

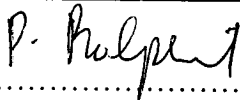
**THE PERCEPTION OF MYANMAR DEVELOPMENT ON ITS
RETURN MIGRANTS: IMPLICATIONS FOR BURMESE
MIGRANTS IN THAILAND**

Mya Mya Thet

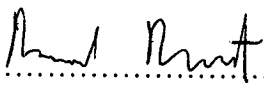
**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (Policy and Management)
International College
National Institute of Development Administration
2015**


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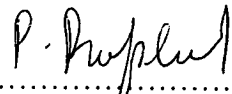
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ABSTRACT

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| Title of Dissertation | The Perception of Myanmar Development on its Return Migrants: Implications for Burmese Migrants in Thailand |
| Author | Mya Mya Thet |
| Degree | Master of Arts (Policy and Management) |
| Year | 2015 |

Recent development in Myanmar has created stronger pull factors on emigrant Burmese workers to return to their motherland. Using a survey of 433 Burmese migrants in Thailand as a case study, this paper examines the impact of Myanmar's development on the probability of the return of Burmese migrants to Myanmar from Thailand. Development factors such as more foreign direct investment, deregulation, and improvement of public services will encourage Burmese migrant workers to return home. Additionally, in terms of economic development, better job opportunities and political stability are also major pull factors for return migration. The main policy implication of these findings is that the chances that Burmese migrant workers will return home are high if investment opportunities followed by job availability and adequate wages can be found in Myanmar. Myanmar and Thailand should implement education programs set up by the Thai government and facilitate Burmese migrants' children's access to these programs as well as protecting migrants' rights during the period of structural adjustment in Thailand.

Keywords: Development of Myanmar, Burmese migration in Thailand, Return migration

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Development of Myanmar and the Probability of Return Migration

Myanmar has begun a democratic transformation and political reform, as witnessed by the overturning of convictions and the release of political prisoners. A political dialogue has been initiated in order to consolidate peace agreements with armed ethnic insurgencies. Freedom of expression, independent media, and freedom of association have begun to be allowed along with a loosening of restrictions on information outlets and an easing up on media censorship. Along with the relaxation of controls on the media, better IT communication, especially telephone communication, has been key in the recent development of Myanmar. Before the election in 2010, workers had no right to collectively bargain. After the election, the new government promulgated the Labor Organization Law in 2011, giving workers their rights and allowing them to form labor organizations. This is one of the most important stepping stones in the country's development. This amendment of labor laws and other foreign investment laws can attract more foreign investment, thus contributing to the national development. Due democratic reforms, sanctions have been eliminated and deregulation processes can now be conducted. Moreover, in line with this political and economic reform, activities to improve healthcare services, the education system, infrastructure, and public services have been initiated to foster the future economic development of Myanmar.

In past decades, Myanmar citizens faced armed conflict, militarization, ethnic uprising, economic hardship, persecution of minorities, political repression, poverty, and unemployment (Punpuing et al., 2004; Eberle & Holliday, 2011). This created economic hardship, which has contributed to both refugee and economic migrants searching for job opportunities abroad. The majority of these individuals have come

from rural areas in Myanmar (Sugantha, 2012). Since Thailand and Myanmar share a border of more than 1,000 kilometers, the majority of emigrant Burmese workers choose to migrate to Thailand for better job opportunities due to Thailand's more developed economy with its demand for cheap labor (Theingi & Mon, 2010; Sugantha, 2012). This cross-border movement allows Burmese migrant workers to experience a higher quality of life and higher wages compared to their basic livelihood in Myanmar (Sugantha, 2012).

Burmese migrate to Thailand for economic opportunity, the wage differential, and to accompanying their spouses (Fujita et al., 2010). The push factors for their migration are unemployment and inadequate income to sustain the cost of living, (Jumpa, 2012; Chantavanich & Vungsiriphisal, 2012). The pull factors are Thailand's economic growth and the demand for cheap labor, the relative ease of travel to Thailand, better employment opportunities and a chance to earn a higher income and enjoy a better of life, and fulfillment of other basic needs that living in Thailand allows (Jumpa, 2012; Chantavanich & Vungsiriphisal, 2012; IOM, 2013).

However, recent development in Myanmar has surged ahead with the help of liberalized policies allowing for increased commodity exports and imports, the lifting of some currency exchange restrictions, and the bringing in line of banking and financial regulations with the market economy. As a result, foreign direct investment (FDI) in oil and gas production, mining, services, agriculture, electric power, and manufacturing sectors increased fivefold in 2012 (Myint, 2013). The establishment of special economic zones has given rise to other opportunities as have favorable policies on customs, labor, and utilities so that small and medium-sized enterprises can attract Burmese migrant workers back to their native country, as there is a greater demand for both skilled and unskilled labor (Theingi & Mon, 2010).

By 2030, employment opportunities are predicted to include more than 10 million jobs in the non-agricultural sector, including 6 million in the manufacturing sector (IOM, 2013). Kim (2014) reported that agricultural output could boost GDP by 43% and increase employment by 54%, providing livelihoods for more than 70% of the population due to investment in agriculture. Roughneen (2013) noted that the main focus of creating new jobs is on the manufacturing sector, especially the garment industry.

The present study considers the current development situation in Myanmar in terms of economic, political, and social factors. Labor mobility depends on the labor market's needs, and due to better IT communication and a freer press and other media, workers can gain current labor market information and go where the jobs are. The economic development that follows can benefit both rural and urban areas. People from rural areas will have employment opportunities because of the establishment of special economic zones and small and medium-sized enterprises. Special economic zones need workers that have work experience and provide higher-than-average wages. Workers now have the right to collectively bargain according to the Labor Organization Law (2011), and collective bargaining will help improve both their economic status and work conditions.

Theingi and Mon (2010) stated that a large number of low-skilled Burmese migrant workers would return if the economic situation were to improve and employment opportunities open up in Myanmar. Currently, in Thailand, they often face hardships such as exploitation in the workplace, poor working conditions, and great difficulty in accruing sufficient savings. Chantavanich and Vungsiriphisal (2012) focused on the implications for the development of Myanmar regarding the return of Burmese migrants from Thailand. Based on a field survey of Burmese migrants working in Bangkok, Samut Sakhon, and Mae Sot in Thailand (N=204), they found that the reasons migrants returned home were to be with family and because they had sufficient savings and they felt they had sufficient economic and employment opportunities at home. They also felt that Myanmar had sufficient political stability, democratic freedoms, and competitive wages to support a decent living standard. Another qualitative study, by Myint (2013), in which Burmese migrant returnees from Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand were interviewed, showed that return migration was mainly a result of family considerations as well as policy changes, economic openness, and political stability in Myanmar.

None of the above research on return migration of Burmese migrant workers used econometric estimations to predict the probability of their return classified into push-pull factors. This paper, therefore, uses econometrics regression to analyze the impacts of Myanmar's development, as well as other push-pull factors affecting the probability of return by observing Burmese migrants in Thailand as a case study.

1.2 Objective of the Study

The objective of this study is to examine the impact of Myanmar's development on the probability of the return of Burmese migrants to Myanmar from Thailand.

1.3 Organization of the Study

The study is organized into five chapters. Chapter 1 presents the introduction. Chapter 2 provides a literature review of research on return migrants in other countries. Chapter 3 presents data collection and methodology that explains survey data of push-pull factors of Burmese migrants in Thailand. Chapter 4 presents estimation and findings including a model and the estimated results of the probability migrants returning to Myanmar because of the development there. Chapter 5 provides discussion and conclusion including recommendations regarding migration management policy.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Review of the Literature on Return Migrants

A general assumption about return migration is that migrant workers expect to stay in the receiving country as a permanent settlement and achieve high earnings and that returning home means that they have failed to achieve this goal. However, migrant workers often intend to stay only temporarily in the receiving country and have previously prepared their return migration plans, including how long they intend to stay and how much they hope to save within a specific period (Cassarino, 2004). The return of migrant workers also depends on the social and institutional situation in the sending country. Return migrants anticipate how they would be able to contribute to the development of the sending country and how their skills and financial resources be put to good use (Cassarino, 2004). In the push and pull model, skills acquired in the receiving countries along with opportunities created by the sending countries inspire migrant workers to return (Lee, 1966).

Examples from other studies include the increase of Finnish migrants returning from Sweden because the income they received in Sweden was less than what they expected (Saarela & Rooth, 2012). Similarly, the permanent return of Albanian migrants was based not only on family reasons but also on failure to achieve savings targets (Vadean & Piracha, 2010). But in the latter case, return migration of Albanian workers from Greece was also due to increased political and economic stability in Albania, and increased economic insecurity in Greece (Grazhdani, 2013). For Brazil, Reyntjens (2009) also showed that the main reasons for return migration included lack of employment, intention to reunite with one's family back home, and improvement of social and economic conditions in the home country. For Ethiopia, the return of Ethiopian migrants from Western countries was found to be due to

strong family ties and the desire to live and work in Ethiopia (Atnafu, 2006). And in a study of immigrants to The Netherlands, unemployment in the destination country was found to lead to return migration (Bijwaard et al., 2011).

Jellal and Wolff (2003) found that return migration was directly related to human capital investments, especially among their kids, in the receiving country. The more migrants invested in human capital in kids in the receiving country, the less likely they were to return to the sending country. The tenure of living and working in the receiving country depends on the economic disparity and the achievement of workers' expectations, including human capital. Return migration is caused by increased consumer appetites in the sending country, the high purchasing power of the receiving country's currency in the sending country, and the accumulation of human capital (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007). Return migration also depends on the migrant worker's age at entry to the receiving country. And while the duration of stay can be affected by living and work conditions in the receiving country, the longer the stay the less likely a migrant will return (Dustmann et al., 1996; Cieslik, 2011). And for The Netherlands as a receiving country, Bijwaard and Whaba (2014) found that lower income groups have the highest probability of returning.

Wyman (2001) found that five major reasons for migrants returning from America to Europe were success, failure, homesickness, family ties, and rejection of life in the receiving country. ILO (2012) reported that the reasons for Filipino workers' returning from various countries were based on involuntary, voluntary, and other return factors and that they returned due to war and forcible deportation, the completion of employment contracts, the achievement of their goals, unfavorable working conditions, and family issues. Cieslik (2011) argued that the quality of work and employment conditions influenced migrants' decision to return. These included relationships with co-workers and the boss, workplace atmosphere, job security, and the possibility of advancement.

Return migration depends on the availability of information regarding economic, social, and political conditions in the home country through media and social networks (BarceVICIUS et al., 2012). If the integration situation of the migrant workers is better in the sending country than in the receiving country, migrant workers will return even if they have stayed a long time in the receiving country

(König, 2000). According to Bassina (2012), the pull factors of the sending country are more important than the push factors of the receiving country in terms of making the decision to return. On the other hand, Chobanyan (2013) found that migrants returned due to the push factors of the receiving countries rather than pull factors; and work and living conditions, increased xenophobia, unacceptability of social values, deportation, personal issues and the inability to adapt to the local climate are the factors that precipitated return migration. Return migration emerges if the situation in either the sending country or in the receiving country changes while the migrant workers are staying in the receiving country (König, 2000). The pull factors of return migration tend to be economic rather than factors such as stress, loneliness, lack of social and medical services, and family issues (Barcevicius et al., 2012). An improved situation in the sending country can attract migrant workers working abroad to return (King, 1986).

CHAPTER 3

DATA COLLECTION AND METHODOLOGY

Questionnaires were distributed and collected from the following areas of migrant concentration: Bangkok, Samut Sakhon, and Samut Prakan provinces. Using the snowball technique, data were collected between January 2014 and March 2014 in the Burmese language. Questionnaires were distributed and collected at the times when Burmese migrant workers were clustering for a number of community events. Locations such as markets, monasteries, training centers, and social support networks were the starting points. Therefore, this survey can be considered as a random sampling of about 433 respondents.

As shown in Table 1, the majority of respondents were male (70 percent), of which a large portion was found to be relatively young (47 percent of them were 15-24 years old). Fifty-one percent were single, of which 42 percent was working in the manufacturing sector. In terms of length of stay in Thailand, nearly 80 percent had been in Thailand for 1-4 years, and the majority (66 percent) had no regular contact with their family back home.

Surprisingly, Burmese migrants in Thailand stand out in terms of their education level. Forty-one percent had lower than a secondary education and 38 percent had completed vocational education. This education level is considerably higher than that of domestic workers (Thai workers) who were working in the same job classifications.

Regarding their reasons for migrating to Thailand, the results from the respondents in our study showed both push and pull economic, political, and social factors. In Table 2, the economic push factors can be seen to outweigh political and social push factors. The majority of Burmese migrate to Thailand due mainly to push factors such as poverty (89.6 percent), unemployment (78.3 percent), low minimum wages (88.9 percent), lack of economic stability (88.2 percent), and poor living conditions (84.1 percent).

In Table 3, economic pull factors of migration can also be seen to have attracted the respondents to Thailand. Mostly, those interviewed migrated to Thailand due to economic pull factors such as greater economic development in Thailand (80.4 percent), job availability (85 percent), a higher minimum wage (82.2 percent), better economic stability (74.1 percent), and geographic proximity (73.4 percent).

As most respondents migrated to Thailand by economic hardship, we analyzed household data that 49.9 percent of respondent had at least 1 to 4 family members as shown in figure 1 and spouse of married respondent lived in Myanmar by 54.7 percent in figure 2. The majority of migrant workers' children lived in the home country together with their relatives where as some children lived in their parent. In this study, 34.54 percent of married respondent had no child and 54.2 percent of respondents left behind their children in Myanmar in Table 4.

According to the survey, the majority of respondents plan to stay in Thailand for quite a long time. Only 6.9 percent of the respondents intended to return after 1 year, 19.9 percent after 2 years, 45.5 percent after 3 to 5 years, and more than one fourth (27.5 percent) had no desire to return upon the increased development of Myanmar (Figure 3).

If we consider the push factors in return migration, it can be seen that most of the respondents migrated to Thailand due to economic pull factors (economic development, job availability, high minimum wages, and economic stability) as shown in Table 2. However, Theingi and Mon (2010) have suggested that low-skilled migrant workers might have fewer employment opportunities in the future because of automated systems employed by Thai manufactures as remedies for labor shortages and for generating more value-added products and services. Due to the competitive world market, industries cannot depend on cheap, unskilled labor in the long-term and thus need to change value-added types of production from labor-intensive types (Pholphirul, 2013). Currently, industries are trying to update their existing machines by changing to new models, installing new apparatus such as new types of machines, introducing new product lines, enlisting new suppliers, and starting e-businesses (Kophaiboon, Kulthanavit, & Jongwarich, 2012). As mentioned in other studies, if the terms and conditions of employment contracts expire, along with the already limited duration of visas for employment, return migration is compulsory. Unemployment is

also one of the push factors regarding return migration. If living costs are high in the receiving country and currency is valued lower in the sending country, migrant workers have an incentive to return because their migration depends on wage differentials.

Table 3.1 Summary Statistics and Descriptions of Surveyed Sample (n=433)

| Variable | Mean | Std Dev. | Percentage | Number of Respondents |
|---------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| Personal Characteristics | | | | |
| Gender | | | | |
| Male | 0.70 | 0.457 | 70.4 | 305 |
| Female | 0.30 | 0.457 | 29.6 | 128 |
| Age Factor | | | | |
| 15-24 years | 0.47 | 0.500 | 47.3 | 205 |
| 25-33 years | 0.39 | 0.489 | 39.5 | 171 |
| 34-43 years | 0.11 | 0.317 | 11.3 | 49 |
| 44-53 years | 0.02 | 0.135 | 1.8 | 8 |
| Educational Factor | | | | |
| No education | 0.04 | 0.205 | 4.4 | 19 |
| Elementary | 0.11 | 0.308 | 10.6 | 46 |
| Lower secondary | 0.41 | 0.492 | 40.6 | 176 |
| High and vocational school | 0.38 | 0.486 | 37.9 | 164 |
| Bachelor's degree | 0.06 | 0.246 | 6.5 | 28 |
| Marital Status | | | | |
| Single | 0.51 | 0.501 | 50.6 | 219 |
| Married | 0.49 | 0.501 | 49.4 | 214 |
| Locality | | | | |
| Rural | 0.69 | 0.475 | 68.8 | 298 |
| Urban | 0.31 | 0.475 | 31.2 | 135 |
| Occupational Factor | | | | |
| Agriculture | 0.03 | 0.158 | 2.5 | 11 |

Table 3.1 (Continued)

| Variable | Mean | Std Dev. | Percentage | Number of Respondents |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| Fishery | 0.03 | 0.158 | 2.5 | 11 |
| Mechanics | 0.06 | 0.229 | 5.5 | 24 |
| Manufacturing | 0.42 | 0.493 | 41.6 | 180 |
| Services | 0.03 | 0.177 | 3.2 | 14 |
| Seller | 0.04 | 0.194 | 3.9 | 17 |
| Construction | 0.26 | 0.441 | 26.3 | 114 |
| Domestic Worker | 0.08 | 0.269 | 7.9 | 34 |
| Cleaner | 0.02 | 0.135 | 1.8 | 8 |
| Other | 0.05 | 0.210 | 4.6 | 20 |
| Salary | | | | |
| 6000-10,000 Baht | 0.80 | 0.403 | 79.7 | 345 |
| 10,001-15,000 Baht | 0.19 | 0.392 | 18.9 | 82 |
| More than 15,001 Baht | 0.01 | 0.117 | 1.4 | 6 |
| Duration of Stay | | | | |
| 1-4 yrs | 0.79 | 0.410 | 78.8 | 341 |
| 5-8 yrs | 0.15 | 0.360 | 15.2 | 66 |
| 9-12 yrs | 0.05 | 0.210 | 4.6 | 20 |
| 12 yrs or more (More than 12 yrs) | 0.01 | 0.117 | 1.4 | 6 |
| Family Contact | | | | |
| Once - a - week contact | 0.09 | 0.290 | 9.2 | 40 |
| Once - a - month contact | 0.24 | 0.426 | 23.8 | 103 |
| No regular contact | 0.66 | 0.476 | 65.6 | 284 |
| Never contact | 0.01 | 0.117 | 1.4 | 6 |
| Visit | | | | |
| Once a year visit | 0.10 | 0.306 | 10.4 | 45 |
| Every two years visit | 0.11 | 0.317 | 11.3 | 49 |
| No regular visit | 0.70 | 0.460 | 69.7 | 302 |

Table 3.1 (Continued)

| Variable | Mean | Std Dev. | Percentage | Number of Respondents |
|---|-------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| Never visit | 0.09 | 0.280 | 8.5 | 37 |
| Economic push factors in return migration | | | | |
| I lost my job in Thailand and I cannot find a new job | 0.08 | 0.269 | 7.9 | 34 |
| Substitute labor-intensive jobs with high-tech jobs | 0.32 | 0.467 | 32.1 | 139 |
| Termination of employment contract | 0.11 | 0.317 | 11.3 | 49 |
| High living costs | 0.32 | 0.468 | 32.3 | 140 |
| Low currency price | 0.16 | 0.371 | 16.4 | 71 |
| Political push factors in return migration | | | | |
| Conflict | 0.35 | 0.478 | 35.1 | 152 |
| Distrust in political situation | 0.33 | 0.469 | 32.6 | 141 |
| Unfair labor migration policy | 0.32 | 0.468 | 32.3 | 140 |
| Social push factors in return migration | | | | |
| Discrimination | 0.26 | 0.440 | 26.1 | 113 |
| Loneliness and difficulties | 0.22 | 0.414 | 21.9 | 95 |
| Spouse's career | 0.15 | 0.358 | 15.0 | 65 |
| Children's education | 0.17 | 0.379 | 17.3 | 75 |
| Disaster | 0.20 | 0.398 | 19.6 | 85 |
| Economic pull factors in return migration | | | | |
| Savings and lower cost of living | 0.20 | 0.398 | 19.6 | 85 |
| Job availability with favorable work conditions | 0.23 | 0.419 | 22.6 | 98 |
| Career development | 0.21 | 0.406 | 20.8 | 90 |
| Investment opportunities | 0.21 | 0.406 | 20.8 | 90 |

Table 3.1 (Continued)

| Variable | Mean | Std Dev. | Percentage | Number of Respondents |
|---|-------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| Wages as in Thailand | 0.16 | 0.369 | 16.2 | 70 |
| Political pull factors in return migration | | | | |
| Political stability | 0.19 | 0.390 | 18.7 | 81 |
| No regional discrepancies | 0.18 | 0.381 | 17.6 | 76 |
| Trust in political activities | 0.21 | 0.406 | 20.8 | 90 |
| Prevalence of democracy | 0.20 | 0.399 | 19.9 | 86 |
| Facilitate return migration | 0.23 | 0.422 | 23.1 | 100 |
| Social pull factors in return migration | | | | |
| No racism | 0.6 | 0.246 | 6.5 | 28 |
| Relocate with family | 0.32 | 0.468 | 32.3 | 140 |
| Good living conditions | 0.27 | 0.442 | 26.6 | 115 |
| Welcome to return | 0.29 | 0.454 | 28.9 | 125 |
| Good public service | 0.06 | 0.234 | 5.8 | 25 |
| Economic Development | | | | |
| More foreign direct investment | 0.22 | 0.416 | 22.2 | 96 |
| More employment opportunities in agricultural, garment, construction and service sector | 0.21 | 0.408 | 21.0 | 91 |
| Reduced taxes | 0.12 | 0.328 | 12.2 | 53 |
| Establishment of special economic zones | 0.18 | 0.381 | 17.6 | 76 |
| Better IT communication | 0.27 | 0.445 | 27.0 | 117 |
| Political Development | | | | |
| Elimination of sanctions | 0.17 | 0.377 | 17.1 | 74 |
| Implementation of democratic reform | 0.28 | 0.448 | 27.7 | 120 |
| Permitting of labor organization | 0.21 | 0.406 | 20.8 | 90 |

Table 3.1 (Continued)

| Variable | Mean | Std Dev. | Percentage | Number of Respondents |
|---|-------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| Deregulation | 0.18 | 0.385 | 18.0 | 78 |
| Permitting of strikes | 0.16 | 0.371 | 16.4 | 71 |
| Social Development | | | | |
| Freedom of media | 0.21 | 0.405 | 20.6 | 89 |
| Enhanced healthcare service | 0.20 | 0.401 | 20.1 | 87 |
| Improved education system | 0.22 | 0.413 | 21.7 | 94 |
| Improved infrastructure | 0.22 | 0.414 | 21.9 | 95 |
| Improved public services | 0.16 | 0.364 | 15.7 | 68 |
| Satisfaction with the current development | | | | |
| Dissatisfied | 0.15 | 0.362 | 15.5 | 67 |
| Neutral | 0.62 | 0.486 | 62.1 | 269 |
| Satisfied | 0.22 | 0.417 | 22.4 | 97 |
| Expected benefits from the current development | | | | |
| Not at all | 0.31 | 0.462 | 30.7 | 133 |
| Somewhat | 0.59 | 0.492 | 59.1 | 256 |
| Quite a bit | 0.10 | 0.302 | 10.2 | 44 |

Table 3.2 Push Factors in Migration from Myanmar to Thailand

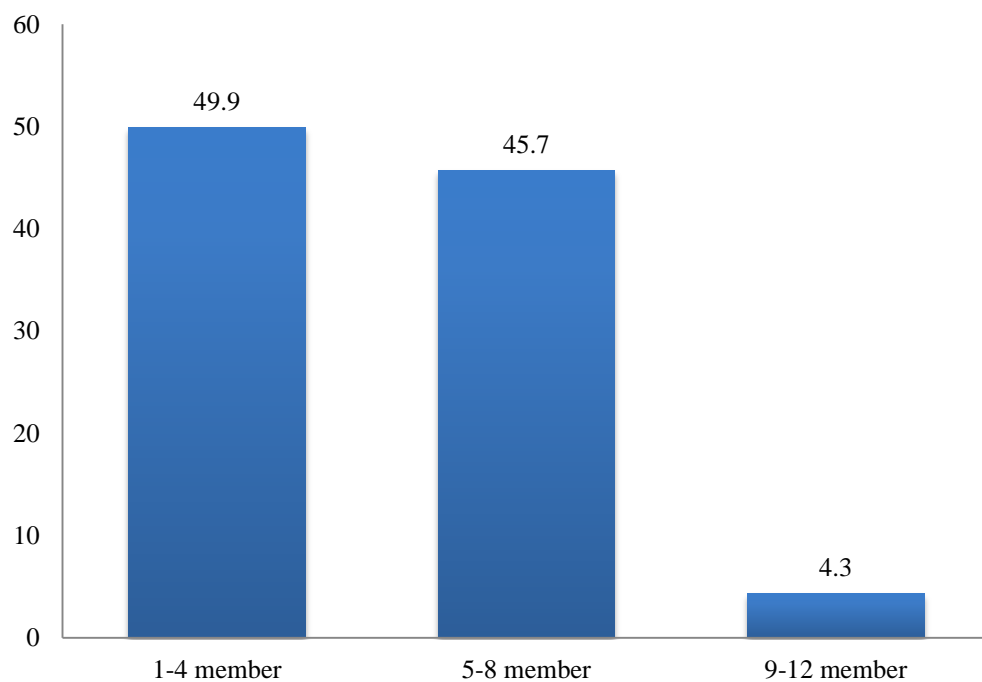
| Economic push factors | Percentage |
|--|------------|
| 1. Poverty | 89.6 |
| 2. Unemployment | 78.3 |
| 3. Lower minimum wages | 88.9 |
| 4. Economic instability | 88.2 |
| 5. High taxation | 72.3 |
| Political push factors | |
| 1. War and oppression | 52.2 |
| 2. Forced relocation and land confiscation | 43.0 |
| 3. Forced labor and deportation | 39.0 |
| 4. Lack of democracy | 66.7 |
| 5. Lack of citizen's rights | 70.7 |
| Social push factors | |
| 1. Racism | 56.6 |
| 2. Lack of public services | 69.3 |
| 3. Poor living conditions | 84.1 |
| 4. Relocation with family | 46.0 |
| 5. Disaster | 38.8 |

Table 3.3 Pull Factors in Migration from Myanmar to Thailand

| Economic pull factors | Percentage |
|-------------------------|------------|
| 1. Economic development | 80.4 |
| 2. Job availability | 85.0 |
| 3. High minimum wage | 82.2 |
| 4. Economic stability | 74.1 |
| 5. Labor shortage | 61.4 |

Table 3.3 (Continued)

| Political pull factors | |
|----------------------------------|------|
| 1. No armed conflict | 55.7 |
| 2. Political stability | 55.0 |
| 3. Trust in political activities | 58.0 |
| Social pull factors | |
| 1. Geographic proximity | 73.4 |
| 2. Safe to stay in Thailand | 59.1 |
| 3. Better living conditions | 67.0 |
| 4. Same culture | 63.3 |

**Figure 3.1** Number of Family Member (Percentage of Respondents)

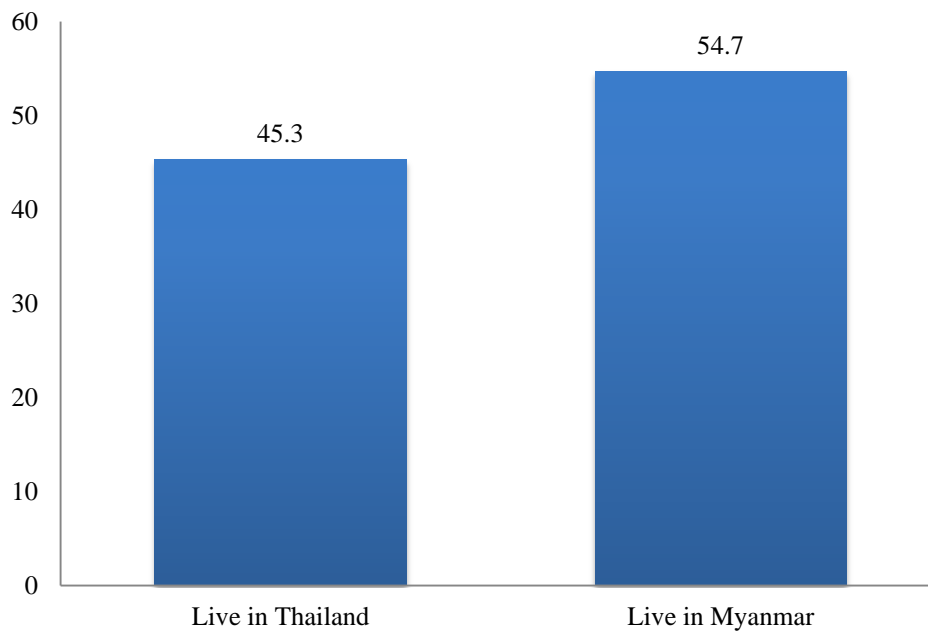


Figure 3.2 Spouse's Place (Percentage of Married Respondents)

Table 3.4 Number of Children (Percentage of Respondents)

| Sr. No. | Number of Children | Live in Thailand | Live in Myanmar | Live in Myanmar and Thailand |
|---------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | 1 | 4.2 | 17.6 | 0 |
| 2 | 2 | 0.93 | 20.6 | 0.93 |
| 3 | 3 | 0.93 | 8.9 | 2.8 |
| 4 | 4 | 0 | 5.2 | 0.47 |
| 5 | 5 | 0 | 1.9 | 0 |
| Total | | 6.06 | 54.2 | 4.2 |

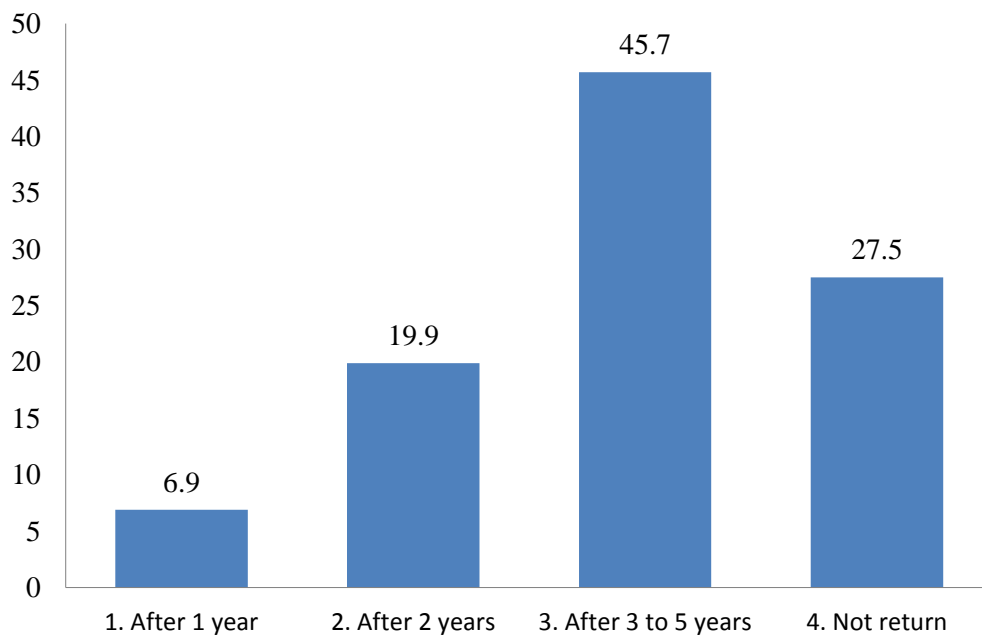


Figure 3.3 Tentative Return Plans to Myanmar (Percentage of Respondents)

CHAPTER 4

ESTIMATION AND FINDINGS

In order to investigate the probability of return migration of Burmese migrant workers from Thailand, we used a binary probit regression model to quantify the probability of return migration. The dependent variable was equal to one if migrants decided to return and zero otherwise. As reported in Table 5, Model 1 presents the estimated results including only socioeconomic control variables, such as gender, age, education, marital status, occupation, income, and duration of stay, to analyze the probability of return migration. Model 2 adds the factors of family ties including family contact and visits to Myanmar. Model 3 incorporates the push and pulls factors of return migration. Model 4 adds the development factors, whereas the perception factors and remittance factor are added in Model 5 and Model 6.

From observing socioeconomic factors, estimated results show the probability of returning home on the part of Burmese migrants who were older and more highly educated. Older Burmese migrants aged 34-43 years old had about an 8.6-14.7 percentage higher chance of returning to Myanmar compared to those between 15-24 years of age. The probability of returning was also higher for highly educated migrants (those with a bachelor's degree) by about 12.4-19.8 percent compared to those with no education. However, the longer they resided in Thailand, the lower the probability of their return. The estimated results also showed that migrant workers who had lived in Thailand for 9-12 years and more than 12 years were less likely to return home by factors of 19.3-21.3 and 29.6-31.6 percent, respectively. Additionally, family ties also affected their probability of returning. Results showed that the Burmese migrants who visited their family in Myanmar once a year had a 13.3-16.2 percent higher probability of returning compared to those who never visited their family at all.

Table 4.1 Binary Probit Regression Model of Return Migration (marginal effect)

| Model | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| Socio-economic Variable | | | | | | |
| Male (reference: female) | | | | | | |
| | 0.054 | 0.048 | 0.040 | 0.049 | 0.051 | 0.055 |
| | (0.049) | (0.049) | (0.048) | (0.047) | (0.047) | (0.046) |
| Age factor (reference: 15-24) | | | | | | |
| 25-33 | -0.010 | -0.022 | -0.021 | -0.037 | -0.037 | -0.042 |
| | (0.047) | (0.048) | (0.047) | (0.044) | (0.044) | (0.042) |
| 34-43 | -0.110 | -0.129 | -0.086 | -0.147 | -0.138 | -0.143 |
| | (0.079) | (0.081) | (0.080) | (0.084) | (0.081)* | (0.081)** |
| 44-53 | 0.022 | -0.045 | -0.054 | -0.011 | 0.027 | 0.047 |
| | (0.145) | (0.162) | (0.157) | (0.157) | (0.153) | (0.137) |
| Educational factor (reference: no education) | | | | | | |
| Elementary | -0.047 | -0.035 | 0.017 | 0.043 | 0.061 | 0.059 |
| | (0.126) | (0.125) | (0.113) | (0.094) | (0.083) | (0.079) |
| Low secondary | -0.028 | -0.030 | -0.024 | -0.060 | -0.051 | -0.055 |
| | (0.107) | (0.109) | (0.108) | (0.100) | (0.096) | (0.092) |
| High and vocational | 0.096 | 0.113 | 0.127 | 0.097 | 0.115 | 0.096 |
| | (0.101) | (0.101) | (0.097) | (0.089) | (0.084) | (0.082) |
| Bachelor's degree | 0.197 | 0.198 | 0.181 | 0.132 | 0.138 | 0.124 |
| | (0.070) | (0.069) | (0.049) | (0.056) | (0.048) | (0.050) |
| Married (reference: single) | | | | | | |
| | -0.005 | -0.006 | -0.044 | -0.043 | -0.042 | -0.034 |
| | (0.044) | (0.044) | (0.043) | (0.039) | (0.040) | (0.038) |
| Rural (reference: urban) | | | | | | |
| | 0.034 | 0.035 | 0.083 | 0.087 | 0.100 | 0.103 |
| | (0.049) | (0.050) | (0.052) | (0.051) | (0.053)** | (0.054)** |
| Occupational factor (reference: cleaner) | | | | | | |
| Agriculture | 0.157 | 0.143 | 0.067 | 0.078 | 0.080 | 0.081 |
| | (0.119) | (0.122) | (0.159) | (0.143) | (0.133) | (0.115) |
| Fishery | 0.151 | 0.166 | 0.101 | 0.128 | 0.127 | 0.124 |
| | (0.126) | (0.109) | (0.115) | (0.071) | (0.067) | (0.055) |
| Mechanics | 0.211 | 0.200 | 0.153 | 0.152 | 0.143 | 0.139 |
| | (0.075) | (0.078) | (0.080) | (0.057) | (0.063) | (0.053) |
| Manufacturing | 0.122 | 0.106 | 0.040 | 0.152 | 0.138 | 0.164 |
| | (0.139) | (0.136) | (0.147) | (0.160) | (0.159) | (0.145) |
| Services | 0.058 | 0.044 | 0.042 | 0.109 | 0.108 | 0.106 |
| | (0.162) | (0.165) | (0.158) | (0.097) | (0.094) | (0.082)** |
| Seller | 0.253 | 0.242 | 0.196 | 0.180 | 0.176 | 0.168 |
| | (0.044) | (0.048) | (0.040) | (0.026) | (0.027)** | (0.025) |
| Construction | 0.089 | 0.050 | 0.027 | 0.097 | 0.097 | 0.109 |
| | (0.134) | (0.136) | (0.145) | (0.143) | (0.138) | (0.122) |

Table 4.1 (Continued)

| Model | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Domestic worker | 0.034 (0.149) | 0.005 (0.154) | -0.075 (0.182) | 0.030 (0.163) | -0.009 (0.185) | 0.010 (0.160) |
| Other | 0.031 (0.160) | 0.040 (0.151) | 0.042 (0.151) | 0.078 (0.129) | 0.093 (0.109) | 0.111 (0.076) |
| Income (reference: 6,000-10,000 baht) | | | | | | |
| 10,001 – 15,000 | -0.029 (0.057) | -0.034 (0.058) | -0.010 (0.056) | -0.014 (0.051) | -0.033 (0.054) | -0.042 (0.051) |
| 15,001 – 20,000 | -0.166 (0.205) | -0.152 (0.213) | -0.027 (0.195) | -0.054 (0.182) | -0.091 (0.199) | -0.096 (0.219) |
| Duration of stay (reference: 1-4 years) | | | | | | |
| 5-8 years | 0.002 (0.063) | 0.007 (0.062) | -0.010 (0.063) | -0.017 (0.062) | -0.020 (0.062) | -0.032 (0.061) |
| 9-12 years | -0.193 (0.113) | -0.213 (0.113) | -0.107 (0.098) | -0.127 (0.095) | -0.114 (0.094) | -0.115 (0.089) |
| More than 12 years | -0.296 (0.216) | -0.316 (0.216) | -0.174 (0.227) | -0.173 (0.264) | -0.198 (0.263) | -0.173 (0.256) |
| Contact (reference: never contact) | | | | | | |
| Once-a-week | - | 0.127 (0.135) | 0.151 (0.089) | 0.120 (0.084) | 0.117 (0.081) | 0.120 (0.075) |
| Once-a-month | - | 0.160 (0.137) | 0.142 (0.119) | 0.133 (0.105) | 0.130 (0.101) | 0.128 (0.102) |
| No regular contact | - | 0.164 (0.186) | 0.152 (0.178) | 0.168 (0.177) | 0.148 (0.167) | 0.162 (0.179) |
| Visit (reference: never visit) | | | | | | |
| Once a year | - | 0.162 (0.067) | 0.153 (0.054) | 0.151 (0.040) | 0.151 (0.040)** | 0.133 (0.042)** |
| Every two years | - | 0.196 (0.058) | 0.172 (0.050) | 0.178 (0.034) | 0.172 (0.035)** | 0.163 (0.033)** |
| No regular visit | - | 0.118 (0.085) | 0.058 (0.084) | 0.098 (0.088) | 0.110 (0.090) | 0.099 (0.085) |
| Push factors of return migration | | | | | | |
| Economic push factors (reference: termination of employment contract) | | | | | | |
| I lost my job in Thailand and I cannot find a new job. | - | - | 0.029 (0.080) | 0.090 (0.056) | 0.091 (0.054) | 0.099 (0.048) |

Table 4.1 (Continued)

| Model | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| Substitute labor-intensive jobs with high-tech jobs | - | - | 0.271 | 0.318 | 0.314 | 0.216 |
| | - | - | (0.047) | (0.045) | (0.045)** | (0.030)** |
| High living costs | - | - | 0.193 | 0.227 | 0.226 | 0.216 |
| | - | - | (0.052) | (0.045) | (0.045)** | (0.043)** |
| Low currency value | - | - | 0.238 | 0.228 | 0.230 | 0.301 |
| | - | - | (0.033) | (0.030) | (0.030)** | (0.044)** |
| Political push factors (reference: unfair labour migration policy) | | | | | | |
| Conflict | - | - | 0.054 | 0.126 | 0.123 | 0.110 |
| | - | - | (0.049) | (0.044) | (0.044)** | (0.043)** |
| Distrust in political situation | - | - | 0.084 | 0.089 | 0.090 | 0.068 |
| | - | - | (0.049) | (0.044) | (0.043)* | (0.044) |
| Social push factors (reference: spouse's career) | | | | | | |
| Discrimination | - | - | 0.111 | 0.079 | 0.064 | 0.050 |
| | - | - | (0.056)* | (0.057) | (0.058) | (0.057) |
| Loneliness and difficulties | - | - | 0.136 | 0.097 | 0.089 | 0.076 |
| | - | - | (0.051)* | (0.054) | (0.054) | (0.052) |
| Children's education | - | - | 0.157 | 0.124 | 0.112 | 0.096 |
| | - | - | (0.048)* | (0.050) | (0.051)* | (0.050)* |
| Disaster | - | - | 0.243 | 0.222 | 0.216 | 0.211 |
| | - | - | (0.037)* | (0.035) | (0.035)** | (0.034)** |
| Pull factors of return migration | | | | | | |
| Economic pull factors (reference: career development) | | | | | | |
| Savings and lower cost of living | - | - | 0.095 | 0.092 | 0.099 | 0.099 |
| | - | - | (0.058) | (0.052) | (0.051)* | (0.049)* |
| Job availability with favorable working conditions | - | - | 0.076 | 0.098 | 0.105 | 0.094 |
| | - | - | (0.057) | (0.049) | (0.048)* | (0.047)* |

Table 4.1 (Continued)

| Model | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| Investment opportunities | - | - | 0.187 | 0.205 | 0.211 | 0.200 |
| Wages similar to Thailand | - | - | (0.049)* | (0.039 | (0.038)** | (0.037)** |
| Political pull factors (reference: prevalence of democracy) | - | - | 0.128 | 0.128 | 0.130 | 0.119 |
| Political stability | - | - | (0.048)* | (0.041 | (0.040)** | (0.039)** |
| No regional discrepancies | - | - | 0.211 | 0.177 | 0.176 | 0.178 |
| Trust in political activity | - | - | (0.038)* | (0.034 | (0.034)** | (0.031)** |
| Facilitate return migration | - | - | 0.136 | 0.121 | 0.117 | 0.115 |
| Social pull factors (reference: relocate with family) | - | - | (0.048)* | (0.043 | (0.043)** | (0.040)** |
| No racism | - | - | 0.169 | 0.153 | 0.156 | 0.154 |
| Good living conditions | - | - | (0.040)* | (0.034 | (0.034)** | (0.032)** |
| Welcome to return | - | - | 0.075 | 0.074 | 0.076 | 0.086 |
| Good public services | - | - | (0.052) | (0.046 | (0.045) | (0.042)* |
| Development Variable | - | - | 0.178 | 0.172 | 0.162 | 0.153 |
| Economic development (reference: establish special economic zones) | - | - | (0.042)* | (0.026 | (0.029)** | (0.027)** |
| More foreign direct investment | - | - | 0.128 | 0.091 | 0.074 | 0.066 |
| | - | - | (0.050)* | (0.049 | (0.050) | (0.049) |
| | - | - | 0.056 | 0.065 | 0.059 | 0.062 |
| | - | - | (0.049) | (0.043 | (0.043) | (0.041) |
| | - | - | 0.091 | 0.026 | -0.004 | 0.028 |
| | - | - | (0.074) | (0.092 | (0.103) | (0.084) |
| | - | - | - | 0.151 | 0.148 | 0.136 |
| | - | - | - | (0.047 | (0.048)** | (0.047)** |

Table 4.1 (Continued)

| Model | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| More employment opportunities in agriculture, garment, construction and service sector | - | - | - | 0.057 | 0.056 | 0.060 |
| | - | - | - | (0.056 | (0.057) | (0.053) |
| Reduce tax | - | - | - | 0.091 | 0.094 | 0.079 |
| | - | - | - | (0.059 | (0.057) | (0.058) |
| Better IT | - | - | - | 0.076 | 0.070 | 0.071 |
| | - | - | - | (0.052 | (0.053) | (0.051) |
| Political development (reference: eliminate sanctions) | | | | | | |
| Implement | - | - | - | 0.038 | 0.050 | 0.048 |
| democratic reform | | | | | | |
| | - | - | - | (0.062 | (0.059) | (0.058) |
| Permit labor organization | - | - | - | 0.101 | 0.107 | 0.108 |
| | - | - | - | (0.052 | (0.050)* | (0.046)* |
| Deregulation | - | - | - | 0.199 | 0.205 | 0.192 |
| | - | - | - | (0.034 | (0.032)** | (0.032)** |
| Permit strike | - | - | - | 0.025 | 0.015 | 0.022 |
| | - | - | - | (0.072 | (0.075) | (0.071) |
| Social development (reference: improve infrastructure) | | | | | | |
| Freedom of media | - | - | - | 0.140 | 0.133 | 0.128 |
| | - | - | - | (0.038 | (0.039)** | (0.038)** |
| Improved health care services | - | - | - | 0.022 | 0.021 | 0.014 |
| | - | - | - | (0.056 | (0.058) | (0.057) |
| Improved education system | - | - | - | 0.199 | 0.189 | 0.180 |
| | - | - | - | (0.032 | (0.033)** | (0.032)** |
| Improved public services | - | - | - | 0.115 | 0.116 | 0.111 |
| | - | - | - | (0.042 | (0.040)** | (0.039)** |

Table 4.1 (Continued)

| Model | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|-----------|
| Perception factors | | | | | | |
| Satisfaction with current development (reference: dissatisfied) | | | | | | |
| Neutral | - | - | - | - | -0.109 | -0.090 |
| | - | - | - | - | (0.054)* | (0.053)* |
| Satisfied | - | - | - | - | -0.087 | -0.052 |
| | - | - | - | - | (0.079) | (0.073) |
| Expect benefits from the current development (reference: not at all) | | | | | | |
| Somewhat | - | - | - | - | 0.077 | 0.059 |
| | - | - | - | - | (0.047)* | (0.046)* |
| Quite a bit | - | - | - | - | 0.049 | 0.039 |
| | - | - | - | - | (0.058) | (0.059) |
| Remittance factors (reference: never transfer) | | | | | | |
| 1500-5000 | | | | | | 0.105 |
| | | | | | | (0.069) |
| 5001-10000 | | | | | | 0.164 |
| | | | | | | (0.043)** |
| 10001-15000 | | | | | | 0.069 |
| | | | | | | (0.100) |
| R-Squared/ Pseudo | 0.0670 | 0.0871 | 0.2689 | 0.3562 | 0.3691 | 0.3857 |
| Observations | 433 | 433 | 433 | 433 | 433 | 433 |

Note: Robust Standard Errors in Parentheses

*significant at 10 %; **significant at 5 %; ***significant at 1 %

The probability of more sophisticated and automated technology being employed in Thai manufacturing, the higher costs of living, and inflation comprised the economic push factors that were statistically significant in determining the probability of Burmese migrants returning home. Political push factors, such as conflict between locals and migrants, and social push factors, such as discrimination against migrants and loneliness, had somewhat of a probability of getting migrants to return, but were less significant than the economic push factors mentioned above. Furthermore, changing pull factors from Myanmar were also relevant, such as investment opportunities, higher labor demand, better political stability, and less tendency toward racial/ethnic discrimination that they experienced in Thailand.

In terms of economic development in Myanmar, foreign direct investment was statistically significant in determining the probability of migrants returning. The

migrants that had faith in the success of the country's foreign direct investment attraction policy had a 13.6-15.1 percent greater chance of deciding to return compared to those influenced to return by the establishment of a special economic zone. Deregulation was also another factor determining the high probability of returning, at a factor of 19.2-20.5 percent higher compared to the elimination of government sanctions. Nowadays, policies and actions of the government take a shorter period of time to learn about and are more transparent than in the past "blind" situation. For example, the process of issuing documents for undocumented workers was widely and quickly implemented after the 2010 election of Myanmar.

In terms of social development, Myanmar's improved education system seemed to be the most prominent factor determining return migration. An improved education system contributed to an 18-19.9 percent greater chance of the subjects deciding to return compared to improvement in infrastructure. Greater freedom of the media and improvements in the public sector were also statistically significant in their effect on the probability of migrants returning as well. Currently, Burmese migrant workers are acknowledged and taken into consideration by both the new government and the receiving countries more than previously, and they thus can more effectively voice their grievances in order to obtain their rights and receive assistance and protection.

Regarding the development of Myanmar, respondents that were neither dissatisfied nor satisfied with the current development exhibited the lowest return level and had a 9-10.9 percent lower chance of returning than did the respondents that were dissatisfied. In our study, most of the respondents answered neutrally when they were asked about their satisfaction with the development of Myanmar. Respondents who expected to receive some benefits from this development had the highest return level and had a 5.9-7.7 percent greater chance of returning than did respondents who did not have such expectations.

Based on salary getting in Thailand, respondents remit to their family in Myanmar. According to survey data, the respondents who send money back to Myanmar by 5001-10000 baht per month had a 16.4 percent of the highest return level compared to respondents that never transferred remittance to Myanmar.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Our analysis indicates that a greater probability of returning home existed among the Burmese migrants that were older and more highly educated. Older Burmese migrants aged 34-43 years had about 8.6-14.7 percent greater chance of returning to Myanmar compared to migrants aged between 15-24 years. The probability of returning was also higher for highly educated migrants (those with a bachelor's degree), who were more likely to return by a factor of 12.4-19.8 percent compared to those with no education. However, the longer they stayed in Thailand, the lower the probability of their return. Results also showed that migrant workers who had resided in Thailand for 9-12 years and more than 12 years were less likely to return home by 19.3-21.3 and 29.6-31.6 percent, respectively. Additionally, family ties also affected their probability of returning. Burmese migrants who visited their family in Myanmar once a year had about a 13.3-16.2 percent higher probability of returning compared to those that had never visited their family.

In terms of economic development in Myanmar, foreign direct investment in Myanmar was statistically significant in determining the probability of migrants returning. Migrants who had faith in the success of the government's foreign direct investment initiatives had a 13.6-15.1 percent greater chance of deciding to return compared to the effect of the establishment of a special economic zone on their decision making. Deregulation was also a factor that affected the probability of returning. As mentioned above, nowadays, government initiatives take less time to implement, and the public has the chance to know a lot more about them than in the past. For example, the process of issuing documents for undocumented workers was widely and quickly implemented after the 2010 election.

Social development in Myanmar also affected the probability of return migration. Burmese migrant workers were willing to return due to the improved education system, greater freedom of the media, and improved public services. Most

Burmese migrant workers are from rural areas and some workers want to return for the sake of their children's education. Now, rural development is implemented in line with the improvement of public services.

Other advances, including more foreign direct investment, deregulation, allowing the existence of labor organizations, along with the social improvements noted above encourage Burmese migrant workers to return. Moreover, the mere perception of development would seem to encourage most respondents to return even if they had little actual knowledge and understanding of what was actually occurring in terms of their country's progress. And since their lives in Thailand are not terrible enough to make them want to urgently return to Myanmar, they remain outside the country watching and waiting for future advances and modernization.

It was found that the economic pull factors of investment opportunities and higher wages were statistically significant regarding the desire to return home. Findings indicated that investment opportunities had a greater influence on Burmese migrant workers' return more than did job availability or wages, as stated in other studies. Since most Burmese migrant workers want to run their own business when they return instead of looking for other job opportunities, they are biding their time, waiting for the right get investment opportunities in Myanmar.

Political factors, such as political stability, lack of regional discrepancies in terms of how they would be treated and opportunities available to them, and trust in the political process, also "pull" back Burmese migrant workers. Moreover, among the social pull factors, only the "no racism" question was statistically significant in relation to migrant workers' returning. Nearly 20 percent of the respondents were from Yangon and the Mandalay region, and the rest were from other states and regions, including Mon State (20.1 percent) and Kayin State (15.9 percent). Most of the respondents focused on political stability and "no racism," reflecting their concern that they would not suffer from racial and ethnic discrimination as they had before. This result was the same in other studies; returning migrants want to have equal opportunities without any regional discrepancies in this regard.

Economic push factors affecting return migration from Thailand included companies substituting labor-intensive jobs with high technology jobs (structural adjustment), high living costs, and the fall in the value of the Thai baht. Yet job

opportunities in Thailand still attract Burmese migrant workers, who will continue to work there until they accumulate enough savings to start their own business. Even if living costs in Thailand are too high for them and they have the option of returning home because nowadays they have job opportunities in Myanmar that they did not have before, they are nevertheless likely to continue working in Thailand because the wage differential is still great. But if Thai currency should weaken, they might return. As noted in previous research, Burmese migrant workers are still taking advantage of employment opportunities in Thailand. This is not to mention that return migration can also be high due to disasters and for consideration of their children's education. Burmese migrant workers who can send small amount of remittance to family members in Myanmar still worked in Thailand. Those workers who moderately remit had the condition to return to Myanmar workforce.

Given Myanmar's recent, dramatic development, which beckons them to return, Burmese migrant workers are still waiting to see what the future will bring (along with possible additional pull factors). Six pull factors for return migration were found to be: investment opportunities, wages similar to those they can earn in Thailand, political stability, trust in the political process, and absence of racism. All of these push factors increased the probability of return migration. We also found, in contrast to results from other studies, that investment opportunities increased the probability of migrants returning home. This would indicate that they were willing to work in Thailand until they could save up enough to start their own business in Myanmar. However, the presence of Burmese migrant workers in Thailand may continue for at least five years as Myanmar continues to improve the current development momentum. Future development of Myanmar should attract more Burmese migrant workers to return regardless of the opportunities available in Thailand.

The main policy implications of these findings would suggest that Myanmar should set up investment opportunities for returnees and also provide entrepreneurship training for migrant families, which would enable returnees can contribute to the workforce and run their own businesses. On the Thai side, Thailand can improve its structural adjustment by substituting labor-intensive jobs with high-technology jobs. During the period of structural adjustment, Myanmar and Thailand

should focus more on the protection of migrants' rights and implement practical migration policies set up with the agreement of both countries. Moreover, both countries should provide education programs, to be implemented by the Thai government, to make education in Thailand more accessible to Burmese migrants' children. At the same time, in addition to raising migrants' awareness of their country's ongoing modernization and development, Myanmar should provide them with incentives to encourage them to return. Such incentives could include recognition of migrants' special skills and providing them with opportunities and entitlements. Finally, Myanmar needs to implement ways for returnees' children to be integrated into the country's education system.

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She has been working at the Department of Labour under the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security since 2006. She has experiences on labour migration management and skill development activities for workforce.