women to migrate to the city for the better opportunities. These young women who were economically dependent, and lived under the control of their parents, would change their values and attitudes when they adapted to their new environment in the city (Chaw, 2003). However, the migrant laborers from rural areas faced with more difficulties in their living conditions and their new environments in industrial zone, compared to with those setting prior and longer in the cities (Htwe, 2018). The business owners wanted to employ the migrant women laborers because women are more suitable to work in industries, particularly the young and single ones because they are reliable, and are paid lower wages than men (Kofman, 2004).



Figure 1 Map of Myanmar showing districts and states

Source: <https://rb.gy/285con>

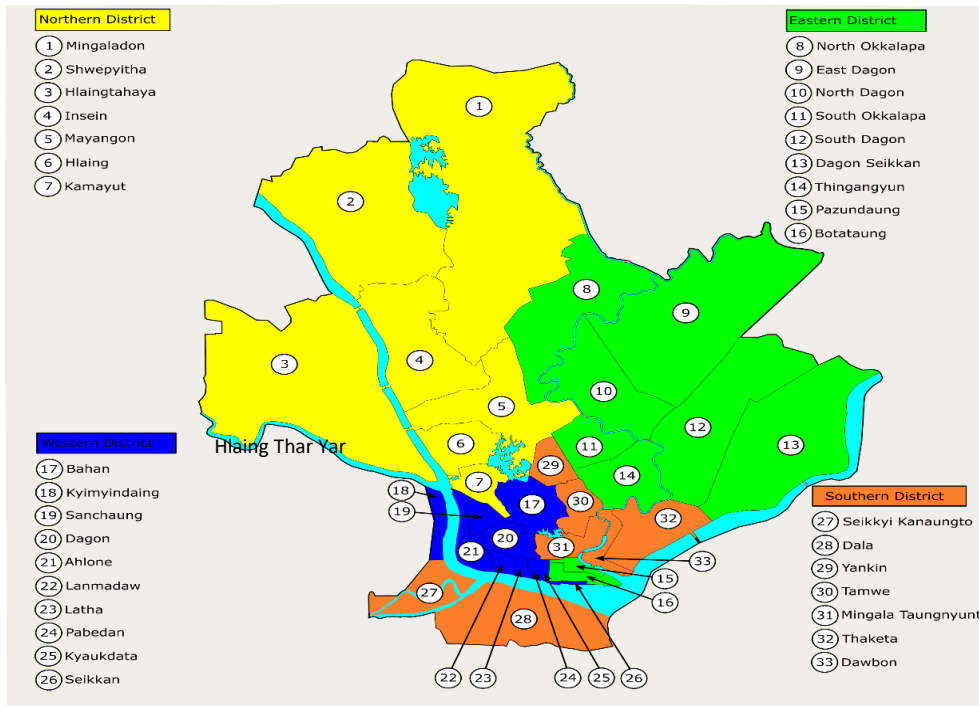


Figure 2 Yangon Political and Administration map

Source: <https://maps-yangon.com/yangon-township>



Figure 3 Map of Site: Hlaing Thar Yar Industrial Zone

Source: Google: Hlaing Thar Yar Industrial Zone

Research Questions

1. What are the roots causes of female workers' rural-urban migration?
2. How do remittances play an important role to female migrants to migrate to the city?
3. Through a gender perspective, how do female migrants determine to send the remittances to their families back home, and what kind of method do they use?

Research objectives

1. To explore the root factors of female workers' rural- urban migration.
2. To analyze how remittances play a vital role to female migrants to migrate to the city.
3. To study how gender statuses determine the female migrant workers to send remittances to their families.

Notes on the use of languages and names

Burma and Myanmar

In this research, I intend to use both name, Burma and Myanmar for any particular political ideology. I use "Burma" refers to the country period of 1990s and "Myanmar" refers to the Burmese military government's change of the country's name in 1989.

The use of nationality and ethnicity in Myanmar

I use the term of "Myanmar" refers to the nationality of all people who are from the country of Myanmar and the "Burman" refers to ethnicity in order to distinguish it from other ethnicities and the nationality.

Currencies and exchange rates

The two main currencies, Burmese kyat (MMK) and United States Dollar (US \$) will be applied in this research. I write as an abbreviation of MMK and US\$, the shorten terms throughout the research. According to the exchange rate, 1 US \$ was equivalent to 1,432 kyat on May 21, 2020.

Definition of terms

The following terms are defined based on the title of the study.

Gender

Gender refers to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as the relations between women and those between men. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and are learned through socialization processes. Other important criteria for socio-cultural analysis include class, race, poverty level, ethnic group and age (UNWOMEN, 2004).

Remittance

Personal remittances are the sum of personal transfers, a broader definition of worker remittances. Personal transfers include all current transfers in cash or in kind between resident and nonresident individuals, independent of the source of income of the sender (and regardless of whether the sender receives income from labor, entrepreneurial or property income, social benefits, and any other types of transfers; or disposes assets) and the relationship between the households (regardless of whether they are related or unrelated individuals) (World Bank indicator, 2019).

Internal Migrant workers

Internal migrants are those who have moved across administrative boundaries within national borders (World Bank, 2019). There has no legal definition of internal migrant worker has been formally adopted by the Government of Myanmar.

Industrial Zones

Industrial Zone means Hlaing Thar Yar Industrial Zone which is supervised by Yangon Regional Office in this study.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section reviews the literature on the following themes: gender and migration, migration and remittance, remittance and migrant's home economy, position of women in Myanmar society, remittance through a gender aspect, and method of remittance, including the overall conceptual framework of this study.

Gender and migration

Feminization of international migration (both permanent and seasonal) has been increasing worldwide. The number of female migrants across the world increased by 63% from 35 million to 57 million between 1965 and 1990, which is 8% higher than that of male migrants (Zlotnik, 1998). In 2015, there were estimated 244 million international migrants globally (3.3% of the world's population), with 52% of international migrants being male, and 48% were females respectively, according to the IOM World Migration Report (2018).

Myanmar women migration within ASEAN countries has increased especially into Thailand due to the demographic area and political situation during the last four decades. In the Greater Mekong Sub-regional (GMS) countries, Myanmar has become the biggest migration source country due to its unemployment, violence, conflict and environmental changes. According to the Myanmar Census- 2014, over two million nationals were living abroad seeking better jobs and living conditions. The International Organization of Migration (2015) reported that up to 70% of migrants living abroad are based in Thailand, followed by Malaysia (15%), China (4.6%), Singapore (3.9%) and the USA (1.9%). The highest number of migrants, according to the latest census, came from the Mon State (427,000), the Kayin State (323,000) and the Shan State (236,000) respectively around the country (IOM, 2015).

Meanwhile, internal migration has steadily increased within country, with escalating urbanization, resulting in better standards of living, raising employment on the one hand and liberation from social norms on the other. The Myanmar culture and

its social structure is based on gender which makes men leaders of the household and control the income, while women are treated as second class citizens, and only do the household chores. Therefore, women want to escape this situation, and earn their own money to improve their standard of living and live independently, which is one of the push factors for internal migration.

The study conducted by Choudhury (2013) on women and migration, transition, agency and labor in Bangladesh found that women made their own decisions to migrate from rural to urban areas in order to escape from social norms, unemployment and poverty. As a result of this positive transformation, women are more powerful, aware of their rights and abilities, independent, and resist social practices after migration. Women normally migrated to other cities with their husbands or guardians as per Bangladesh cultural norms. However, it was observed that when it came to women from the poor households, their wages had a significant effect on migration and they were able to negotiate the social norms, patriarchal values of the society by earning outside the home. Choudhury argued that after migration to the urban cities, women struggled with the domination and exploitation of wages and co-workers. Though facing new challenges in every sphere and survived, in order to reach the high individual and societal level, migration brings important changes, power and resistance to Bangladesh's women lives.

Normally, women migrated with their family members and were dependent on their men due to social constraints. For example, studies of women and migration in Bangladesh found that poor women from rural areas wanted to be liberated from patriarchal control and promote individualism by migration. Not only freedom from the coercive social environment but also economic hardship led the women to migrate (Choudhury, 2013).

Regarding the access of education from the Myanmar case, men and boys have more opportunities to graduate than girls who tend to drop out at secondary level due the culture of the country. Social norms in Myanmar require men to be a leader of the family, and the breadwinner, while women are expected to just focus on the reproductive role and take care of the family. These social and gender norms kept women from participating in the labor industries (Thein, 2015). Even though women in strictly social control culture, they had seized their opportunities to migrate such as

liberating from patriarchal control and promoting the individual development in big cities.

Migration and Remittance

1. Rural to urban migration

In the early 1980s, evidence showed that high rate people migration from India as well as from other developing countries to the U.K, U.S.A, Canada and the Middle East was due to better employment opportunities, higher wages and the chances of attaining a higher standard of living. Sometimes, people were attracted to cities in search of better cultural and entertainment activities. Thus, pull factors operate not only in the rural-urban migration, but also the international migration. Low agricultural income, agricultural unemployment and underemployment are considered basic factors that are pushing migrants towards more prosperous with greater employment opportunities (Kainth, 2009).

Migration in Myanmar has become a trend due to the pull and push factors. Internal and international migrations have speedily increased in all the states and regions of the country. Normally, people live in rural areas depended on an agricultural sector. However, data on population in Myanmar in certain periods were not conducted. The census was conducted only three times as in 1973, 1983 and 2014 respectively. According to the data of the census in 2014, there were 53.4 million people in Myanmar and the percentage of the population living in urban areas in 2014 was relatively low at 30% and the rest of them were living in rural area (Department of Population, 2014).

Myanmar is mainly an agricultural country with the majority of its population living in rural areas. However, in the early 2000s, there were many obstacles in life there. Rural area households depend totally on agriculture for their living, but their income was insufficient to support their families, due to drought, water shortages, and crop failures. And even some of the farm owners have sold or rented their land and turned to off-farm employment and look for the job in cities. Unemployment, poverty and the economic decline in rural areas were the main reasons for seeking work in towns and cities. The most commonly cited reason for migration was income generation, mostly through year-round employment, higher pay

with the possibility of gaining additional skills which is why the people from rural migrate (Maharja, 2009).

From an economic and political perspective, Myanmar had been overwhelmed by a military government for five decades and the western countries took the sanctions against the military government. As a result, Myanmar has become at Least Development Countries (LED) within the ASEAN countries. Myanmar has been the second lowest in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capital within the region between the years 2009-2015 according to the World Bank data (2018). Due to the unemployment, poverty, lack of literacy, unrested political riots and often hit by natural disasters, people especially from rural area have entered to the internal and international migration.

In addition, since 1990s, the labor patterns in the booming industrial sector in Myanmar, has been changing due to the labor from the rural agricultural areas migrating to the urban manufacturing sectors. Industrial estates in cities create major economy changes and a better life style for people, due to the labor force migrating from rural areas as city markets increase, forcing the need for urbanization development (Khaing, 2015).

2. Remittances

Sending or receiving remittances in both internal and international migration cannot be considered separately. Taylor (1999) explained that sending remittances is one kind of reason for migration decision. Most of the migrants are willing to send back their money to raise family income as well as funding to invest in new industry in poor developing countries environment. Turnell et al. (2008) mentioned that many developing countries remittances contributed to the large stable source of foreign exchange than investment.

In a developing country like Myanmar, the remittance is important for economic development as well as poverty eradication. The remittance from international migrants were reached nearly US\$ 1.5 billion accounting for 0.81 percent of GDP in fiscal 2016-17 and 1.06 percent of GDP in fiscal 2017-18, according to the statistics submitted by private banks to the Central Bank of Myanmar for the 26 months from April 2016 to June 2018 (Myanmar Times, 2018). Among the households in rural, the remittance plays an important role and positive impact on

poverty reduction. The 20% of households in rural have at least one migrant, just under 10% of all households received remittance for their families. By using the remittance, the households are more at ease on housing expenditure, education and social expenses especially reducing debts that depended on high interest or excessive-risk creditors with high interest rate (Griffiths, & Ito, 2016).

Remittances depend both on the migrant's earnings and willingness and motivation a part of these earnings with the household of origin. The remittances influenced the expenditure of remittance receiving households in rural areas. The effectiveness of migrant remittance not only on the whole- household economy but also on the community as a whole should be examined.

Remittance and migrant's home economy

Migration is a strategy used by rural dwellers to survive the poverty but also it gives better conditions for the left behind family members, local communities and region through sending remittances. Remittances can contribute as the macro level (national), meso-level (community and family) and micro (individual). This research only focuses on contribution of remittances to individual migrant workers in relation to gender statuses and positions, seen as at a micro level. It also shows how remittances shape their power relations in their families, as well as their advanced status as a breadwinner in the changing Myanmar's perception toward women.

1. National level

Remittance flow is a major source of income generation for individual households and direct foreign investment for every country. According to the Migration and Remittance fact book 2011, remittance flows to developing countries increased from 81.3 billion US dollars in 2000 to 226.7 billion in 2006 and 307.1 billion in 2009 (World Bank, 2010). In addition, according to the data from World Bank in 2016, the estimated remittance flow has exceeded US\$ 601 billion in worldwide and the developing countries received about US\$ 441 billion for development assistance.

According to the Myanmar historically political and economic reform in 2010-2012, the new government imposed policies to improve the economic front. The economy has been gradually growing based on the exchange rate and banking system. The narrow gap between the black market and official rate has decreased the inflation of currency. The thirteen new foreign banks were allowed to re-build the system to receive foreign exchange (Akee & Kapur, 2017). Due to the developing process, the migrant's remittance has increased to the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Table 2 Myanmar International Migrants' Remittances

Year	Remittance received (%GDP)	Remittance received (M.\$)	Remittance sent (%GDP)	Remittance sent (M.\$)
2016	1.08%	681.8	0.63%	395.4
2015	5.42%	3,236.5	0.68%	407.8
2014	0.16%	105.4	0.60%	394.6
2013	0.38%	229.4	0.62%	374.2
2012	0.94%	565.7	0.60%	360.5
2011	0.21%	127.1	0.59%	352.3
2010	0.23%	114.9	0.60%	294.0

Source: <https://rb.gy/cxtkwd>

As such, Myanmar has emerged as one of the world's top ten countries for receiving remittances as a percent of GDP (Akee & Kapur, 2017). Remittances to Myanmar are considerable both in individual households as well as in investments for economy development. According to the statistics submitted by private banks to the Central Bank of Myanmar, remittances sent by nearly 1.5 million migrant workers in foreign countries to their families reached approximately US\$ 681.8 million accounting for 1.08% of GDP of country in 2016 as per Table 2.

2. Community level

Migration and community development cannot be disintegrated from one another, depending on the contribution of the remittances in the community. Bonciani (2018) stated that migrants from Latin America, Southeast Asia, and Africa donate to the schools, hospitals and build the basic infrastructure and also financially contribute on special occasions such as, for religious ceremonies through the hometown organizations.

Likewise, Myanmar, migrant remittances can potentially support household income, provide productive assets such as land, buildings and set up the small enterprises. This is in comparison to households with no remittances. The remittances have several developments as a positive impact for community. According to the Thang's study (2012) regarding the remittance and rural development in Chin state, from the total remittance from migrant Chin people (one of ethnicity), they allocated and redistributed an amount of money for the community development program including education, health and humanitarian services. They also supported basic infrastructures such as construction of road, mini hydroelectric power and schools, through to the Christian Based Organizations.

Community development program shared the migrant's remittance with families that have no migrant members and initiated a structure of equal beneficiaries within the community. However, there is not much academic data regarding the contribution of remittances to the community development in Myanmar. There was the assumption that people from receiving households have a willingness to participate in social welfare activities such as donation for religious ceremonies, partially contributing to the construction of infrastructure and renovation of religious buildings.

3. Household level

Remittance is an important source of income to the households with high rate of internal and international migration. International Organization of Migration (2015) stated that 2.17 billion USD were sent back as the remittances from Thailand to Myanmar in 2012-2013, 78.2% were sent back from border towns such as Thanintharyi Region, Mon, Kayin, and Shan States. The rural economy assumed that 65.7% households received cross border remittances as the household income

generation (Griffiths, & Ito, 2016). According to the World Bank data (2016), the official remittances to Myanmar was 3.5 billion USD, accounting for 4.8% of GDP in 2015 but it is not included the true size of remittance flows from informal channel. It is believed that informal remittance reception was much larger than the assumed official data.

Internal migrants sent just a small amount of remittances and mostly were used for the consumption in households. Compared with the amount of remittances from international migration, migrants sent higher amount of savings which were sufficient to start small business. The income of the international migrants, 55% from Magway and 69% of Ayeyarwaddy region was higher and larger proportion of the household income of the receiving households. This was sent mostly twice a year. The internal migrants were employed in low skill employment and only received the slight earning differentials. According to the Livelihood and Food Security Trust Fund (2016), the internal migrants sending their remittances are 250,000 MMK (US\$ 185) per year from Magway and Ayeyarwaddy regions.

The receiving households spent their remittances as livelihood expenditure, such as consumption the food, education and health costs. They consider about saving money only when money is left after daily consumption. In addition, the important factor is to educate the financial literacy of migrants and households' families on how to sustain the remittances. However, no matter how varies from internal and international, it would depend on the management financial skills of the migrants.

Table 3 Remittances from different patterns of migration

Type of migration	Median ¹ Household income (MMK)	Percentage (%) of received remittances	Median amount of remittances received annually (MMK)	Percentage (%) of income from remittances
Local	2,240,000	10.3%	820,000	3.8%
Large cities	2,400,000	36.2%	750,000	14.4%
Cross border	2,320,000	55.5%	1,200,000	35.8%
Mix ²	2,340,000	50.7%	1,000,000	24.6%

Note: 1: Median represents the middle value where all the values are displayed in rank order, from lowest to highest.

2: Mixed' denotes more than one migrant in the household, and those migrants are in different categories of destination.

Source: Griffiths, & Ito, 2016

Significantly, the Table 3 shows that the highest amount of remittances received are from cross border migrants, while 55.5% compared to the other type of migration. The lowest one is from local migrants but it can be considered that the income is not sent as remittances within the region. There was a doubt where mix migration should be higher than the cross border migration in receiving remittances however, nearly 6% lower than the cross border migration. The medium households with cross-border migrants seem to have higher median amounts of remittance income, and that income was a greater proportion of their overall household income, with the result that higher proportions derive the majority of their income from remittances.

The study of remittance from a macro perspective supported how remittances can contribute to the national economic development and play a crucial role in realizing the root causes of migration. It also provided with the exact information to understand the importance of sending remittances for migrants who

survive the poverty in rural and motivated them to migrate to cities. However, many studies emphasized on the economic dimension of the sending remittances as a macro view rather than the individual's condition as a micro view. Therefore, this research explores how individual's sending remittances pave the way to better understand the bigger picture of our dynamic social structure for female migrants' socio-cultural situations due to their remittances.

Remittance through a gender aspect

1. Migrants and gender in labor market

Due to the economic impact of globalization, free migration of goods and capital, change in the labor market caused larger numbers of migration for both women and men to get better opportunities. Not only globally but also the Asia countries called for the supply and demand for labor force because of increasing economic growth (UN-ESCAP 2003). Hugo (2005) found that migration within the region and out of the region rapidly increased. Nevertheless, with regard to the gender aspect, conditions of the working environment, recruitment patterns, migration decision, family structure and relation, cultural and social norms intersected with each other.

Regarding the aspect of gender equality, migration can empower and engender positive impacts on women's experiences. Women can establish a more dominant role in their household's activities. According to Hugo (2000), women can use the limited resources (manage the income household) and control decision making not only at a household scale but also at a community level. When migration persuaded women from rural areas to move to urban areas, it helps them to get away from the family and more independently earn money in an urban environment.

The labor patterns have been moving from rural agricultural areas migrating to the industrial sectors. These changing patterns are associated with migrants' level of education, and other socio economic drivers of labor force participation, which encompasses the aspect of gender. The women's participation in the labor force varies depending on the situations, such as the pattern of economic growth, their education level, fertility rates, the hierarchy system and the role of

gender, which is why they have limited access to jobs across the country (Verick, 2018).

Women perform not only a reproductive role but also a productive one, however, they do not get equal pay and are not given similar values when being compared to men. Women take part in farming, animal husbandry and manage the domestic work while men participate a few hours in reproductive work. Especially in agricultural work, men are getting better paid than women. ADB (2016) studies show that women from hilly area (Southern Shan State) contribute to the agricultural sector, yet, their wages are lesser than men. Depending on work, men normally receive between 1,500 Myanmar Kyat (MMK) or (US\$1.50) and 3,000 MMK or (US\$3) per day whereas women receive between 1,000 MMK (US\$1) and 2,500 MMK (US\$2.50) per day (Department of Population Myanmar, 2014).

Table 4 Age breakdown and sex as a labor force

Age-Groups	Males	Females	Total
20-24	1,867,196	1,370,262	3,237,458
25-29	1,883,752	1,274,801	3,158,553
30-34	1,823,395	1,148,475	2,971,870
35-39	1,666,268	1,036,743	2,703,011
40-44	1,505,214	940,102	2,445,316

Source: Department of Population in Myanmar (2014 Census)

Male labor participation rate is higher than female as per Table 4 according to the 2014 Myanmar census. The labor force participation of sex in five years age groups 20 to 44 was males were higher than female noticed that every age group. The highest population number for males are between 25 and 29 years old while female highest numbers are between 20 and 24. However, the female participation pattern is different in every aged. The participation rate has steadily declined for women due to their marriage and/or childbirth according to the census data. The female participation rates were behind males in labor forces. In order to develop the economy, human

resources included women who are more than half population. They play a vital role in economic and social development to increase family and national income. Women's skills, experiences and energy can be useful to improve the country's economy.

2. Current situations on migrant women in Hlaing Thar Yar industrial zones

Although, the industrial development in Yangon has been a significant phenomenon for development studies, however, a number of researches are not yet considerable. The work of Htwe (2018) stated that migrant workers struggled in their daily life in industrial zones. The majority of workers are girls and women between the ages of 16 to 30 years old. They got up early morning and prepared their lunch before they set off to the factory on time, because if they were late, their salary would definitely be docked. Normally, factories started at nine in the morning and finished at five in the evening, however, sometimes they had to do overtime until ten thirty. Because of this late hour, there were safety issues for the women who had to take a bus and got dropped at the corner of the street, then walked to their dormitories through streets that were dangerous and poorly light, which may encourage robbery, rape and sexual harassment. The married women often complained that they argued with her husband's about working overtime, because they could not take care of their children who attended school or carried out their family duties as wives.

In the factories, most of the workers were women, whereas the men were in higher management levels in the factory. Women who had worked in the same factory for a long time could be promoted to senior levels and earned a higher salary. The basic monthly pay scale varied depending on work experience. Women workers at the time of this research, started on 50,000 MMK (US\$ 50) per month, while the men received 70,000 MMK (US\$ 80) (Htwe, 2018). These wages only just made ends meets and were sometimes inadequate for migrant workers. Under such circumstances, migrant workers tend not to worry about gender differences because both men and women need to share the same bathrooms. They had to pay for rent, water and electricity charges and foods for their daily life. When they were absent or took a day off due to illness, their salaries were deducted and they were not then eligible for bonuses. If they wanted to send money back to their families, they had to

avoid taking any leave to get their full pay. The employers' main emphasis was getting cheap labor for production in their factories and making a profit.

There has no gender space in city life although rural women used to live the extended family and are subsidiary by men in everywhere due to the cultural practices (Thein, 2015). In addition, the working environment seemed to be rather unsafe in the evening due to the lack of electricity on the narrow streets and small alleys. This led to a number of reported robberies and physical attacks by strangers for vulnerable female migrant workers. There are considerable factors influencing the living conditions for female migrant workers in the urban setting.

3. Gender and remittances

The important factors such as gender, age, education, marital status and position in the family have influenced the remitting behavior in migrants around the world. Osaki (2003) found that sending remittances was also an important factor for the close relationship between migrants and their household in the country of origin. De la Briere et al., (2002), Orozco (2004) and Suro (2005) explained that remittances can survive the families' economic wellbeing and sending amount of remittances depended on the various factors and length of the residence in receiving country.

Age and marital status – Young men seemed likely to send back their remittances than older men while unmarried women were likely to send back than married women as per gender perspective in Myanmar (LIFT, 2016). It was no surprising that married female migrants could not send their remittances as single migrants because of having family affairs such as children's education, health and social activities (LIFT, 2016). In addition, according to the 2014 census, there were 93 males per 100 females throughout Myanmar. However, the young labor force had 13.4 million or 52.8% males aged 15, compared with 8.6 million or 47.2 % females. The men aged 16-54 have a 50.6% work participating rate, while the women only have a 49.4% rate in the same age bracket (Department of Population, 2014).

Even though mothers and fathers had migrated with the same intention to improve their living conditions, they were faced with gender inequality in labor market and wages. Migrant parents were powerfully dominated by gender not only in labor market but also in terms of parental responsibilities. United Nations (2009) mentioned that gender impacts the sending of remittances, with women sending more

than men depending on the marital status and age. Women seemed to be remitting a larger amount, however, among married women migrant in patriarchal societies, the remittances moved from their own families to their husbands (Piper, 2005).

Power relations in the family- How migrants sending remittances back home depend- verily on the power relations within the family. Curran and Saguy (2001) explained that migrants who are in different positions in the family held unequal responsibility for the family. For example middle daughters were likely to send more remittances from inheritance while middle sons were excluded because daughters have responsibility to take care of their parents. IOM (2009) mentioned that women migrants faced difficult conditions due to their responsibilities while they were working in low skilled sectors with low wages.

Education - The internal migrants had higher levels of education than the international migrants in border areas where education could not be accessed (Griffith & Ito, 2016). IOM (2009) showed that women sent their salary as remittance with higher proportion and mostly used on basic household needs. In addition, when women invested in the business, almost half of migrant women lost their business because of educational gap, low financial literacy and lack of market strategy. Mostly, women were secondary level school dropouts in rural area because of the concept that men must be more educated than women. Education barriers made the women work in low paid sectors. Additionally, when migrant women were doing business, they were difficult to handle with domestic responsibilities that were traditionally given to them. The more educated the women, the better they knew how to use and send efficiently their remittance (Griffith, & Ito, 2016).

Geographical background and ethnicity - Ethnic minorities could face the labor discrimination when they migrated to the urban settings. However, evidence suggested that migration could decrease the ethnic- based inequality because sending remittance made the equal income and living standards (Howell, 2017). According to the LIFT and World Bank (2014), 26-30% of households in all states and regions have the family member who has migrated. International migration was highest in the states with minority ethnic groups: Shan, Chin and Kayin ethnicity to bordering neighbor's countries. Meanwhile, the internal and seasonal migration was dominated by central and delta areas (IOM, 2015). Thang (2013) found that Chin people, who

are living in western Myanmar, were likely to migrate the developed countries or those were asylum-seekers applied to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee (UNHCR) to be sent to the third countries. Most of the Chin migrants sent back their remittance not only for the development of households' livelihood, education and health but also for the community development programs. The minority Kayin and Shan ethnic people moved to Thailand because of their sharing a long boundary with Myanmar. The families received the remittances from Shan and Kayin migrants via informal way as well as formal way (Brees, 2010).

The study conducted by Abergo (2009) in Salvadoran District, United States, where by 130 participants who immigrated to United State faced were asked about the migrant parents' gender affects transnational families' economic wellbeing. The paper demonstrated that migrant mothers have more parental responsibilities than fathers did. Depending on the labor market opportunities; migrant mothers were more vulnerable in labor mobility, received less money and limited opportunities than migrant fathers. However, it was surprising that mothers never failed to send their remittance to children though they had low income. On the other hand, although migrant fathers had earned large sums, the behavior of sending remittances was different from migrant mothers and they were more likely to spend money on leisure. The findings of this paper are related to gendered remittances behavior, mothers took more parenting responsibilities, driven by social expectations such as selflessness, morality, being the member of the family who was supposed to take care of their children. In addition, even migrant mothers who had relationships with new partners stay committed to their children's wellbeing and were willing to send the remittances.

Sending remittances methods

Sending remittances via various methods plays an important role in the lives of not only international but also the internal migrants. Money transference is beneficial to the household's income and indirectly community's development. However, the migrants chose the informal method rather than the formal, due to the political situation in Myanmar when they sent back their money, which will be elaborated below.

1. Remitting methods of international migration

In the early 1990s, the majority of Myanmar migrants used an informal method to remit because of their unofficial documents and most of the people migrated due to political unrest and unemployment in the country (Turnell et al., 2008; Jampaklay, & Kittisuksathit, 2009). Millions of Myanmar migrants workers in Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia need to send money home. The informal channel was very convenient with quick cash delivery. Myanmar migrants working in Thailand sent back an average of 34,534 Baht or US\$ 968 annually via informal channels per head, 92% of remittances were received via informal methods and while the rest sent back through formal banks (Jampaklay et al., 2007).

Lin, & Charoenloet (2009) conducted the survey about the remittance's behavior of Mon, one of ethnic migrants working in Malaysia. They sent home on average US\$ 1800 annually. In fact, this article did not mention the remittance behavior. However, it found that migrant' education and a mean of connection with home country (phone calling) was related to the sending remittances to Myanmar with informal ways. In addition, Sandar (2011) interviewed 453 households in Myanmar to find out how the money was spent and how often they receive remittances from migrants. The most used channel was hundi system* paying someone in one location to send money and settling the difference with agents later on. Via this informal channel, 17% were sent directly to household's door, 53% were delivered to hundi dealers in village, 6% were sent by hundi dealers in cities and 5% was transferred by banks. The migrants from Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Korea, USA, Dubai and Japan sent their money from various destinations.

Note: * *Hundi system was a key part of Myanmar's economy since 1960s, due to the close control and tight regulation of transfers and foreign exchange motivated the growth and use of this system, money in and out of Myanmar. It is also an ancient device in which monetary value is transferred via a network of dealers or brokers from one location to another.*

It was convenient for migrants who were living in Thailand to remit the money to informal ways. Orozco (2004) and De (2005) illustrated that shops of money transfer operators in Thailand were situated in public areas and if the migrants

wanted to remit, the agent come and collect the money from houses and workplaces. It was an easier way to send the money for illegal migrants. The second way was, using the informal market for foreign exchange in border areas. The agents went to the bank in Thailand withdraw the funding, crossed the border town and transferred money to the bank branches where the recipient lived on the Myanmar side. Moreover, banks in Thailand were mostly charged the transactions more than the informal money transfer agents did (Kubo, 2015).

The research conducted by Turnell et al. (2008) in Thailand found that majority of people who were ethnic, Karen, Mon, Shan from Myanmar migrated to Thailand because of the political unrest and civil wars as the pushing factors. They revealed that the lack of employment made them to seek the job in border area and escaped from poverty. The 60% of workers stood for the illegal workers and employed the low skills industries such as fishing, construction, hotels and restaurants and household services. It was found that majority of migrants sent back their remittances through the hundi system, informal channel, it was not surprising as per legal status.

The Hundi system was described below (Turnell et al., 2008, p.70)

Person A, a Burmese migrant worker in Thailand, desires to send money home to her family in Burma. To do this, she approaches a hundi dealer whom she knows and pays them, in baht, the amount she wants sent. The hundi dealer now contacts their counterpart (another hundi dealer) in Burma, who pays Person A's family in kyat. The amount received by the family will be the kyat equivalent of that paid by Person A in baht, less an amount that represents the commission charged by the two hundi dealers. As far as Person A is concerned, the transaction is now complete. She has sent her money home.

Most of the migrants used the informal channel, the hundi system, to send money to their households and the banking system did not operate well in the country. However, due to political and economic reform in 2011- 2012 in Myanmar, the ways of sending remittances slowly changed to formal methods. In 2011, a new government came into power and focused on a set of political and economic reforms, covering the currency exchange rates, banking system, foreign investment laws, and taxation, which opened the doors to industrial development.

Due to the economic reform, the method of sending remittances started to change to formal channel. Kubo (2015) interviewed 154 Myanmar migrants in Thailand related to the possible changes in sending remittances by migrants. The researcher found that the average remittance had increased and the migrants more likely depend on banking, if their families' homes were near the bank branches. Akee, & Kapur (2017) showed that 20% of remittances were sent via bank accounts to Myanmar. It was a great improvement although the informal channels used to be popular among Myanmar migrants in Thailand. It was because migrants must proceed with the lengthy process of legislation and registration laws of the host country. Moreover, official documents were needed to send or receive money.

According to Kudo (2010), Myanmar migrant workers in Thailand used informal methods when sending their remittances. The study claims that although remittances were sent via various channels, such as banks, informal money transfer operators and payment points, 124 migrants, out of 154 migrant workers preferred the accessibility of payment points in Myanmar. For example, the informal money transfer operators collected the money from the migrants' workplace or home and deliver by using the bank branch network. Migrants who send their remittance to town choose the potential operators who use Myanmar banks as well as the payment points. This article also argued that the informal remittance market was conducive for migrants and reinforced the Myanmar banks with the informal operators in order to continue the remittance business by expansion of their branch network.

This type of remittance, as discussed in the mentioned article, is only for the survival of the receiving households. In order to use remittances for economic growth, microeconomic policies, good governance policies and an efficient banking system in Myanmar are needed to develop migrant workers.

2. Remitting methods of internal migration

According to a 2014 Census, around 41% of the migrant population (9 million) followed family, 34.3% moved for employment or in search of employment, 15.7% due to marriage, 2.2% for education, 0.7% due to conflict, and 5.9% for other reasons (Department of Population, 2014). Related to the sending remittances for internal migrants, LIFT (2016) mentioned that most migrants from the Ayeyarwaddy and Magway regions were not willing to use the banking system when sending

remittances to the families. They depended on relatives and friends who were closely lived to the destination and the nearer destination to carry back their money. Due to an increase in mobile network access, the migrants could inform to their families how to collect the money. However, seasonal migrants remitted by themselves when they went back to their villages.

Members of households who received migrant remittance in rural area did not trust the banking system because of the lack of education. In fact, education is not an important aspect; the key is banking system and financial inclusion that benefits the development of communities and ethnic groups, and narrow the gap between urban and rural areas. Moreover, sending remittances through banking system is growing the financial inclusion. This is safe and sustainable for the working class. The development of banking system with latest technology can be accessible and sufficient for rural people. The digital technologies through mobile phone application allow the people to carry out transactions away from the branches and ATMs because of the rural people are remote and far away from the branches (Akee, & Kapur, 2017).

These days, the banks in different parts of the country facilitate the use of more formal methods of remitting money. The mobile payments, online lending and online investing have developed based on the internet- based banking system in Myanmar. However, it still requires strong infrastructure and rapid use of smartphones. Moreover, the legislation constraints and weak regulatory capacity are obstacles to proliferate for mobile financing as compared the other countries in the region (Asian Development Bank, 2017).

Position of Women in Myanmar Society

This research aims to explore the reasons of women migration from rural to urban areas, as well as how gender norms have affected their remittances way. It will also take into account the traditions, cultures, beliefs, social norms and family hierarchy in societies. Myanmar is a diverse nation with at least 135 ethnic groups with different religions, and cultural and social norms recognized by the government. ??Burman people are the majority ethnic group comprising around 68% of the total population and their culture and religious beliefs are dominating on the minority groups in Myanmar. Each ethnic group value their families, including the respect for

their communities' social and cultural heritage. They tend to consistently preserve and pass on their common values, norms and traditions from one to another generation. However, this culture creates the gender hierarchy in Myanmar society. In the following sub-sections, some aspects of Myanmar traditions, social and cultural norms, beliefs and religions are described as the dominant way of women's life in society. This is due to a number of existing sources and studies that represent Burman ways as the dominant culture.

1. Tradition, social and cultural norms

Ikeya (2005) stated that Burmese women were constructed by traditional subordinate status and unequal power relations with men in the historical context. The persistent cultural stereotype made the women powerless and depends on other people in the society. However, when we compare Myanmar to neighboring countries like India and Bangladesh, its gender relations in domestic and economic sectors gave much greater equal rights (legally, equal to the men) to their women, than was demonstrated in the other two countries (Khaing, 1984). These strong specific gender practices are still prevalent in society that undermines this assumed equality, while some of the practices have cultural influences that originate from Buddhism which was initiated in India (Sardesai, 1989). In Myanmar context, the roots of cultural practices are influenced by religion, principally Buddhism (Thein, 2015). The Buddhist women, who are 90% of the total population, fully appreciate the significance of religion in all spheres of society (Nwe, 2003).

The traditional concept of male superiority is *phon* (power, glory and holiness) which believe that men have a higher authority and status than women. It includes the Theravada Buddhist societies in Myanmar, where women are subsidiary to men in the religious sphere. The patriarchal culture concept of *phon* has been and still is practiced by many families, ethnic communities and societies (Thein, 2015). Women's clothes, especially the *htamein* or *longyi* (skirt) are not allowed to be washed together with men's clothes, and are never kept near a Buddhist altar or kept on the upper shelves of a wardrobe. More particularly, from a young age, men are not allowed to walk under the clothesline when a *htamein* or *longyi* skirt was drying, because they believe it to be a taboo place and it would diminish their *phon* (Nwe, 2003).

As per cultural geographical perceptives, culture can provide the meaning for control and argue equal access for both men and women in public and private spaces (Anderson, & Gale, 1992). Nwe (2003) stated that culture can be an agent, continually changing, shaping and reshaping strengths and weaknesses which exist in social relations within a society. As a Myanmar cultural norm, women are considered as protectors of a culture, weaker and stay behind men (Thein, 2015). However, some traditional practices involving customary and religious practices, made women subordinate to men in social, political, economic and religious spheres.

As cultural norms, women have to practice and preserve the *eindray*, meaning modesty, wearing appropriate dress and chastity in society. Due to these practices, women lack any participation in decision making and would not speak out in public. A traditional perceptives also persists in gender typical areas of work, for example, the garment sector for women, and jobs such as welding are more suitable for men. These practices are accepted within communities and discriminate against women who are seeking jobs in non-traditional sectors. Although some women are offered a job in the decision making area in the community which they accept, people assume that this type of work is solely related to men and not women due to the cultural norm (ADB, 2016).

2. Religions and beliefs

According to the 2014 census data, the Buddhist culture dominates the majority of the people 88% of population in Myanmar, while some minority ethnic groups are Christian are 6.2% , 4.3 % are Islam and Hinduism are 0.5% respectively. As Buddhist is the dominant religion, the concept of *phon*, men are treated as holy in every aspect of the Buddhist religion. Only men can be monks, *phongyi*, meaning *son of Buddha* who have great powers in the monastery. When people communicate with monks, they use the name *Hpa-Yah*, meaning god or lord, and are the most worshiped people in the country due to their high merit deeds. When women enter the religion, they are named *Thilashin*, meaning observer of the precepts. The status of monks and thilashins are totally different in religious matters. All Buddhist men are required to be a monk and stay in a monastery for an unspecified period of time without offering alms. A woman is not allowed to be a monk, but could become one if she was reborn

as a man in the next life. Women only can get the high merit by coronation her sons as the novice monk (Nwe, 2003; Nwe, 2009).

The women do not have *phon*, therefore they are not permitted to enter holy places in monasteries, and pagodas and they are restricted from climbing to the higher platform. Even though a monk may be the women's son or husband, while he stays in a monastery the women is not allowed to touch him or even sit on his bed. This behavior is considered discriminatory, and one of the most harmful cultural concepts for women is that people deem a women's body to be dirty when they menstruate, which is why they are marginalized and excluded from entering holy places. Under the religious hierarchy, *phon* distinguishes between men and women on different planes and limits women from any involvement in religious circles (Nwe, 2009).

3. A patriarchal society

A patriarchal household structure is based on gender and generation in Myanmar. Fathers, husbands, hold the higher status in families and communities by controlling the income and their children. Family members obey and respect their father's instructions because he is *Eain Oo Nat* meaning the spiritual head of the household. Meanwhile, mothers, wives, daughters and sisters are the subordinate group who only do the household chores and take care of the family within their society (Nwe, 2003).

As a patriarchal structure, it is no wonder that sons are always given priority because they will become leaders in future. Depending on the family income, parents will support their sons in education rather than the girls, because they will be the first to drop out of school when the family has financial problems. Men and boys focus on work production, intelligence and the responsibility for political affairs, whereas, women and girls focus on the reproductive role, being well behaved and calm in the community. Educated men have more chances for better careers, while the women are left behind due to the lack of education (Thein, 2015).

4. Myanmar women's role in a changing society

Social practices across the country have changed a lot for women in recent times by improving their livelihood, education, participation in the economy, women's leadership, political participation, and the peace processes. Myanmar

ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), aiming to achieve equal rights for women in all sectors. In addition, Myanmar's Constitution (2008), stated that none of its citizens can be discriminated against on the basis of sex (Section 348).

In order to promote gender equality, women are trained by government and nongovernmental organizations in microcredit, microfinance and saving skills to improve their livelihood, even though they have limited education. People's perspective of education transformed to being positive which allowed female literacy to increase by 86.9% and male literacy by 92.0% in 2015. However, there are still contradictory sectors between education and decision making roles in the work place. Although the level of women's education has increased, they are still reluctant to participate in senior levels of decision making. Women employed in middle level positions in government and public sectors, increased from 51.4% in 2007-2008 to 52.4% in 2009-2010. Despite some progress for gender equality, there are still concerns about job stereotyping and sustainability for women's contribution to society. Women are responsible for the work they do for the family which is unpaid, and the money they earn from working, but men are still the head of the household (Gender situation Analysis in Myanmar, 2016).

Although women are under control of the social constraints, women can manipulate in different sectors such as political, business and social sectors. Rigby (2018) mentioned that currently Myanmar women speak out and make their voices in every sector. In political affairs, there is a lady, the first state counselor, Aung San Suu Kyi, who sacrificed herself to help the people escape from the dark days of the military junta. Women become as an activism in political, education, reproductive health and business sectors by speaking out. In another circumstance, Ma and Kusakabe (2015) illustrated that women in Kayah state reinforced in subordinate positions in societies due to the power structures and social hierarchies. They were capable in coping with sense of fear, isolation and rebuild their livelihood when facing with conflict situations.

Conceptual framework

Gender was introduced to social science field in order to indicate the differences between socially and biologically determined sex. It includes both men's and women's active roles in the society and their perception about masculinity and femininity. Through these ideas, the authors Tienda and Booth (1991) explained that gender produces and institutionalizes on the basis of sex. Additionally, Chant (2000) also illustrates that gender relations are always mediated by other socially constructed categories such as class, age, race and ethnicity.

The concept of gender involves gender roles that how societies try to force the social structure, cultural and beliefs to form expected gender norms. Gender roles are usually come from conceptions of masculinity and femininity with exceptions and variations in different social contexts according to Amato, & Booth, (1995). Similarly, traditional attitudes toward gender roles are incurred for the prolonging inequalities between women and men (Farré, & Vella, 2013). This is also supported by the authors Amato, & Booth, (1995) that women are traditionally regarded as a gendered division of family labor, as homemakers responsible for parenting whereas men as the wage earner and decision maker.

With this in mind, another key point to pay attention to gender as an organizing principle has increased. This has often been seen as a relatively unproblematic question of considering men and women separately. Until recently, many scholars examined the social construction of gender in relation to migration (Tyner, 1997). According to Kofman (2000), mainstream literature on female migration focuses on the increase in social mobility, economic independence and relative autonomy by participating in the labor market. Following this, new economic and social responsibilities may change the distribution of power within the family, leading to greater authority and participation in household decision making and control over the family's resources. Therefore, it is important to understand that these factors also may cause positive shift in the relationship between migrant women and their families in original place.

However, participation in the labor force does not automatically improve the equality between migrant women and their husband. For some migrant women, labor force participation may increase the burden that they must carry particularly

traditional roles of childcare and housework. This is demonstrated by the author Petrozziello, (2011) that while migration may lead to an improvement in the social status of women, it may not change their relative position within the family. It can be clearly seen that the patriarchal model of the family, based upon gender differentiation and inequality, was particularly prevalent in certain communities and societies.

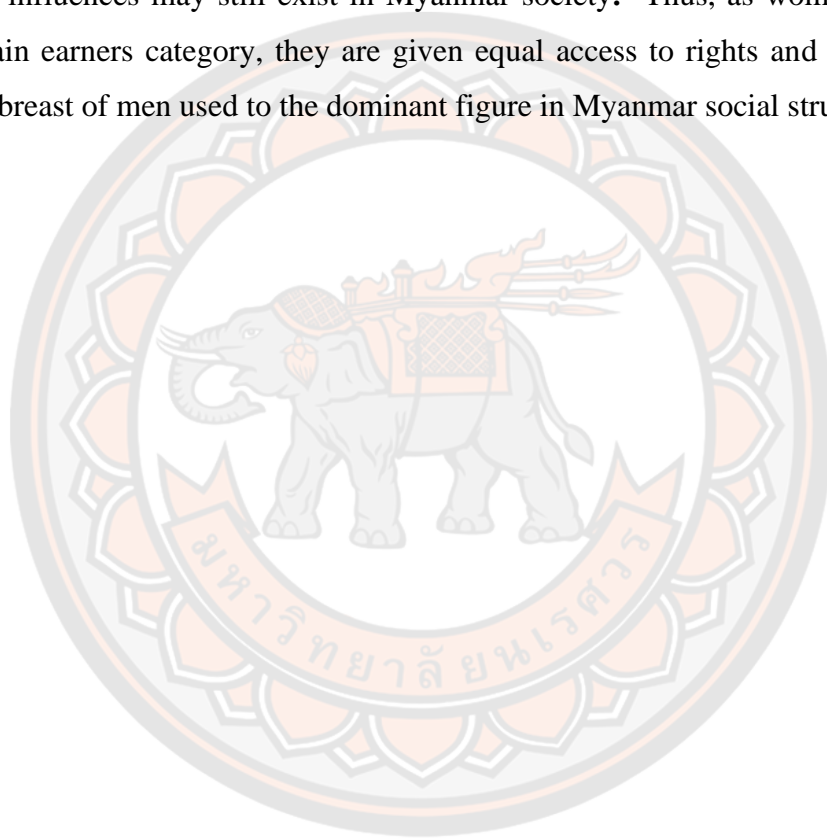
Yet, over the last few decades, there has been progress that more girls are allowed to go to school while fewer girls are forced into early marriage. This progress social change has led more and more women to serve in parliament and higher level of leadership positions. Meanwhile, some laws are being reformed to advance gender equality. The individual responsibility model represents an ideological shift from gender differentiation to a commitment to equal treatment of individuals, regardless of gender. Gender equality is not only a fundamental human right, but a necessary foundation for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world (Thein, 2015).

When theoretical approaches are applied, inequalities and diversities, not just between genders but also gender based on class, ethnicity, age, nationality and religious have been recognized as key driver in feminism context. This is pointed out by the authors Holmgren & Hearn (2009) that in sociology and history, feminism appears to have been successful, both in terms of improving the participation of women and in terms of mainstreaming feminist approaches and gender study.

In feminist theory, gender is seen as a formed of identities, behaviors, and power relationships that are constructed by the culture of a society accordance with sex that is defined as a biological outcome (Morokvasic, 1984). The core idea of feminist sociology is referred to the patriarchy; women have been oppressed while men have been dominant in societies.

The theoretical framework for this study is based on the feminist theory, women are less likely than men to make the decision of migration as labor forces because they were bounded by patriarchy system that applies in both families and communities. Migration of women can be affected the context of gender relations and hierarchies within the families. As a result, women are marginalized to entry the higher status while men are breadwinner in the societies.

To support this statement, feminist theory has been adopted in migration and remittance studies as a theoretical framework for understanding which factors cause the female migration, how remittances play an important role in their lives and also to find out which methods of sending remittances are convenient for the female migrants. Higher income and more significant financial contribution may change for migrant women within their families such as distribution of power and participation in household's decision-making process although certain societal factors and cultural values influences may still exist in Myanmar society. Thus, as women have joined the main earners category, they are given equal access to rights and responsibilities even abreast of men used to the dominant figure in Myanmar social structure.



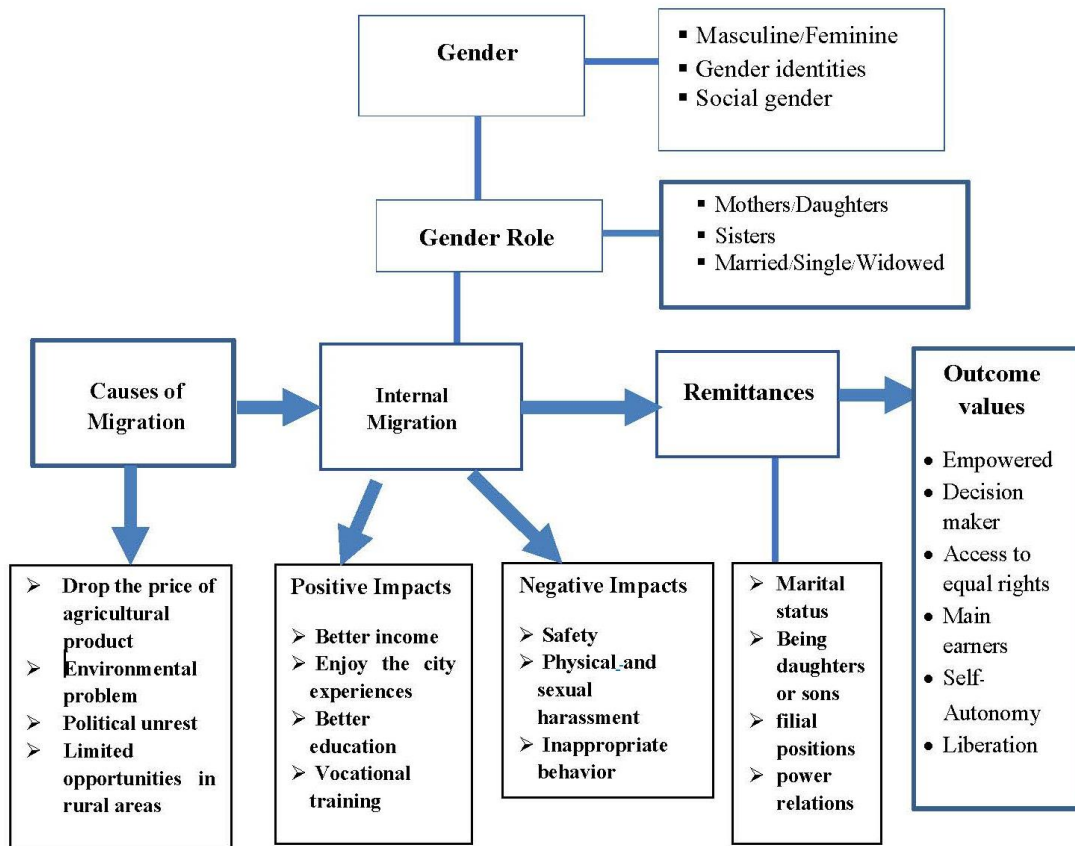


Figure 4 Conceptual framework

In this research, female migrant workers have been represented as social role of being mother, daughter and sister; and their marital statuses of single, married and widowe. For the root causes of female's migration in this study, the reasons can be seen as the price drop of agricultural products, exposure to environmental problems and political unrest situation, and having limited opportunities in the rural areas. On the other hand, the outcome values of remittances are found as follows: more female migrant workers are more empowered, more are taken part in the decision role, more are receiving a higher income, and more are able to engage and adapt the city lifestyle as a positive impact. Meanwhile, negative impacts such as safety, physical and sexual harassment in the city have been concerned for female migrant workers. However, due to the women migrant workers' remittances, they are empowered and enable to shift their social positions in family structure, take more filial obligations and alter the power relations within their family dynamics. On the one hand, married female

migrants are dominated by the practices of hierarchy structure when it compared to the single female migrant workers. In regards to sending remittances, the female migrant workers addressed gender statuses that have determine their decision: their marital status, filial positions and the obligation of daughters and sons in the family. Moreover, power relations can be witnessed since the female migrant workers' significant financial contribution to their families. They have become more powerful due to their ability to earn income, leading to access to equal rights and self autonomy.



CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In order to understand the social phenomena of female migrant workers in Myanmar in relation to their ways of sending remittances back home, the qualitative method was applied in this research. Qualitative research tries to understand the social phenomena through an induction approach: to discover values, context, process, interpretation in the construction of meanings and perspectives, and to address a narrative form (Goodwin, & Goodwin, 1996). The qualitative researchers' main responsibilities are centered on the basic understanding of social or human problems, using of various methodologies that inquire about and analysis the data and describe the results.

In addition, the researchers have to be greater insight and awareness not for an outsider in a qualitative research (Foster, 2009). It means that interactions conducted between the researcher and participants who share a clutral and social background (Ganga, & Scott, 2006). Therefore, as a qualitative research employed in this study, the researcher shared the views to the participants beacuse the researcher shares experiences being a women, daughter and mother in Myanmar society.

Research Design

According to the Creswell (1998), the term of paradigm means beliefs and action which instructs the researchers to meet their goals from the objective and measurable reality of positivism and subjective reality of interpretivism. Rehman and Alharthi (2016) that the world is organized through interaction of individuals according to interpretivism. It is mainly associated with Max Weber (Crotty, 1998) and Alfred Schutz (Pring, 2000), they believed that people are creative and actively construct their social reality. The interpretivism-influenced researchers are part of that social reality and explore with different methodologies such as case studies, phenomenology and ethnography. Denzin and Lincoln (2008, p.29) state that

“qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of interconnected interpretive methods, always seeking better ways to make more understandable the worlds of experiences they have studied”. Interpretivism can be used the exploring and understanding phenomenon inductively. The interpretive researcher starts with individuals who are part of the ongoing action being investigated and try to understand their understanding of the world surrounding them (Cohen, & Huffman, 2003).

As explained in a number of literatures in relation to gender, migration, and remittance reviewed in Chapter II, remittances play an important role for the income of receiving households. The purpose of this research is to find out the reasons which decided people to move from urban to rural areas, and to study how remittances behavior would change with various backgrounds depending on the gender. Therefore, a qualitative method was used in my study in order to find the behaviors and patterns related to the gender and remittances of female migrants who are working in a garment factory.

1. Level of analysis

As a level of analysis, the researchers review the micro, meso, and macro framework that they use to understand the world. When we throw back their meaning, micro-level research studies individual interactions, meso-level research studies groups, and macro-level research studies institutions and policies for government (Roulston, 2010). My research applied to the individual migrants who are working in garment factory as a particular micro level. There has no plan to develop of our understanding to meet the meso and macro level due to the limited time frame and budget allocation in this study.

2. Scope of analysis

This research simply stated that key informants involve interviewing a select group of individuals who are likely to provide needed information, ideas, and insights to develop of research objectives. Therefore, the key informants who had the following criteria from the garment factory were interviewed in this study.

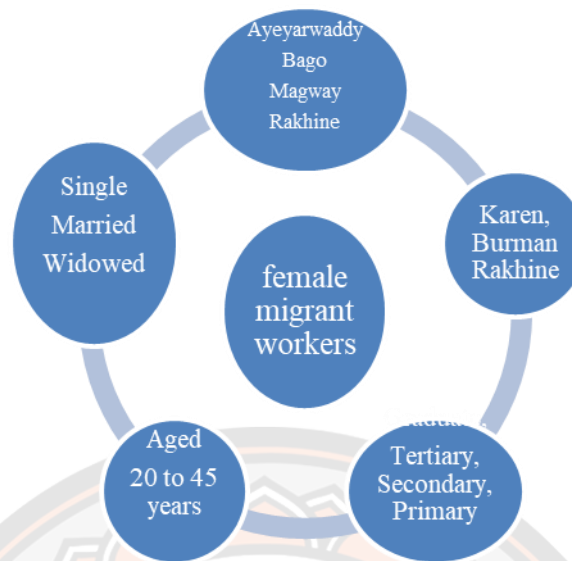


Figure 5 key informants' criteria

Source: Author, 2019

Research Tools/ Instruments

1. Data Collection

Creswell (2008) stated that interpretivists apply designated sampling, select individuals and sites that are information rich, opposite to positivists who depend on randomization. Interpretive researchers rely on various methods to collect qualitative data such as participant and non-participant observations, interviews and questionnaires (one to one and focus group discussion), documents, and audio visual materials. Thanh (2015) also mentioned that interview is the most obvious data collection tool in qualitative research.

Data collection is an important part of the whole research, and the qualitative method assists the understanding of social phenomena and what really happens in the community through interviews and observation of the key informants in an industrial zone. Data collection includes primary and secondary data collection. I collected the data from studies, surveys and research that have been done by other researchers as the secondary data. According to Patton (2015), a qualitative research method is suitable to get data in relation to people's experiences, feelings, opinions

and knowledge through interviews. If the right key informants would not participate in this study, the research will not be a useful one. In addition, the number of key informants is not important in qualitative research, rather an in-depth understanding of the interviewees' answers is more crucial in conducting research (Rahman, 2010).

Prior to the research site has not be identified, the researcher visited the Hlaing Thar Yar Industrial Zone Management Committee in order to locate a suitable research site in May 2019. The management committee recommended three medium sized factories for the research interview. However, when the researcher paid the visit to the recommended sites, two of the factories' owners were not willing to participate in this research. Just ABC Garment's manager gave their consent and agreed to participate in informal interviews with him for the first time which to acquire the basic information about organization structure, financial condition, total number of employees and gender ratio of the factory (The factory name is expressed as a pseudonym in this research). When the researcher returned to the designated research area for data collection in November 2019, the researcher asked some detail informal information with the Manager again such as, their backgrounds, age, marital status, the criteria for applying job at the factory, and the rationale for job acceptance. Therefore, this factory manager can be determined as one of the researcher study's key informants.

Between November and December 2019, twenty-seven female migrant workers joined in the series of focus-group discussions and data collection interviews (see the question interview guide in Appendix I). For the focus group discussions, each session took five or six migrant women, and it took almost three hours for getting the basic information. Purposefully selected participants for in-depth interviews at the factory happened two times and following this, three times were taken place at their dormitory in the given time, between November and December. All participants who participated in focus group discussion were thoroughly informed of a summary of the preliminary findings. Focus groups and interviews began with introductions, a review of information sheets, demographic information and time limit for questions. After that, approximately one hour in semi-structured in-depth interviews followed seven selected individuals from each group based on their marital status, birth order, economic background and in-depth participation in their

apartments in the greater Yangon area at their available time (see interview questions in Appendix II).

The interview answers were translated into the Myanmar to English language because the majority of key informants do not possess English language skills. Notes taken during the interview in order to memorize the data and tape recordings was used to back up the data, with interviewees' permission granted beforehand.

2. Data Analysis

The cyclical process shown below (Figure 4) supports assessment of the current theoretical and real world integration of information to prompt question raising, planning and fieldwork, followed by analysis and the thorough reflection. The action research has been shown to take various theoretic frameworks when applied in information systems research and applied into areas of social science and health (Ågerfalk et al., 2006). The characteristics of the cyclic process shows how action research sets out to code the data, selecting coding, category building with creative coding and supporting the applied theory for research. The authors further explained that the assessment, action and reflection are three key elements of the cyclical process (Wadsworth, 1998).

To analyze the data, three stages are employed in this study. Firstly, *developing and applying codes*: codes can be by textual data that are single words or quotations for a particular analysis and classification of data to come out from initial raw data. Secondly, *identifying themes, patterns and relationships*: the researcher is allowed to reframe the reading of the text, in order to create the raw data which enables the identification of underlying patterns and structures in this process. Finally, *summarizing and interpreting patterns*: the researcher begin to summarize to emerge the description of the study by exploring the significant concepts, patterns and structures to link the researching findings to research aims and objectives (Tesch, 2013).

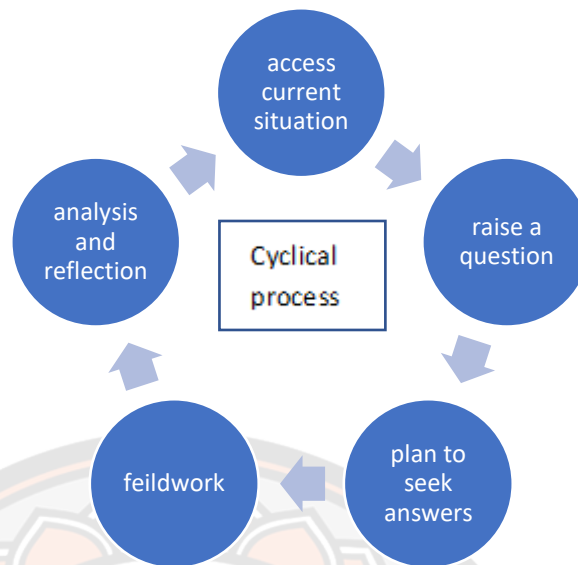


Figure 6 Cyclic process of action research (Wadsworth, 1998)

The process of data analysis involves basically answering the research questions, interpreting what informants say, and discussing what the researcher has seen and read in relation to previous relevant studies (Merriam, & Tisdell, 2015). Phenomenological analysis, grounded theory, content or thematic analysis, discourse analysis, narrative inquiry and case studies are various approaches of data analyzing of the qualitative research (Roulston, 2010; Bernard & Ryan, 2016). Among the various approaches, the current research applies the content or thematic analysis in this research.

Content analysis is an interpretive process where data is explicitly searched within the patterns to provide meaningful and insightful descriptions of the phenomenon. According to the Tesch (2013), the process of content analysis is the development of meaningful themes without clearly generating theory. The researcher interpreted what was said, how it was said, what the meaning is and interconnect the answers in order to make sure that the data is sufficient to answer research questions and to meet the research objectives.

3. Study Site

The study area, Yangon is the economic city due to the existence of the manufacturing centers and overseas trading ports in the country. There are 33 townships and 735 wards in there and the most labor intensive oriented-export markets such as garment industries are located in the outskirts of the city. The economic policy reform including the foreign investment law makes the liberalization of the country economy and attracted the foreign investors to set up the industrial development. Hlaing Thar Yar industrial zone, the largest zone in Myanmar is bounded by Hlaing River in the east, Phnhlaing River in the south, Yangon- Patheingyi Road in the north and Shwe Than Lwin industrial zone in the west. One to seven sub zones are organized by one main industrial zone. There are over 1000 factories including 45 garment factories that create major job and 200,000 workers are working there. Most of them are internal migrants who come from various states and regions around the country (Myanmar Industrial Association, 2014). The township has experienced a peak in population with migrants who are seeking jobs in industrial zones due to the unemployment in rural area and recurrent natural disaster, such as Cyclone Nagris (a huge storm, Myanmar's worst ever natural disaster which killed around one million people and caused catastrophic destruction) which hit Myanmar in 2008.

Yangon also populated by most diverse ethnic group including Burman, Karen, Shan and Rakhine as well as Indians and Chinese. Burman ethnic group occupies the majority of the population in city. Likewise, there are several religious, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Hinduism are peacefully practiced within the city. The study site, Hlaing Thar Yar industrial zone has inhabited the multi ethnic groups with various religious around the country. Depended on the gender specific, both men and women worked at the factories but women are preferred by the garment factories while men work in wood cutting and soft drink factories, and security guards in factories.

The company's proprietor during my data collection process was a Korean national and had registered the company as a foreign private company under the Ministry of Investment and Foreign Economy Relations. This company has brought over ten million US dollars as foreign investment in the country. There were, at that

time in this company, approximately 600 employees, between an age range of 20 and 50, come from Ayeyarwaddy, Magway, and Bago regions and Rakhine state. Most workers are Barman as well as Shan, Kayin and Rakhine others ethnic groups employed in this company.

Ethical Declaration

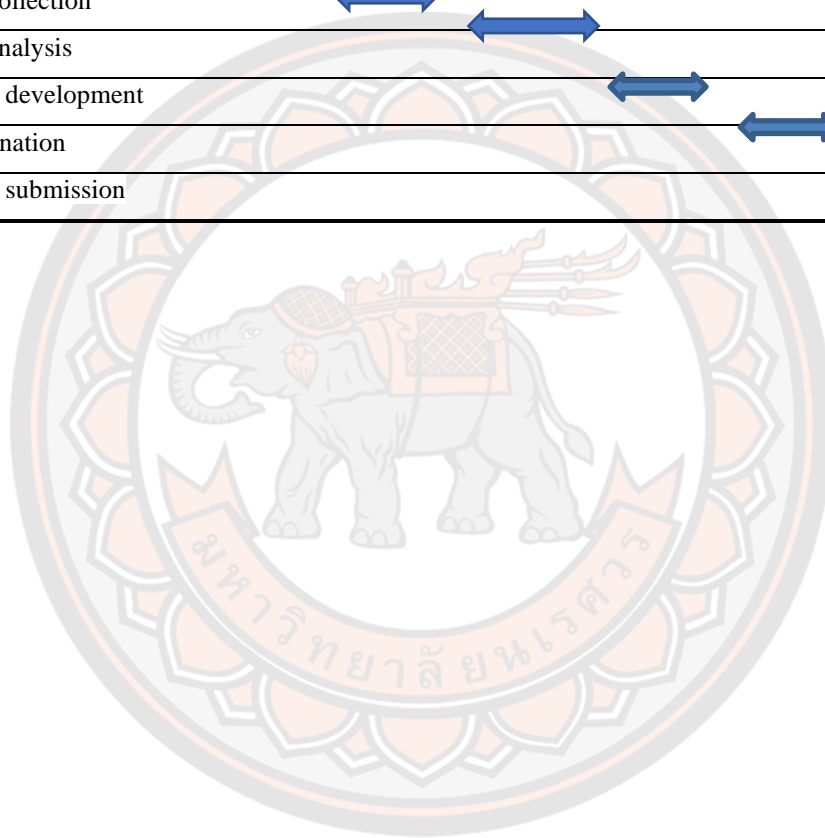
Prior to conduct focus group and in-depth interviews, the researcher had provided enough information, regarding the research norms and participation rights to the participants who get involved in the research. The participants who take part in this research is based on voluntary participation, according to Bhattacharjee (2012). Therefore, the participants have the rights to withdraw from the project at any time if they feel that they are not safe and may be harmed. The key informants in this study were collected after getting the informed consent of the participants. The participants' names and other personal information are kept confidential.

To meet the ethical code of conduct, this research will be organized to ensure minimized chances for misleading results. The researcher is conscious about language usage and will refrain from using offensive and any unacceptable language and avoid misleading behavior during the interview time. The researcher tries best to be minimum negative impacts and maximum benefits from this study because the human participation will be involved this study. In addition, the researcher was mindful about the approval of thesis conduct for this research document from the office of Graduate school, Naresuan University. This research was approved by Institutional Review Board (IRB), Naresuan University approval number 0964/62.

Qualitative research brings about the critical view of hierarchical relations of power between researchers and participants (Reason, 1994). The researchers try to minimize the effect of the distance of researcher and participant during every stage of the research (Creswell, 1998). Therefore, the researcher has only informed the factory manager that she works for the government as a senior level civil servant to avoid the power imbalance during the interview. This way helps to get rid of power relations that her position might probably incur in terms of their manners and the willingness to answer the questions.

Table 5 Tabulation for thesis development

Thesis Plan	2019				2020		
	Aug-Sep	October	Nov-Dec	Jan-Mar	April - June	July	Aug
Proposal Examination	↔						
Ethical work	↔						
Data collection		↔	↔				
Data analysis			↔	↔			
Thesis development				↔	↔		
Examination					↔	↔	
Thesis submission							↔



CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter presents the results and discussions of the study to answer the research questions, first-what the root factors for rural-urban migration of the female worker; second, how remittance play an important role for female migrants in their use of income and third which is related to how female migrants make the decision under what statuses and positions to remit to their families back home through a gender perspective and what method they use to send money. The answer to the second and third questions will be addressed in the next chapter. The study was conducted in Hlaing Thar Yar Industrial Zone, Yangon Region which is well-known as the economy city and the former capital of Myanmar. The rural people who are looking for better income, new opportunities, and modern society have been persuaded to move the city.

Administrative structure of the factory

The Hlaing Thar Yar industrial zone is under the control of the Yangon City Development Council, Yangon Region. However, the zones are autonomously managed by the Industrial Zone Management Committee and the sub-committees are organized under this Committee (Min, & Kudo, 2013). Depending on the number of workers, there are differences between medium factory size, with about 1,000 workers and large factory size, with more than 1,000. The study site, ABC garment factory, is located in subzone two of Hlaing Thar Yar Industrial Zone. About 600 workers are currently (2019) employed and about two out of three are migrants from rural areas from Ayeyarwaddy, Magway, Bago Regions, and Rakhine State. This factory is owned by a Korean national and there is a Myanmar managing director for the supporting and production units. There is production unit, for example, cutting, sewing, finishing supervise, and control of the line leaders to meet the quality and numbers of each product. There are human resources, finance, export and input and

ware house sub units are under the supporting unit. In turn, the workers are managed by line leaders (see Figure 7). Most of them are female workers, aged from 20 to 50 years old in this factory.

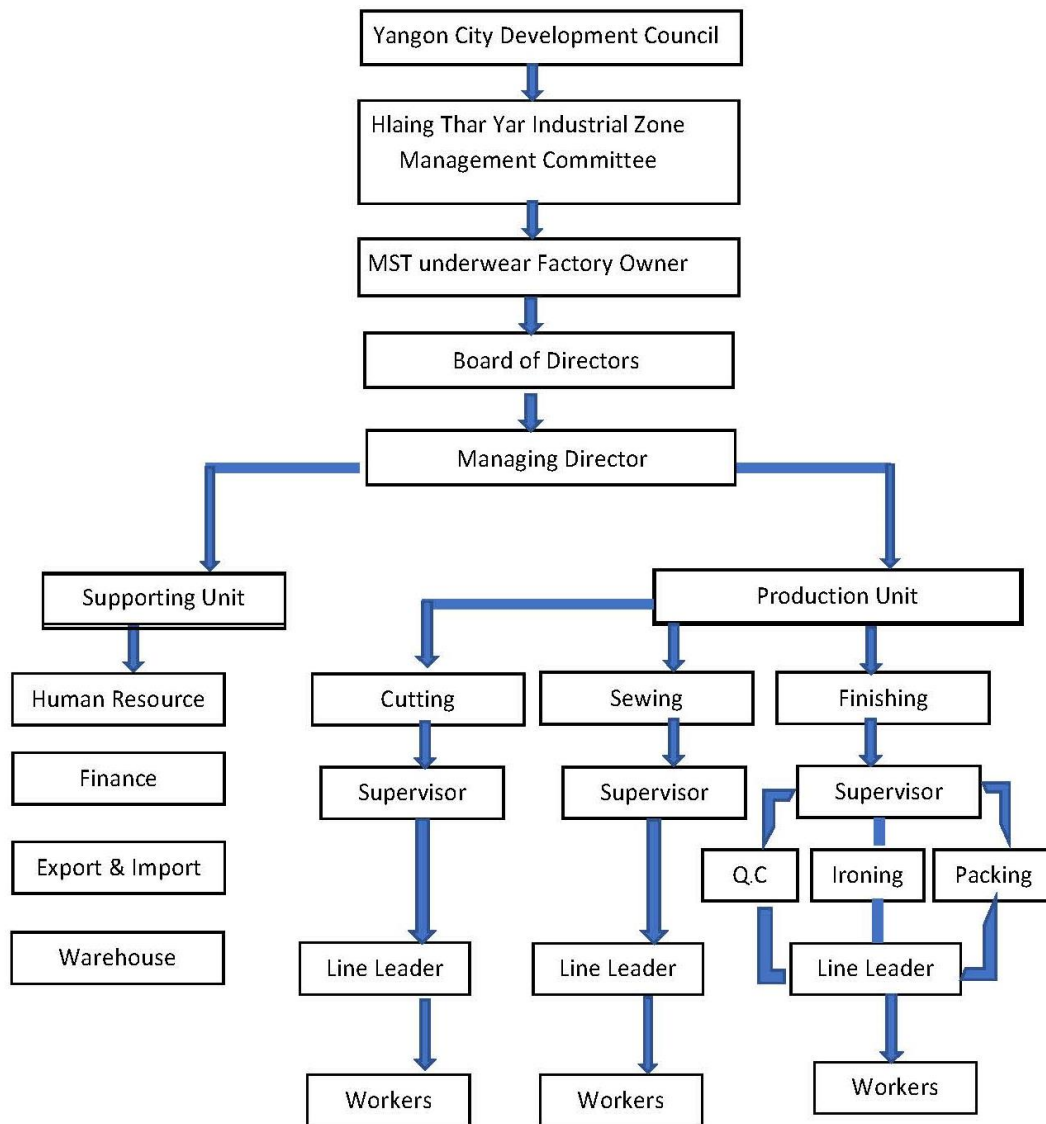


Figure 7 Political Administrative of study site

Source: Author, 2019

1. The living conditions in study site

Generally, factories do not provide accommodation for workers but they support transportation to the factory for the workers picking them up at the corner of streets in order to get to the workplace on time. The majority of the female migrant workers live in adjacent to the factories where they work in Hlaing Thar Yar township. Eight women in U Pone Nya street (takes 19 min to factory), five migrants workers around Nawatt Day main road (13 min away from factory), seven migrants near Thantu Mar street (takes 24 min to the factory) and seven migrants live near Ka Naung Prince street (33 min away from factory) were resided in their dorms (see Figure 8). They rent dormitory rooms where they share with two or three peoples. The dormitories in generals are two story buildings equipped with ten rooms with shared toilets and bathrooms (see Figure 9). Each room is ten feet wide by thirty feet long. Tenants must queue for the use of toilets and bathrooms every morning because the dormitory house about 50 workers who are working in different factories.



Figure 8 Surrounding of the migrant workers' residence



Figure 9 Location of migrant women residences



Figure 10 Dormitory with a shared bathroom

Table 6 Key informants' profile

Information	Item	Number of key informants	percentage
Age	20-25	10	37%
	25-30	10	37%
	30-35	3	11%
	35-40	3	11%
	40-45	1	4%
		Total=27	Total= 100%
Ethnicity	Burman	16	59%
	Kayin	8	30%
	Rakhine	3	11%
		Total=27	Total= 100%
Marital Status	Single	18	66%
	Married	7	26%
	Widow	2	8%
		Total = 27	Total= 100%
Education level	Graduate	1	4%
	Tertiary	2	8%
	Secondary	15	55%
	Primary	9	33%
		Total = 27	Total= 100%
Filial position in the family	Eldest	11	40%
	Second eldest	4	14%
	Second youngest	8	30%
	Youngest	4	16%
		Total = 27	Total= 100%
Working experiences in the present	Less than one year	3	11%
	1-3 years	13	48%

Information	Item	Number of key informants	percentage
factory	More than 5 years	11	40%
		Total=27	Total=100%
Experiences as being labor migrant in Yangon	3-5	10	37%
	5- 8 years	10	37%
	Over 8 years	7	26%
		Total =27	Total=100%

Source: Author, 2019

The Table 5 shows the demographic profile of the key informants in this study. There are various criteria that are considered significant to this research such as age, ethnicity, marital status, education level, family positions, and working experiences in the current factory, and as migrant worker in Yangon.

Age: The age range of migrant workers in this factory is between 20 to 45 years old. However, most of the workers are between 20 to 30 years old showing that 20 key informants (74 %) participated in this factory. There were 3 women aged between 30 to 35 years and 3 aged 35 to 40 years in this study, only one woman was aged 42 years old because her job is a helper and she had had five years of working experiences in this factory. The factory manager explained that young and single women are mandatorily needed because they were active, having excellent eyesight and being able to work overtime at any time when being required by the factory (informal interview, 12th November, 2019).

Ethnicity: Not only Burman but also the Kayin and Rakhine ethnic people are working together in this factory. The majority of key informants are Burman showing that 10 workers from Ayeyarwaddy, 2 from Bago and 4 from Magway regions because of the not irregular job as a result of having debt in the village. There are 8 Kayin ethnic people who lived in Ayeyarwaddy region migrated to the city due to the natural disasters while 3 are Rakhine ethnic group work there because of the political unrest situation. The religious situation between Muslim Rohingyas and Buddhist Rakhines caused the conflict in 2001. Furthermore, Muslim

Rohingyas has not been officially recognized as the ethnic group that outbreak continuing riots again in 2011. This situation fled the people to move the nearby cities to stable their lives.

Marital status: While the marital status category includes both single, married, and widows. Most of the key informants of this study are 18 single women. There were 7 key informants that are married and 2 that are widows respectively.

Education level: The 15 of key informants had a secondary school-drop out followed by the 9 primaries, 2 are tertiary and one is graduate in the educations level. From the gender perspective, every household, sons is always given priority in education when the family has a financial problem. The concept of a patriarchal structure that men must be more educated, intelligent, and focus on work production while women must be responsible for the reproductive role proper behaving and calm in the community have still influenced in rural households (Thein, 2015). The low education level made the women hard to get a high position in the factory except the long working experiences employed at the same position.

Filial position: Data shows that filial position in the family in this research refers to eldest, second eldest, second youngest and youngest child in the family. The highest percentage indicates from data collected in the position of the eldest child in the family showing that 11 key informants while the second eldest child are 4 female workers in the family. There are 8, second youngest child and 4 are youngest child shown in this study.

Working experiences in present factory: The 3 of migrants who have less than one-year of working experience because they moved to another factory that had long overtime hours for them. 13 workers in this study have one to 3 years of working experience that represents the majority of workers in this study because they are entitled to get the annual bonus after 2 years working in this factory. The 11 migrants, who have more than 5 years of experience, are offered higher positions with more money.

Experiences at labor migrant in Yangon: There is no one with under 3 years working experiences in the factory. The 10 female migrants have between 3 and 5 years of working experience. Another 10 female migrants have between 5 and 8

years and the final group of 7 female migrants have over 8 years of working experience in Yangon because they move to the city after Typhoon Nargis in 2008.

Root causes for migration

The study intends to see whether female workers possess positive or negative opinions towards the migration. It also included factors of difference between men and women and their reasons for migration. According to the usual situation, men commonly migrate to the city for a better job while women stay at home and take care of the family according to the social and cultural norms in Myanmar. Recent research suggests that this scenario is increasing numbers of women are migrating to the cities is search of work.

1. Reasons for migration

Internal migration was resulted from various situations in each state and region. This form of migration may be enhanced as the spouse and family may follow as a new form of business may be taken on. In 2014, rural to urban migration included 9.39 million that accounts for approximately 20 percent of the total population (Department of Population, 2017).

Table 7 Root causes of migration

Cause of migration	No. of answers (27 interviewees)	Location of rooted causes of Migration
Problems in the Agricultural Sector (Drop in the prices of agricultural products)	14	Ayeyarwaddy. Bago and Magway regions
Environmental problems in rural areas such as soil erosion, flooding and draught, resulting in loss of income from farming (Soil erosion, flooding)	10	Ayeyarwaddy and Magway regions
Political / religious unrest	3	Rakhine State

Table 8 Reasons of migration

Reasons of migration	No. of answers (27 interviewees)
For better income	6
Seeking a job	5
No regular job	10
Seeking better education	2
Study for better vocational training	3
Explore the urban experiences	1

The majority of interviewees said having debt, the effect of changes in agricultural products, natural disaster (soil erosion, flooding) and political unrest are root causes of migration. People migrate to the city for various reasons such as needing a regular job, better income, seeking work, seeking better vocational training, better education and better living conditions in the city. The reasons for migration as found in this study are supported by previous studies by Mahajarn and Myint, 2015 which suggest that rural people migrate to urban areas to supplement their incomes or to accumulate capital. The lack of farmland in rural areas and the seasonality of agriculture are the main reasons for rural people in the Ayeyarwaddy region to migrate to the urban areas. Mu Mu, 27 is from Bogalay in the Ayeyarwaddy region, decided to migrate to work in the Yangon factory because of a significant drop in the agricultural produce of her family. Farming yields were not enough to cover the cost of buying fertilizers and pesticides. This shortage of capital made her decide to find luck in the city, leaving her child with her parents.

These findings are supported by previous work by Mahajarn and Myint (2015) found that farmers faced with low agricultural productivity due to substandard fertilizers, insufficient seed, and unexpected weather changes such as flooding, storms, and drought may migrate to the city. Because of these problems, the farmer's income was affected, and debt was incurred. This encouraged many adults to move to the city to seek work, so they could send money to help support their families.

Win Win is a single female worker from Pyapon in the Ayeyarwaddy region. Her family lost their property in the devastation of Storm Nargis, which forced her to rent a neighbors' land to cultivate until she was trapped by debts. She headed to Yangon to take factory jobs recommended by fellow villagers. After working in the factory for some time, she was finally able to pay off her family debt. When vacancies were announced in her factory, she persuaded her sisters to join her.

Apart from the problems in the agricultural sector, climate change also played a role. Her village in the Ayeyarwaddy Region was severely hit by storm Nargis in 2008, damaging the farmlands. Faced with unexpected weather, most small and medium-sized farmers became indebted because of the low-yields. Worst of all, tenant farmers could not afford to pay their landlords' fixed share of their product and rental, thus, they had to pawn or sell portions of their property to survive (World Bank, 2016).

Some other reasons answered the 24 interviewees from this study reasoned their movement to the city as seeking better-paying jobs, furthering their education, acquiring exciting experiences, and exploring city life. Three participants of this study are more fortunate than others because they do not have to worry about sending money back home. Their families are financially stable, and rather than settling in their villages; they just wanted to explore the city lifestyle. Htet Htet, 32, single, is an ethnic Rakhine and youngest child in her family.

...Before I moved to Yangon, I used to help my mother with all the household chores. I was very bored at home and wanted to travel. One of my friends asked me to work with them at the factory, which would allow me to explore many new things that city life has to offer. I am very happy living in the city at the moment, because I can visit the pagodas, shopping malls, and learn about the city life.

(Yangon (residence), in- depth interview, 6 December 2019)

The result of the present study is aligned with the study done by Derks (2008) found that Khmer women also migrate in search of work in urban Cambodia. They found that the young women migrants participated in the purchase of modern

commodities and social activities in the city although their living conditions in the city is crowded, hot and there is a lack of proper hygiene. It is also in line with Kusakabe and Oo's work (2007) which revealed that migrant women who live in border area enjoyed the different dressing style, watching movie series that have inspired for them and be confident when living away from home.

2. Opinions with the regards to migration

The result of this study showed opinions regarding rural to urban migration, 25 key informants articulated positive opinions while two people possessed a negative perspective on migration. The majority opinion of the informants was similar to Hatton and Williamson's study (2006) which found that migration brought positive influences such as new ways of life, better medical treatment, better education and a better standard of living. Negative impacts that affected migrants include low wages, insecurity because of crime (harassment, theft, violence, etc.), exploitation and people trafficking. Further research conducted by Thein (2015) observed that the main reason why people in Myanmar move were job opportunities available in the city. Irregular income, unemployment and agricultural problems such as weather and natural disasters (storms, flooding, etc.) affecting the land in the rural areas. The following is a summary of the opinions of migrants.

The 25 key informants expressed that migration had a positive effect on their livelihoods. They thought that if they did not move to the city, they would get neither regular income nor remittance to provide for their families in the village. Living in the city has meant that they could have better job opportunities, a greater income, and savings to send back home. Moreover, there were advantages to living in the city. For example, parents living in the village wanted their migrant daughters to get further education. They pondered about their opportunity-less childhood when they could not attend formal education because of their families' financial constraints. Zin Zin who was 20 years old, an only child in the family from Magway region expressed that;

...I am a first-year university student and only child in my family. My parents encouraged me to move to the city for my further education. My father told me that there was no chance to improve my life in rurality, but went and seized the better opportunities in urbanity.

(Yangon (garment factory), focus group discussions, 13 November 2019)

The opinion of migration for education in this study is supported by Browne (2017) who conducted by the previous study, evidence on education as a driver for migration which found that acquisition of higher education rather than persuades in getting higher wages is able to cause the main motive of individual migration for young migrants. The outcome of this study is proved by Punch and Sugden (2013) who conducted that China and Vietnam migrant parents desired their children to escape the rural labor that means encourage and emphasis on better education opportunities that offer in urban centers.

In contrast, 2 key informants showed different perspectives on migration. Although they had better income in the city, they desired to return home when faced with difficulties in the factory. A shared small room provided no privacy and they felt insecure at night in the dormitory surroundings. Ei Ei who shares a room with her friend and sometime she did overtime depending on the demand of the product. She told that;

...At the moment, some people get involved in robbery near our dormitory. It usually occurs in the evening because the street lights are off. And people do not run after the robbers who flee away with the motorbike. I asked accompaniment from my three or four friends near my dorm whenever I did extra work in the factory.

(Yangon, garment factory, focus group discussions, 13 November 2019)

This situation is supported by the research on migrant workers in the Hlaing Thar Yar industrial zone conducted by Htwe (2018) which illustrated that the lives of migrant factory workers from rural areas were insecure as they must work overtime and their living condition was no privacy and inconvenience.

In this study, both positive and negative influences on female migrant workers' opinions regarding gendered migration have been mentioned. For positive impacts, they found that migration can lead to a greater amount of income, higher potential to send remittances, including gaining access to further education and having exposure to new experiences in urban setting. In contrast, negative impacts of migration include being away from their homes, inadequate living space at workplace, lack of privacy, and insecurity. These impacts have been applied as coding data and can be interpreted as opinions towards female migration.



Figure 11 Female migrants shared their experiences

3. Gender aspect on migration

Considering a gender aspect in relation to migration, this study presents the perspectives of informants who were both men and women. The majority of migrant women (23 interviewees) told that women were able to find better jobs and more income in the garment factories in Yangon. Without concerning the social constraints, parents and people in their communities encouraged them to move to the city so that they could make use of better employment opportunities available in the city. There were fewer opportunities and often only seasonal jobs in the villages, and jobs available on the farms generate inadequate incomes for their household

expenditure. The result of this study is supported by a study by Lin et al. (2003) that the traditional migration pattern in Taiwan gradually changed, opening opportunities for women to find better jobs and earn a greater income. A previous study of female internal migrant workers in Bangladesh conducted by Chourduy (2017) also indicated that women are seeking independent migration by taking paid employment outside the village and many are succeeding in adapting to the new environment.

One opinion expressed by Soe Soe, single, from the Ayeyarwaddy region, and the only participant in this study with a bachelor's degree. She expressed a strong opinion on migration's genderless partialities that not only men could migrate but also women.

...There are many factories here for women migrants to earn money. There is no need to criticize other people because if you behave appropriately in the city, you do not have to care how others think. It all depends on how well you work in the city.

(Yangon, garment factory, focus group discussions, 6 November 2019)

Conversely, 4 migrants in this study still believed that only men should move to the city, while women stay at home in the village and preserve cultural practices. Traditional subordinate status made women powerless and dependent on their families while portraying men as the leader and guardian of the household. Furthermore, these four women believed that men are more physically suited to do heavier work and need not worry much about sexual harassment concerns in the city. Women, on the other hand, should take care of the elderly and the children following Myanmar social norms. San San, 27, from Ayeyarwaddy region who dropped out of school at grade 4 because of her family's financial constraints, claimed that;

...I wish I were staying at home and looking after my parents, but my father's low income forced me to look for other means. In our culture, women should stay at home and are obliged to take care of family members. If the family's finance were struck, husbands might migrate to find

means to support the family while the wife being in charge of nurturing children.

(Yangon, garment factory, focus group discussions, 6 November 2019)

Most female migrant workers in this study accepted that there was no gender discrimination in rural-urban migration these days. Women can freely migrate to cities while they can make their ends meet. This demonstrates that women are taking the equal responsibilities as men. If women have a job, earn income and send remittances, they have been most likely to be treated as priority and good reputation for their families and communities for being able to work in the city. For instance, Phyu Phyu told that her mother was proud for her as she was working in city and her financial support to the family. She was treated as first class and was consult by her family members when it comes to everything they do. In contrast, women in the past were treated differently and they were most likely treated as second class citizen in the past where they were obliged to take care of the house chores and strictly obey to their husband's instruction (Chaw, 2003).

Nyein Nyein and Su Su shared together a room and their native town is Pyarpone Township, Ayeyarwaddy region stated that living in the city did not secure their lives as they could be victims of crime e.g. theft and also verbal harassment. One of their friends from the factory was robbed her phone and wallet by two men on a motorcycle. There is no lighting in the streets that has made it easy for thieves and other criminals. When we go outside with our friends, it is fine, but if we go out alone at night, we get teased and harassed by men. Htwe (2018) argued that the lives of migrant factory workers from rural areas were insecure in the city because they had to walk from the bus stop to their dormitory. The dormitory may be located on a side street some distance from the bus stop, meaning that the workers had to walk along unlit and unsafe streets at night, especially if they finished work late in the evening.



Figure 12 Working conditions of female migrants

This chapter draws upon the results of the interviews that women are more likely to liberate themselves through migration but some have mixed opinions. Most showed positive opinions in that migration is not so strongly gendered. The declining economy of the villages coerced women into migrating to the city as a push factor. The decision to migrate is not only economic but also to get new experiences and broaden their knowledge. Meanwhile, other issues are still of importance such as gender ideologies and sociocultural elements have been gradually changed as migration has empowered women, allowed them to live an independent lifestyle, and to attain their personal freedom.

Migration is able to positively impact on women by enabling them to get better income and to send remittances, yet it is still challenging in the economic and social arenas. There are important issues relating to the remittance of money to their families such as marital status, legitimate position, gendered responsibilities of women, the kinship relations between parents and daughters. The next chapter will address the sending of remittances and how to correlate with these above-mentioned critical issues for migrant women.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter describes how the sending remittances play a vital role for female migrants in their use of income associated with their gender statuses and positions in their original family back home, as well as the family's socioeconomic situations. The circumstance for married women and widow at the same time disclose dissimilar decision making to remit. As the gender ideologies in Myanmar, women are designated as a second class in family, community and society while men are always the leader of every arena. The results of this study reveal that sending remittances could able to shift the women spots and getting a better relationship within families when migrant women paid employment outside the home. On the one hand, married migrants are still dominated by hierarchical family structure. It also come out that daughters are more taking the filial responsibilities because of their following the cultural practices under the influentially patriarchal society.

Gendered Remittances

All of the key informants stated that remittance was an important factor for their families in the village, which was the main reason for their moving to work in the factory. As pointed out earlier, earnings from urban factory work are considerably higher than from rural village farm work. They also revealed that unless they move to Yangon, they were not able to support their families due to the irregular income in rural. Therefore, migrant women have to manage their expenses and remittances from their wages to solve the household's expenditure back home.

In 2018, the government of Myanmar set the daily minimum wage at 4,800 MMK (US\$ 3.6) or (600 MMK per hour) after factory workers launched protests demanding higher wages (Department of Labor, 2018). Most of the research participants receive around 190,000 MMK (US\$ 131.3) per month, in line with the average monthly income of factory workers in this site between 170,000 and 200,000

MMK (US\$ 120 to 138). The results of this study showed that single migrants are more desirable the sending remittances among their income while married and/or widow migrants were focusing on their offspring's education rather than sending remittances.

Sending remittances and labor migration interrelate receiving households' socio-economic development. Migrant women in this study send remittances to the improvement of their families' living conditions. Regarding the management of their income, all eighteen single women said that most of their wages were sent to their families in rural villages. The rest is spent on their accommodation, food, some affordable cosmetics, and occasionally on new clothes. De Haas (2007) argued that in the migration process, while remittances play an important role in household expenditures, it also promotes other household members in receiving families to migrate.

The two married women in this study are trying to regularly send their remittances because of their children left in village and support school's high tuition fees while married one was unable to send money to their families because their children lived with them in city. In its report, the Livelihood Food and Security Fund (2016) affirmed that Myanmar married women migrants were less likely to send money home than their single counterparts. As one female migrant named Moe Moe who moved four years ago with her sculptor husband from Magway region, and has only six-year-old son living with her parents in the village, said;

...Every month I send around one hundred thousand kyats (US\$72) to my parents to pay just for my son's education. My husband can earn an average of 8,000 MMK (US\$ 6) per day, depending on work availability. I cannot afford to remit more for my parents, because it is expensive living in the city due to the high cost of accommodation, transportation, and food.

(Yangon, residence, in-depth interview, 11 December 2019)

Life in the city is costly among migrant workers, and they could not live worry-free. In order to make ends meet. Cho Cho, a single mother, her husband passed away three years ago, with a six-year-old daughter from Salin, Magway

region, shares a single-room with six other family members for the last ten years in Yangon. She told that her salary is only enough to pay for food and her daughter's education. The other family members try to share the rent and other bills. Htwe (2018) claimed that migrant worker's salaries only made ends meet and were seldom inadequate because of the higher rent, water, electricity charges, and food in urban areas. Employers hardly look at these concerns as their only focus is on getting cheap labor for production in their factories and high profitability. In this research, female workers at the mentioned factory lived not too remotely, maximum is about thirty minutes to the factory (see Figure 8 in Chapter 4), so they were offered free pick-up services, which allowed them to not spend on transportation.

Gendered determinants for remittances

In this study, the gendered determinants of remittances by migrants have composed commitment of the family positions, and marital status as involved in the background statement. In addition, remittances can shift the decision role within the families for migrants' women. The previous studies by De la Briere et al. (2002) and Vanwey (2004) examined that migrant women in United State were more motivated to remit the money than migrant men except they strongly respond to their parental illness. It also turned out the findings of Osaki (2003) that Thai women are more likely to remit than the men because they desired to repay the gratitude of parents that are taught by Buddhist traditions.

1. Marital Status

Marital status of informants in this study influenced their remittance attitude. Single women regularly send their remittances home every month, while married women do not; due to their husbands' control on family finances. As married women treated second-class citizens in the family, Nwe (2009) confirmed this notion through their acceptance that the husband is the leader of the house. Therefore, they are not allowed to do anything without being given permission. Traditional, customary, and religious practices made women subordinate to men in social, political, economic, and religious spheres (Thein, 2015). Suksomboon (2008)'s study of Thai migrant women married to foreign men affirmed difficulties in dealing with husbands when it comes to remittances. In the context of transnational families

originating in Honduras, the remittances are able to sculpture the gender, in terms of family obligations and decision making power, which are central proportion of remittance management (Petrozziello, 2011).

Sandar, 27, married one year ago and lived with her in-laws in Yangon left her mother in the village with her eldest widow sister, who had one son. Her sister is left to work on a farm with no other sources and regular income. She used to send money home when she was single. However, her marriage changed the situation.

...When migrant women are married, it is more complicated for them to send money to their families. I could not send any money to my mother because my husband controls all our expenditure. Traditional culture and customs oblige married women to consult and inform their husbands about everything because they are not allowed to do anything without their husbands' consent.

(Yangon, residence, in-depth interview, 18 December 2019)

Marlar and her husband have been renting a small room in Yangon for eight years. Although her husband is a carpenter, he is not regularly employed. Since her income is not enough to pay for their accommodation and living expenses, they resort to borrowing some money to sustain. Unfortunately, the interest incurred from borrowing has already accumulated, and they could not manage to deduct even only the monthly interest. Sometimes they argue about money because her husband would like to send money to his family, but their debts are high. This resonates what Piper (2005) revealed that women seemed to remit a more substantial amount of money than men. However, among married women in the patriarchal society, remittances are transferred to their own families, through their husbands.

Stories from the participants of this research echoed the United Nation's statement (2009) on gender impacts on sending remittances. The report manifested that monetary transmittals are dependent on marital status, age, and gender - generally, women send more than men. Likewise Thida, a single woman from the Magway region came from a large-size family in the village. She had two elder brothers and three sisters; all were married but are not able to support her mother, who

lived with her 12-year-old youngest sister in the countryside. Her siblings have their own families now and struggle on a limited budget. She told that her family needs her money every month because their income is not enough for a decent living, and her mother must take care of grandchildren too.

As gender and generation role in the hierarchy household structure, women and daughters take the household responsibilities while fathers and sons put the top position of the families. Following this practice, married migrants abided by their husband's instruction while single migrants shoulder the families' obligations that are handed over by married who were not supported to their parents.

2. Remittances and the Roles of Son and Daughter's obligations

As future leaders in a patriarchal family structure, it is no wonder that sons are always given priority. Parents tend to support their sons' education if family income allows. Hence, the girls will be the first ones to drop out of school when the family experiences financial problems (Thein, 2015). As the gender lens, Myanmar women have fewer chances to access the education. Khin Khin, 29, who was born in a farming family with one sister aged 21 and three brothers who are 27, 25, and 13 years old, recounted;

...I dropped out of school in eight grade because my parents could not afford the education fees for all the children. I would have wanted to study further because I am the eldest, but I had to sacrifice. My parents chose the eldest son to be educated, and he is now a teacher in our village.

(Yangon, residence, in-depth interview, 16 December 2019)

Nevertheless, Mu Mu, the eldest married migrant woman in this study introduced earlier, said that she had a different perception regarding remittances and the son and daughter' roles in her family. She told that her youngest brother, who is still single, provides everything to her aging parents in their village. She said that;

...Since my younger brother's grocery store is quite successful, this allows him to take care of our parents financially.. In Myanmar culture, it is typical that the eldest child inherits the family business, and has overall

control of their siblings. Although he is the youngest, my brother can manage everything for my parents.

(Yangon, garment factory, focus group discussions, 6 November 2019)

Phyu Phyu, single, dropped out of school in tenth grade and has one married older sister and one unmarried older brother who entered the monkhood. She used to help her mother dry fish and shrimps on the shore suffering sunburns and exhaustion. Since this job is not sustainable, she left for Yangon and has been living in the city for four years.

...Although I am the youngest, I have to send money to my parents to help pay for their food and basic health care. My brother, a monk, has no money, while my sister also struggles to support her own family. So I am now the main earner; I feel honored to take care of my parents who consult me in almost everything they do.

(Yangon, garment factory, focus group discussions, 13 November 2019)

The outcome of this study is consistent with Nwe's (2003) findings that women's position in the family constitutes legitimate roles. Sisters, daughters, and mothers assist the family income by doing either a formal job or unpaid work at home, which contributes to empowering women's roles under Myanmar society's patriarchal structure. Kusakabe, & Oo (2007) supported that migrant women from Myanmar had more flexible, mature, independent, better attitudes and self-confidence when they worked in the border areas. They were more powerful and changing their position in families and communities by earning their income and sending money back to their families.

It is typical that the eldest child inherits the family business, and has overall control of their siblings in maintaining family integrity and traditions. The eldest brother and sister, following cultural norms, are expected to extend their support and care to older family members (Nwe, 2009). Thuzar, 28 and single, lives in a small dormitory with her 21-year-old younger sister university student. They also have a 25-year old brother, who worked in another factory, lived on his own. They

come from the Ayeyarwaddy region, which is populated by a mixture of ethnic Burman and Karen. She told that;

...Every month I have to send money back to my family, but my brother cannot because he spends most of his money on betel nuts, clothes, and social activities. As I am the eldest, he thinks that I am responsible for taking care of him and our sister.

(Yangon, residence, focus group discussions, 20 November 2019)

Meanwhile, some female migrants did not feel forced to remit to her original family. Like Hla Hla, she moved from the Bago region and is happy to fulfill her filial obligation to her parents.

...In our culture, daughters have the greatest responsibility to take care of their parents. Although my sister is married and cannot give any money, she still looks after my parents when they are sick while my brothers do not. I owe my parents a debt of gratitude for all their support and guidance.

(Yangon, residence, focus group discussions, 6 December 2019)

Yin Yin, 29, is living with her two sisters, 32 and 26 years-old. All of them are single and share one same room near the factory to help them cut their accommodation expenses. She described how the sisters prioritize sending remittances whenever salaries are received and happy to support our parents. In other words, this is the chance to repay the gratitude they owed them for their lives.

Curran, & Saguy (2001) explained that migrant women (especially single) face pressures to send the huge amounts of remittance to support their extended families. However, practicing the Buddha teaching, offspring aspire to repay the parents' gratitude to preserve the filial obligations (Nwe, 2011).

The gender perceptive of taking the filial positions in families, daughters are more likely to comprehend the household financial condition by taking a prominent role in helping their parents with daily activities and doing house chores,

while sons tend to wait until they are requested by their parents to go and work outside of their birthplaces.

3. Shifting Power Relations in the Family

Myanmar's social practices towards gender equality across the country have changed a lot in recent times. Women improved their livelihood, education, participation in the economy, and their leadership in the family. Remittances certainly played a considerable role in favor of women empowerment and upholding their household decision making. Gruntz, & Karoui (2013) stated that family power is an important factor in making decisions and managing the household budget. Receiving family members are happy to share power arrangements with their family members who moved to the city for work and sends monthly remittances. Hlaing Hlaing comes from the Bago region. She migrated to live in the city with her two younger sisters who also work in the same factory. She proudly expressed her contribution to the decision-making process in her family;

...Every month we have to send money to our father, who lives with my eldest brother. Since our mother passed away seven years ago, I was forced to take the role of mother and sister. After receiving our salaries, I divide the money for our own expenditures and remittance. I have become the decision-maker for my family because our father consults me about all home affairs.

(Yangon, residence, in-depth interview, 4 December 2019)

The majority of the study participants believe that the gratitude of their parents is indefinable. Therefore, when they become adults, they repay this gratitude by supporting their families as culturally practiced. These migrant women preserved their filial piety through their moral and financial responsibilities to support their families back home. De Haas (2007) also argued that remittances are able to disentangle the processes of social and cultural change affecting the receiving families. However, the decision to migrate is not always an individual choice, but sometimes their siblings, parents, and the family's economic standing.

Yet, some women are in the transitional Myanmar patriarchal structure. Like Ni Ni, every so often she wanted to argue with her father, but the teachings on how to behave well and comply with the elders of the family had fully grown up on her.

...Our father comes and collects money from us every month, and whenever he comes, he gives us advice on how to live in the city. Sometimes, I am fed up with his words and wanted to speak out, but I cannot because I am afraid of him. In Myanmar culture, sons or daughters are not allowed to talk back to their parents. Although I am the eldest child and sends money every month, my father is the only decision-maker in our family, which no one can argue.

(Yangon, residence, focus group discussions, 6 December 2019)

Although remittances have empowered women, there are traces of power grab among men in this gender-stratified society. Walby (1990) argued that the material base of patriarchy in Bangladesh households is that men control property and money while maintaining women powerless and dependent. Similarly, as Myanmar cultural beliefs, men are higher status relative to women status make the inequitable power distribution and financial resources in marriage.

4. City Life affecting remittances sending

Although migrant workers had no experience with city life, they had to mature very quickly to be able to take control of their new environment and themselves. One single female migrant, War War, reveal that the decision to migrate is not always for the financial constraints, sometimes getting experiences of city life, free from parental control and domestic responsibilities depending on the family background in village. Chaw (2003) supported that this finding that migrant women in Yangon moved to city to experience new things and getting knowledge, to flee from the agricultural work, to take a pride role for working in the city, to escape the parent's control and attain the personal freedom in terms of personal motivation.

Migration and women's empowerment

1. Migrant Women and Their Further Education

In this study, two migrant women are still studying at university, and have to work to pay for their further education. They are not allowed to take extended leave for educational purposes, so some of them quit their jobs and find other work when they come back, while some negotiate a deal with their line leaders for taking to leave. Hlaing Hlaing, 32 years old who lives with her two younger sisters from Tharyarwadi Township in the Bago region. She told me how to manage the sending remittances when her sister went back to school and this was a difficult time for them. When restarted her sister education, she was not able to send as much money to their father as before. She explained that her sister needed to finish her studies, in order to get better job, which he understood.

The results are consistent with the previous study by Browne (2017), which stated that better education is viewed as a secondary driver while security concerns, livelihood opportunities, and economic incentives are the primary drivers of both international and internal migration. Furthermore, Delpierre et al., (2017) conducted research that stated the remittances received by families in India, contributed solely to their living costs and the investment of education for their children.

2. Migrants worker's Expectations

As part of our cultural heritage, most people prefer to remain in the village they were born in, but circumstances force them to migrate to the city to earn better money. Because the people who move to the city love their village so much, many of them will return home at some time in the future, while some of them want to remain in the city to further their careers, and have no plans to return to their village in the foreseeable future. Hlaing Hlaing is worried about the health of her father who lives in the village with her brother who is married. She said that;

...Sometime in the future I will return home and set up a small sewing business, which will allow me to take care of him. Therefore, for the foreseeable future I have no option but to stay in the city to earn a better income to support my family.

(Yangon, residence, in-depth interview, 4 December 2019)

Consistent with these findings, Senyürekli and Menjívar (2012) stated that Portuguese migrant's in France, were inspired by the knowledge that one day they will be able to return home after sending enough money to support their families and relatives. Another research supported these results by stating that immigrants from Asian Indian and East India have suffered various forms of psychological stress due to being separated from their families, motivated them to financially support their parents in the villages who needed assistance (Mandayam, 2004; George, 2005).

Methods of sending remittances

Money that migrant women send to their families can be done in many ways, either legally or illegally, but due to technological innovations, it is now safe and legal for them to transfer their money using mobile services (International Monetary Fund, 2005). The 20 interviewees in this study said that they used the mobile money service called “wave money” to send their remittances home, because it is the most convenient way. The “wave money” payment system is run by Telenor telecom, which has facilitated this service within the country by taking advantage of the dramatic growth of the mobile network. In addition, money services are registered under the Myanmar Central Bank and more than 15,000 wave money service shops in Myanmar. The typical customers are often domestic migrants working in the cities, and sending money to their home villages (Myanmar Times news, 2017). Although, most female migrants in this study are secondary school drop-out, they are able to catch up the latest technology using the mobile money services that is simple and convenience for them.



Figure 13 Rural workers utilize the mobile payment way

Source: <https://bit.ly/2EwB7tB>

In addition, based on the conducted interviews, there is no gender bias when it comes to the ways of sending money between men and women, single and married. It depended on the situations such as having identity card, saving time and convenience for them. Five of the migrants interviewed stated that because they did not have a national identity card that is needed to transfer money via a bank, they have to find alternative ways, such as wave money. Thu Zar explained that the reason why she did not have the national registration card was because she lost it after Nargis storm hit her birthplace. In contrast, her younger brother has the registration card so he can easily go to bank since its transaction fee is lower than mobile banking service. Additionally, married Moe Moe explained that her husband always remits the money for their son's education using mobile banking service because she did not have time for doing house chores and worked extra time in factory. Although, there is no occurrence of gender discrimination when sending money, she accepted that her husband should control the money management under the family hierarchy structure.

Although using banking method is safer and cheaper, it is much harder to access them during opening hours due to work restrictions. The three of migrants still believed that the safest way for them was using their relatives or friends to deliver the money to their families by hand. Kusakabe, & Oo (2007) supported that it was

important for migrants to maintain the linkage with their place of origin because of the social network that communities' people (friends and relatives) provide the related information and safety net them by supporting material and social support on migration.

Htet Htet from the Sittwe Township in the Rakhine state, told me that the most convenient way for her and her friends is to give their money to the Rakhine State agent in Yangon in the morning, which allows her mother to withdraw it in the afternoon in the village. There are not any trust-related issues when sending money home, because they are all part of the same ethnic group that embody by the same social structures and traditional of care among the similar identity groups. The findings of this study are consistent the previous study conducted by Kosse, & Vermeulen (2013) found that migrants in the Netherlands are more likely to use money transfer operators (MOT) or use the informal channels that are less secure, misuse for illegal purposes because the recipient in village does not have a bank account although bank service is simply used for everyone.

Conclusion

The results of this chapter showed that most single migrant workers were able to shift the position and the power relations within their families, due to sending remittances, while the women who are married struggle with financial constraints, due to having to get their husbands approval before they are allowed to send money to their own family. The female migrants, either single or married, take more filial obligations than the sons, due to the hierarchy of the family structure. Related to the ways of sending remittances, the majority of female migrants utilized the mobile money service created by the rapid growth of mobile networks around the country. However, some mobile transfer shop service workers, eavesdrop the people' s passwords, code number and misuse their authority between senders and receivers, therefore, the policy makers need to take action against these people by handing out large fines for their illegal behavior. Meanwhile, some migrants still use informal channels, such as money agents, relatives or friends to deliver the remittances by hand, but there is no misuse issue because of the strong relationship between with senders and receivers in the village.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research's conclusions are drawn from three main intermingled themes presented in this thesis: gender, migration, and remittances. They are seen one of crucial themes signaling the social issues in developing countries. The case of internal migrant female workers in one factory in the industrial zone in Yangon, Myanmar in this study can potentially provide us the afterthoughts to find any voids in research, or similar ones in other geographical settings, as well as recommendations for policy makers in the future.

Gender and migration

This research demonstrates that migration scenario has changed, due to Myanmar women now being encouraged to migrate to the cities for a better quality of life, greater amount of income and the more varied opportunities for further education. In addition, environmental problems such as floods, soil erosion and draught have been categorized as root causes of migration for rural women. In the past, women lacked self-confidence due to low education, and traditional practices prohibited them from traveling without a guardian (Thein, 2015). Although the cultural practices are still followed, families and communities in the villages accept the necessity of migration to earn a higher income and financially support the family. The current research found that migration creates a decline of dependence on men, because the women earn their own money which in turn leads to maturity, self-confidence and becoming a reliable breadwinner in the society.

Like neighboring countries such as China, Bangladesh and India (Ping, & Shaohua, (2005; Kainth, 2009; Choudhury, 2017) which are supported by secondary data in literature review, the young Myanmar women in this study move to the cities for better jobs and higher living conditions, because they have no desire anymore to do traditional farm work that is exhausting and old- fashioned. This research observes that an escalating number of women would leave their villages to urban areas is

expected in Myanmar in the near future. The reasons of this research, women would choose migration to improve their family's living conditions, and their own social status for some cases. Overall, Myanmar women would be more independent and gain a better equal social status compare to men in the society.

Migration and Remittances

The results of this study show that migration and remittances are interrelated. The focus of the large number of women who migrate to the city is on finding higher paid employment, which allows them to send remittances to their families. The remitted money helps to reduce the financial constraints' of rural families, by repaying debts and supporting the education fees for their siblings. Remittances are considered vital for improving individual households, and help to alleviate poverty reduction in the rural areas of the country. However, the internal migrants' low remittances are solely consumed by the households back home due to migrant's constrained financial situations in the city described in some female migrant cases. The overall situation of these female migrants emphasize that remittances is the topmost driver attracting them to factory-works. Therefore, the researcher's perceptive, remittances continue to be an issue in development studies and migration studies for scholars to trace the positive and negative impact of migration.

Gender and Remittances

This research investigated the gender perspective regarding Myanmar female migrants' remittances within its social and cultural norms, including marital status, filial responsibilities, and family backgrounds. The recent changes in social development in this study has demonstrated that it allows women to generate income and send remittances back home, empowers them to take a leading role in their families. Despite the traditional roles for woman, this study discovered that migrant women improved their status and their power in their families, because of their significant financial contributions. Therefore, these women, especially the single ones, achieved these new opportunities by engaging in the industrial sector, and supporting their families' economic standing via regular remittances in the transformative Myanmar society. This research has also shown that daughters are

more likely to be taking the filial obligations such as remitting money to financially support for their parents rather than the sons who wait for the parents to tell them what and how they are needed to support in their livelihood expenditure. This research argues that young single women compared to men in the same age, seemed to be more likely to send remittances back home. Meanwhile, single women are responsible to send back remittances to their families where married women tend to lean forward to take care of their own families.

However, traditional influences exist by limiting women's financial management decisions. In the patriarchal institution when husband and wife live together in the city, the male spouse has the final right in decision-making, even when comes to sending remittances, causing the counterparts to be treated as a second-class citizen in the families. Unlike South American countries where remittances entrenched women's empowerment and the balance of power in their families (Menjivar, 2000), Bangladeshi internal migrants' earnings generated more power and influence by resisting coercive migration practices and asserting their independence (Choudhury, 2013). Whereas, Myanmar women have followed the trend in feminized migration; nonetheless they are struggling with patriarchal ideology and norms of familial hierarchy in the society.

Limitations and Future research suggestions

Although this study illustrated a general picture of the gender and remittances for internal women workers in industrial zones, there are limitations and still many rooms at the other point of views for future researchers.

1. These research findings do not represent the whole area but they do reflect the real situations of migrant Myanmar women in city. The researcher had to study migrant workers from the preparation of factory manager who has known the migrants' biography. Therefore, the research findings may be limited due to the planned arrangement for interview.

2. The researcher planned to conduct the in-depth interview to the migrants' husband but they were not willing to participate in the study.

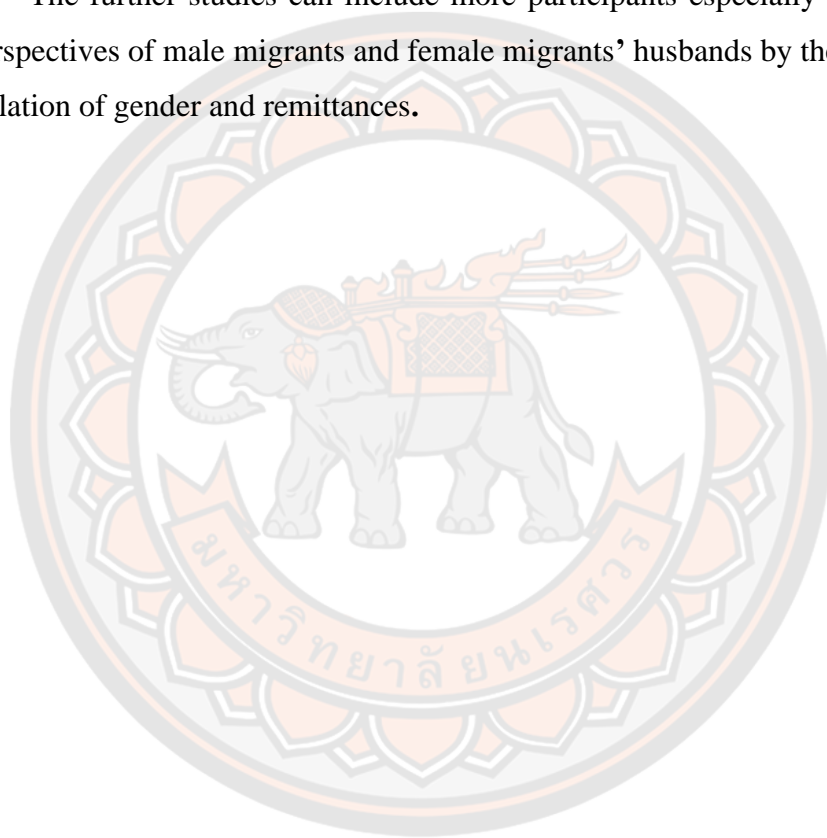
3. The data of this study was only collected at one time during the interview hours due to the limited time and financial constraint. If there were available more

time and resources, the findings of this study could have been advantages for specific conclusion in migrant women.

4. The further studies can look at how remittance shift the raising awareness of equality between sons and daughters and/or women's role in rural.

5. The results of this study can be compared to other developing countries; female married migrants are still influenced in patriarchal institution or more empowered within the families and why so.

The further studies can include more participants especially presentation of the perspectives of male migrants and female migrants' husbands by the framework of interrelation of gender and remittances.





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APPENDIX

มหาวิทยาลัยนครพนม

INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

Information sheet for participants

Dear participants,

I am Swe Zin Myint, a master student in the program of Social Development, at Faculty of Social Sciences, Naresuan University, Thailand. Under the supervision of Dr. Busarin Lertchavalitsakul, I am now conducting research entitled “Gender and Remittances of Female Migrants in a Garment Factory in the Hlaing Thar Yar Industrial Zone, Yangon, Myanmar” . To complete the requirement of the study program, I would be very grateful if you would spend approximately 30- 60 minutes to participate in this research project as interviewees. I will not reveal your personal identify, will keep confidential information obtained from this research. During the interview, if you are not willing to answer any questions, you can refuse to answer and withdraw from the interview any time.

In case you require more information about my research, please do not hesitate to contact with me and the Ethics committee for Social Sciences, Naresuan University. Thank you so much for your cooperation.

Best regards,

Swe Zin Myint

Student ID- 61062908

TITLE: GENDER AND REMITTANCES OF FEMALE MIGRANT WORKERS IN A GARMENT FACTORY IN THE HLAING THAR YAR INDUSTRIAL ZONE, YANGON, MYANMAR

Research Questions

1. What are root causes for the rural-urban migration of female workers?
2. How do remittances play an important role for female migrants to migrate to the city?
3. Through a gender perspective, how do female migrants determine to send the remittances to their families back home, and what method do they use?

Research objectives

1. To explore the root factors for female workers from rural- urban migration.
2. To analyze that how remittances play a vital role for female migrants to migrate to the city.
3. To study how gender role status, determine the female migrant workers to send the remittances to their families.

Biography

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Code

Put a TICK (✓) inside the box in each question.

1. Age group:

- 1) 18- 25 years 2) 25- 30 years 3) 30- 35 years
 4) 35-40 years 4) 40-45 years 5) 45- 50 years

2. Sex:

- 1) Male 2) Female 3) others

3. Marital Status

- 1) Married 2) Single 3) Divorced
 4) Widow 5) Single mother 6) Others.....

4. Number of Children.....

Child No. 1: Age..... Sex..... Education.....

Child No. 2: Age..... Sex..... Education.....

Child No.3 : Age.....Sex.....Education.....

5. Education Qualification

- 1) Graduated 2) Tertiary level 3) Secondary
 level
 4) Primary level 5) No Education

6. Native town:

Village, Town, State, Region

- 1) Urban 2) Rural 3) Others

7. Ethnicity:.....

- 1) Barman 2) Kayin 3) Rakhine
 4) Others.....

8. Currently, who do you live in the city?

- 1) Spouse 2) Friends 3) Parents
 4) Family 5) Others

9. How many members do you live in the city?

.....

10. Please identify your position in your siblings.

- 1) Eldest 2) Middle 3) Below Middle
 4) Youngest

11. How many family members do you have in your home town?

Father....., mother, brothers....., sisters.....

- 1) Less than 5 2) Between 5 and 7 3) More than 7

12. Monthly salary

- 1) Kyat. 150 ,000 – 200,000 2) kyat. 200, 000- 250, 000
 3) kyat 250, 000- 300, 000 4) kyat. 300, 000 and above

13. Work Experiences: Have you ever work in other sector before?

Yes.....

No.....

14. Have you ever worked in other factories before?

Yes.....

Place No. 1 Factory... .. Number of working years/ months

.....

Place No. 2 Factory... .. Number of working years/ months

.....

Place No. 3 Factory Number of working years/ months

.....

No.....

15. Situation of current work: How long have you been working in this factory?

Year..... Months.....

16. Do you work overtime or not?

Yes... ..why?

- If No, 1) I have to take care of my kid
 2) I have to cook for my family
 3) There is no safe for return home

17. How often do you work the overtime?

- 1) Everyday 2) Fourth a week 3) Third a week
 4) Twice a week 5) Once a week 6) Others

18. How much in average per month do you get extra money from working OT?

19. Do you receive other extra income or incentives such as bonus and award for not being absent within a month? How much per month?

20. Do you receive other incentives or social welfares such as holidays, health insurance, and others?

Interview questions for Focus Group discussions

SECTION 1) What are root causes for the rural-urban migration of female migrant workers?

Root Cause of Migration

1. Why do you migrate to work in the factory?

- Lack of land to cultivate.....
- Problem with agricultural production.
- Not enough income to support family.
- Family’s debts.....
- Want to experience living in city.....
- Better education.....
- Better living standards.....
- Others.....

2. What are your opinions (positive or negative) on the migration?

Positive opinions

- Better income
- Better living condition.....
- Education opportunities.....
- Free from social constraints
- Others.....

Negative opinions

- Labor exploitation.....
- Gender discrimination.....
- No safety in working environment.....
- Leave the home.....

3. What do you think between men and women on migration?

- Men’s wages are getting more than women.....
- Men are leaders and women are followers on migration.....
- Men should migrate than women because men are more powerful than women
- Women can migrate and earn as men.....
- Women should stay at home and taking care of the family.....
- Women are more capable in home and community by earning money.....
- Women and men hold equal rights and opportunities on migration.....
- Others.....

SECTION 2) How do remittances play an important role for female migrants to remit the money back home?

How do you spend your monthly income? (You can choose more than one choice).

- Rented accommodation nearby the factory.....
- Foods.....
- Cosmetics and daily uses.....
- Socializing with partners, friends and other people.....
- Children’s education.....
- Remittances.....
- Others.....

1. Do you need to send your income to your family in rural? (You can choose more than one choice).

If yes,

- For Debt.....
- For their livelihood expenditures such as food, shelter and basic health
-
- For children's education.....
- For saving in future.....
- Others.....

If no,.....

- I have not enough money in city.....
- I have to invest my future career.....
- I have to take care my family in city.....
- Others.....

2. How do your family member in rural spend the sending remittances? (You can choose more than one choice).

- For debt.....
- For their livelihood expenditures such as food, shelter and basic health.....
- For children's education.
- For saving.....
- Others.....

3. What are the impacts of sending remittances in your families? (You can choose more than one choice).

- Better living conditions in rural.....
- Better income for foods and health expenditures.....
- Education for the children.....
- Donation for religious ceremony.....
- Contribute the money in community development.....
- Others

4. Do you think, sending remittance play an important role in your household expenditure? (You can choose more than one choice).

If yes,

- For paying debt.....
- For their household expenditure, the foods and basic health
- Children education.....
- For donation and contributing the community development.....
- Others.....

If no,.....

- I move to city for my future career and my family does not need remittances.
.....
- Why does not the family need remittances?
- I move to city for my better education.....
- I have no extra money because I have to take care of my family in city.
- I spend for my children's education in city.....
- Others.....

5. Do you have any plans to send more money to your home in future? (You can choose more than one choice).

- If I have better income, I will send more money.....
- I am not sure it depends on my income.....
- I have no ideas because I have no extra money.....
- I just live enough for my foods and accommodation.
- I need to send more money because my family needs my remittances for foods, shelter, basic health and education.
- Others.....

SECTION 3) Through a gender perspective, how do female migrants determine to send the remittances to their families back home, and what method do they use?

1. What are some of the reasons do you think, female migrants are necessary and important needed to send the money to their home?

- Mothers or daughters are more responsible for taking care of the family due to as per Myanmar culture.
How do they do?.....
- I am the eldest one in my family and I have to take care of my family.....
- Although I am youngest one, brothers and sisters are married and they cannot send the money to the home
- Married women also have to help their in-law families.....
- Others.....

2. Do you send your monthly income to your family in rural? (You can choose more than one choice).

If yes,

- For paying debt because I am responsibility to take care of my family.....
.....
- For their household expenditure, the foods and basic health.....
- Children education.
- Others.....

If no,.....

- I move to city for my future career and better education.....
- I have no extra money because I have to take care of my family in city.....
- I spend for my children's education in city.
- Others.....

3. If you are married, do you need any consent from your spouse when you sending the remittances? (You can choose more than one choice).

If yes,

- My husband is the leader of household in the family.
- I have to inform my husband everything in the family.
- I do not do anything without my husband approval.
- I have to follow my husband's instructions.
- Others.....

If no,.....

- I am single one.
- It is my money; I do not need to ask him if I have to send money to take care of my family.....
- If he knows, I will argue with him because our relationship might lead to conflicts.....
- Others.....

4. Do you consider that you can send the money when you have a family in the city?

- I do not think so, I have to take care of my family in the city.....
- The living cost in city is more expensive than rural, I think, I cannot send the money.....
- I have no extra money because of my lower income.
- I have to send as much as I can, I have responsibility to look after my family.....
- Others.....

5. Do you think that there are any other differences between men and women sending remittance to their home?

- Women are more responsible for taking care of family.
- Although women are married, they need to look after their parents.
-
- Married men are willing to send their money to their wife rather than parents.
-

Single women are willing to send money their home rather than the married ones.....

Others.....

6. How do the receiving households use your remittances?

For paying debt.....

For their household expenditure, the foods and basic health.....

Children education.....

For donation and contributing the community development.....

Others.....

7. What kind of methods do you remit? Is it convenient for you?

Formal ways

Transfer by bank.....

Mobile payments.....

Others.....

Informal ways,.....

Carry back by themselves.....

Through close friends living the hometown.....

Through relatives living the hometown.....

Others.....

8. Do you have any suggestions for migrant women to send their remittance to your home?

Transfer by bank.....

Mobile payments.....

Carry back by themselves.....

Through close friends living the hometown.....

Through relatives living the hometown.....

Others.....

9. Why do you suggest so?

Interview guide for in- depth interviews

Section 1) What are the root causes for female workers in rural-urban migration?

1. Why do you migrate to work in the factory?
 2. Do your parents agree to move to the city? Why?
 3. Do you have any social network on migration and how?
 4. What is your opinion on migration?
 5. Do you think, women should stay at home rather than move to city and why?
 6. How do you think of different between men and women on migration?
 7. Are different perceptions of before days and these days on migration?
 8. Is any other impact to move to city and how?
 9. What are the negative and positive impact for women in city?
 10. From the positive and negative impact, which one do you think have greater impacts for women migration?
 11. How migration will motivate for rural women, from your opinion?
 12. How's living condition in city? Do you like to live in city?
 13. What is your opinion of moving to the cities for women as per gender aspect?
- Is still influences the social cultural, norms and practice in village?

SECTION 2) How does remittance does play an important role for female migrants in their use of income?

1. Could you talk about your monthly salary, how you are being paid?
2. Is your salary increasing every year? Are you satisfy with the increment? Why?
3. What other incentives do you get other than monthly salary?
4. Do you think women and men should be paid same salary or higher salary? Why?
5. Is any other different paid salary at same position depend on gender in this factory?

6. How do you spend your monthly income?
7. What do you think of living costs in city?
8. Could you tell about your income situation between in village and urban?
9. Do your family need to remit your money and why?
10. Do you think, sending remittance play an important role in your household expenditure?
11. What is your family expectation when you work in the city?
12. What are the impacts of sending remittances in your families?
13. If you will get more paid salary, do you have any idea to save or to remit money?
14. How do you feel sending remittances to the families in village?
15. How does your family member in rural spend the sending remittances?

Section 3) Through a gender perspective, how do female migrants determine to send the remittances to their families back home, and what method do they use?

1. Do you think that there are any other differences between men and women sending remittance to their home? Why and so?
2. From your opinion, women are more obligations to send money back home? Why and so?
3. Do you think, marital status impact when sending remittances and why?
4. From your opinion, women should follow their male spouse's instructions and why?
5. When sending remittances, do you need the consent of husband and why so?
6. What are the different responsibilities between sons and daughters under the social-cultural and practices?
7. Do you have any other regrets or happy to send the remittance to your home and how so?
8. What are your views about how to relate the filial positions and sending remittances?
9. Do you consider that daughters are more taking filial obligations rather than the son under the family hierarchy structure?

10. Who does control the power in your family in village and how?
11. From your opinion, do remittances motivate the family members to share the family power under the hierarchy family structure?
12. Who is the decision maker in your family and why and how?
13. From your opinion, women are able to empower due to the remittances these days and why?
14. Is there any other important factors do you think when you sending remittances?
15. How do you enjoy your work and what's your future plan?
16. How do you spend your free time in the city?
17. What kind of methods do you remit? Is it convenient for you?
18. Do you think that is there different ways when the sending remittances depended on gender?

